

Rembrandt / by Dr. J.G. de Lint; with 64 illustrations.

Contributors

Lint, J. G. de (Jan Gérard), 1867-1936.

Publication/Creation

The Hague : J. P. Kruseman, [1930]

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Rembrandt

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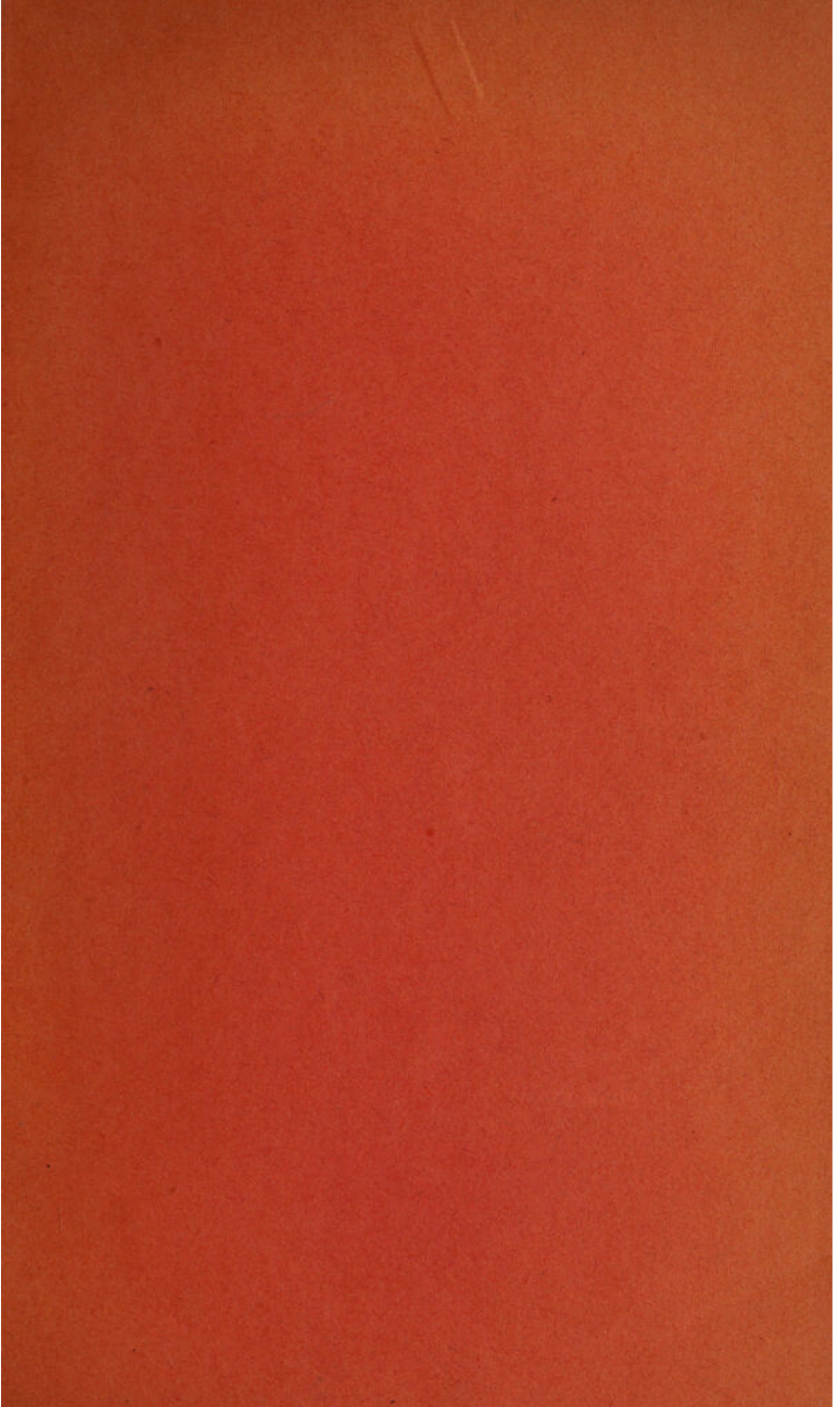
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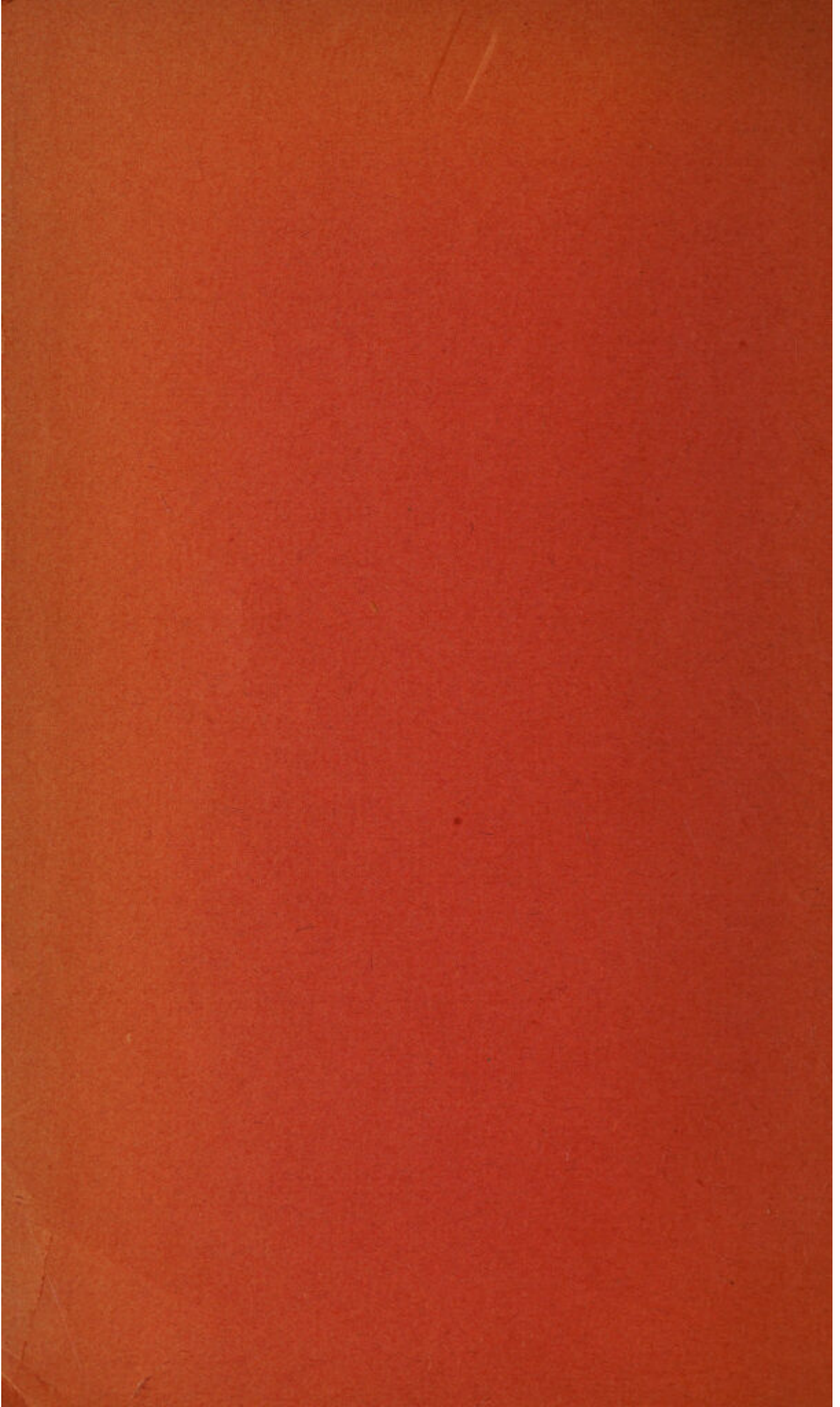
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I

REMBRANDT



Louvre, Paris

Fig. 1
Portrait of Rembrandt, 1634

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GREAT PAINTERS AND THEIR WORKS
AS SEEN BY A DOCTOR.

A SERIES OF MONOGRAPHS EDITED BY Dr. J. G. DE LINT

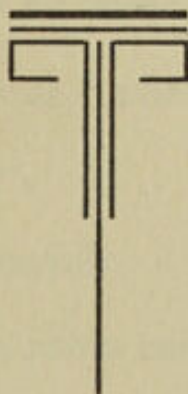
I

REMBRANDT

BY

Dr. J. G. DE LINT

WITH 64 ILLUSTRATIONS



THE HAGUE: J. PHILIP KRUSEMAN

[1930]

ART AND MEDICINE : 17 cent -

REMBRANDT van RIJN [1606-69]

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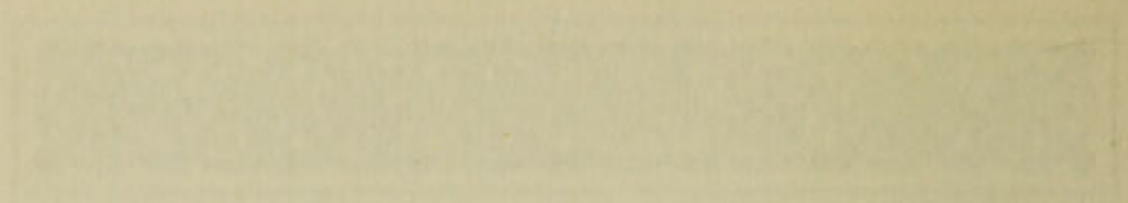
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PREFACE.

The struggle for Dutch independence, which lasted eighty years, brought a period of freedom, a break with the past. People felt the need of relaxation, of seeking contentment in their own surroundings. Among other things this feeling finds expression in the works of the Dutch School of Painting of the 17th and 18th century.

As the Dutch nation had largely adopted the Protestant doctrine, there was no longer any demand for paintings as church decoration. The plainer the churches were, the better suited to the taste of the rigid Calvinists, who abominated the splendour displayed in Roman Catholic cathedrals. No more altarpieces, no more triptychs, showing the founder with wife and children, no more pictures of saints and their martyrdom. What the people wanted, were scenes taken from daily life, representations of their work, their pleasures, their debauches even.

The wealth, which the East India Company poured into the Netherlands, increased the national prosperity and founded a system of government by well to do burghers, who took delight in embellishing their homes with paintings and especially with portraits, that would show the importance of those depicted to contemporaries and posterity. Even though their freedom was not firmly established until the peace of Munster in 1648, the burghers of Holland years before that date had become conscious of their social superiority. The foundation of the East India Company in 1603 also contributed to change the general outlook; directors of commercial enterprises of such magnitude began to feel themselves kings, omnipotent in their own surroundings. All this left its impress on social conditions in the United Netherlands.

It has often been observed that the art of Painting reflects the feelings of the people. The Italian School with its "greatest among the great", depicting the most impressive moments of

religious life, had its starting point in Rome. The Dutch School can boast of a Jan Steen, a Brouwer and a Teniers, who represented in their pictures the life of their contemporaries and compatriots. The greatest of all Dutch painters, Rembrandt, who displayed his greatest activity before the Peace of 1648 was concluded, belongs to the period of transition. Here we have a painter, who was inspired by religious subjects but who also had a keen eye for what was happening in his immediate surroundings. On the one hand Rembrandt was in touch with his great predecessors in Italy and Spain and with the Flemish and German painters of the 16th century; on the other hand he is the precursor of the later Dutch School.

The purpose of the series of monographs, of which this is the first, is to analyse works of the Dutch painters of the 17th and 18th centuries and to notice what they contain of medical interest. Beginning with Rembrandt, we have for this purpose gone through all his works, revising his paintings, etchings and drawings and noting down everything of interest to those that are connected with Medicine.

It is not our intention to discuss the paintings from the point of view of the critic or of the student of the history and development of Art. This has been done so often, that we feel it impossible to add anything of importance. Still nobody, who for whatever purpose makes a study of Rembrandt, can always suppress his admiration of the Master's technique and the author therefore begs the indulgence of his readers if at any time he seems to stray from his self-chosen path and ventures to express his own modest opinion of the artistic value of some of Rembrandt's works.

As the master's works are abundantly and excellently reproduced in a great number of splendid editions, their study is a comparatively easy task for now it is not necessary to visit museums and private collections, although it has of course afforded the writer great pleasure, personally to view those works, which were within his reach. Rembrandt's original etchings are still easier accessible. The Cabinet of Prints in Amsterdam has a complete collection, which can be seen on demand. Excellent reproductions of all the etchings are contained in the work of H. W. Singer (*Handbuch der Kunst in Gesamtausgaben*, 8ter Band, Stuttgart und Leipzig 1910).

To get a survey of the numerous still existent drawings, made by or attributed to Rembrandt, is much more difficult. It is true, that W. R. Valentiner a few years ago published a book, containing 464 copies of drawings but this is only the first part and the drawings treat biblical subjects exclusively. In the

splendid edition, begun by Lilienfeld and continued by Dr. Hofstede de Groot, there are a great number of drawings of the same size and colour as the originals, many of which have some bearing on medicine. As the author had also the privilege of studying Dr. Hofstede de Groot's own collection of drawings, containing about 140 specimens, as well as some smaller collections, he is able to insert some drawings in this study, which up to now have not been reproduced.

The arrangement of this work is on a medical plan. It was impossible to follow a chronological order, because Rembrandt on several occasions reverted to subjects, which he had treated already, sometimes composing them entirely anew, sometimes merely retouching them.

Anatomy, the most important link between Painting and Medicine, is not included in this study. The writer does not consider himself competent to deal with this subject, which in his opinion belongs rather to the department of the Painter-anatomist, who has made a special study of the human form. All the same it is worth our while, in passing to note these points, particularly when dealing with a painter like Rembrandt who took the utmost trouble with the smallest details of everything that he painted.

I must not omit to thank all those who have so kindly assisted me in this work. Especially I would like to thank Dr. Hofstede de Groot for his invaluable advice and for his great kindness in permitting me to make use of his collection of drawings and reproductions. Thanks for their valuable assistance are also due to Mr. de Mare, the energetic administrator of the Royal Library at the Hague and Mr. Ezerman, the last for his help with the correction of the proofs.

To conclude, the author is fully aware of the incompleteness of his study; doubtless there are important representations which have escaped his notice and art critics here and there may object to observations and particulars. He can only express his willingness to listen to every suggestion which his readers might propose and to correct all errors, they might point out.



Fig. 2. Sleeping Woman.

Hesseltine collection.

INTRODUCTION.

The search for pictures of medical interest in Rembrandt's work has to be made in two main directions. In the first place we have to look for them in Biblical scenes, and in the second in scenes drawn from every day life. The medicine of the Bible has served many medical historians as subject matter. Wilhelm Ebstein (1903), and later Julius Preuss (1923), himself a Hebrew scholar, treated this subject at some length, and it would appear that they have exhausted it. It is in the New Testament particularly that we find the stories of miraculous cures, and these have been painted many times in illustrated Bibles, and have served as subjects for painters and engravers.

Dr. Hofstede de Groot in his "Rembrandt Bible" collected a great number of reproductions from paintings, etchings and drawings by Rembrandt, all of which deal with Biblical subjects. Valentiner has classified the work of Rembrandt in his book (*Des Meisters Gemälde in 643 Abbildungen. Klassiker der Kunst, II Band*), which contains a list of paintings in their chronological order, and which he has continued in his *"Wiedergefundene Gemälde in 120 Abbildungen (Kl. d. K27 Th. 1921)*, all of which tends to simplify research.

Rembrandt made many sketches for his paintings, but his drawings are still more numerous, as he made them on the spur of the moment with a view to preserving his impressions, just as another man would make a note. These sketches often consist of only a few lines, but even these are valuable, and many are preserved to this day. Rembrandt himself kept all his sketches carefully, as we know from his inventory, and similar subjects were put together and filed in separate portfolios. These sketches and drawings show his interest in everything that he saw and give practical proof of his skill, as he was able in a few lines to suggest all the characteristics of a figure or of a scene.

There is a pen drawing in the collection of J. P. Hesselstine which shows a woman lying asleep in bed with her dress on. (*Fig. 2*). The disarray of the cushions suggests that she has been restless and finally has fallen into the easy attitude, in which she now lies. The head, partly dropped to one side, the left arm lightly resting on the bed clothes, and the closed eyes and mouth give an accurate impression of a sleeping woman. The whole face is drawn in very few lines.

A second pen drawing in the same collection shows a young girl fast asleep in a sitting position, with head bent forward on a cushion which she has put on the table. Here again the complete expression of rest on the face has been obtained with a few strokes. This pen drawing subsequently was washed with indian ink.

A third drawing in the same collection shows a girl asleep near a window. This drawing apparently received more attention, and the effect is heightened by the use of shadows to represent the attitude and facial expression which again give the impression of profound sleep. These different attitudes of a sleeping person suggest that Rembrandt studied his subjects from all aspects, with a view to making use of them in a picture, should occasion arise. In all the drawings mentioned above the effect of the closed eyes is obtained by the use of a single line.

There is another drawing of a boy, fully dressed, lying on the floor with his hat on. His head is supported by a cushion on a chair and he has fallen asleep. The effect of closed eyes is here obtained by drawing the eyelashes very low on the cheek. The line of the upper part of the body sunk down on the hip, an attitude characteristic of profound sleep in this position, is splendidly rendered.

There are many more paintings, etchings and drawings of people, healthy and otherwise, in which they are shown lying in

bed, and here too we are constantly struck by the natural way in which they are portrayed, and by the way the artist, with a single line suggests the rest of the body which is hidden under the bedclothes.

In a washed drawing in the cabinet of prints in Amsterdam (*Isaac Blessing Jacob*, *Valentiner* 61), Isaac is seen sitting upright in bed with both legs stretched out and resting his feet against the lower end of the bed in order to maintain this position.

We will deal with representations of the sick in another place.

Rembrandt was a keen observer and could depict emotion to the life. Examples of joy, sorrow, and indeed all the emotions are to be found in his work. I need only mention here a picture in the possession of the Earl of Derby in London, painted about 1650 (*Valentiner* 303) representing Joseph's Coat (*Fig. 3*). This picture represents the moment when Jacob first sees Joseph's coat, and believes that his favourite son has been torn to pieces by wild animals. The grief of the old father is terrible to see. He is falling to the ground, his body writhing in anguish, his head thrown back and on his face an expression of the most profound grief. The bystanders are trying to calm him. The vividly expressed sorrow, peculiar to the Jewish people of that time, is strikingly rendered. A little dog is so terrified that he is barking excitedly at Jacob. There are several drawings and sketches which authorise the supposition that the painter made a number of studies before deciding in what attitude to paint the figure of Jacob.

In a washed pen drawing (cabinet of prints at Munich) Jacob is sitting on a chair, knees bent, and face distorted, wringing his hands in utter despair. (*Valentiner* 95).

Another sketch in the same Cabinet shows Jacob sitting with head bent sideways and closed eyes, apparently in deep resignation. (*Valentiner* 96).

Jacob, his hands folded on his knees, his eyes lifted towards heaven, is sitting before the door of his house; lying near him is a crutch (*coll. H. de G.*¹⁾; *Valentiner* 99, and 101), while a drawing in the collection of P. Könings at Haarlem, in which Jacob is half lying on the ground, held up by onlookers, has been used in the painting belonging to the Earl of Derby.

When we consider the times in which Rembrandt lived, we should expect him to have painted a picture of Lot and his daughters. He has indeed treated this subject most realistically. The painting itself has been lost, but we find a representation

¹⁾ H. de G. abbreviation for Hofstede de Groot.



London. Earl of Derby

Fig. 3

Joseph's bloody coat, about 1650



Metropolitan Museum New-York

by J. J. Haid

Fig. 4

Woman paring nails. 1658

of it in an engraving by J. G. van Vliet. The expression on the face of the drunken man could not have been more naturally rendered: the open mouth and the half closed eyes, the cup held upside in the left hand, and the semi-recumbent attitude are all characteristic of a man that is drunk.

The other painters who treated this subject sometimes chose a later incident in the same story, but whatever the reasons may be, which made Rembrandt avoid this, delicacy of feeling certainly was not one of them. Ten years later, (1644) he made two etchings "A Couple in Bed" and "A Monk in a Cornfield" (*Bartsch* 186 & 187) which were considered too obscene even to find a place in Eduard Fuch's *Illustrierte Sittengeschichte* and had to be put in a supplementary volume. There are admirers of Rembrandt who say that the painting of Lot is not by him and are of opinion that Rembrandt was too delicate of feeling to treat such a subject, but they forget that in Rembrandt's time customs were different and people more apt to express themselves freely.

The head of Lot is repeatedly found in Rembrandt's pictures and etchings, and is easily recognised by the long white beard and scanty bristly hair above the lofty forehead.

The intimate details of the toilet were to Rembrandt as important a study as the most impressive events in the Bible. There was a painting in the collection of B. Altmann in New York dated 1658, which shows an old woman cutting her nails (*H. de G.* 477). This painting was left to the Metropolitan Museum, New York, and J. G. Haid made a mezzo-tint engraving after it, which is one of his best works (*Fig. 4*).

The woman is holding a pair of scissors in her right hand and is shown cutting the corner of the nail on her left index finger. Her head is inclined a little to the right and she seems to be completely absorbed in her occupation.

The expression on her face is well rendered and most striking; here again as in many of his other paintings Rembrandt knows how to make the eyes really look at the subject that they are supposed to see.

The Toilet of Bathsheba has been painted often by Rembrandt, principally to reproduce the nude female body as perfectly as possible. Bathsheba is shown with a servant, who is drying her feet and cutting her nails.

In two paintings, one in the museum at Rennes (*H. de G. B.* 42. *Valentiner* 138) and another which formed part of the collection of B. Steengracht at the Hague and which was sold in 1913, we find a woman wearing spectacles squatting before Bathsheba and treating her foot. In the second picture the wo-

man is holding a long knife in her hand, with which she is probably cleaning the sides of the nails.

The etching (Bartsch 127) is an exercise by one of Rembrandt's pupils copied from the painting at Rennes.

An engraving by Courty, reproduced in the *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, 1876, is made after a picture, in the Louvre at Paris (*Cat. 1907, No. 2549*), which deals with the same subject.

From the works which we have discussed in this chapter we may draw the conclusion that Rembrandt was a keen observer, who allowed no detail to escape him and was a master in reproducing all that he saw.



Fig. 5. The Sick Man.



Fig. 6. The Physician. B. 155.

CHAPTER I.

Physicians and Quacks.

We rarely find pictures of Physicians among Rembrandt's works. The etching Bartsch 155 will serve as an instance. It is called „A Physician Feeling the Pulse of a Patient” (*Fig. 6*). The date of this etching is not known, but as it is essentially the same as the picture of the doctor shown in „The Death of Mary” of 1639, we may conclude that the first etching was a study for the above larger and very carefully executed print, and that therefore it was made in or before 1639.

Mr. Pieter de Haan's collection was sold on March 19th, 1767 at the house of Jan Weyers, proprietor of the Keizerskroon in the Kalverstraat at Amsterdam. In the auction catalogue we find mention of many etchings, copper plate engravings and some drawings by Rembrandt. Number 499 is described as follows: — „A doctor standing near a patient, pen drawing”. This may be a study for the etching B 155, and also for that of the „Death of Mary”. The physician is standing behind the patient, who is lying in bed, turning his back towards the spectator and his face towards the doctor. He holds his right hand to his breast while feeling the pulse with his left. Even nowadays a beginner sometimes feels the pulse with his thumb and this

may have been the custom in those times. The layman is more likely to do this because he does not know that in some people the Arteria princeps pollicis is very well developed and that is possible for one to feel the beating of one's own pulse in the thumb. It is thus easy to understand why the physician is made not to feel the pulse with his thumb. If it is true that this etching was only a study, it is interesting to note the doctor, who is feeling Mary's pulse, does so with his two forefingers, resting his thumb on the back of the patient's hand. Rembrandt obviously noticed his mistake and corrected it, which shows how observant he was. The doctor, who is holding his gloves in his right hand, is dressed in a long cloak and is wearing a kind of biretta. From this we may assume, that in those days physicians visiting their patients used to dress in this manner.

I have in my own collection a reproduction of a drawing by Rembrandt, (*Fig. 5*) but I am unable to say where the original is to be found. It represents a sick man wearing a cap, lying in bed with the upper part of his body supported by cushions. A man, bareheaded, dressed in a long robe, is standing in front of the bed, feeling the patient's left pulse with his right hand. He, too, is using his fingers and not his thumb. The patient is lying in a canopied bed, and on a small, low table in front of the bed there is a bowl with a spoon in it. The scene is laid on the right hand side of the room, and to the left we see somebody about to enter through the open door. Dr Hofstede de Groot is of opinion that this drawing relates to the story of Antiochus and Stratonice.

In Chapter IV we will discuss another drawing, which deals with the same subject and in which we are shown the pulse being felt in the orthodox way.

One of the best known of Rembrandt's small etchings is "The Mountebank" (*Bartsch 129*) (*Fig. 10*). This etching is generally found in collections of medical prints, either as a facsimile reproduction by the Reichsdruckerei of Berlin (No. 780), or reproduced in some other way. The original itself is not very rare and is met with from time to time at sales of prints, the catalogues of which generally contain a reproduction. At the de Haan sale in 1767 this etching did not find a purchaser, and the next one on the list "An Old Man and Child" (Abraham and Isaac) had to be offered with it. The two etchings together fetched two shillings and eightpence; the present price is about £ 140. "The Mountebank" etching is signed in full — Rembrandt fec. 1635 — and belongs to the smaller etchings. Even so it was very carefully done, full attention being paid to every detail. It represents a pedlar of stout build, fantastically clad, with a large



Fig. 7
The Quack, drawing

Coll. Frederick August IIInd. Dresden



Fig. 8
The Quack

Coll. Reprod. of H.-d.-G.

lace collar and puffed knee breeches fastened with ribbons. A kind of cap and a big sword by his side complete the costume which apparently served to impress the peasants and to induce them to buy more. He is carrying a small basket slung in front of him by two strings round his neck. He is holding his right hand to his side and between thumb and forefinger of his left hand he is holding up the article that he has for sale. In the reproduction it is impossible to see what this article is; it may be an hour-glass or a strangely shaped bottle, but on closer examination of the original etching with a magnifying glass, we can distinguish two oval objects connected by a thin bar. The pedlar is holding the article by two rods which run from the outer ends of the ovals and cross where he is holding them. This is undoubtedly a pair of spectacles with oval glasses and ear-pieces.

Pictures of peddling opticians are not very rare. A very fine one is the etching by Adriaan van Ostade, in which the pedlar is more plainly dressed and carries a similar basket in front of him. Yet another representation occurs in a set of "The Five Senses" by Andries Both. Here the scene is laid in the street and the pedlar is carrying a basket, which is bigger and contains other articles, which may be seen dangling from it. Rembrandt's quack looks like a peddling optician. We must not lose sight of the fact that in Rembrandt's time purchasing was mostly done at fairs, and that no fair was complete without its optician's booth. This may be verified by reference to the copper plate engraving after Cardanus by J. Collaert at the end of the 16th century. The picture by Rembrandt of the peddling optician is one of the earliest of its kind.

There is a very interesting pen and brush drawing in the collection of Fredrick August II at Dresden (reproduced H. de G. 4th series, part 1 No. 22) (*Fig. 7*), which represents a quack recommending his goods to a number of bystanders. Standing on the box which contains his wonderful remedies, he is showing the crowd a little bottle which he holds in his right hand. He is pointing upwards towards the bottle with the index finger of his left hand and seems to be extolling the virtues of his remedy. The crowd, which consists of a very fat man, some women and children, is standing around him, apparently listening with the greatest attention. The quack himself is wearing a tall hat and a big cape. His companion, a small monkey, is perched on his left shoulder. Behind the quack on a big canvas is a fantastic portrait, probably of himself; near it on a smaller tablet are medals, presented to him as tokens of esteem by princes and other distinguished persons — as we know from

other representations of peddling quacks in market places. In order to make the public believe that he has travelled far and wide he has a large Chinese umbrella opened and placed by his side, and, like every quack, he is obviously protesting that he is selling his famous remedies solely for the benefit of the public. The drawing, whose authenticity is beyond doubt, gives an extremely accurate impression of the whole scene in a few lines. The attitude of the quack, of the woman with the child in her arms near him and of the fat man are rendered in an admirably life-like manner. Later Rembrandt made several corrections; the quack was presented with a large mantle and the lower left hand corner was altered, but it is not quite clear to me why this was done.

In Dr. Hofstede de Groot's collection of reproductions I have found a second drawing (*Fig. 8*), which looks like a sketch, and shows the scene drawn from one side. This time it is undoubtedly the quack himself that is drawn on the large canvas. He is not wearing the square tall hat but a high cap adorned with a plume in front. On a smaller tablet the medals are shown as before. Instead of displaying a bottle containing one of his remedies, he is now busy explaining the wonderful properties of his medicaments. Leaning forwards, he appears to be summing up all the advantages; the fore finger of his right hand is pressing down the index finger of his left, as he emphasises the second point. The box is placed near him on the ground, and the umbrella, leaning against it, is indicated by a few lines. Here again the monkey, looking this time more like an owl, is sitting on his left shoulder.

Objects similar to those painted by Rembrandt are invariably found in pictures of quacks by other artists of a later date, such as Gerard Dou and Frans van Mieris. Dou's painting of 1652 shows the quack with an open box near him and the monkey on the other shoulder. The Chinese umbrella is now serving as a parasol. The quack stands with arms outstretched and body eagerly bent forward, lauding his wares. The woman in the foreground is a typical example of the realism of the 17th century. In the middle of the crowd, and quite oblivious of it, she is busy changing her baby's "swaddling-clothes".

Lingelbach's painting of the building of the Town Hall at Amsterdam shows a quack at the Damrak near the entrance of the fish-market with his table and big umbrella.

Jan Victors' quack has one too; these umbrellas were later on called market-umbrellas. A wood-cut dating from the middle of the 19th century by E. Vermockben Sr., represents the quack still wearing a plumed hat, complete with umbrella and monkey.

The beautiful etching, which dates from about 1652, showing Faust (*Bartsch 270*) (*Fig.9*), attracted much attention by reason of the mysteriousness of the inscription. The old magician is standing by his worktable on which he is resting his hands, near him are many books, a globe and a human skull, and he is looking at the letters that are visible in the window, surrounded by a circle of fire. Faust is depicted with a high cap and is wearing a large unbuttoned dressing gown. The light coming in through the window falls fully on his face and on the upper part of his body. The shadow of the rest of the etching adds to the mystery, which is the main characteristic of this print. Several attempts have been made to interpret the meaning of this etching. In the smaller circle, which is divided into four quadrants, we find the letters I.N.R.I., which, of course, stand for Jesus Nazarenus Rex Judaeorum. In the great illustrated edition of Faust by Goethe this etching is found and the title reads "Faust Contemplating the Sign of the Macrocosm". It was Paracelsus who postulated the ideas of Macro- and Microcosm. By Macrocosm he meant the whole Universe, with Sun, Moon and Stars; by microcosm the reflection of all this in the human body. On this doctrine was based the art of tracing the influence on the human body of the stars, sun, moon and planets. For instance it was not permissible to bleed a patient unless the planets were favourable. Calendars and leaflets with a woodcut of the human body were made, in which the corresponding places of the zodiac and those of the body were drawn to make sure of the exact date of and spot for bleeding. What connection these letters in Rembrandt's etching bear upon this subject is not clear, and Goethe himself offers no explanation. Near the letters we see a round mirror, which reflects the inscription and a hand pointing at the mirror with outstretched fore-finger. This is an indication that the person was in communication with the spirits. The etching is also called "The Alchemist". Dr. H. A. W. Speckman has attempted to explain the meaning of this mysterious writing. Occult science made use of different kinds of cryptograms when secrecy was required. One method of writing was the "Revolutio Arabica", i.e.: the letters were arranged in a different order, as in an anagram. Galileo and Huygens announced their discoveries in the form of anagrams, whenever they were not intended for direct publication, in order to make sure of priority. Others, such as Robert Flood in England, used to sign their names in the form of anagrams (*Oude Kunst 1919, Page 176, Speckman*). The second method was the "Gematria", where the word was indicated by numbers; by changing the number for another word with the same numerical value, the deciphering

was rendered considerably more difficult. The substitution of one letter for another formed a third method, called the "Transpositio". Speckman has tried these methods and has deciphered the thirty six letters of the inscription, which can be read as follows: —

Letter anagram De Alchemist Rembrandt. G.

The letter G after Rembrandt's name stands for the first letter of the Dutch word for engraver. The word Rembrandt is read according to the value of the number, and in accordance with the second method, the so-called Gematria, but in that case the medallion with the mirror has to be counted as two objects and two numbers. Speckman cites an example to show that the term "graveur" (engraver), was not unusual in Holland, and that we need not therefore be surprised to find Rembrandt using it.

The complete works of Coornhert, printed in 1630, have a portrait of the poet on the title page. Above the portrait we find four globes floating in the air, surrounded by five pairs of winged spectacles. This is supposed to refer to the 5th and 6th verses of chapter IV of the Epistle of Paul the Apostle to the Ephesians: "One Lord, one faith, one baptism, one God and Father of all", upon which the whole philosophy of Coornhert's life was based. (*Speckman loc. cit. Page 178*).



Fig. 10. The Mountebank.



[Fig. 9
Faust, about 1652

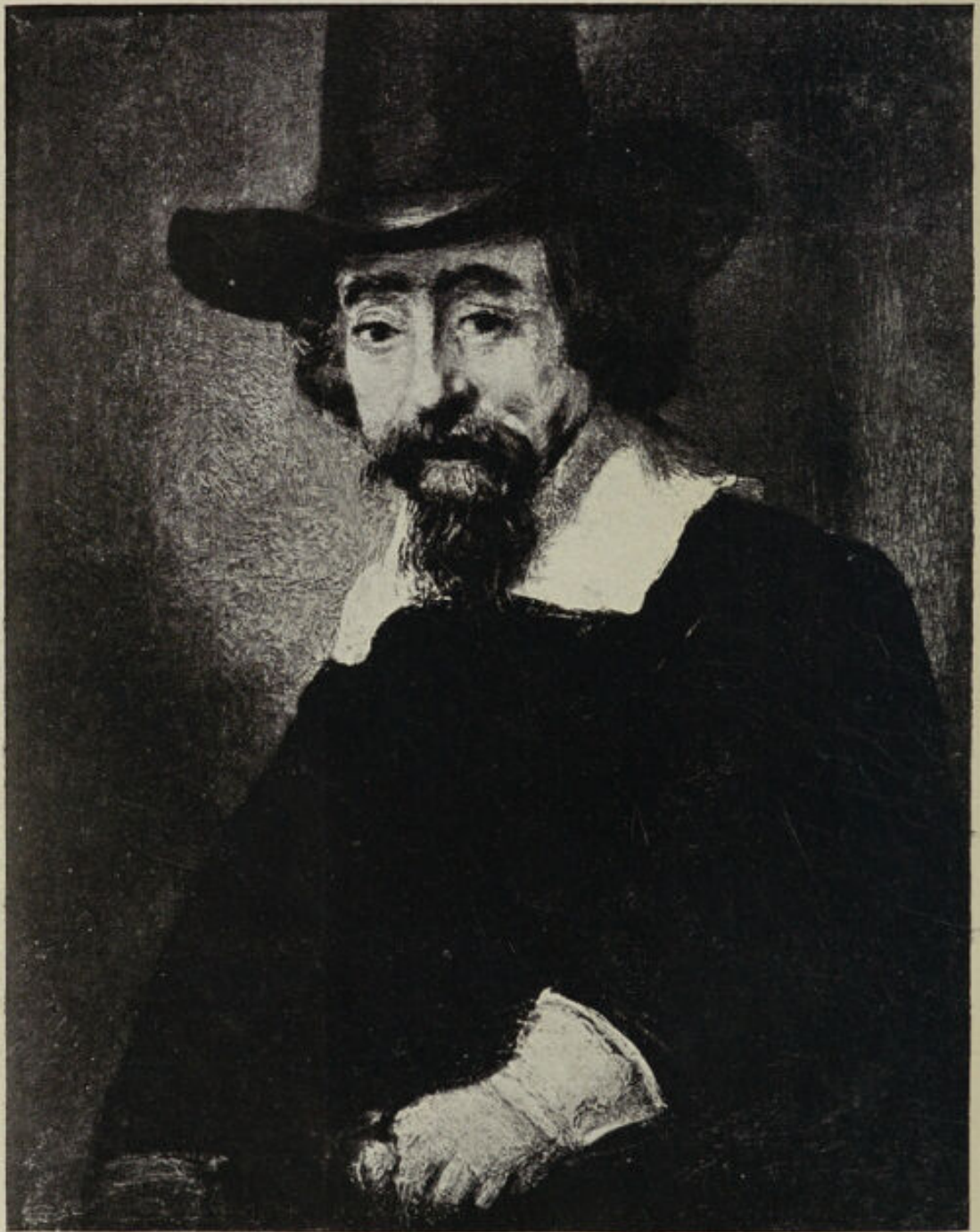


Fig. 12
Ephraim Bonus

Amsterdam. Six Gallery



Fig. 11. Portrait of N. Tulp.
From the "School of Anatomy".

CHAPTER II.

Portraits of Physicians.

Rembrandt's brilliance is most admirably shown in his portraits. He often painted himself, his wife and his son; indeed, all his family have at different times served as models. His portraits show what deep and persevering study he made of his work; he aimed at perfection and we find very often that he is quite unmoved by sentiment. Michel writes about "The Syndics of the Drapers" (1661 or 1662) "On ne saurait éprouver d'autres sentiments qu'une admiration sans réserve. Simples ou raffinés, coloristes ou dessinateurs, artistes épris de la réalité ou amoureux de l'idéal, tous s'accordent pour reconnaître ici un des chefs d'oeuvres de la peinture. (*Michel loc. cit. Page 477.*) (We admire without reserve. All artists, affected or unaffected, colorists or draughtsmen, realists or idealists, agree in acknowledging this painting as one of the greatest masterpieces of pictorial art.).

The "School of Anatomy of Nicolaas Tulp" is another great work. It was finished in 1632, thirty years before the celebrated "Five Syndics", but the latter is more perfect and dates from Rembrandt's last period, in which he had reached the highest

point in his art. About the "School of Anatomy" Michel says (*loc. cit.* page 135) "Historiquement, et c'est assez donner la mesure de son importance, elle constitue une date, non seulement dans la carrière de Rembrandt, mais dans l'école hollandaise elle-même." (From an historical point of view, which is enough to show its importance, it fixes a date, not only in Rembrandt's career, but also in the history of the Dutch School).

In the following chapter we shall speak about the "School of Anatomy", and we will now say something about the portraits in it. Besides these there are several other portraits of great physicians by Rembrandt, which were executed on commission. It is not always a simple matter to decide whose portrait a given picture is; the names are often misspelt or abbreviated in such a way as to give rise to some confusion. For instance, Cornelis Claesz Anslo is wrongly called Reinier; Harinck, the janitor, is called burgomaster; Jan Antonides van der Linden, Abraham; and Arnout Tholinx the physician, a lawyer; Tolingor, Dr. Petrus van Toll (*Jan Six. in Oude Kunst 1908. II Page 62*).

The chronological order of the portraits is as follows: in the first instance we find those in the "School of Anatomy of N. Tulp" in 1632; then follows Ephraim Bonus 1647; Jan Antonides van der Linden 1653, Arnout Tholinx 1656.

A portrait of Bombastus Theophrastus Paracelsus von Hohenheim has been lost. Dr. Hofstede de Groot had a note in the *Urkunden* (No. 333) to the effect that this painting by Rembrandt was sold under No. 14 through the good offices of Reynier van der Wolf on May 15th 1676 and had fetched 200 guilders.

A.

Portraits in the "School of Anatomy" (1632).

The chief figure, Nicolaas Tulp (*Fig. 11*), is standing sideways at the feet of the corpse. His father was a prosperous merchant of Amsterdam and was called Pieter Dirksz. The son, who was born on October 11th, 1593, was originally called Claes Pietersz, which was later latinised to Nicolaus Petreus. He matriculated at Leyden in 1611 under this name and published his thesis (*De Cholera Humida*) in September 1614. Soon after he had established himself at Amsterdam he took a house on the Keyzersgracht near the Westermarkt. On the facade of this house there was a tulip carved in stone, and this he appropriated to himself as name and as coat of arms: — "A tulip with a star or sinister on a field azure". There is a painting probably by J. G. Cuyp in the "Koninklijk Oudheidkundig Genootschap" at Amsterdam

in which we see Tulp's mother and Nicolaas' three children, as well as the coat of arms of van Poelenburgh (the name of Tulp's mother), and of Tulp himself. The house in the Keyzersgracht was bought sometime after 1615, and his mother died there in 1630. The painting was made during her lifetime probably after the death of Tulp's wife, Aefgen van der Voegh, (to whom he had been married from 1615 to 1628), because only the grandmother and grandchildren are shown in it. The coats of arms show, too, that the change of name must have taken place before 1630.

Nicolaas Tulp practised for forty years and was well known both by his position as Praelector Anatomiae at Amsterdam and by the publication of his "Observationes medicae". We might say here that Tulp was known for his own merits and not solely on account of the School of Anatomy. Rembrandt, however, has made him famous for all time to layman as well as to those interested in medicine.

Tulp was celebrated during his life time as a physician, and among several poems written in his honour I would like to call attention ¹⁾ to the following quatrain by Jan Zoet:

Een Seneca vol raad en kunst
Een Cordus vol volmaakte gunst;
Een Esculaap vol heil en hulp,
Vond d'Amstel in'er eed'le Tulp.

(d'Uitsteekende digterlijke werken van
Jan Zoet, Amsterdam, 1714, page 193).

(The Amstel found in noble Tulp
A Seneca full of counsel and of art,
A Cordus full of perfect favour,
An Esculapius full of help and healing).

Tulp was a great friend of Jan Antonides van der Linden and it was probably by Tulp's recommendation that van der Linden had his portrait engraved by Rembrandt. His daughter, Catharine, was married in 1648 to Arnoult Tholinx, whose portrait is also engraved by Rembrandt.

The portrait of Tulp, in the School of Anatomy, (*Fig. 11*) shows him at the age of thirty nine. He is wearing a large broad-brimmed hat, a dark costume with flat white collar bordered with lace and fastened with a cord ending with two tassels. This last

¹⁾ For particulars about the life of Tulp see: H. C. Rogge: Nicolaas Tulp: in the periodical *De Gids*. Jrg. 1880 III Tome. p. 77—125 and the thesis of E. H. M. Thyssen: Nicolaas Tulp sketched as a physician. Amsterdam 1881. J. C. Schröder.

detail in dress suggests great wealth on Tulp's part. It was the fashion at that time for those who could afford it to wear tassels of pearls at the end of the cord, which kept the collar in place. That this was really a costly ornament is proved by the fact that the tassels worn by the statesman Johann de Witt consisted of a sufficient number of pearls to be made into a necklace, which is to this day handed down as an heirloom by his descendants. The moustache and beard are dressed in the prevailing fashion of that day.

Tulp was a man who rendered valuable social service. He was an alderman, guardian of an orphanage, town treasurer, on the Board of the Bank van Leening, and in 1634 attained the high honour of becoming Burgomaster of Amsterdam. He came into contact with a large number of people, was fully conscious of his importance and shows by his dress that he was one of the first burghers of Amsterdam.

A man of such importance as Tulp must not be blamed for having his portrait painted, pointing to a human skull and a burning candle with the motto: "Aliis inserviando consumor" (I am consumed in serving others). The painting in which this was depicted was done by Nicholaas Elias, and an engraving made after it by C. van Dalen. In this picture Tulp is wearing the same costume, with the same lace at the collar and here it is clearly to be seen that the ends of the cords consist of a large number of pearls.

The portrait of Tulp from the School of Anatomy served as a model for several later portraits. H. Pothoven made a drawing of it, engraved by J Houbraeken (*Verheul 419*) which engraving is to be found in: "Opkomst, aanwas, geschiedenissen, enz. van de Vaderlandsche Historie door Jan Wagenaer", 1767. There are several different states of this engraving. The heliogravure of the same size as the original by Rudolf Schuster is an extremely beautiful reproduction.

In the collection of the Princess de Sagan there were two portraits by Rembrandt; they are of a man and woman, of which Michel says: "Les traits de ce personnage, et même son costume, rappellent ceux du docteur Tulp de la Leçon d'anatomie et cette ressemblance justifie la tradition assez généralement admise que c'est bien là en effet son portrait et celui de sa femme." He is quite convinced of this and goes on: "Il serait d'ailleurs difficile de dire si c'est après avoir fait ces portraits que Rembrandt a reçu de Tulp la commande de la Leçon d'anatomie ou si c'est au contraire ce dernier tableau qui a motivé la commande des deux portraits, ces trois ouvrages ayant été exécutés la même année" (*Michel loc. cit. Page 118*) (The features of this

person as well as the costume recall those of Dr. Tulp in the School of Anatomy, and this resemblance justifies the accepted tradition that this is indeed a portrait of him and his wife. It would, however, be difficult to say whether it was after doing these portraits that Rembrandt received the commission for the School of Anatomy, or whether the latter picture was the incentive to the ordering of the portraits, all three paintings having been executed in the same year).

The portraits in question were sold later to America and are now in the Museum of Fine Arts at Boston (*Bode. H. de G. III*). When we look at them more closely and remember that they were painted in the same year as the School of Anatomy we notice so great a difference that we cannot endorse Michel's opinion. The collar is pleated and edged with much broader lace. It is of course possible that Tulp was wearing a different collar on his occasion, but even then it is strange that the costly tassels should be missing. Surely he would not have forgotten them on such an official occasion as the painting of his portrait. Besides the person in this portrait looks younger than Tulp would have been at this time. Tulp was thirty nine years old and this man does certainly not look more than about twenty eight. There is a further difference of two years, as Valentiner has dated this picture 1634.

The portrait of 1632 in New York in the collection of Mr. James M. Elsworth, formerly in Chicago (*Bode 339*) shows still greater differences. In this portrait the person is older, has a thick moustache, side whickers and beard, and is wearing a pleated collar.

In the School of Anatomy we find the following persons in the audience: Matthys Kalkoen is sitting next to Tulp, and behind him, standing, we see Hartman Hartmansz holding a paper in his hand on which are the names of the audience. Next to Kalkoen on the right is Jacob de Witt, and behind him, bending right over, Jacobus Blok. In the background is Frans van Loenen arranging his cloak with his right hand, while in the foreground to the left, are Jacobus Koolvelt and Adriaan Slabran.

As the "School of Anatomy" is a very large painting, (1.625 metres by 2.165 metres) all the persons are life size, the details of the different portraits are easily recognisable and the effigies of these physicians have been preserved for us.

There is another painting by Rembrandt of Matthys Kalkoen in the collection of Henry Havenmeyer at New York (*H. de G. 764 Bode. H. de G. 973*). It is described as "A Gentleman with Gloves". These gloves were formerly thought to be a purse or

a bag, and until they were recognised as gloves the painting was called the "Treasurer". It represents a man full-length and bare headed, with a big broad pleated collar and lace cuffs, wrapped in a long dark mantle. He is holding his right hand to his breast and carrying his gloves in the other. As in the portrait in the "School of Anatomy", this man has a pointed beard and moustache. It is always extremely difficult to say whose portrait a given picture is, especially when no name is given, and the date of the portrait is uncertain. A close study of the details may lead one to suspect certain probabilities, but it is often impossible to decide with any degree of certainty. We will therefore consider, on the grounds of probability, that this portrait in the Havenmeyer collection is one of Matthys Kalkoen. On the same grounds we might call a picture, dated 1631, in the Ermitage at Leningrad, representing a scholar busy writing, as a portrait of Hartman Hartmansz, the likeness here being even greater than before.

It is said by J. F. van Someren in his "Descriptive Catalogue of Engraved Portraits of Dutchmen" (*Vol. II page 611*) that Jan Stolker copied the portrait of Dr. Matthys Kalkoen from the School of Anatomy, touched it up a little, and published it as a portrait of Swammerdam. The falsification succeeded, and even to this day this portrait of Swammerdam is reproduced in various scientific publications, although such a portrait is not in existence. Another mistake, which is made in that catalogue, is that it is not the portrait of Matthys Kalkoen that was misused by Stolker, but that of Hartman Hartmansz, the man with the paper in his hand.

Just to show how accurately the portraits in the "School of Anatomy" are painted we have had part of it photographed. In this part are the portraits of Matthys Kalkoen, Jacob de Witt and Jacobus Blok. (*Fig. 17*).

B.

Ephraim Bonus.

After the Netherlands had thrown off the Spanish yoke and had acquired the reputation of being a free country, they became a refuge to those expelled from other countries. Many distinguished and learned men settled in Amsterdam, having chosen this country either for political or religious reasons. About the middle of the 17th century there were no fewer than 400 Jewish families at Amsterdam. They had come principally from Portugal, and among them were several people who devoted themselves to medicine and were very much sought after, as for instance Amatus Lusitanus, Curvus Semmedo,



Fig. 13
Ephraim Bonus

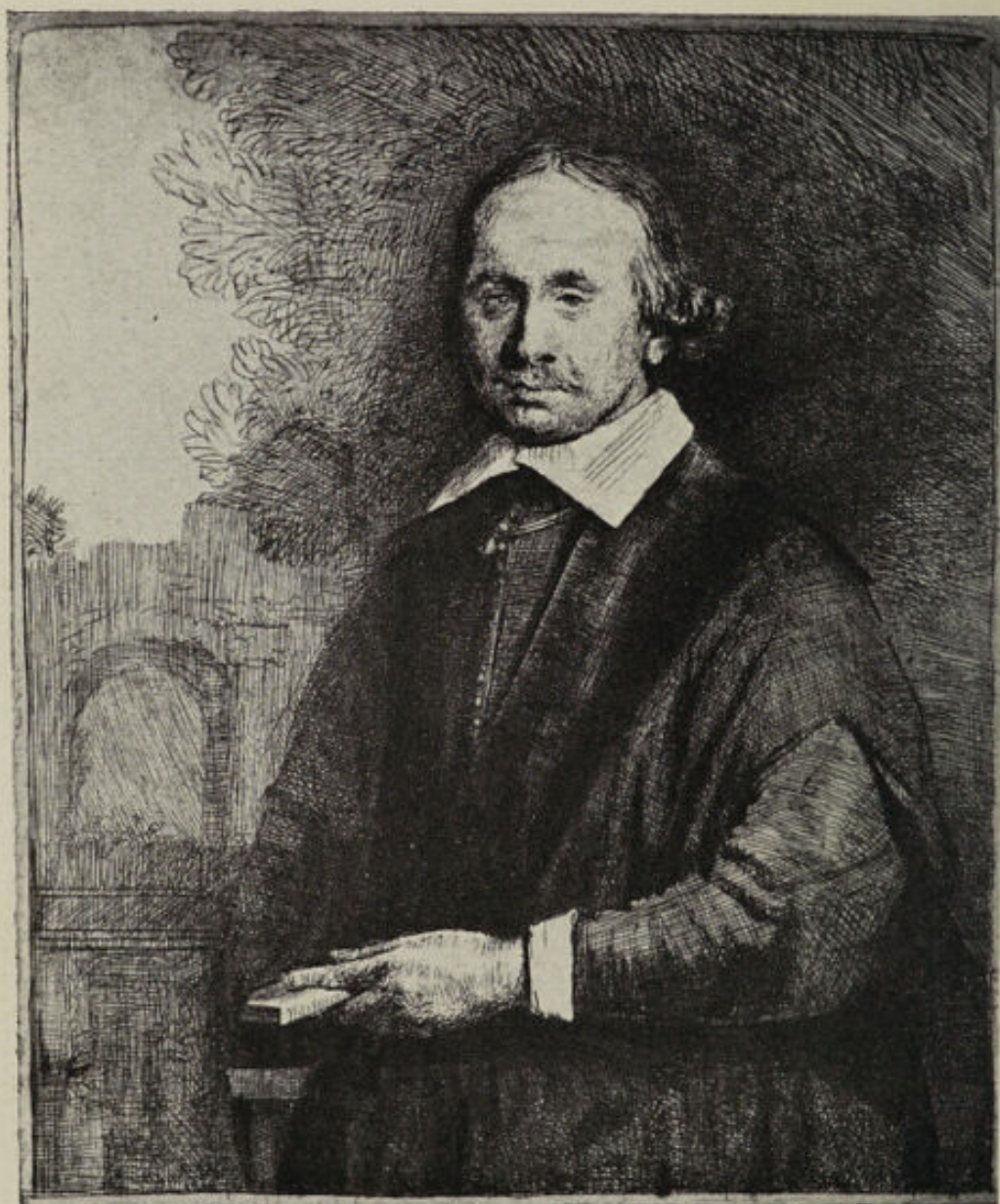


Fig. 14
Jan Antonides van der Linden

Samuel de Lion Benavente and Ephraim Bueno. The portrait of Samuel ben Manasseh (1604—1657) was engraved by Rembrandt in 1636 (B. 269). He is incorrectly described as a physician, but he was really a prominent Rabbi.

The portrait of Ephraim Bonus (*Fig. 12*) painted by Rembrandt in 1647 belongs to the Six Collection at Amsterdam. The painting was sold from the Six Collection for 80 florins and after having passed through many hands was eventually bought back into the Six Collection for 820 guilders.

Bonus was the son of a very able physician, who himself practised very successfully. He belonged to the Jewish community and was admitted to the freedom of Amsterdam in 1651. He died in 1665. Bonus was a man of great general knowledge, and took a keen interest in all art, seeking the company of artists whenever he could. Jan Lievens has portrayed him in a folio copper-plate engraving (*Bartsch 56*) published by Clemens de Jonge with a Latin verse, in which he was called a second Avenzoar. The portrait was half-length, and Bonus is sitting, turned to the right, with his hat in his hand. It is a beautiful engraving, afterwards published in a new edition with the address of Allard. When in 1789 the portraits of the famous collection of A. van de Willigen were sold, the price asked for this portrait was £ 5.

Rembrandt painted a portrait of Bueno and also made an engraving after that painting (*Fig. 13*) which is dated 1647, and was probably a study for the etching. Michel is of the opinion that Rembrandt was a patient of Bueno and that the little portrait was painted out of gratitude for his services. He is painted full-face, with a great broad brimmed hat and black coat with a flat white collar. He has a heavy moustache and a long pointed beard. With his heavy eyebrows, dark eyes and face framed by curly hair, he is of a decided Southern type. His expression is intelligent, and a somewhat sardonic smile plays round the corners of his mouth. Dr. Hofstede de Groot describes this portrait under number 1665 and judged him to be about thirty seven years old at this time. He is wearing a diamond ring on the first finger of his left hand. The light is falling from the left on his face and collar. The portrait was a study for the etching B. 278 generally known as: "Le Juif à la Rampe" (The Jew at the Bannisters).

The etching shows the same figure reversed. Ephraim Bonus is represented three-quarter-length standing behind the bannisters and holding the end of them with his left hand. The diamond ring is on his forefinger as before. In the picture the left hand is painted the same height relative to the rest of the body

and just reaches the lower part of the painting. From this we may draw the conclusion that in the original the bannister was sketched and that the painting has been cut at the bottom as well as at the top, where part of the hat is missing. The expression on Bueno's face is more serious in the etching, and his staring eyes give it a somewhat sinister look. In the painting nothing can be seen of the outline of the left arm, except the form of the white cuff indicating the direction in which the arm was drawn, and the impression given is that the other arm was drawn too short at first.

Only a few copies are known to exist of the original etching. A copy of one of the earliest states, characterised by a black ring, white fingers, lower part of the fold of the mantle still white and the bannisters lightly shadowed, was in the collection of the Public Notary "De Reuver" at Delft. This collection of Rembrandt's etchings came from Jhr. Six, Heer van Vromade, who was one of Rembrandt's friends. Later on, the etching came into the possession of Mr. Ploos van Amstel whose collection was catalogued by Christiaan Josi. He describes the copy as exceedingly beautiful and extremely rare. In a later state the ring is white, the fingers modelled, and mantle and bannister more deeply shaded. In the Holford sale in 1900 £ 1950 were paid for an impression of the first state, and in 1904 an impression of the second state fetched 8000 francs (Van Huffel, *Oude Kunst*, 1916, page 118).

Most of the copies of this etching which we meet with nowadays are reproductions, and give only a faint idea of the original, for instance the etching by J. K. van Someren and the lithograph by Crenetti. Singer considers the latter etching: "die Arbeit eines Reproduzenten der sich an das Oelgemälde Rembrandts in der Sammlung Six hielt. Der Reproduzent hat den geistlosen Hintergrund und das misslungene Geländer hinzugefügt, ferner den Arm und die Hand verkrüppelt und auch den Gesichtsausdruck verdorben". (*Singer l.c. P. 288*). ¹⁾

From what was said above about the copy of Joan Six it follows that in the original etching by Rembrandt the bannister undoubtedly existed and was not added later by a copyist.

C.

Johan Antonides van der Linden.

In the National Gallery, Dublin, there is a portrait painted by Rembrandt about 1634 (*Cat*, 1898, Nr. 319:) which was bought

¹⁾ The work of a copyist, who kept to the painting by Rembrandt in the Six-collection. The copyist has added the spiritless background and badly etched bannister, he has deformed the arm and hand, and spoilt the expression of the face.

in 1891 from the Dansaert collection at Brussels. (B²HdG. 102; HdG, 737). According to a family tradition this portrait belongs to the family of Jan Antonides van der Linden and represents him as a young man. But the shape of the nose, that here has a flat tip, and the eye-brows high above the eyes do not correspond with these features as they appear in Rembrandt's etching. On account of these differences it is generally accepted that this portrait is not that of Antonides as a young man.

The etching Bartsch 264 (*Fig. 14*) shows an undoubted portrait of him. Johannus Antonides van der Linden, born at Enkhuizen in Holland, was the son of Antonides van der Linden, who took the degree of M. D. in 1608 at Franeker. He was rector of the Latin school in his native town and at the same time practised medicine. Young Johannes was taught the classical languages by his father and matriculated as a medical student at Leyden in 1625 at the age of sixteen. He attended the lectures of C. Heurnius, Schrevelius and A. Vorstius. After having taken the degree of M. D. in 1630 at Franeker and having written his thesis: "De virulentia venerea" he established himself at Amsterdam, and was appointed Professor of Anatomy, Medicine and Botany at Franeker in 1639. Thanks to him the "hortus botanicus" was much enlarged, and a great number of books added to the library. He refused an appointment as Professor at the university of Utrecht, but when in 1651 his former teacher Heurnius died, Van der Linden was again invited, and this time accepted the post and went to Leyden. He was not only an excellent teacher but also acquired great fame by the publication of the works of Celsus and Hippocrates. He died in 1664 of pleurisy. He refused to be bled according to the prevailing fashion and tried to effect his own cure by the use of antimony.

The etching by Rembrandt dates from about 1653, some years before Van der Linden had become Professor at Leyden. Jan Veth and Vosmaer both believe that the etching was made to order. (*Oude Kunst*, 1910 II P. 146). According to the latter, Rembrandt liked to represent his subjects in their own surroundings. For this reason he chose a garden as background for Van der Linden's etching. He is portrayed half-length, with a book in his hand, wearing a gown with velvet border and flat, white collar, bare-headed and full face. He has a small moustache and an expression, earnest but more prepossessing than that in the painting by Abraham van den Tempel in the Mauritshuis at the Hague, in which he is also represented with a book in his hand. A beautiful copper-engraving was made after this painting by L. Cossinus. It shows the coat of arms of Van der

Linden: a blue cross in a golden field and the motto: *Et faciet
et patienti.*

D.

Arnout Tholinx.

One of the rarest etchings by Rembrandt (*Bartsch* 284) is the portrait of the physician Tholinx (*Fig. 15*). In the Cabinet of Prints at Amsterdam and Paris there are two good impressions. The last copy offered for sale at an auction was sold as far back as 1835 in London. Several well known collectors were bidding against each other, among them Lord Aylesford and Mr. Verstolk van Soelen. The last named secured it for two hundred and twenty pounds. Dr. W. G. van Huffel (*Oude Kunst* 1915: "*Verzamelen*" by Dr. H. G. van Huffel, page 45) tells us that the Chevalier de Clausin attended the sale, having crossed from Paris for that purpose as he wanted the etching in order to study it. It was put up at one hundred and fifty pounds. Very agitated, De Clausin rose and appealed to the good-will of the other bidders. He said: "I have spent the greater part of my life in the study of the etchings of Rembrandt, and if I am unable to secure this etching in order to study it carefully, and to compare it with three others I know of, then my hope of ever finding another specimen will not be fulfilled". Tears stood in his eyes, he had already offered one hundred and fifty pounds but a bid of two hundred pounds followed!

Later on the plate was retouched several times and reached such a condition, that impressions can no longer be regarded as Rembrandt's work. Basan has made a perfect copy, but the shadowed parts of the face are darker. In the etching by Rembrandt the light falls from the front, and even the forehead is to be seen under the brim of the broad hat. Basan let the light fall from above and made the forehead darker. Those who later retouched Rembrandt's etching did not understand his manner of using light. Basan's etching has been much sought after and was preferred to the retouched one. In the collection A. van der Willigen, Pz, one of the largest existing collections of etched portraits of Dutch physicians, only the Basan's etching was found.

The portrait of Tholinx is that of a man with a large broad-brimmed hat, flat, white collar and fur coat, seated before a writing-desk, in a high armchair, the back of which is decorated on both sides with carved lion's heads. This chair belonged to Rembrandt and was often used for sitters. James Lutma the elder sat in the same chair when Rembrandt painted his portrait.



Tolinx.

Fig. 15
Arnout Tholinx

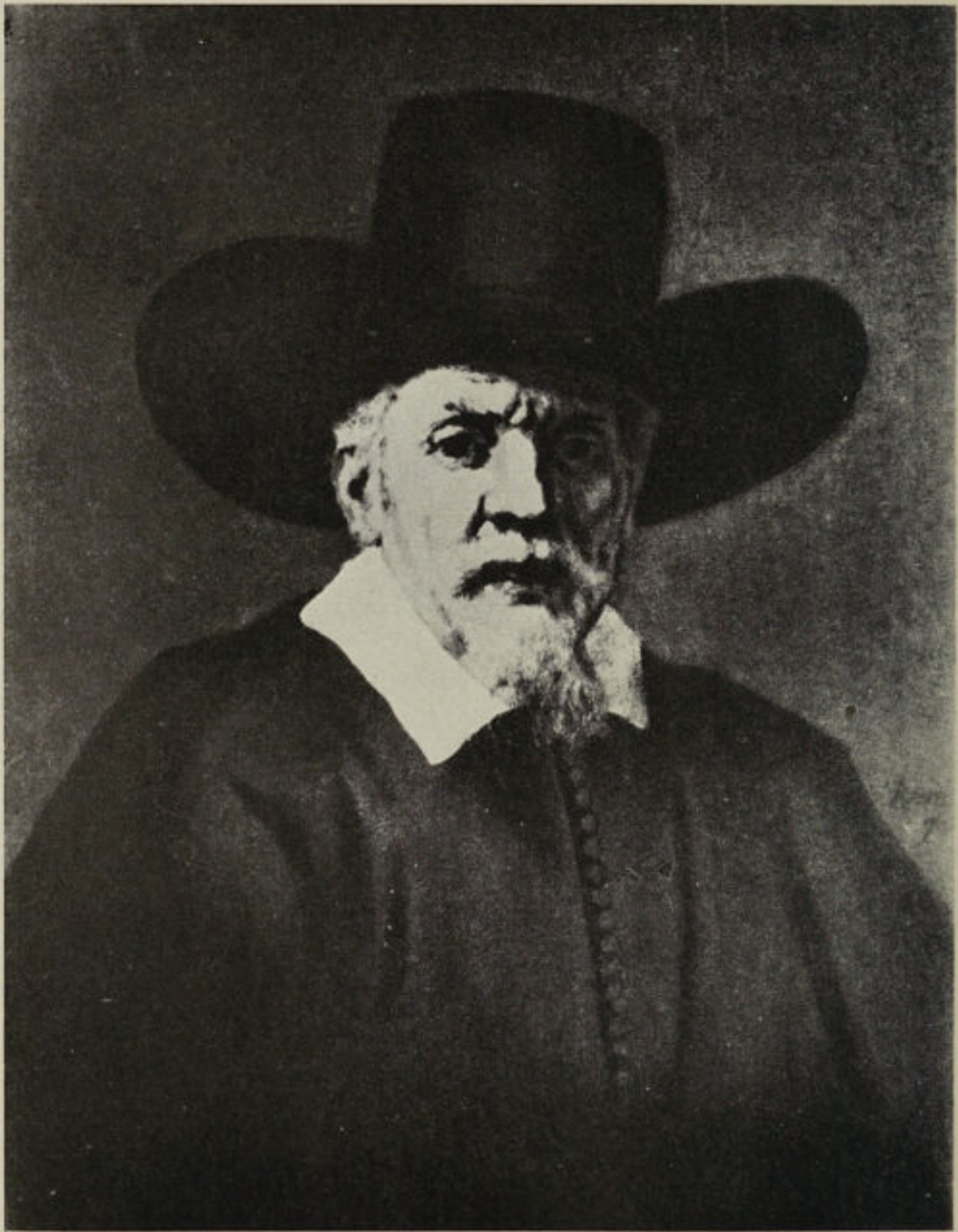


Fig. 16
Arnout Tholinx

Paris, Mme André-Jacquemart

Tholinx has a long moustache and square-cut beard. Between the thumb and the first finger of his right hand he holds a pair of spectacles with big oval glasses, such as are worn at present. His left hand rests on a folio, which lies open before him on the table. It was long believed to be the portrait of Tholinx the lawyer. Frederik Muller says that it probably represents Dirk Tholinx, president alderman of Amsterdam and captain of the burgher-cavalry at the State-reception of Henriette Maria in 1642. (*Beschrijvende Catalogus van 7000 portretten van Nederlanders. Amsterdam, 1853, page 256*). Van Someren considers it to be the portrait of Arnout Tholinx, M.D. (*Beschrijvende Catalogus van gegraveerde portretten van Nederlanders, J. F. van Someren, 1891, page 672*). That it is indeed the portrait of a physician is clearly shown by some objects near the chair. On a table there are some bottles, shaped like medicine bottles of the seventeenth century, and a round bottle with a long neck, half filled with liquid and tied round the top with a piece of pig's bladder, through which cover a small tube is inserted. Bottles of this kind were used for chemical experiments.

On November 24th 1648 the daughter of Nicolaas Tulp was married to Arnout Tholinx. Tulp recommended Rembrandt on every occasion and it is very probable that he advised his son-in-law to have his portrait painted by Rembrandt.

In the same year (1656) in which he made an etching of Tholinx, Rembrandt painted his portrait (*HdG. 440; Valentinier 438*). In former days it used to form part of van Briene's collection and now belongs to Monsieur Edouard André Jacquemart of Paris (*Fig. 16*). Dr. A. Tholinx was at that time about sixty years of age. The portrait shows a bust seen full-face. Here again we see the large hat with broad brim, the white collar, the same shape of moustache and beard. The likeness to the face in the etching is striking, although the expression is different. In the etching Tholinx looks aware of his dignity and appears to be smiling at the thought of being immortalized. In the painting there are two wrinkles above the nose on the forehead, and the sharper points of the corners of the nose give the impression that he is slightly annoyed. Both portraits were made in Rembrandt's best time. Michel (*l.c. Page 419*) expresses himself as follows: "Le grand artiste apparaît avec toute sa puissance dans ce chef d'oeuvre. Les ombres intenses, mais transparentes accusent la ferme construction de son mâle visage au teint coloré, aux traits énergiques. Les carnations éclatantes se détachent franchement sur le col blanc rabattu et sur le fond gris, la bouche entr'ouverte semble respirer. En dépit de l'âge qu'indiquent seulement la barbiche et les

moustaches grisonnantes, le sang circule généreusement sous la peau toujours souple, et le regard a conservé cette perspicacité qui dénote le praticien consommé".¹⁾

We still have to mention a great friend of Rembrandt: Abraham Fransen who was was not a physician but an apothecary at Amsterdam. He was also a great collector and dealt in antiques. This last occupation seems to have taken up so much of his time that we nearly always hear of him as an art-dealer, although his name is also found in the register of the apothecaries at Amsterdam under the date March 28th 1637 (see: *Oud-Holland* 1883, page 252). An impression of his portrait, engraved by Rembrandt as mentioned by Bartsch Nr. 273, shows an old handwriting: Jan Fransen, apothecary and lover of art. His Christian name is obviously wrongly quoted. (*Alfred van Wurzbach, Nederlands Kunst Lexicon*).

Bartsch describes the portrait as follows: „Il est assis dans son fauteuil, placé au bas d'une fenêtre, qui est sur la droite et vis-à-vis de la table. Il regarde une estampe, qu'il tient de la main droite par en haut et de l'autre par en bas. Dans le fond est suspendu au mur un petit tableau garni de deux volets, qui servent à le renfermer. Sur ce tableau est représenté un crucifix".²⁾

There are a number of different states of this etching in existence and in the first state we see a curtain, hanging in front of the window, gathered up, and thrown over the right opened leaf of the picture. Later on, the curtain is done away with, and in the fourth state, an impression of which is in the Cabinet of Prints at Amsterdam, the curtain has entirely disappeared. J. Six has proved that the plate originally was meant for a portrait of Otto van Kattenburg, Counsel-ordinary to the Count of Brederode, Secretary and Treasurer of Vianen. When the commission was cancelled, Rembrandt is said to have made use of the same copper plate for the portrait of his friend Fransen and the curtain that appeared in the portrait of Otto van Kattenburg now decorated the portrait of Fransen until it

¹⁾ In this masterpiece, the great artist shows himself in full power. Dark but transparent shadows show up the firm construction of his manly face with healthy colour and energetic features. The bright fleshtint comes out finely against the white, flat collar and grey background, and the half-open mouth seems to breathe. Notwithstanding his age, shown only by his grizzled beard and moustache, blood flows freely under the still supple skin. He has the keen look of the true practitioner.

²⁾ He is sitting in an arm-chair placed under a window which is to the right and opposite the table. He is looking at a print, which he holds with his right hand at the top and with the left at the bottom. On the wall in the background hangs a small picture with two leaves, which are used to cover it. On the picture a crucifix is represented.

disappeared in the fourth state. The print which Fransen holds in his hand showed a representation of an engraved portrait. The portrait, an Indian idol on the table and the triptych on the wall were to characterize him as a lover of art. In the above mentioned study, Six has drawn attention to the conformity between the portraits of Fransen and of Jan Six. (*Oude Kunst* 1908, No. 8 Page 63). In both Rembrandt places the figure with its back to the light. Each figure is wearing an unbuttoned jerkin and has a print in its hands, at which it is looking attentively. Both are lit by reflected light. Other details of the two engravings are paintings and books.

Abraham Fransen or Fransz was a witness in the law case which resulted from Rembrandt's inability to meet the liabilities he had taken upon himself towards Otto van Kattenburg in 1656, and Fransen's friendship with the great painter remained undisturbed till Rembrandt's death, after which Fransen became guardian to Cornelia, Rembrandt's daughter from his marriage with Hendrikje Jaghers.

If Six' supposition is correct, then this explains at the same time how it is, that there exist so many states of Fransen's portrait (Bartsch counts five). The only explanation, why Rembrandt took so much trouble to alter the etching of van Kattenburg into the portrait of Fransen is the supposition, that Rembrandt did not like to give up the good points, which were in the etching (*Six, L.c. page 65*).



Fig. 17. Detail of the lesson of anatomy of professor Tulp.
Portraits of Jacobus Blok, Jacobus de Wit and Matthijs Kalkoen.



Cabinet of Prints, Berlin.

Fig. 18. Temptation of Christ.

CHAPTER III.

Anatomy.

In this chapter we will deal for the most part with those famous paintings by Rembrandt called: "Schools of anatomy", "Lectures on anatomy", "Lessons in anatomy" and so on.

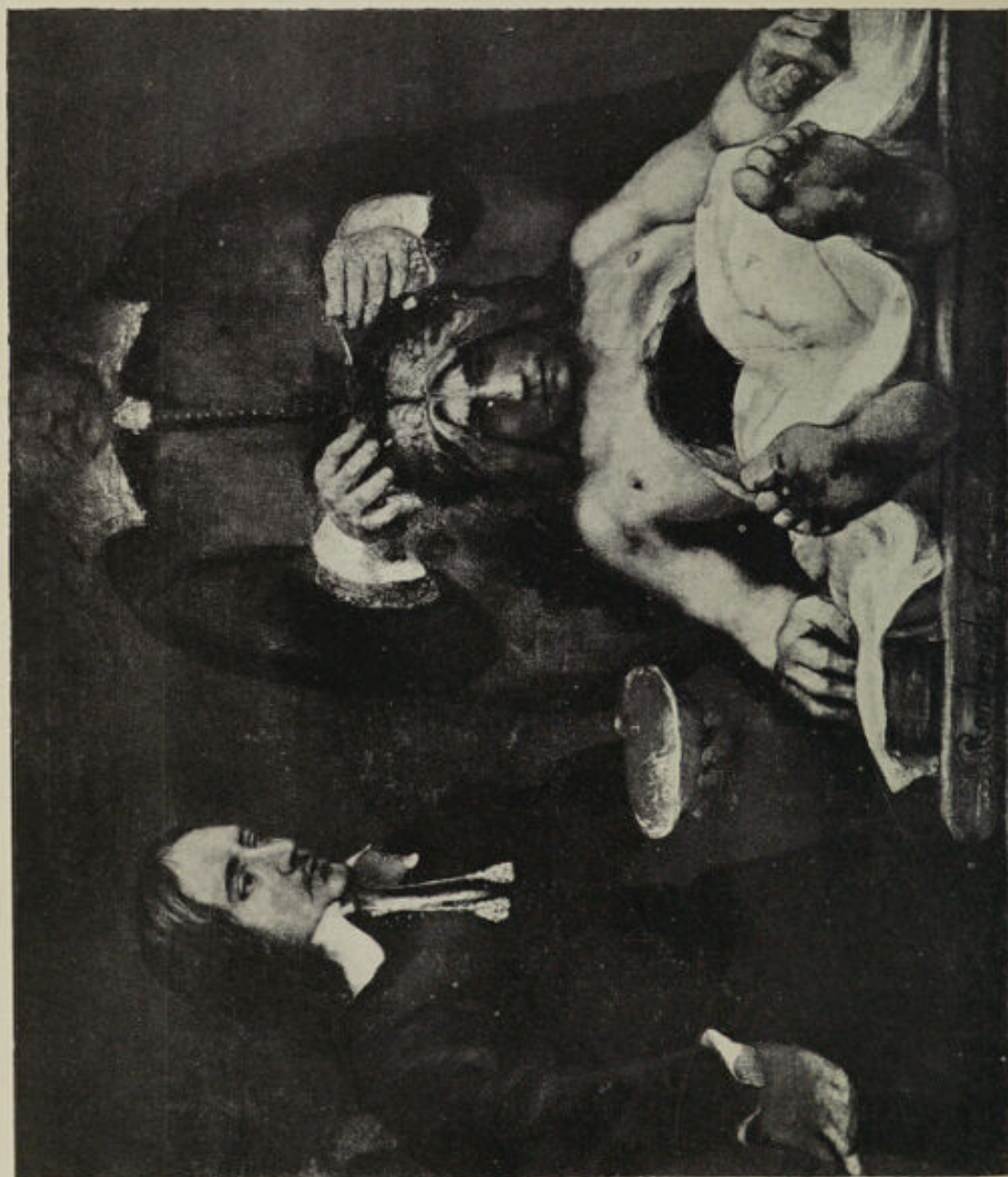
First however we will speak of special objects, relating to anatomy, such as are also found in other paintings and etchings by the master.

A favourite emblem of death, very often to be found in representations of monks, who had retired into seclusion, is a skull. We mentioned one in connection with the portrait of Faust. In that etching it is lying on a small cupboard near a curtain, behind Faust. It is neither a beautiful specimen, nor



The Hague, Mauritshuis

Fig. 19
The lecture on Anatomy of Nicolaas Tulp



Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum

Fig. 20

The lesson of anatomy of doctor Johann Deyman

clearly visible, in fact it is wholly in the dark part of the print.

We meet with a second example in the etching Bartsch 106, representing St. Jerome, kneeling. The Saint is on his knees with hands folded and his face, framed by a heavy beard, has a terrified look. On a piece of rock before him is an open Bible. In front of the big book is a skull without the lower jaw and a rather remarkably small forehead. The drawing of the skull is more correct, and although it rests in the shadow, it is clearly represented.

Skeletons we find in two etchings and in a single drawing. In some copies of a book called "De papieren wereld" by Jan Hermansz Krul, who, by the way, was painted by Rembrandt in 1633 (*Cassel, Kgl. Galerie*), we find an etching which was for a long time ascribed to Rembrandt, but which is classed among the dubious ones by H. W. Singer. Michel is of opinion that F. Bol etched this plate and that the woman has the features of Saskia. Singer calls this etching "The hour of death" (*Bartsch 108*). A bearded man in a big hat with a broad brim is sitting before a little stone table in a small tent, and is pointing with his right hand to a fashionable dressed young lady, who with hands stretched out is standing before him on a sitting skeleton, which holds an hour-glass and a spade in its arms. We read on the label near the skeleton:

Qui speculum hoc cervis
Cur non mortalia spernis
Tali numquam domo
Conditur omnis homo.

On the ground near the skeleton is an open book in which are herbs. The man himself holds a plant in his left hand. Are these intended to be symbols of medicine and the book of medicine and officinal herbs, as an indication that there is no remedy against death? As far as the skeleton is visible, we judge it to be drawn from nature; the skull, this time with a lower jaw, has evidently been carefully observed, the upper arm, inner and outer forearm with bones of the hands are, it is true, not an anatomical preparation, but, although faintly outlined, they are plainly recognizable.

The second etching (*Bartsch 109*) represents: "Youth surprised by death" and is signed by Rembrandt. A young couple, elegantly dressed, the lady in a big, feathered hat, long hanging sleeves, great collar and dress with a train, the young man wearing a biretta with feathers and with curly hair hanging on his shoulders, are standing in front of a fire-place. Death, armed

with an hour-glass and scythe, grins at them from the opening. The drawing of the skeleton, partially covered with flesh, cannot, even though it is only sketched, be regarded as beautiful. It is not quite clear, whether the skeleton is represented from the front with the head turned sideways, or if the back is drawn with the head turned. In the former case it would not be correct for the right shoulder blade to cover the ribs; in the second the upper-part of the breast-bone, with the ribs attached, could not form part of the back.

In the cabinet of Prints at Berlin there is a drawing (*Valentin* 377) dated about 1645, representing a skeleton (*Fig. 18*). From a high mountain the Tempter is showing Christ the Empires of the world. Jesus is sitting, leaning against a rock with his head resting on his left hand, absorbed in thought. Satan, in the shape of a winged skeleton with a tail, is standing before him. Here again the skeleton is a mere sketch, and alterations show that the draughtsman himself was not pleased with its execution.

Before giving a description of Rembrandt's masterpiece: "Nicolaas Tulp's lecture on anatomy" (*Fig. 19*) we want to say a few words about such representations, found in Holland, which Rembrandt might have known.

The oldest information about dissection in Holland dates from 1550. The body of a thief, called "Sister Luyt" was dissected in the convent of St. Orzela, later a house of correction. The skin was kept till 1755 by the Corporation of Surgeons in the building where the members of this corporation used to have their meetings. This building was called the: "St. Antonies Waag" at Amsterdam and is now a municipal museum. Philip, king of Spain, count of Holland, gave a privilege to the Corporation of Surgeons at Amsterdam on March 13th 1555. He allowed them to have once a year for their instruction the corpse of a person, sentenced by the judges of Amsterdam and lawfully put to death (*"dat sy eens jaars sullen hebben tot haar lieder instructie eenen dooden menschen lichaam, by de wet en justitie van Amsterdam voorschreven geëxecuteerd, ter discretie en goeddunken van diezelve van de wet, omme daarinne te mogen doen haarlieden der Anatomisatie eens jaars te doenen, en hen daartoe geven eenen dooden menschen lichaam by henlieden geëxecuteerd, sulks als 't hen believen sal"*).

It is not certain who performed the first dissection, for in a fire in the house of the surgeon Klaas Klaasz. Kist, who was decanus of the corporation, all books and documents were destroyed. We know only that the guild was named after Cosmas and

Damianus and that the first professors of surgery were Maarten Jansz. Coster, the founder of the Amsterdam theatre and Sebastiaan Egbertsz. The latter is represented in 1603 in a painting "A lecture on Anatomy" by Aert Pietersz (1550—1612) and also in a picture by Thomas de Keyzer (1569—1667) in 1916. Both paintings are at the Ryks-Museum at Amsterdam. The oldest painting has eight portraits, not counting that of Egbertsz. They are placed in three rows, one above the other. All the sitters, including the principal one, are seen to fix their attention on the painter for whom they are sitting, they are all looking towards the spectator.

The second painting is of a better composition. Egbertsz. is placed near a very accurately drawn skeleton, and is pointing with forceps to the lower part of the upper-arm. Except for the two foremost men, who are facing the spectator, the students are listening attentively to what the demonstrator is saying.

A third lesson in Anatomy at Amsterdam shows the successor of Egbertsz. viz. Johan Fonteyn (*Museum "De Waag", Amsterdam*). It was presented in 1625 by Nicolaas Elias, surnamed Pickenoy (1588—1655) and was partly destroyed by fire on November 8th 1723. Of the twelve portraits there remained seven. It was restored by the painter Quinckhard in 1723. The lower part has disappeared and only the upper part of the bodies, sitting around a table, was left. Only a small piece of the table is shown, and on it, there is a skull turned to the front. Fonteyn is pointing with the index finger of the left hand at the skull and on either side we see the heads of three surgeons. Not one of them is paying any attention to what is being demonstrated!

Petrus Paauw (Pavius) in 1592 founded an anatomical theatre at Leyden and the States of Holland gave permission for dissection to be carried on there. The theatre of the Ancients with its rows for the spectators round the podium in which each row is placed a little higher than the row in front, served as a model to Paauw for his anatomical theatre. The first row was reserved for Professors and other distinguished persons, the second row for surgeons and students. The public regarded the dissections as a kind of show and were admitted, on payment, to the third row. During the twenty-two years when Paauw was professor at Leyden he dissected about 60 corpses, all of them males. The first dissection in Holland of a female body took place at Amsterdam in 1720 by Frederik Ruysch, the successor to Johan Deyman. To Hugo de Groot these public dissections were an abomination and he writes: "Antiquity knew not these torture-

chambers of the dead, where these unnecessary cruelties are practised by the living upon the dead".

Willem Pietersz. Buytenwech (lived in Rotterdam from about 1585 till 1627) has made a beautiful sepia drawing of a school of anatomy of Paauw. A corpse is lying on the table in the middle of the hall. Paauw has turned his back upon us, and his right hand is near the opened abdomen of the body. The rest of the hall is taken up by a row of benches, which are arranged around the dissecting-table as in an amphitheatre. They are filled by spectators. In 1623 Andreas Stockius made an engraving after a drawing by I. de Gheyn. The same hall is seen from the other side: Paauw, whose face is distinctly visible, is standing in front of the round dissecting-table. A corpse, whose internal organs are already removed, is on the table. Many visitors are on the benches in the hall and several well known people of that time can be recognized among them.

The print after Woudanus, engraved in 1610 by W. Swanenburg shows the theatre with no dissection in progress, but with the public walking about to view it. One of the manservants in the right-hand corner is exhibiting a piece of human skin; there are no portraits in this print. It is remarkable that the dissecting-room should have served as a kind of exhibition to the public, when no dissections were being performed. The theatre was decorated with a number of skeletons of men and animals with inscriptions giving information about them. Two skeletons on either side of a tree were placed near the entrance. In the hand of one is an apple, which it offers to the other. This was supposed to be a representation of Adam and Eve in Paradise. Near the cabinet for instruments was a skeleton holding a helmet, mounted on the skeleton of a horse. Other skeletons held sticks to which were attached labels inscribed with Latin mottoes e.g: "Principium moriendi natalis est: mors ultima linea rerum" and so on.

The physician M. van der Meer has been immortalized in a picture, called: "A lecture on anatomy" painted by Michael and Peter van Mierevelt (1567—1643) in 1617. He is standing in front of the dissecting-table with a small knife in his hands. On the table is the dead body of a man, whose abdomen is opened. No fewer than seventeen visitors are around him and the whole setting gives an impression of a cessation of the operation in order to pose before the painter. Van der Meer and the greater part of his audience have their faces turned towards the spectator in order that they may appear in the picture as portraits. This was a demand, which had to be fulfilled as much as possible: the corporation ordered the picture and paid for it,

each participant wanted his money's worth and wished to be immortalized on the canvas in a portrait resembling him as closely as possible.

Now let us see in what manner Rembrandt solved the problem of a lesson in anatomy.

"The school of anatomy" in the Mauritshuis at the Hague (Bode — HdG. 55) is one of Rembrandt's greatest paintings. Its height is 1.625 M; its breadth 2.165 M. The persons depicted are all life-size. The painting has a worldwide fame and few strangers will visit the Hague, without paying a visit to the Mauritshuis, to admire one of Rembrandt's best known works.

This picture has always been greatly admired. Zacharias Conrad von Uffenbach tells in his: *"Merkwürdige Reisen durch Nieder-Sachsen, Holland und England"* Ulm, Volume III, Page, 546", about a visit on February 20th 1711: "Morgens waren wir op de Schneykamer oder Theatro anatomico.... Der Junge, so uns herum führte, rühmte die Schilderey an der Thüre insonderheit, allwo der Todte in der Verkürzung liegt, so dass man ihm unter der Fussohle siehet. Es ist zwar ein gutes Stück, doch nicht das beste. Eines rechter Hand des Camins ist demselben weit vorzuziehen und war unvergleichlich. Auf diesem Stück verrichtet der berühmte Anatomicus Tulpius die Section. Hier vor soll ein noch lebender Bürgemeister alhier tausend Thaler geboten haben, wie es dann gewiss gar schön". ¹⁾

A second testimony of our times follows: "Ein Gemälde, welches Mit- und Nachwelt, zur höchsten Bewunderung hingerissen hat" (A picture which was exceedingly admired by contemporaries and posterity) (*H. Knackfusz, Künstler Monographien, Vellhagen und Klasing, Bielefeld und Leipzig, 1900, Page, 22*). A third testimony by W. Hastie: "Rembrandt's Lesson in Anatomy at the Hague is a picture of world-wide celebrity and of universal interest. Every historian of the art of painting gives it a leading place in his account of the Dutch School; every critic of arts refers to it as an example or illustration embodying the highest technical principles and rules, (*W. Hastie. Contemporary Review, No. 307, July, 1891, Page 271*).

We might continue, but the above-mentioned quotations will

¹⁾ In the morning we visited the dissecting room or Theatro Anatomico. The boy who showed us round, praised the picture at the door, especially as the corpse is painted foreshortened. It is a good piece of work, though not the best. Another picture to the right of the fire-place is far to be preferred and the other pictures cannot be compared to it. The famous anatomist Tulpius is seen dissecting in this picture. It is said, that a burgomaster still living here, has offered one thousand Thaler for the painting. It is certainly very beautiful.

suffice. It seems therefore almost superfluous to give a description of the painting. Let us then be brief. Nicolaas Tulp is standing near the dead body, busy demonstrating the muscles of the forearm. With a forceps he is holding the thick part of the *Musculi Flexor digitorum sublimis et profundis*. The right hand illustrates his words, as it were involuntarily, by imitating the working of the muscles. The face of the lecturer, who is looking at his audience, is quite in accordance with his lecturing; it looks as if he were going to open his mouth. The audience is not placed in single rows, as Rembrandt's predecessors had done in their anatomical paintings, but they form one group at the head of the table and are with a single exception attentively following the lecture. Tulp is portrayed wearing a hat, while the members of the Collegium Chirurgicum are bareheaded. The corpse is lying quite naked, except for a cloth round its loins, on the dissecting table, at the foot of which is to be seen an open book. The spectator actually receives the impression, that he is for a moment attending a lecture by Tulp, which is being given with considerable spirit and is being followed attentively.

The painting dates from 1632, at a time when it was a matter of considerable difficulty to get hold of a body and only the corpses of persons, who had been executed, were reserved for dissecting purposes. At Amsterdam it was stipulated, that of every dissecting an accurate report had to be written in the Anatomy-book, containing the names of the corpses assigned for that purpose and the expenses occasioned by the dissection. Under the direction of Tulp this book was kept accurately. It is still preserved in the archives of Amsterdam and E. H. M. Thyssen found that in 1632 only one body was assigned for dissection, viz. that of a man "Adriaan Adriaansz" otherwise named "het Kint" (the child), a tube-maker, born at Leyden, twenty-eight years of age, who had been hanged in the year 1632 for wantonness, January 31th. He was dissected before the members of the guild (*Thyssen, l.c. page 36*). The corpse in Tulp's painting is undoubtedly that of: "het Kint". This is shown by the fact, that Rembrandt was present in person at the dissection. In later times this event is represented on a picture by the painter Bisschop (*fig. 22*). We see Rembrandt before the door of the dissecting-room, his man-servant with the painting-utensils behind him. At the top of the door is part of a skeleton and above it are the words: "Theatrum anatomicum. Collegium chirurgicum" At the lower part of the door the words: "Huc tendimus omnes".

The surgeons' guild at Amsterdam already possessed the

above mentioned anatomical paintings when they moved in 1639 to the hall above the little meat-hall. As they were newly installed for teaching, according to the requirements of those times, all these pictures were moved at the same time and decorated henceforth the surgeons' room. (A representation of that room is to be found in the vignette of the old surgical almanacs of Amsterdam) The picture of Rembrandt remained there until 1828, when the guild, through lack of money, offered it for sale. On April 28th of that year the Board requested the magistracy of Amsterdam to give permission for its sale, as the painting did not pay any dividend and the Board wanted to invest the money in State-bonds. Permission was given on condition that the sale should be held under the supervision of capable experts, that the sale should be sufficiently advertised in home and foreign papers, that the painting should not be sold under taxation price and that for the sum realised State-bonds should be bought. The whole affair came to the knowledge of the Administrator General, who zealously tried to find an article prohibiting the sale and having been unsuccessful in finding one, he advised the King to buy the painting himself. In the meanwhile the efforts of the Government were carried on and in July 1828 a Royal decree was issued, prohibiting the sale of the picture. Experts were appointed and after many conferences the King resolved to take over the painting from the guild for the sum of thirty two thousand florins and the "School of Anatomy of Tulp" was transferred to the Maurits-huis at the Hague.

The painting was cleaned and partially restored in 1732. In 1785 the painter Quinckhard was commissioned to restore it completely and in the bill relating to this restoration we find for instance the article: "de mantel van Tulpius bygewerkt" (The touching up of the mantle of Tulp). The room in which the picture was kept was damp and the water dripping from the wall had finally spoilt the picture to such a degree that if it were to be saved from total destruction it would have to be recanvassed. This was done in 1817 by the painter Hulswit. Some art-lovers at Amsterdam, amongst them Mr. Goll van Frankenstein, when their attention was drawn to the bad state of the painting, had urged the Municipal Board of Amsterdam to have it recanvassed. They vigorously censured the carelessness of the guild, which had allowed the picture to reach such a bad state. In the year 1860 it was again recanvassed, this time by Etienne Le Roy and in 1877 by Mr. Hopman.

Let us now consider the picture more closely and lay stress on its importance from a medical point of view. Undoubtedly

Rembrandt fulfilled the task, entrusted to him, exceedingly well: no stiff arrangement of persons, who have come together to be portrayed, but a harmonious grouping, a splendidly conceived subject, the persons concerned in it being represented as portraits. The painting fully gives the impression of a masterpiece, especially by the distribution of the light. The full light falls on the lecturer and the dead body in front of him, while the light diminishes towards the foot of the table, by which means the spectator is necessarily forced to look at the middle of the painting and has to concentrate his attention on the anatomical demonstration.

Remarks have often been made on the painting from a medical, more especially from an anatomical point of view. Let us take these remarks one by one and discuss them.

I. Fromentin says: "Le cadavre est ballonné, peu construit, qu'il manque d'études et que mettant tout simplement une lumière blafarde dans un tableau noir, il n'a ni la beauté, ni les laideurs, ni les accidents caractéristiques, ni les accidents terribles de la mort."¹⁾

Fromentin was not the only one who held this opinion and when Willem Hendriks in the eighteenth century made the beautiful copy which is now in the possession of Professor W. van der Vlugt at Leyden, he tried to improve the representation of the dead body by showing up better the muscles of the right upper arm, of the legs and the thick part of the *Musculus Serratus anticus major*. The abdomen was also more delicately shaded and the separation between it and the lower ribs more accentuated, by which the abdomen gives more the impression of having fallen in.

Still, I think that the judgment of Fromentin is too hard and that the original manner in which Rembrandt depicted this corpse is the more correct of the two. We know that the painter himself went to the dissecting-room; his object was obviously not to paint the room: for the background is so dark, that there is nothing to be seen in it. Therefore he must have had another object in his visiting the dissecting room, namely to look carefully at the dead body and to sketch it. Nobody will deny, that the face of the dead man is exceedingly well depicted, the pointed nose, the stiff half-opened mouth, and the stiffness of the muscles of the face are as many proofs, that he has observed the face well. Would he then have observed the remainder of

¹⁾ The dead body is puffed up, of little construction, it lacks study and by simply putting a dull light in a black painting, there are lacking the beauty, the ugliness, the characteristic accidentals and the terrible signs of death.

the body so imperfectly? This corpse was no longer fresh, the man had been hanged, therefore the whole body is somewhat swollen and this impression is confirmed, when we notice the right hand, which is already puffed up with a bluish colour.

II. Another remark is about the right arm, which is said to be too short. We must however bear in mind that the dead body is placed in an oblique position, slanting from the lower right to the upper left, the feet thus being nearer to the spectator than the head and so we get the impression that the feet are too large and the lower parts of the legs too long. It is very remarkable that the right leg, which is nearer and should therefore have been larger than the left is considerably shorter. The breast is raised and we presume from this that there is a wooden block underneath the back, just as is the case in the copper-engraving after de Cheyn, by Stockius. This print represents the *Theatrum Anatomicum* at Leyden during a lecture by *Adriaan Paauw*. It dates from the beginning of the seventeenth century and shows that at that time it was customary to place a block underneath the back in order to assist in stretching the muscles. The right shoulder is also higher than the left and therefore it is possible that the left arm may have been pulled, which caused the breast to slant. The right shoulder was thus raised and the right arm seemed shorter. This is however not the correct explanation, for the breast is posed symetrically. It is a fact, that the right arm is drawn decidedly too short and the upper part of it especially shows this most plainly. Has Rembrandt made a mistake here? The lower part of the right leg, as well as the upper part of the right arm, are much too short in proportion. Rembrandt has sketched a corpse as it was lying on the dissecting-table and it is difficult for us to accept the view, that he observed it so badly as to make two serious anatomical mistakes. The only possible explanation which remains is, that *Adriaan Adriaansz.* was misshapen and the right half of his body, as far as the limbs are concerned, less developed than the left.

III. During a visit by E. van Biema to his friend Professor Wertheim Salomonson at Amsterdam, the latter drew his attention to a mistake in the representation of the insertions of prepared muscles. Van Biema (*L'histoire d'un chef-d'oeuvre. Bruxelles, P. Weissenbruch, 1900, page 6*) mentions it as follows: "Tulp tient dans ses pinces le fléchisseur extrême, l'épitrachlée doit se présenter à la face interne du bras collé au corps, l'épicondyle à la face externe. Or, la partie du coude, montré par le peintre est l'épicondyle, Rembrandt commet ainsi l'erreur d'ensérer le fléchisseur commun des doigts dans l'épi-

condyle, alors que l'anatomie nous les montre ayant son insertion dans l'épitrôchlée." ¹⁾

The painting really gives us that impression. Tulp has the thick portion of the muscle partly prepared and holds it aloft with the forceps and by this means the tendon of the index finger is also placed highest in the forceps. The thick portion of the muscle is therefore not pulled out of its place and is held up by Tulp only to stretch the tendons, and thereby to show clearly how they are inserted at the phalanges. The anatomical mistake of wrong insertion is still more clearly shown in the copy of the painting by W. Hendriks, mentioned already.

After these anatomical remarks I leave it to W. Hastie to say a few words. In his study of Rembrandt's "School of Anatomy" he stresses the accurate manner in which the master represented the preparation: "The central interest of this picture lies in the representation of the Divine Art exhibited in the structure of the human body by the *demonstration of a peculiarly striking and unexpected instance of it*. The instance lies in the hand and more particularly in the arrangement of the tendons of the muscles, which bend and flex the fingers at their two joints. This flexing is effected by the contraction of the two muscles in the fore-arm, called respectively, from their functions and relative positions the Flexor sublimis and the Flexor profundus. They are both divided at the wrist into four tendons, which pass in the same relative positions along the palm of the hand, to be ultimately attached by their extremities to the second and third bones, or phalanges, of the fingers respectively. But it is the tendon of the *upper* muscle (M. Sublimis) that is inserted at the first joint, while the tendon of the *lower* muscle (M. Profundus) is, contrary to natural expectation, carried beyond it, to be inserted at the further joint. How then, is the lower tendon carried beyond the upper one? This is the wonder of the arrangement, the special point of interest. If the underlying tendon were drawn directly aside from below the upper tendon, and, diverging from its straight course, were carried in any way freely past it, the symmetry of the fingers would be marred and the actions of the joints would interfere with or impede each other. But the *upper* tendon is *perforated* just before its

¹⁾ Tulp is holding the Musculus flexor sublimis in his forceps, the internal condyle of the humerus should be seen on the innerside of the arm when closely held against the body, and the external condyle on the outside. But the part of the elbow shown by the painter is the external condyle and Rembrandt thus makes the mistake of inserting the Musculus flexor sublimis digitorum into the external condyle, while the anatomical insertion is into the internal condyle.

attachment at the middle joint of the finger, and the lower tendon passes straight through this perforation (like a thread through the eye of a needle), and then goes freely towards its own point of attachment at the furthest joint, where it flexes the tip of the finger. Now, this flexing of the fingers is immediately subservient to the functions of prehension and touch, to the mastering, practically and intellectually, of the objects and qualities of the external world, to all delicate tactual discrimination, to all fine artistic production in representative art of the higher intellectual life". Hastie thinks that Rembrandt painted this lecture on anatomy only to show this, and that this alone gives unity and life to the picture; he continues: "The discovery of this marvellous adaptation, to which the whole Lecture on the hand must have led up, and in which it culminates, lifts all their thoughts above the gloom and decay of death; and in the illuminating light in which it lies, the dead body thus becomes the mysterious revealer of the Divine Idea, a sacred witness to the perfect wisdom and purpose embodied in the universe, a beautiful vehicle and associate of immortality".

Now it is true that the dissection has only been carried so far as is necessary to show these muscles. Tulp is holding up the body of the *Musculus flexor sublimis* and Rembrandt painted this muscle so accurately, that the perforations in its tendons with the perforating tendons of the *Musculus flexor profundus* passing through them, as well as their insertions can be very well seen. One might object that this structural arrangement was not known in Tulp's times, but there we can point to Vesalius, who had already given an accurate description of these two muscles in his: "*De humani corporis fabrica, libri septem*, Basil 1543", designating them already as "the perforatus" and the "perforans". And so it is quite possible, that Rembrandt discussed and arranged the whole conception with Tulp, who was an excellent anatomist. For myself I do not believe that Tulp chose this part of the dissection with the only purpose to show the Divine Art exhibited in the structure of the human body.

Rembrandt was still young and the commission was of the greatest importance in establishing his name as a painter in Amsterdam. This was a reason for not being too realistic, and not representing a completely opened body, but for painting such a composition as might not be repellent to the public. And yet if he wished only to represent a lesson in anatomy he could not have drawn a more suitable stage in the dissection. While we have already given as our opinion that painter and physician had discussed before the conception of the painting, which

moment of the dissection should be depicted, there is still room for Hastie's opinion.

Caspar van Baerle (Barlaeus), who in 1632 was appointed professor in philosophy and eloquence at the establishment of the Athenaeum Illustre at Amsterdam has made a collection of verses. He emphasizes in this collection, that anatomy — by which malefactors could be useful even after their death — makes known to us, by the experienced hand of the master, the smallest part of the human body, as a wonderful work of the Almighty. Most of the famous persons of that time, Swammerdam, Leeuwenhoek and Boerhaave held the same point of view.

Let us conclude by hearing what Michel has to say about this painting: "Rembrandt a satisfait d'une manière à la fois précise et éloquente aux conditions du programme, qui lui était proposé. Son oeuvre répond pleinement à l'idée de l'enseignement scientifique tel qu'il était alors compris — il mettait dans son interprétation très personnelle, une satisfaction d'une portée plus générale que ses prédécesseurs et d'un ordre supérieur. Historiquement et c'est assez donner la mesure de son importance, elle donne une date, non seulement dans la carrière de Rembrandt, mais dans l'école hollandaise elle-même. Avec la consécration de tous ses efforts, celle-ci en effet trouvait dans le tableau la conscience de sa force et comme un encouragement à persévérer dans les voies où elle s'était engagée; cet art répondait pleinement à ses goûts, à son amour de la vérité, à ses qualités d'exactitude et de conscience, à ses recherches de perfection dans la technique — L'art hollandais, sorti des entrailles même de la nature, traduisait fidèlement sa vie et ses mœurs et la leçon anatomique venait à ce moment décisif lui apporter une éclatante consécration" (*Michel l.c. page 132*). ¹⁾

Among the prints, for which this painting by Rembrandt served as example, we need only mention those by Unger,

¹⁾ Rembrandt fulfilled, in a manner which was at the same time simple and eloquent, the conditions of the programme, which was proposed to him. His work corresponds fully with the idea of scientific teaching as it was then understood; he put into his personal interpretation a significance of a more general meaning and of a higher order than did his predecessors. From a historical point of view — and this is sufficient to gauge its importance — it fixes a date, not only in the career of Rembrandt, but in the Dutch School itself. With the consecration of all its efforts, this school really found in the picture the consciousness of its strength, and the encouragement to persevere in the course, it had mapped out for itself. This art was completely in accordance with its taste, with its love for truth, with its exactness, its conscientiousness and its search for technical perfection. Dutch art, having its sources in the very heart of nature, interpreted its life and manners, and the "Lecture on Anatomy" brought it, at this decisive moment, a glorious consecration.



Fig. 21
Anatomy of Dr. J. Deyman

Amsterdam. Six-Collection



Fig. 24
Christ healing the sick, about 1650

Flameng, Jac Frey, C. L. Dake; the aquatint by J. B. A. Corniliet, the lithographs by C. Binger, C. C. A. Last, H. J. van der Hout, Lankhout and H. J. Zimmerman, the wood-cut by J. Dillhof in 1760.

The picture was often used for caricaturing persons or events, so in Amsterdam when there was a question of closing the University, where the medical professors are shown listening to a lecture by the President of the faculty, Prof. Kühn, pathological anatomist: so in England at the elections and finally in depicting Taft and his cabinet. But the most comical is a vignette in a bill of fare of 1896 of the Hotel du Commerce in the Kalverstraat at Amsterdam in which the name is altered in: a Lecture on Gastronomy by Rembrandt, and in which the subject of the dissection is a pig!

The great success Rembrandt obtained with his "School of Anatomy of Nicolaas Tulp" and his friendship with this physician, who was at the same time burgomaster of Amsterdam, brought with it many commissions. Tholinx, Tulp's son in law, in his capacity of inspector of the Collegium Chirurgicum, made him acquainted with Johannes Deyman, who as successor of Tulp, was head of the dissecting-room of that town from 1653 until December 2nd 1666. He also commissioned him in 1656 to paint a lesson in anatomy (*Fig. 20*) of which only the centre-part has been preserved and which is now in the Ryksmuseum at Amsterdam (B-HdG. 450).

In the Six collection at Amsterdam, there is a drawing by Rembrandt (*Fig. 21*), a sketch for this painting, in which we see, that the painting was originally intended as a tableau to be placed over a fireplace. It showed besides the dead body and the operator, the portraits of eight other physicians. On the occasion of a fire in 1723 in the building of the Sint Anthonies Waag, in which the dissectingroom then was, the painting caught fire and was partially destroyed. Sir Joshua Reynolds saw it in 1781 in the room of the Guild. After the dissolution of the corporation it remained in the possession of the fund for surgeons' widows and it was sold on behalf of this fund on December 20th 1841 (No. 39 of the sale) to the art-dealer Chaplin in London for six hundred florins. Later on it found its way into the collection of Rev. E. Price Owen at Cheltenham. After his death it was again sold (in 1882) to the town of Amsterdam for twelve hundred florins. Professor Six took the initiative for this transaction. (*Catalogue 1911, Ryksmuseum, No. 2018*).

Of this painting there are only left the dead body, the operator without head and the man-servant, Gysbrecht Kalkoen,

standing near the corpse and holding the top of the skull. The last named is standing with his right hand at his side, wearing a black costume with white, turned down collar and tassels. He is bare-headed, with long hair and is looking attentively at the dead body.

The corpse is lying with its feet towards the spectator and the drawing of it is so much foreshortened that the hands seem to be touching the feet. Rembrandt evidently copied this position from the dead Christ by Mantegna, now at the Museum Brera at Milano, there he either saw it himself or knew it from a print. A dissection of the organs of the abdomen has taken place and above the cloth over the loins a part of the opened abdomen is to be seen. Deyman is now about to demonstrate the anatomy of the brain and has already removed the top of the skull, after a section has been made in the skin, which has been turned back over the temples. The membranes of the brains are also removed and both halves are to be seen with their convolutions. Deyman is standing behind the dead body, still preparing the membranes of the brains.

Sir J. Reynolds says about it: "There is something sublime in the character of the head, which makes us think of Michel Angelo. The whole is painted very well indeed and the colour reminds us of that of Titian". We have already heard that Uffenbach preferred the "School of Anatomy of Nicolaas Tulp" but to form an opinion of this mutilated fragment is not easy, on account of the fact that the part of the painting that is kept at Amsterdam (e.g. the hands of Deyman) also suffered so much by the fire that fancy would play too great a rôle.

Michel also states: "il faut bien convenir que dans l'état actuel du tableau, il n'est guère plus possible d'en apprécier la valeur. Le linge blanc, le visage de l'opérateur, et surtout celui du cadavre donnent seuls aujourd'hui quelque idée de l'amplitude de la peinture primitive, qui probablement avait été faite elle-même sur une toile déjà couverte". ¹⁾ Of this overpainting there is but little to be seen: Michel thinks he can see a "tête d'amour". This lesson in Anatomy is based on another idea than in the "School of Anatomy of Tulp". For the latter that part of dissection was chosen which was not repulsive to the public, but here a moment has been chosen, which might appear gruesome to a layman.

¹⁾ We must agree that in its present state it is not possible to appreciate its value. The white linen, the face of the operator (he must mean the face of the man-servant because the face of the operator is wanting) and specially that of the dead body now give only an idea of the size of the original picture, which was probably painted on a canvas, that had been used already.

J. Dillhof in 1760 made a drawing after the fragment, and in it left out the hands and body of Deyman, whereby the whole gets a certain mysterious significance and if we look attentively at the mutilated body we certainly do get a strong impression of a lifeness thing.



Bisschop.

Fig. 22. Rembrandt visiting the anatomical theatre
in Amsterdam.



Fig. 29. "Lazarus clap".

CHAPTER IV.

Internal Medicine.

In the Cabinet of Prints at Amsterdam, there is a drawing of a sick woman lying in bed. A reproduction of a nearly similar drawing is in my possession. They are pen-studies; only a few lines and shadows on the face, pillow and hand. And yet it is a good example of a sick person. She is lying half on her right side, her head is buried in the pillow, she is resting on her right arm and her knees are bent. This is a characteristic position for one, who is not too ill to take notice of her surroundings and yet too ill to sit up in bed.

Compared with the first drawing my reproduction shows several corrections, for example the pillow is much bigger and we thus get a stronger impression of the person being deeply sunk in it, while a few lines on the coverlet show clearly a pronounced bend of the knees. These additions show us that the artist was not satisfied with his first sketch, or else that only the second, which is signed by Rembrandt, is by him and

the first merely a copy by one of his pupils. The drawing at Amsterdam is regarded as dubious, so the latter supposition is probably correct.

The art-dealer Chr. Sedelmeyer at Berlin had in 1905 a washed pen-drawing, which now forms part of Dr. Hofstede de Groot's collection. He described it as follows under the number 819: "Sick person in bed, physician is feeling the pulse, while the sick person turns to an old king, wearing a turban, and stretches out his right hand towards him. The king is sitting on the left hand side near a small table and is supporting his head on his left hand; to the right a woman looking round the corner".

In the art-periodical "Oude Kunst" (*Volume 41, page 101*) Dr. Hofstede de Groot draws attention to another drawing with the same subject, and also with a woman to the left. A shadow on the floor to the left shows that on that side a piece of the drawing has been cut off. The doctor is standing behind the bed, he is not feeling the patient's pulse, but is resting both hands on the bed.

The best known story of a king with a sick son is that of the diadoch Seleukor Nikator. His son Antiochus Soter had fallen ill, being in love with his stepmother Stratonice, the daughter of Demetrios Poliorketes. After having been treated without success by several doctors, one of them guessed the real cause of his illness. He remarked when feeling the pulse of Antiochus, that it beat more quickly when the Queen entered the room.

What the "NightWatch" is among the pictures, the "Hundred guilders print" is among the etchings. (*Fig. 24*). The "Christ healing the sick" (*Bartsch 74*) dates according to Dr. Hofstede de Groot from about 1645, while Hind places it about 1648 and Singer about 1650. It is the best known etching by Rembrandt and Dr. Hofstede de Groot writes in his *Rembrandt-Bible*, that it has earned fame by its beauty and the richness of its subjects and he continues: "The print is so large that it is impossible to find a title, which describes the whole of its contents. Nowadays it is generally called 'Christ healing the sick' but that is only one of the many details. In the Gospel according to S. Matthew this apostle describes (*Ch. 10, V. 1—30*) the greatest moment of Jesus' activity on earth and Rembrandt in this etching wanted to summarize them all, healing the sick (*V, 2*), the blessing of the children (*V. 14*), the rebuking of the apostles (*V. 13*), the reproof of the rich young man (*V. 22*) and of the disputing Pharisees". (*V. 3—12*).

H. T. Waterloo, a contemporary of Rembrandt, has written the following lines under the copy, which is now in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris: (quoted from Hofstede de Groot's Rembrandt Bible, page 74)

„Hier hellept Jezus hand den zieken. En de kind'ren
(Dat's Godtheyt) zalicht hy: En strafft ze die 't verhind'ren
Maar (ach!) den Jong'ling treurt. De schriftgeleerden smaalen
't Gelooff der heiligen, en Christi godheits stralen". ¹⁾

The whole composition is derived from different drawings. In spite of the fact, that different episodes are represented in the one print, the continuity has been maintained and the impression of the whole is one of repose. It was done when Rembrandt was at his best as an engraver, and had the different methods wholly at his command. Black velvety shadows, which yet show what the darkness conceals, relieve the lighter parts. They give the impression that the needle has only lightly touched the plate. Some are of opinion, that to have a master's etching it is only necessary to have the copper-plate from which the impressions are taken. Nothing, however, is less true. It makes a great difference who prints the etching and nobody but the engraver can give the master-touch to it. Rembrandt was a great expert at taking impressions and by wiping away the ink in one place and laying it on thicker at another spot, he made his etchings in such a way, that no one could reproduce his touch.

Let us study the etching more closely. On the left hand side are groups of disbelievers and scribes; they are listening attentively in the hope of ensnaring Jesus. To the right we get a great many unfortunates; sick persons and those possessed by the devil in all degrees of human misery. They, too, follow Jesus in the hope of being relieved of their sufferings. Vosmaer points to the different way the light falls on both groups: "*Superbe antithèse comme vérité morale et comme effet artistique, sentiment aussi délicat comme de l'art que de la vie*" (Superb contrast as moral truth and as artistic effect). All persons are looking at Christ, who forms a bond between the two groups, keeping some of them off with his right hand and beckoning others with his left. At the feet of Jesus in the foreground there is a very sick woman. She has just been brought to him, and is half lying on a bundle of faggots. A man on his knees is imploring. His help and another woman, also on her knees, sets

¹⁾ Jesus' hand helps the sick and the children (That is Divinity), he blesses and punishes those who object. But (Oh!) the young man is sad. The scribes rail at the faith of the saints and at the rays of God's divinity.



The Hague. Collection K. W. Bachstitz.
Fig. 25

Detail from the descent from the cross,
about 1653—55



The Hague, Mauritshuis. Bredius Coll.

Fig. 26
David before Saul, about 1665

off the group in front. Further to the right a sick person, lying across a barrow, is being wheeled up and a poor grey-bearded man, leaning on a stick with his hand held by his wife, is standing before other people and we get the impression that there is an uninterrupted stream of them.

In the Cabinet of Prints at Berlin there is a washed pen-drawing of the foremost group (*Fig. 23*). It formed part of the collections of Durand, H. Rousseau and A. Posonyl. The group is reversed and corresponds in the main with that in the etching. Here again Rembrandt criticizes his own work. In the drawing there are more people in the group, a larger gathering and for that reason that part appears less restful. On the etching two persons are left out, the whole is more simple and the expression of the woman, although she appears dangerously ill and too sick to take notice of her surroundings, shows that she still has hopes of recovery, her eyes are shut and she has raised her left hand as far as she can.

Rembrandt's conscientiousness is shown by the fact that he took as much trouble with his secondary figures as with the chief ones. A splendid example of this is to be seen in a picture in the possession of Mr. K. W. Bachstitz at the Hague. It represents the Descent from the Cross. Mary, overwhelmed by grief, faints and is caught up in the arms of one of the bystanders (*Fig. 25*). The scene is strikingly depicted. Notice for instance the relaxed expression on the face, the head leaning to the side, the half-open mouth, the closed eyes and the drooping of the left hand, some fingers of which are a little separated.

The painting in the Ermitage at Leningrad treats the same subject and was painted about ten years earlier. It shows but little difference in the figure of the fainting Mary, her attitude and features being nearly the same.

In the picture of the "Descent from the Cross" in the "Alte Pinakotek" at Munich all the light is concentrated on the body of Christ. The group to the left with the fainting Mary is kept in semidarkness and studying this, we see that only the head has fallen right back and that the right arm hangs loosely alongside the body.

In the picture dated 1642 in the National Gallery in London the full light falls on the group of Mary and Christ. The representation of the face of the dead Jesus is awe-inspiring. He is lying with the upper part of his body in Mary's lap, his head is drooping and his eyes are wide open. The scene is very pathetic and helps to explain the reason for Mary's fainting.

A pen-drawing in the Cabinet of Prints at Amsterdam (*Valentiner* 197) dated about 1660, represents Esther fainting before Ahasverus. She is lying in front of the throne and is supported by a woman squatting behind her. She is in the foreground of the sketch, her face turned towards the throne, for which reason the expression of her countenance cannot be seen and we can guess of her condition only by the way the left arm has been drawn.

The influence of music on mental states has been known from olden times. Pythagoras called music a specific and in the first book of Samuel, Cap. 14, V. 14—16 we read that Saul was troubled with an evil spirit and that his servant asked him to look for a man who was a cunning player on the harp and could cure him. Rembrandt has thrice treated this subject, viz in two paintings and one drawing. The picture in the Städel'sche Kunstinstitut in Frankfurt-am-Main, (*Catalogue* 1900, No. 183) dates from about 1630, (*Bode* 92, *B-HdG.* 46) and was formerly attributed to Samuel de Koninck. Michel is of opinion: "C'est une composition importante avec deux personages de grandeur naturelle" (It is an important composition with two life-size figures). Saul is sitting on a low chair to the right before a great curtain. His eyes have a staring look and he is apparently in a terrible state of mind. There is a staff in his right hand. "On sait le trouble qui l'agite à l'expression farouche de sa physionomie et le geste furieux de sa main, serrant convulsivement sa lance, laisse pressentir les dangers que court le jeune musicien" (*Michel l.c.* page 446). ¹⁾

Near Saul to the left is placed a table before which David is kneeling and playing the harp. Saul wears a turban ornamented with an aigrette and there is a heavy gold chain on the royal mantle in which he is wrapped. The contrast between the two persons is remarkable and the painter has clearly depicted how both are moved by great emotion but of quite a different character.

Winter bought this painting on August 14th 1771 at Amsterdam and paid 248 florins for it. An engraving after it was made by De Leeuw.

The second picture (*Fig. 26*) was painted about fifteen years later. It belongs to the collection of Dr. Bredius and is exhibited in the Mauritshuis at the Hague (*Bode* 529). Saul is sitting on the left hand-side and he is attentively listening to David's

¹⁾ We deduce his state of mind by the wild expression on his face. The violent movement of his hand, convulsively clenching his lance, makes us anticipate the dangers threatening the young musician.

playing. David is seen half-length as a youth with an immature beard, sitting on the right hand corner of the picture. Saul is drying his tears and holding a curtain with his left hand. The curtain hangs behind him, his staff is in the crook of his right arm, with his hand resting lightly on it. We might say that a further stage is represented here: Saul's face is sad, the hand which grasped the staff so firmly is relaxed, the crisis is over and it is not too much to predict that conciliation is not far off. This painting is one of the mightiest creations of Rembrandt's last years.

Mr. Bonnat has a study in which originally, above David a few soldiers were seen looking over a railing. It is impossible to see whether these were painted in the picture, because part of it has been removed probably on account of damage and a new piece of canvas was put in (*Rembrandt-Bybel*, page, 73).

The drawing (*Fig. 27*), formerly in the collection of Bonnat, at present in the Louvre (*Valentiner 151; HdG, 673*), represents the same stage. Saul is sitting on a throne to the right, his right hand before his face, a spear loosely held is lying horizontally. David is on his knees, playing the harp, looking up anxiously to see what impression his playing makes on the king. Between the two persons a third figure is to be seen, pushing aside the curtain in order to observe more closely the expression on the face of the king. Wearing a flat biretta and wrapped in a long mantle, the intruder makes us think of the little etching with the physician feeling the pulse, and probably Rembrandt meant him as such. The drawing is the work of a copyist and not long ago Dr. Hofstede de Groot succeeded in tracing the original. Comparing the compositions of other painters who have treated the same subject, Rembrandt again shows his superiority.

In a picture in the Museum at Antwerp Lucas van Leyden (1494—1633) has chosen the moment when David is starting to play the harp. Saul is sitting with head bent forward in low spirits and with a set expression on his face. David, a tall and robust looking figure, which dominates the whole left side of the picture, is standing immediately in front of him but shows no trace of fearing Saul's violence nor yet any submissiveness to the king. The background is filled with people, one of them resting his arm on the back of the throne and pointing to the king. Well as the expression on Saul's face is rendered, the composition of Rembrandt's pictures gives a still mightier impression by its restraint and a better comprehension of the biblical story.

Definitive diseases are not depicted by Rembrandt with one

exception, namely the sickness of Job. In the National Museum at Stockholm is a washed pen-drawing of about 1650 (*Valentiner* 207; *HdG.* 1548), representing Job and his friends. What disease Job suffered from, is not quite certain. Hyrtl is of opinion from certain passages in the Hebrew text of the "Book of Job" that in addition to leprosy six diseases are to be considered viz, elephantiasis, gout, dysentery, stomach-ache, marasmus and ptyriasis. In the drawing nothing is to be seen of the manifestations which might point to any of these different diagnoses. Job is sitting with right hand raised. The upper part of his body is naked. His face turned towards Heaven expresses only resignation, but no sign of any ulcer is to be seen. The only reason why we might think him a sufferer is that his legs are loosely bandaged and his knees show signs of great emaciation. According to Valentiner this is a drawing made by a pupil of Rembrandt and corrected by him in a masterly fashion. "Besonders kühn ist die Ueberzeichnung des Hiobs am nächsten stehenden Gestalt, deren Gesten jetzt eine Sprache sprechen, die kein Schüler ihnen hätte verleihen können" (*Valentiner l.c.* 479. ¹)

In the two drawings, which depict Christ healing a leper, there are also no signs of disease to be seen (*Valentiner* 410, 412). The later of the two dates from about 1660 and is in the possession of Dr. Hofstede de Groot. In front of Christ is the sick man, kneeling with hands folded. Christ is bending over him and is touching the forehead of the leper with his right hand. The expression on the faces of the different figures are striking: the submissiveness of the sick man, the gravity of the Master and the fear of the two disciples standing behind him are treated with full justice.

Among the etchings mentioned by Bartsch No. 171 (*Fig.* 29) is the representation of a leper of later times. The man is sitting on an elevation by the roadside and is leaning on his stick. There is nothing to show that he is a leper, except that he has in his right hand a leper's clack which he is holding out. The clack consists of three wooden blades, which, when moved, announce from a distance the approach of the sick person. Such clacks with square blades are the oldest, and we find drawings of them in a manuscript of 1452, preserved in the archives of the town of Culemburg in Holland, further in the Theodoric manuscript in the library of the University of Leyden and in a drawing by Jan Swart (1469—1535) in the Cabinet of Prints at Amsterdam.

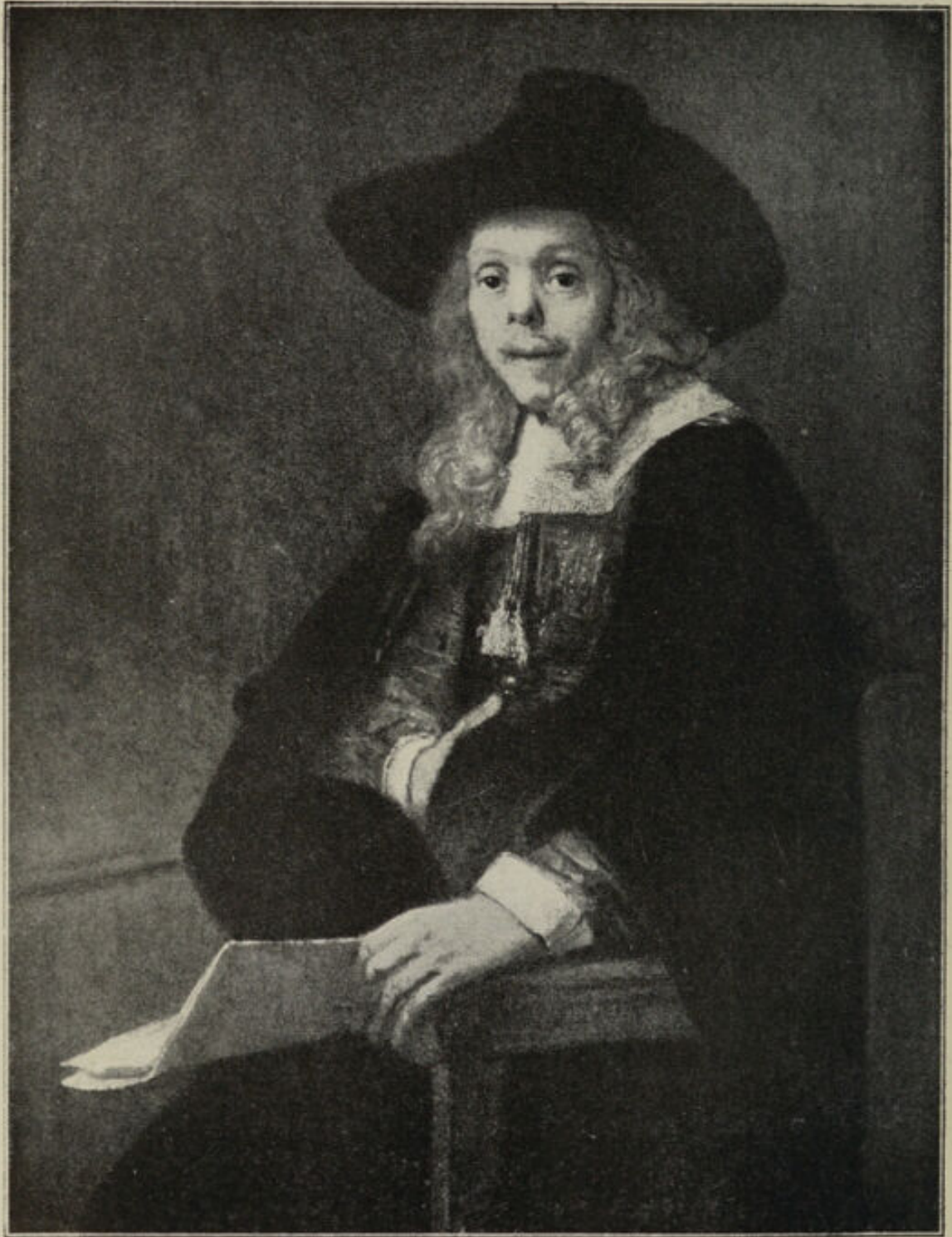
¹) Particularly bold is the redrawing of the figure standing near to Job, whose gestures now speak a language, which no pupil could have made them express.



Paris. Louvre. Coll. Bonnat

Fig. 27

David playing the harp before Saul



Berlin, Leopold Koppel Collection

Fig. 28

Portrait of a young man. 1663 (?)

A portrait in the Leopold Koppen Art Gallery in Berlin shows a man of about 45 (Fig. 28). It is dated 1663 (?), Wilhelm Bode describes it: "Die reiche, mattfarbige Tracht, ein gold-durchwirktes Wams und die vollen Locken (Perücke?) die den Kopf umrahmen, lassen die Unregelmäßigkeit und die Entstehung des Gesichts noch stärker erscheinen. Wenigstens auf den ersten Blick, denn je mehr wir uns in die Züge dieses kranken Mannes mit den eingefallenen Nasenbein, der groszen Oberlippe und die hohlen Augen mit ihrem eigentümlichen Ausdruck vertiefen, um so mehr verliert sich der abstosende Eindruck, wir gewinnen sogar eine gewisse Sympathie für die Persönlichkeit." ¹⁾

This portrait is reproduced in the second edition of: *Die Medizin in der klassischen Malerei* by Dr. Eugen Holländer (Stuttgart, F. Enke, 1913, page 199) and described as that of a sufferer from syphilis not only by what we know of the sickness itself but also by the treatment. The eroded left side of the nose and the ulcers with imperfect cicatrices on the left part of the face are characteristic. This picture was painted over and not regarded as one by Rembrandt till it was restored and appeared to be an original.

¹⁾ The rich, dull-coloured dress, a golden woven Jacket and the abundant locks framing the head, accentuate still more the irregularity and the disfigurement of the face. At least at the first glimpse this appears to be the case, but the longer we contemplate the features of the sick man with his collapsed nasal bone, his big upper lip and his hollow eyes with their peculiar expression, the more does the repulsive impression disappear and we even begin to feel some sympathy for the person.



Zürcher Kunsthaus.

Fig. 30. The raising of Lazarus.



Berlin, Cabinet of Prints, washed pen drawing.

Fig. 23. Group with sick woman.

CHAPTER V.

Miraculous Healings.

There are two miracles, performed by Jesus, to which Rembrandt was especially partial, and of which he made drawings and paintings viz, the raising of Lazarus and of the little daughter of Jairus. Beyond these we will only discuss drawings which show representations of the cures performed by Christ and his disciples. The master of Rembrandt, the painter Lastman, had painted in 1632 a picture showing "The raising of Lazarus" (*Gospel of St. John, Chapter 11, V. 1—46*). Michel says about this picture: "Il offense nos regards par une violente

crudité de ton dans une scène, qui se passant à l'entrée d'une grotte aurait nécessité l'emploi du clair obscur." ¹⁾

Contemporaries and colleagues of Rembrandt had treated the same subject. Van Vliet made an etching of it (*Bartsch* 4), Lievens used the subject for a painting, now in the collection of M. Willet at Brighton and also for an etching (*Bartsch* 32), which is considered to be one of his best.

The earliest representation by Rembrandt is found in a pen-drawing now in the Museum Boymans at Rotterdam. On the back is the bust of a woman in black chalk. Christ is standing on a mound behind the tomb. His hands are pointing downward. To his right a man is looking down with astonishment and on the other side are a number of heads of lookers-on. In the foreground, Lazarus in a half-sitting posture in the tomb is attempting to stand up. Valentiner says of it: "a composition in the pathetic style of earlier times, resembling the painting in the collection Sedelmeyer (*Valentiner*, page 491)".

A little picture of his first period, painted about 1628, shows a similar figure with the exception that Christ has his hands raised. Michel says the following about it: "Lazare dans une attitude très gauche mais déjà fort expressive." (Lazarus in a very awkward but nevertheless expressive attitude).

Another drawing of his earlier days is to be found in the Cabinet of Prints at Dresden. It is a copy of an original now lost. The scene is laid on level ground. Christ is standing with outstretched right hand before the tomb, which is raised above the ground. Lazarus, completely restored to life, is sitting with folded hands, looking at Jesus and not yet quite understanding what has happened to him. A crowd of spectators stand around, some of them expressing astonishment by their attitudes.

The picture (*Fig. 31*) in the possession of Ch. T. Yerkes at New York (*Bode-HdG.* 45; *Valentiner* 12) is thought to date from about 1630. Here again Christ is standing behind the tomb with his right hand raised to heaven, surrounded by a number of spectators, who are looking on in astonishment. In the open grave Lazarus is rising, wrapped in his winding-sheet. The part where the scene is laid is lit from the upper left hand side. On the background to the right we notice an Eastern sword and other objects, which were also to be seen in the engraving by Lievens and which were among the first of Rembrandt's collection of painter-utensils.

¹⁾ It offends our eyes by its extreme crudity in a scene which is taking place at the entrance of a grotto or cave, which would have necessitated the use of chiaroscuro.

A second picture, described by Dr. Hofstede de Groot in the periodical: "*Oude Kunst*, 1912, page 178" shows us Christ in profile standing under a great curtain with his left hand raised to heaven. Some Eastern objects are indicated, for instance a sword. The light falls from the right side of the opening of the cave and upon the upper part of the body of Lazarus, lying in the tomb. Behind Jesus and close to the tomb are several spectators. One of them is stretching out both hands in astonishment.

We find nearly the same representation in the etching (*Bartsch* 43) called: "The great Raising". The light is very much brighter and wholly concentrated on the dead body. Seymour Haden (*Burlington Catalogue*, page 34) has condemned the etching entirely and is of opinion that Rembrandt had no part in it. The composition is more of a theatrical than of a dramatic nature; the main figure is repulsive with nothing to suggest that Rembrandt had any hand in it (*Quotation by Singer*, page 286). Michel is of a contrary opinion: "nous croyons non seulement, qu'elle est de Rembrandt, mais que lui seul y a travaillé et le monogramme avec la mention Van Ryn, dont elle est signée, nous paraît à la fois confirmer son authenticité en 1632. Le caractère et l'exécution elle-même s'accordent de tout point avec cette date. Certes l'attitude de Christ est un peu théâtrale et suivant le remarque de Charles Blanc, il semble que le maître ait cherché à exprimer le miracle comme le résultat d'une sublime incantation.¹⁾

Michel is of opinion that Rembrandt imagined the figure of Christ at that time in this way, exhibiting all his power and authority.

Seymour Haden discerns in the etching the hand of Bol and of Lievens, Middletin supposes it to be the work of Van Vliet, assisted by Rembrandt. Which is correct, I dare not say.

Alfred Tonnelé too in his: "Fragments sur l'art et la philosophie" (*Paris*, 1860, page 177) is full of admiration in mentioning this etching: "Le geste tout-puissant du Christ, que la lumière frappe en avant est sublime et tout concourt à l'effet de la scène, cette lumière surnaturelle, étincelante, qui descend dans la tombe, le pâle mort qui se soulève lentement, surpris

¹⁾ We not only believe this etching to be by Rembrandt, but also that he executed it alone and the signature which bears the name Van Ryn seems both to confirm its authenticity and to date it with sufficient accuracy, the signature having been used especially about 1632. The character of the composition and the execution are in every way in keeping with that date. To be sure the attitude of Christ is here a trifle theatrical and according to the remark of Charles Blanc, it seems that the master has tried to express the miracle as the result of a sublime exorcism.

par cet état dans ses linceuls, les gestes de ces gens, qui se rejettent en arrière, frappés aussi de cet éclat trop fort pour leurs yeux, ou se penchent dans des transports de joie en voyant le mort remuer. L'oeuvre d'une résurrection a-t-elle jamais été exprimée avec cette majesté?" (The all powerfull gesture of Christ on whom the light falls from the front is sublime and everything contributes to the effect of the scene; the supernatural, brilliant light that falls into the tomb, the pale dead man who slowly rises, surprised to find himself in his winding-sheet, the gestures of the men, who throw themselves backwards, also struck by the rays of a light, too powerful for their eyes, or who are leaning forward with joy at seeing the dead man move! Has a resurrection ever been expressed so majestically?) Here, where opinions differ and the author regards himself as incompetent in this matter, we will give also the opinion about this etching of that great connoisseur of Rembrandt, Dr. Hofstede de Groot.

He writes in the *Rembrandt-Bible* about it: "This long-famous etching is the first great Biblical composition, that Rembrandt engraved in copper. It originated about the time Rembrandt moved from Leyden to Amsterdam, (1632). There are unmistakably weak points in the drawing. Although the gestures of the bystanders are theatrical, we are touched by the grandeur of the composition, the majestical attitude of the main figure and the expression of Lazarus, who has just risen from the dead. The care spent on the execution and the changes repeatedly made are characteristic of Rembrandt. We can say that only in the fifth state of this plate does the master attain his original idea of the composition."

Rembrandt treated the same subject again in 1642 (*Fig. 32*), and engraved the so called "small raising of Lazarus" (*Bartsch 72*). We are in the tomb and Christ is standing with his back turned towards the entrance, and surrounded by a number of persons. He is no longer standing on the tombstone which is lying in front of him near the now open grave. No theatrical attitude is struck, the right hand is stretched out calmly and it looks more like a gesture of blessing, quite in keeping with Christ: calm, quiet and majestic. The exaggerated gestures of wonder and astonishment are replaced by figures not less expressive, which now together with the figure of Christ, form a whole, a group on the left hand side of the plate. To the right Lazarus with head turned sideways is raising himself and he forms the central figure of the whole of the right half. The strong light or as one might say, the battle between light and darkness in the big etching, has disappeared. In the latter every

effort is directed towards giving the spectator the impression that a miracle is being performed with some degree of show and that Jesus has to take the greatest trouble. In the little etching however it goes without saying that the miracle is taking place, a grave look at the dead man and a slight movement of the hand are here quite sufficient. Michel therefore says: "La petite résurrection est d'un caractère moins dramatique et plus intime que la grande planche."¹⁾

Fritz Saal describes this etching in his book: "Rembrandt und Italien" as follows: "Die Plastik der einzelnen Figur wird aufgelöst. Was der Beschauer in erster Linie sieht, sind die ausdrucksvollen Köpfe; die Körper und Gesten verlieren an Wert". (The plastic of the single figure no longer exists. The spectator notices in the first place the expressive hands, bodies and gestures lose their effect). (*Oude Kunst*, 1923—1924, page 145).

The great difference between the two etchings is, that in the latter the duality of the subject becomes a unity, it is one, there are no two asymmetrical parts, no lessening in importance of a single figure, no domination even of the light.

In the periodical "Oude Kunst" 1917, page 374, J. O. Kronig has reproduced a washed pen and ink drawing from Züricher Kunsthhaus (Fig. 30) bearing Rembrandt's signature. As regards the composition, it is related to all the representations hitherto mentioned and is therefore supposed to be of a later period. Let Kronig speak for himself: „Is de bouw van de kompositie een driehoek, bijna gelijk aan dien van de „Groote opwekking”, naar inhoud komt ze de zooveel inniger ets der: „Kleine opwekking” van 1640 nabij. Geen theatrale houding en gebaar van Christus. Eenvoudig, de arm even geheven ter oproeping, staat hij voor den herrijzenden Lazarus. Ook de bijfiguren hebben niet dat overdrevene van uitdrukking. Dit innerlijk-getemperder, fijner gecadenceerde van deze teekening duidt op een ontstaan dicht bij 1640 dan bij 1630.”²⁾

Again and again the raising of Lazarus has been made the subject of a painting. Piombo painted a great number of figures, the bystanders helping Lazarus to take of his cere-clothes, while Christ with uplifted hands makes him rise (British Museum).

¹⁾ The small raising is of a less dramatic and more intimate character than the larger plate.

²⁾ The construction of the composition is in the form of a triangle, almost the same as that of the "great raising". The contents approach those of the more intimate "little raising" of 1640. There is no theatrical attitude and gesture of Christ, but his arm slightly raised for the summoning, he is standing before Lazarus, who is in the act of rising. The secondary figures do not wear those exaggerated expressions we see in the other plates. The drawing is more toned down and more finished, all of which points to its being executed nearer to 1640 than to 1630. (*Oude Kunst*, 1917, page 375).

Rubens has painted it twice and his picture in Turin is very beautiful, but in a picture by Brouwer, in the collection of the Prince Fugger-Babenhhausen at Augsburg, the composition of one of Rembrandt's etchings, the Bartsch 73, has been taken as an example.

The story of the raising of the daughter of Jairus is to be found in the Gospels (St. Matthew Ch. 9. V. 18—26; St. Mark, Ch. 5. V. 22—43; St. Luke Ch. 8. V. 41—56). The last two tell us that the daughter was twelve years of age, and they all relate that Jesus, while on his way to Jairus, met a woman, who fell on her knees, touched the border of his garment and was cured of an issue of blood, that had lasted twelve years.

The painting of Veronese at Vienna is incorrectly called "the healing of the daughter of Jairus". The woman is lying at the feet of Jesus, who has just turned round, because she attracted his attention by touching his garment. So the picture represents the healing of the woman whom he met on his way to the house of Jairus.

According to Dutuit a picture was sold at Paris for 240 francs on March 30th 1767, out of the collection of Mr. De Julienne, that represented "the healing of the son of Jairus". What has become of the picture is not known.

Four drawings, all reproduced by Valentiner, have as title: "The raising of the daughter of Jairus". When we look at them, the pen-drawing now at Berlin, formerly in the collections Seymour Haden and Von Berchenrath (*Valentiner* 415; *HdG.* 57; *Lilienfeld*, 45a) is quite in keeping with the subject (*Fig.* 33).

The little girl is lying on a great bed, the curtains are opened, the upper part of the body is supported by a big cushion, her head drooping to one side, the arms are hanging loosely near the body and the right leg is bent at the knee. The mother is kneeling at the foot of the bed. Christ is standing by the bed and has his right hand raised in the same way as in the etching of the "little raising of Lazarus". Here the face of Jesus is almost the same as in the drawing of "the healing of a leper" in the collection of Dr. Hofstede de Groot. Three disciples full of attention and quiet surprise form a group between the mother and Jesus. The whole drawing which dates from about 1658 shows that restfulness and calm, which is so characteristic of Rembrandt's later work. Jesus is on the point of taking the hand of the daughter and of saying "Talitha kumi" (Damsel, I say unto thee: Arise!). In a powerful way and with a few strokes, expression is given to the face and attitude of all the persons depicted.

A second drawing, formerly in the collections of Sir Joshua Reynolds, J. Houlditch, and Richardson Sen., now belonging to F. Königs at Haarlem is, according to Valentiner, from the earliest period of the painter (*Valentiner*, 418, *not in HdG.*). The corpse is lying full length on a bed, a woman is sitting at the foot, another person, whether man or woman can not be distinguished, is bending over the head of the dead body. Jesus is standing on one side at the foot of the bed and his right arm is outstretched at full length, with the hand open and directed towards the dead body on the bed. A woman with an imploring look is standing near him and another person is looking on with great compassion at the side and behind Christ.

The representation of the dead girl is very striking in a drawing (*Fig. 34*), formerly in the R. Kann-collection, now in the possession of P. Cassirer at Berlin (*Valentiner* 419, *not in HdG.*) and reproduced in W. von Bode's *Kataloge der Sammlungen M. Kappel*. The whole face sunk in the pillows, is as described by Hippocrates: The pointed nose, the open mouth and the sunken eyes. The mother is sitting at the head of the bed and despairingly wringing her hands, while Christ is bending over the dead child, blessing her with outstretched hands. Valentiner is of opinion that this drawing (*Valentiner*, page 491): "nicht ganz so prägnant in der Ausführung ist" is not so strikingly executed. I cannot agree with him. According to my opinion it is the most striking representation of the raising of Jairus' daughter.

This event has been in later times the subject of a great number of paintings and drawings and I would beg to draw attention to the drawing of Gustave Doré, who depicted the scene with such great feeling. Christ is standing near the little girl, laying his hand on her head, the mother bent forward in deep anguish at the foot of the bed with the disciples, grouped in the background. Fine though this work of Doré may be, in Rembrandt's composition the Master hand is evident, as he obtained the same effect without making use of the halo around the head of Christ.

A drawing from Rembrandt's earliest period in the Cabinet of Prints at Amsterdam (*Valentiner* 417, *HdG.* 116, *Lilienfeld*, 113) shows the moment when the daughter has come to lift her head and stretches out her hand to her mother, who has already risen and looks on, while Christ with bowed head, wrapped in a wide mantle, blesses her with uplifted hands. According to Hofstede de Groot the execution gives the impression of uncertainty and the composition is characteristic of Rembrandt's earliest period.



Fig. 31 *New-York, Ch. T. Yerkes, Coll.*
The raising of Lazarus, about 1630



Fig. 32
The "little" raising of Lazarus, 1642

In the above-mentioned drawings it was clearly evident, that the girl in question was young, although in the second drawing she was rather too well developed for her age, giving the impression not of a dead girl but of the cadaver of a much older person. Dr. Hofstede de Groot points to St. Mark Ch. 1, V. 29—31; St. Luke Ch. 4, V. 38—39. The evangelist St. Mark tells us that Jesus took the hand of the sick person (Simon's wife's mother) and raised her up, while S. Luke expresses himself as follows: "and He stood over her and rebuked the fever" Rembrandt follows the last version: Christ is seen bending with outstretched arms more or less over the sick-bed. The effect on the sick woman is not yet to be seen. The attitude of the spectators reflects intense agitation, anxiety and grief. We do not know to which collection the drawing at present belongs. It dates from Rembrandt's earliest period. In later years he was to confine himself more to the depicting of the main person and not to so many different figures (*Rembrandt Bible*, page 39).

A drawing in a private collection in Berlin, reproduced by Valentiner under number 413 shows us Jesus again with the same features as in the drawings reproduced by Valentiner under numbers 412 and 413, while he is taking her (Simon's wife's mother) by the hand and raising her up.

Earlom, an English engraver (1727—1822), who was famous for his mezzotint engravings, made one called: "Elijah reviving the little son of the widow". The story is to be found in the First Book of Kings (Ch. 17, V. 17—22). Earlom mentions, that he has taken a picture by Rembrandt as an example. The dead child is lying with bare feet on a bed, the prophet is standing in front of him with folded hands and with imploring eyes lifted up to heaven. The full light falls on the face of the dead child, as well as on that of Elijah. Of this picture no trace has been found and we do not know whether it has been lost.

In the "Acts of the Apostles" (Ch. 9 V. 40) is told how a certain female disciple at Joppa and by name Tabitha or Dorcas fell ill and died. At that time S. Peter was at Lydda in the neighbourhood of Joppa and was sent for. Arriving at the house in which the death had taken place, he found there a great number of widows, who showed him the coats and garments made by Dorcas. S. Peter put them all forth from the upper chamber. That moment is shown in a drawing in the collection Léon Bonnat at Paris. S. Peter being alone with the dead wo-

man, kneeled down and prayed, and turning to the body he said: "Tabitha, arise". A drawing in the Cabinet of Prints at Dresden represents the moment when S. Peter is kneeling on the floor by the dead body. Here again the dead person is very naturally drawn with only a few lines. In fact both drawings are from Rembrandt's later period.



Coll. P. Cassirers, Berlin.

Fig. 34. The raising of the daughter of Jairus.



Cabinet of Prints, Berlin.

Fig. 35. The good Samaritan.

CHAPTER VI.

Surgery.

A painting by Rembrandt in the Ermitage at Leningrad (*Valentiner* 159) and dated 1634 (*Fig. 36*), depicts Christ showing his wounds to the unbelieving Thomas. The central figure of the picture is Christ, who, lifting his garments with his left hand, points with his right hand towards the wound in his breast, while Thomas, with startled countenance, retreats. The wound itself, which is represented by the painter as being at the upper end of the manubrium sterni (breast-bone) has straight lines and goes slanting downwards to the right. A study for this picture is found at Stockholm (*HdG.—KdZ.* 1560).

The story of the good Samaritan has served Rembrandt several times as a subject for his paintings.

S. Luke (Ch. 10, V. 30—35) writes: "A certain man went down from Jerusalem to Jericho, and he fell among thieves, who stripped him of his raiment and wounded him and departed, leaving him half-dead. And by chance there came down a certain priest that way and when he saw him, he passed on the other side. And in likewise a Levite, who was at the place, came and looked on him and passed by on the other side. But a certain Samaritan as he journeyed, came where he was; and when he saw him, he had compassion on him, and went to him, and bound up his wounds, pouring in oil and wine; and set him on his own beast, and brought him to an inn, and took

care of him. And on the morrow when he departed, he took out two pence and gave them to the host, and said unto him: Take care of him and whatever thou spendest more, when I come again, I will repay thee."

At present I know of six pictures, one etching and no less than fifteen drawings representing different phases of this story. There is no parable, that has kept Rembrandt busier. Michel is of opinion, that not only did the subject give him the occasion to paint a nude body, but also: „que c'était surtout un motif bien fait pour émouvoir cette âme tendre, compatissante, bonne jusqu' à l'extravagance, comme dit Boldinucci." ¹⁾

Michel presumes that Rembrandt felt a presentiment of the misery, that came upon him in his old days, abandoned by his friends, without help or relief, and that for that peculiar reason the subject of the good Samaritan had a great attraction for him.

In the story there are three stages to be discerned. First the Samaritan helps the wounded man, secondly he carries him to the inn, thirdly he takes leave of the host and pays for the expenses. These different stages have been studied by Rembrandt.

We will begin with one of the most interesting pictures (*Fig. 37*), the one in the collection of Jules Porgès at Paris, bought by M. Sedelmeyer in England and dated 1639. The plundered traveller is lying in the centre of a mountainous landscape to the right of the road, almost entirely stripped, and wearing only a long shirt and with a cloth round his head. A man on his knees wearing a red costume and a turban is behind him. To the left a horse with a saddle and to the extreme left a Levite, busily reading, is passing. On the ground near the Samaritan is an open box, in which are two bottles, the place of the third bottle is empty. The attention of the Samaritan is concentrated on trying to open the bottle and he is holding it with both hands. The wounded man is quite conscious, he is lying with his back turned to the man, who is helping him, and has turned his head to see more clearly what is happening behind him. The features of the two main persons are exceedingly vividly drawn and the half uplifted right arm of the wounded man shows very naturally indeed, the instinctive movement of defence for fear the treatment may be painful. Michel praises the harmony of the colours: „à la fois puissante et continue" (at the same time powerful and continuous).

A drawing at the Cabinet of Prints at Berlin (*Valentiner 373*;

¹⁾ That it was a subject well fitted to affect this tender soul, compassionate and good in the extreme, as says Boldinuzzi.

HdG, 52; *Lilienfeld* 50) shows the same composition. The wounded man with the upper part of the body bare and with only a cloth round his loins, is lying on the ground, resting on his right elbow. Here he is too ill to take much notice of what happens behind him. The Samaritan is looking at the wound and the wounded man is showing it to him. The wound is at the back of the left thigh. The Samaritan has in his hand a box with dressings or medicaments. The saddled horse stands behind the group, but is seen from the side.

In another drawing (*Fig. 35*) in the Cabinet of Prints at Berlin (*Valentiner* 374; *HdG*. 61; *Lilienfeld* 49) the wounded man is lying at full length unconscious on the ground with his head back. The Samaritan is busy opening a bottle, which he is holding with his left hand. Here the horse is also standing in the background just as in the first mentioned drawing and is also looking with head averted up the road. The shape of the bottle is seen here more distinctly than in the painting. It is of a peculiar square form with rounded off corners at the top, as we sometimes meet with in old liquor-cases in which, as in the little box in the painting, there is room for three bottles side by side. The object is to give the bottle such a shape that they can hold the greatest quantity in the smallest possible space.

A washed pen-drawing in the Kunsthalle at Bremen (*Valentiner* 375; not in *HdG*.) shows the Samaritan dismounting. He is looking at the wounded man at his right hand. According to *Valentiner* it is a copy after a lost original. He writes: „Auf diese Kopie machte mich Herr G. Falck aufmerksam, ein zweites, nicht besseres Exemplar ist in der Ermitage. Hier wird das quergestellte Pferd des Samaritaners vom Künstler für den Zusammenschluss der Gruppe benützt (*Valentiner*, page 487). ¹⁾

A couple of sketches (one at Amsterdam, a second in the collection of F. Königs at Haarlem) represent the wounded man at the moment when he is discovered by the Samaritan. The former sketch is out of the collections of Jacob de Vos Sr. and W. Pitcairn Knowles and is dated about 1631. The wounded traveller is unconscious and the Samaritan is trying to lift him by taking him under the shoulders. The sketch gives a good idea of an unconscious person, with drooping head and relaxed arms. The upper part of the body of the Samaritan however is less well done. The second sketch (*Valentiner* 376; *HdG*. 356) of about

¹⁾ Mr. G. Falck drew my attention to this copy; a second, but not better, specimen is to be found in the Ermitage. Here the horse of the Samaritan, standing across the road, is used by the artist as a connecting link for the figures of the group.

1648 is much better. In this one the traveller, stripped quite naked by the thieves, is lifting his right leg a little to allow the wound to be examined. The Samaritan is bending attentively towards him.

After first aid has been rendered, we come to the transportation to the inn. In the exhibition at Dusseldorf in 1904 was a painting (number 363 of the catalogue) in the possession of Professor Dr. Thode of Heidelberg and dated 1631. Dr. Hofstede de Groot has recognized it as an English imitation from the eighteenth century (*Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft* XXVII. 1905, page 575). The wounded man is more hanging from, than sitting on the horse's neck. His head is held downwards. His bending forward to the right leads us to presume that this position is due not to weakness alone, but adopted in order to lessen the pain as far as possible. The Samaritan is holding the bridle and is walking in front with a big stick in his right hand.

I have found eight different representations of the arrival at the inn. Among them the painting in the Wallace collection in London and the drawing in the Museum Boymans at Rotterdam are the principal ones.

1) A pen-drawing in the "Schloszmuseum" at Weimar shows the Samaritan standing by the horse on which the unconscious traveller is lying, bound with cords so as not to slip off, and just commencing to loosen the cords. The head rests on the hind quarters and the feet stick out at both sides of the head of the horse, which is held by a little boy. The host and his wife are at the entrance of the inn, which is reached by a few steps. This representation dates from about 1650—1652 (*Valentiner* 377; *HdG.* 519). According to Valentiner (page 488) it is, as far as we know, the last representation by Rembrandt of the parable of the good Samaritan.

2) The painting in the Wallace collection at London (dated from about 1632—1633) shows the arrival in daylight. The wounded traveller is being lifted from the horse by a servant. A stable-boy is holding the bridle and the Samaritan, standing at the top of the steps before the entrance of the inn, is talking to the innkeeper. From a window of the house a person is looking on inquisitively, and in the background a woman is busy drawing water from a well. Full light falls on the horse and the wounded man. The composition of the picture is not good, the persons being placed as it were in a row one above the other. Goethe admired it very much. He calls it "one of the best pictures in the world, executed with the greatest care and showing an extraordinary ease of execution" (*Schriften und Aufsätze zur Kunst: Rembrandt als Denker*).



Berlin. Cabinet of Prints

Fig. 33

The raising of the daughter of Jairus, about 1658



Leningrad. Ermitage

Fig. 36
The incredulity of S. Thomas, 1634

3) The etching (*Bartsch 90*) dated 1633 gives the same representation in a reversed form (*Fig. 38*). Singer says of this etching: „Es ist die Schülerreproduzenten-Wiedergabe von Rembrandt's Gemälde im Wallace-Museum zu London. Die kleinliche Durchführung lässt es durchaus nicht zu, das Blatt als Originalradierung aufzufassen. W. Schmidt meint, schon im ersten Zustand rühren die Schattenpartien links, der Hund und andere in Vordergrund von Schülern her, also diese hätten der Platte ihr bestimmtes Aussehen gegeben, noch ehe der erste Abzug bestand. Auch dann kann man doch unmöglich die Radierung als ein eigenhändiges Rembrandtisches Original ansehen." (*H. W. Singer. page 287*). ¹⁾

The etching represents in the foreground a dog responding to a call of nature, which does not appear in the painting. Further differences are amongst others: the large tree at the side of the house, the birds in the air and the wooden bannister, which are all missing in the painting. It was supposed that the dog was represented already in the original picture but was painted over at the request of the possessor. There is, however, no sign of overpainting at that place and if the dog has been painted over this must have been done very early, for it is also to be found in the engraving in the: "Receuil de la galerie de Choiseul" where the picture was hanging at the end of the 18th century.

It is most difficult to criticise a painting or drawing objectively, because one is tempted to see what one is wishing for, a mistake also made perhaps by the writer of this study! It is however a little far fetched to do as Goethe did, viz to ignore the expression of fear of possible pain on the wounded man's part, when being lifted off the horse, and to say that this expression is the result of his recognizing one of the thieves in the person who is standing at the window. Only after the fourth state of this etching do we find the signature: Rembrandt inventor et fecit 1633.

4) The moment when the wounded man is being lifted off the horse is also sketched in a washed pen-drawing in the Louvre (*Valentiner 380; HdG. 605*). It dates from about 1648. The composition is however quite different and more natural than in the representations mentioned above. The servant is

¹⁾ It is the reproduction by a pupil of Rembrandt's picture in the Wallace-Collection in London. It is so poorly worked out that we cannot regard this specimen as an original etching by Rembrandt. W. Schmidt is of opinion that in the first state the shadowed parts to the left, the dog and other things were done by pupils, and that this gave the plate its definite appearance even before the first proof was printed. Even then it is impossible to look upon the etching as an original one by Rembrandt.

standing on the right, behind the horse. He has lifted the traveller off the horse, which is being held by a boy. To the left is the entrance to the inn, with a few steps leading to the door. The host is standing in the entrance and in front of him the Samaritan. Both groups are connected by three other persons, while at the foot of the steps near to the host dogs are coming out, urged by curiosity. The representation of the persons, who are only drawn with a few lines, is here again well done: the earnest exertion of the man who is carrying the wounded traveller, the latter with an arm about the neck of his bearer, his face twisted by pain, the host, who seems to be making objections and is holding his hands as if he would say: "I am sorry, but", the Samaritan who appears to be insisting and even the curious looks of the spectators.

5) In the painting in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum at Berlin (*Catalogue No. 812b. Valentiner 379. HdG. 885. Hind 70*) it is supposed that the wounded man arrived at the inn unconscious. Two persons have lifted him off the horse, and while his feet are already touching the ground, the upper part of his body hangs, drooping to the left, in the arms of the helper, who is holding him under the arm-pits. The upper part of his body is nude and the head bandaged with a great cloth. The Samaritan is standing near, he has his right hand stretched out a little to give directions as to the way, the patient has to be carried. In the background on the left, a high flight of steps, which leads to the entrance of the inn. The whole scene takes place in the dark and the group is illuminated by a light, which is placed on the ground before the Samaritan and the others.

6, 7, 8) Continuing the action, the wounded traveller is being carried into the inn. This is represented in a painting in the Louvre (*Fig. 39*), in a drawing in the British Museum (*Fig. 40*) and in a drawing in the Boymans Museum at Rotterdam.

In all three evening has fallen and the illumination of the main group comes from a light on the ground or from the light of a lantern in the hands of the host, standing at the top of the steps (British Museum). In the painting in the Louvre (*Fig. 39*) it is twilight; the setting sun lights up the heads of the two men, who carry the wounded man into the house. The one behind is supporting him under the arm-pits, the one in front is holding him under the knees, which are being held together. The Samaritan has already mounted a few of the steps and is turning around to superintend the transport. The host is standing in the entrance quite in the dark. The horse is held by a stable-boy, standing on his toes and looking over the horse in order to be able to see what is happening.

A sketch of a drawing was in the collection Vever in the exhibition at Paris in the Bibliothèque Nationale in 1908 and shows the boy with his cap on; the same boy is represented in a painting of Rembrandt's studio in the Museum at Antwerp.

Fromentin describes the picture with enthusiasm: "Cet homme à moitié mort, plié en deux, soutenu par les épaules, porté par les jambes, brisé, faussé dans tout son corps, haletant au mouvement de la marche, les jambes nues, les pieds rassemblés, les genoux se touchant, un bras contracté gauchement sur sa poitrine creuse, le front enveloppé d'un bandage où l'on voit du sang.... l'enfant à mine souffreteuse, qui se hausse sur les points des pieds, regarde par dessus l'encolure de la bête, et sans grande pitié, suit des yeux jusqu' à l'hôtellerie le blessé, qu'on a ramassé sur le chemin, qu'on emporte avec précaution, qui pèse entre les mains des porteurs et qui geint" (*E. Fromentin, Les Maîtres d'autrefois*, page 376). ¹⁾

The painting is dated 1648 as is the drawing in the Boymans Museum at Rotterdam, which is to be regarded as a preparatory study, just as is the washed drawing in the British Museum.

In the first drawing (*Valentiner* 378, *HdG.* 1350) (*Fig. 40*) it is night and the light of the torches, carried by the servants, falls only on the group with the wounded traveller. The man is brought in unconscious, with a bandage round his head and with the upper part of his body bare. One of the servants is holding him around the waist, his head and the upper part of the body are drooping to one side. The same servant is holding him by the knees. The Samaritan and the host are standing before the entrance and are drawn with only a few thick strokes. The effect of the light is much stronger in the second drawing (*Valentiner* 379; *HdG.* 885; *Hind* 70). The plundered traveller is quite unconscious. The upper part of his body is supported by the right arms of the two assistants, who are standing on either side of him, with their left hands under the knees supporting the lower part of the body. The arms of the wounded man hang loosely and his face with the pointed nose and protruding chin reminds one vividly of that of the little daughter of Jairus in the drawing at Berlin (*Valentiner* No. 419). The Samaritan is

¹⁾ This half dead man, doubled up, supported by the shoulders and carried by his legs, with all his limbs strained, out of breath by the movement of the march, his legs bare, his feet brought together, his knees touching each other, one arm held awkwardly on his hollow breast, his forehead bandaged with a cloth, which shows blood..... the child of a sickly appearance, standing on tiptoe, looking over the neck of the horse and without much pity, following with his eyes the wounded man up to the inn, who has been picked up from the road and is carefully being carried, weighing heavily on the hands of the bearers and groaning.

standing near the group and is holding up the wounded man's head with both hands. In the single line of the neck is represented, in a masterly way, the perfectly flaccid attitude of the body of the unconscious man. Valentiner considers this drawing: „Einer der bedeutendsten Zeichnungen vom Ende der vierziger Jahre" (*Valentiner*, page 488). (One of the most important drawings of the late forties).

The third stage of the story is represented by a drawing at Berlin, dated from about 1648 (*Valentiner* 381; *HdG.* 63; *Lilienfeld* 51). The Samaritan is seen paying the housekeeper, while the wounded man is being carried into the house. In the open door only the bare legs of the wounded traveller are to be seen. With a satisfied look the housekeeper is taking the money, while the stable-boy is looking round closely to observe the transaction. Valentiner considers this drawing genuine, but agrees that it is somewhat empty and unsatisfactory. Rembrandt is the seeker of the best: having made a sketch, he is not satisfied but tries to get at the subject by other means. Of his sketches and drawings many of course are lost, perhaps destroyed by himself, when they did not please him. However, among the great number which have been preserved, numerous examples can be found of that search for the right moment and the best composition. How entirely different is the idea of the moment when the host is being paid in another drawing at Berlin (*Valentiner* 382; *HdG.* 64; *Lilienfeld* 52), (*Fig. 41*). The scene here is laid inside the inn: the sick man, still quite unconscious, has been put to bed and only his bandaged head shows above the bed-clothes. A woman with a large wrap over her head is seen near the head of the bed. The innkeeper with his back turned towards the patient, has his right hand outstretched to receive his payment, which the Samaritan is handing. Through the open door we can just see the head of the horse and that of the stable-boy at the foot of the steps in front of the entrance. Valentiner is of the following opinion about this drawing: „Die Komposition ist sehr reizvoll und ganz im Geist der Werke Rembrandts um 1648" (*Valentiner*, page 488).¹⁾

In the third series of the richly prepared edition of the drawings of Rembrandt (edited in 1903 by *M. Nyhoff*), under the number 61 a drawing is mentioned on which is written in ink: „Le malade du Samaritain, visité par les médecins" (The sick man of the Samaritan visited by physicians). The description in that book runs as follows: "Four men standing by a

¹⁾ The composition is very charming, quite in the style of Rembrandt's works about 1648.



Paris, Jules Porgès Coll.

Fig. 37

The good Samaritan attending the wounded man, about 1648



Fig. 38

The good Samaritan and the wounded man arriving at the inn. 1633

sick child (!), who is lying on the floor; pen and wash, Walther Gay, Paris". Two persons are standing to the right of the patient, one of them, kneeling, is feeling his pulse and is looking intently at the face of the sick child; the other, also kneeling, is looking at the scene with folded hands. S. Luke does not say that physicians were called in to examine the patient and as the body of the sick person is that of a child, it appears to me that the inscription is not correct and that this drawing does not belong to the series, dealing with the "Good Samaritan".

We see that the different stages of the story, related in the Gospel according to S. Luke, have been represented by Rembrandt and have inspired some of his famous pictures.

The Evangelist S. Luke writes in Ch. II, V, 21: "and when eight days were accomplished for the circumcising of the child, his name was called Jesus". Rembrandt has painted this event several times. The operation served him in the first place as subject for an etching (*Bartsch*, 48), which is dated about 1630: the so called Circumcising of Christ in "the length". The scene is the Temple, in the foreground the High Priest sits with the child in his lap, the operator is kneeling before him with bowed head. Behind the group on a higher level we see a priest in full ceremonial attire and before him a burning censer. On either side spectators on their knees, who show great attention. The centre of the etching is strongly lit so that of the operation itself nothing is to be seen: the only noticeable thing is, that the child appears to be bending the upper part of his body, stretching out its arms and holding its mouth open, apparently crying aloud. Singer has placed this etching among the doubtful ones (*page 161*).

Now, in chronological order comes the drawing of 1633 (*Valentiner 306; HdG, 214*) in the Cabinet of Prints at Dresden. In this very faded etching the main scene is laid in the left background. In the foreground there are a couple of priests talking. Of the operation nothing is to be seen.

The drawing in the Cabinet of Prints at Munich (*Valentiner 307; HdG. 375*) about 1640 is very much retouched and gives the impression of having been made by a pupil and corrected by the master. The child is being held with legs wide apart over a big bowl. The body is resting on the left arm of the half-kneeling assistant, while the High Priest with heavy beard, in full ceremonial dress, a knife in his right hand, is performing the operation. To the left people on their knees with bowed heads.

A washed pen-drawing (*Fig. 42*) at Berlin (*Valentiner 308; HdG. 49; Lilienfeld 35*) from about 1645 comes next. The big

bowl is placed on a table with a cloth reaching to the floor. The assistant holds the child in the same way, but is now standing by the table. The High-Priest, dressed as in the other etchings, also with heavy beard, is sitting in front of the table and is holding his head close to the region of operation and is looking intensely at it. The group of kneeling persons is now to the right, while to the left a number of persons, in front and behind, are leaning over a balustrade. The representation of the main group is very much the same as in the last mentioned drawing, but the expression on the faces of the main figures is more carefully and more expressively done.

A painting in the Gemälde Galerie at Brunswick (*Catalogue 1910, Nr. 241; HdG. 82a*) is dated 1646. Unfortunately it is not the original, which disappeared, but only a study-copy by a pupil. The composition is different. The sketch for this painting is preserved in the Cabinet of Prints at Munich (*Valentiner 309; HdG. 377*). The High-Priest in full dress and with heavy beard is sitting on an elevation. Before him is a great round bowl on a decorated pedestal, in which the child sits, held by the High-Priest. An assistant, bare-headed, is performing the circumcision, standing at the side of the bowl, with a knife in his hand. On the steps and before the throne a number of persons are seen, watching the ceremony on their knees and with folded hands. Another priest is standing near the High-Priest also in full ceremonial dress with a staff in his hands, and completes the group from above. In the sketch of the drawing this last priest is drawn looking down at the operation but in the painting he is looking straight ahead just as if he had to keep the crowd at a distance while the sacred ceremony was being performed.

Eight years later (1654) Rembrandt treats the same subject but then the scene is laid in the stable of Bethlehem. In the etching (*Bartsch 47*) called: "The Circumcision of Christ in the breadth". Joseph has the child on his lap. He is holding the child with both hands and pressing it to his breast. The operation is almost entirely concealed in the dark part of the plate, only Joseph's hands are distinctly to be seen, and the operation seems to be nearly finished. To the left Mary is sitting with hands folded. Another woman is standing behind her, looking attentively at the operation. Near the two women are a ladder, a stable-rack, a barrel and bundles of hay. This etching belongs to a set of representations of the youth of Christ, dated 1654, viz: the Adoration of the shepherds with the lantern, the Flight to Egypt, the Return to Nazareth, the Holy Family with the cat, the Twelve-years-old Jesus among



Paris, Louvre

Fig. 39

The good Samaritan and the wounded man arriving at the inn. 1648



London, British Museum

Fig. 40

The wounded man is carried in to the inn, about 1648

the scribes in the Temple. In all these prints an appearance of depth and a striking expression of the persons represented has been attained by the simplest means (*HdG. Rembrandt-Bible, Vol. II. page 14*).

A second picture dealing with the circumcision, belongs to the Earl of Spencer, Althorp House, and is dated 1661 (*Valentiner, 465; HdG. 518*). Mary is sitting in front of a curtain in full light with the child on her lap and before her a priest on his knees performing the ceremony. To the left a priest is standing with an open book and in the semi-darkness of the painting are a number of persons who are attending the ceremony. Smith describes this picture in his "Descriptive Catalogue" (*No. 69*) as follows: „une étude admirable, très finie et d'un effet brillant" ("an admirable study, very finished and of brilliant effect".)

To wind up I would mention a drawing of 1663 in the collection of J. Böhler at Munich (*Valentiner 310; not in HdG.*). The composition reminds us of that of the painting in Brunswick. It represents however the moment when Mary is handing over the child to the High-Priest. Near him the assistant is sitting with the big bowl. Valentiner says of it: „eine bedeutende Komposition etwa gleichzeitig mit der Darstellung des Claudius Civilis in Stockholm, an deren ursprünglichen Fassung die Raumordnung erinnert" (*Valentiner, page 482*). ¹⁾

In the surgical representations we may also include that of the beggar with the wooden leg. It is an etching (*Fig. 43*) from about 1630 (*Bartsch 179*). The man is bending forward, leaning with his right hand on a stick, with his left arm in a sling. The leg is bent at the knee. A wooden stilt of the most simple shape is fixed at the knee in such a way that the under part of the knee rests upon it.

In a little etching (*Bartsch 185*) a sick beggar and beggar-woman are to be seen. The man, heavily bearded, is lying on the ground, his face turned to the left, his hands close to his body and his legs stretched out. He gives the impression of being very ill. Near him is standing his wife, supported by a big crutch. Her back is deformed. Crutches are often met with in representations of beggars. Generally they are of the same shape: a stick with a short cross-piece at one end.

Crutches are very well to be seen in the etching: "The Onion-woman" (*Bartsch 134*). The woman is sitting on a chair, her

¹⁾ An important composition of about the same time as the representation of Claudius Civilis at Stockholm. The arrangement of space reminds us of the original composition of the latter.

bare feet on a footwarmer, in which is an earthen fire-pot. These foot-warmers were widely used in Holland in Rembrandt's time and even now they are found in the country, where peasant women make great use of them. On the wall near the Onion-Woman are hanging the two crutches by the bunch of onions to which this etching owes its name.

The painter Jan Asselyn (called Crabbetje) was born with mutilated hands. Nevertheless he became a famous painter. Being a friend of Rembrandt, the Master etched his portrait in 1647 (*Bartsch* 277), and he did it in such a manner, that the mutilations are not to be seen. Now that the governments, driven by social legislation, are interested in the care of the mutilated, Asselyn's paintings are a most striking example of what can be reached by patience and perseverance.



Fig. 43. A beggar with a wooden leg.



Berlin, Cabinet of Prints

Fig. 41

The Samaritan pays the innkeeper for the cure of the wounded man, about 1648



Berlin, Cabinet of Prints

Fig. 42
The circumcision, about 1645



Museum Boymans, Rotterdam.

Fig. 44. The treatment of a blind man.

CHAPTER VII.

Ophthalmology.

Among the healings of Christ we must include the cure of a blind man, as told in the Gospel according to S. John (Ch. IX. V. 1—12). The text relates that once upon a time Christ, being in the country with his disciples, met a man who had been blind from his birth. In verse six we read: "When he had thus spoken, he spat on the ground and made clay of the spittle, and anointed his eyes with the clay, and said unto him: "Go, wash in the pool Silóam." He went away therefore, and washed and came away seeing". Rembrandt has represented the treatment of this blind man in a drawing (Fig. 44) about 1659 (At present in the Boymans Museum at Rotterdam). (*Valentin* 441; *HdG.* 135).

We are on the steps in the hall of a house. Through the open gate we are looking on a court in which are a number of persons. Only the upper parts of their bodies are to be seen. Here also the same effect as the master aimed at in some drawings of the good Samaritan, (for instance in the drawing No. 382

of *Valentiner*). The blind man sits on one of the steps, his legs crossed over his stick, leaning firmly against the wall in order to submit to the treatment of his blindness as quietly as possible. Christ is standing one step lower and is bending over him, while with the index finger of his right hand he anoints the right eye. One step higher and one lower down, there are people looking on. We can imagine that the draughtsman was satisfied with his composition and has not tried to represent the same event in another way. It was a lucky invention to represent the scene on a staircase, giving by the variation in the places of the different persons a much greater liveliness to the event.

The expressions of the main figures are exceedingly well depicted: the attitude of the blind man with his head bent slightly back, his hands outstretched, his open mouth and protruding jaw; the hands of Christ, his attitude halfbent forward and looking fixedly at the eyes of the blind man, the figures who are standing a step higher and who have turned halfround to watch the treatment; every thing is equally beautifully expressed in this drawing.

Earlom has engraved a print in mezzotint representing the same event. This print is said to have been made after Rembrandt. Probably Earlom has also misused Rembrandt's name here in order to give greater value to his print. Not one sketch is known which would make one think of this totally different representation of the healing of the blind man. The whole of the composition, in which only the upper parts of the bodies are represented, their being placed in a row, the Christ with the halo, all is so different from Rembrandt's manner of representation, that in my opinion there is no question of its being a lost Rembrandt.

Several representations of blind people are to be found in the works of Rembrandt. For instance the etching (*Bartsch* 138): the blind violin player. In bowed attitude, a big cap, adorned with a feather, on his head, his feet in slippers, the wallet in front of him, he goes around with his dog on a lead, trying to find his way and continually playing his violin in order to solicit alms. To the left in the background is an old woman leaning on a crutch. Perhaps she belongs to the violin player as it is too dangerous for him to venture on the roads, accompanied only by his dog.

The blind man in the collection of Rembrandt's drawings in the Museum Fodor at Amsterdam, is standing with a bandage before his eyes, a large hat on his head and leaning with both

hands on a long staff. On his right side he has a bag hanging on a cord slung across his left shoulder. Near him a woman with a child in her arms and a couple of children. He belongs to that class of beggars, that pretends to be selling something. Though the drawing is very faded, it is still possible to see how the blind man protrudes his lower jaw and with open mouth holds his head a little backward and to one side. These are characteristics, which are very often found in the blind.

According to Eugen Hollaender (*Die Medizin in der klassischen Malerei*, Ferdinand Enke, Stuttgart 1913, page 235) the portrait of Homer from 1663, in the Bredius Museum at the Hague, is not a good representation of the blind Homer. The attitude of the head and specially the wrinkles on the forehead by which blindness usually is expressed, are quite neglected in this picture. Rembrandt did not paint the great poet with his intensely developed inner-life, but only a poor, trembling, quivering rabbi, perhaps one of his neighbours in the ghetto.

The story of Tobit has been treated by Rembrandt in all its various stages. There exist numerous representations of the blind Tobit and his family and still more numerous are the representations of his healing. The etching (*Bartsch 42*) belongs to the first mentioned series (*Fig. 45*). A more striking representation of a blind person would be hard to find. Tobit being alone in the house, has heard a noise and wants to know, what it is. He has got up from his chair, on which he has been sitting near the open fireplace. Fish hangs in the chimney in process of drying. He has overturned his wife's spinning-wheel and is standing near the door, which he tries to reach by feeling his way. He has not succeeded in finding it and has just passed the door. The right hand is stretched out with closed fingers. In his left hand he has a stick, which he is holding not by the end, but a little lower down and which serves him not as support but as a feeler. The little dog is pressing against him, apparently in order to tell his master that he is going in the wrong direction. To show this still better, Rembrandt has etched on the wall the shadow of Tobit. The set face with the eyes shut and the half opened mouth show plainly that the blind man tries as hard as he can to find out, where he is.

Mr. Malcolm Bell describes this etching in his work on Rembrandt as follows: "In such a plate as the blind Tobit, there is not a detail of the technique, which other men could not have done as well, but for such another presentment of the hurried, helpless groping for the door by a blind, weak old man, not

yet inured to the perpetual darkness that has fallen on him, we must wait for a second Rembrandt and the wait is likely too be long." (*M. Bell., Rembrandt and his work. London, George Bell and sons. 1899. page 129*).

Some paintings show Tobit, always in the company of his wife, with or without a little he-goat. In the picture in the possession of Sir Frederick Cook at Richmond of 1650 (*Valentiner 297*) Tobit is sitting near the fire. The whole interior is that of a poor Dutch peasant family. The great round fire-place, the simple little armchair, in which Tobit is sitting, the little kettle, which is standing on the fire on a tripod, instead of hanging from a big chain, the bare walls and the rough wooden shutter near the window are all typical. The only article of luxury in the room is the bird-cage.

While the woman is sitting near the window at her spinning-wheel, Tobit is placed with his back to the light and sits sleeping or absorbed in deep thought with folded hands and with head leaning against the chimney. If we did not know by the name of the picture, that the figure near the fire represented Tobit, it would be quite possible to doubt its being a blind person. Only the set face with the staring open eyes shows it. The blindness is seen more clearly on the painting at Berlin in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum, dated 1648 (*Valentiner 283*).

In this picture Tobit is sitting in the middle of the room, a stick in his left hand, his right hand lifted up, talking with his wife, who is standing near him with the little struggling he-goat held by a short rope. Tobit is holding his head with the blind eyes sideways and tries by movements of his hand to supplement his words. Drawings for this painting are in the Print-rooms at Stockholm and at Berlin.

More beautiful from a medical point of view is the: "Tobit and his wife" of Rembrandt's earlier period, 1626 (*Fig. 46*). It forms part of the Tschugin collection at Moskou (*Valentiner. Suppl. 2*). Tobit is sitting before the window, his back turned towards the light. His hands are folded and his face, turned upwards with the blind eyes, is old and wrinkled, and wears a great beard. His feet are wrapped up in rags and his little dog is sitting by him. The woman with the he-goat under her arms, is standing bent forward and looking at him with great wide-opened eyes; the spinning-wheel is standing between the two persons. The objects in the room are accurately painted; the little basket in an open space behind the woman, of which every piece of basket-work is clearly to be distinguished and the bunch of onions hanging near the window. The light falls with equal strength on man, woman and animal and we get



Fig. 45
Blind Tobit, 1651



Moskau. Coll. Tschugin

Fig. 46
Blind Tobit and his wife. 1626

the impression that this picture is a work of his youth, when Rembrandt had not found his characteristic way of distributing the light, which he followed in later years. Still the fact of being blind is here more correctly represented than in the other paintings just mentioned.

In the Van Aarden's alms-house in the little town of Leerdam near Gorinchem is an old collection of pictures which is but little known. Several of these pictures are well worth being saved from oblivion. Here hangs a copy after a painting by Rembrandt, which has got lost and which was dated from the beginning of his middle period, about 1636—1638. It represents Tobit sitting with closed eyes and hands folded. After the original painting by Rembrandt an engraving has been made by J. de Leeuw. On the engraving we read: "Rembrandt van Ryn inv." The quatrain is made by C. G. Plempius.

Dr. Richard Greeff, the director of the ophthalmic hospital in the Royal Charité of the University of Berlin made an exceedingly interesting study, published in a book, edited by Ferdinand Enke, Stuttgart 1907, about the healing of Tobit. He speaks at length about the picture in the collection of the Duke of Arenberg at Brussel (*Fig. 47*) and about the paintings, ascribed to Rembrandt and showing the same subject. He describes also paintings by other painters and the prints engraved and relating to it together with an accurate interpretation of all the drawings by Rembrandt, bearing on the healing of Tobit, which he has reproduced in his book.

Since 1907 several drawings of Rembrandt have come to light and how much trouble the painter took to find a composition which satisfied him, is shown by the fact, that I am able to add yet another two drawings to the seven described by Greeff. The book by Greeff is already rather rare. The discussions about Rembrandt's paintings and drawings, relating to the healing of Tobit belong to Greeff's study and I should advise those, who take an interest in the subject, to read it.

The painting in the collection of the Duke of Arenberg is a small one: the height is 48 c.M. and the breadth 39 c.M. It is painted on oak and bears the signature: Rembrandt f. 1636 on the arms of the chair on the painting. It was sold by Jan Gildemeester Js. at Amsterdam on June 11th 1800 to Mr. Westermoud for one thousand and five guilders.

Close to the window Tobit is sitting on a chair, his head bent backward, leaning with his left arm on a table near him. A strong light falls into the room which for the rest is kept in a darker tone. His son, wearing an ornamented turban, is

standing behind him and is holding his father's head with his outstretched left hand. He is performing the operation with the right hand, in which he holds a long instrument. Greeff has already pointed out the error Luther made in his translation of "the book of Tobit" for he translated the word denoting the affection of the eyes of Tobit by a "cataract". The affection was caused by the excrements of a bird falling in it. As said above, Luther translated the word by cataract, it really means however an opaque membrane. As appears from a thesis of David Mauchard in 1743, the author translated the Greek text and speaks of a white membrane (leucoma, albugo). (*Greeff, l.c. page 39*). This is also more likely, as it is easy to understand that a corrosive matter may cause an inflammation of the cornea. This inflammation can cause the formation of a non-transparent membrane but cannot give rise to an opacity of the lens oculi. Probably in Rembrandt's bible was found the word "cataract" and for that reason he depicts the healing as an operation for cataract.

According to the story an angel visits Tobit and takes his son with him to find a remedy for his father. Coming near some water a great fish jumps up. Tobit Junior is at first frightened, but the angel tells him to kill the fish, take its heart, gall and liver and to prepare a remedy from it, wherewith to anoint the sick eyes of his father.

Gall as a remedy for diseases of the eyes is to be found in the oldest medical manuscripts and books. So the "Papyrus Ebers" gives in Book LXII, Ch. 6 a prescription against "albugo" which has developed in the eye, only containing the remedy: bnf n abdoe. Ebers translated the first word by lung, from its relationship to the Coptic word for lung. Joachim translated it with gall, with a mark of interrogation and Luring accepts this meaning unconditionally. The fish "abdoe" is thought by Professor Klunziger at Stuttgart to be our pike. So the translation of the Ebers prescription (from about 1500 before Christ) runs: Gall of the pike.

In the "Corpus Hippocraticum" gall is mentioned in the first book of diseases of women: Remedy for the eyes: gall of a goat mixed with salt of copper and myrrhe mixed with white wine, this has to be dried in the sun, to be kept in a copper vase and to be used dry (*No. 102*).

Pliny mentions that gall used for diseases of the eye would: excalefacere (to warm), mordere (to cauterize), scindere (to divide), extrahere (to extract) and discutere (to dissolve). Pliny also mentions in book XXVIII:

Gall of a bear.... for weakness of sight.

Gall of a hare.... with honey or raisin wine for "coligatio"
(dimness).

Gall of a hyena.... applied to the forehead for "Lippituda"
(state of being bear-eyed).

Gall of a dog.... for "suffocatio corneae" (opaqueness of the
horney coat of the eye).

Gall of a dog.... for "albugo" (white spots in the eye). Mixed
with honey according to the prescription of Appolonius
Piteanus.

Gall of a lion.... Mixed with the white of an egg and water,
this dropped in the eye for amaurosis (weakness of sight).

Paulus of Aegina mentions the gall of a fish "Uramoscopus".
It is a remedy against cataract and leucoma. The gall of the
sea-turtle and the chamois is usefull for "nyktalopie" i.e. for
persons who can scarcely see during day-light, but very well
at night. Galenus mentions gall of the hare for spots on the
cornea but one also may use the gall of a fox or that of a
deer, while the gall of an ox dropped into the eyes, cures
those, who are suffering from opaqueness of the horney coat
of the eye. Up to the nineteenth century the gall of a fish was
regarded by the people as a specific against diseases of the
eye. Even in 1883 Huseman in his "Handbuch der gesammten
Arzneimittellehre" on page 692 spoke of fresh and steamed gall
as a remedy against opaqueness of the cornua (*Dr. Wilhelm
Ebstein, Die Medizin im neuen Testament und im Talmud,
Stuttgart, Ferdinand Enke. 1903. page 48*).

The book of Tobit is supposed to have been written 180
years before Christ. Pliny derived his observations from dif-
ferent sources and so it is very probable that the healing influ-
ence of gall on an opaqueness of the cornua was already known
180 years before Christ. From this it follows once more, that it
was not a "cataract" from which old Tobit was suffering.

Let us return to the picture in the Arenberg collection. The
instrument in the hand of the son of Tobit is according to
Greeff a cataract-needle and the direction in which the needle
is being inserted from the outside into the eye, is quite in
accordance with the fact that a cataract-operation is here de-
picted. At the side of the window the angel is standing watch-
ing closely and attentively. The wife of Tobit is sitting
before him and is affectionately holding his left hand with both
hers.

In the Picture Gallery at Brunswick is a copy of this
painting by Gerbrandt Eeckhout, a pupil of Rembrandt. (*Cat-
alogue 1910, No. 239, afterwards No. 262*). This painting is
broader and shows on the right the partition of the room, in

which the scene takes place. The winding staircase of which only the upper part is to be seen in the Brussels painting, is now represented in full and leads to a cupboard-bedstead. In front of that there is a typical Dutch pump, which we even in present times find with its big brass water-tap in country houses in Holland, as well as baskets, pots, pans and other household utensils.

In the original picture a little dog is only painted in part, in this picture it is barking at a cat, which has taken refuge near the balustrade. To the left of the main-group is a little boy, who is only partially painted in the original. From these details it is evident, that the original painting by Rembrandt was bigger on the right hand side. The whole picture is kept in a very dark tone: the light falls on the group only through the window. It is possible that one of the owners of the picture had a part of the dark portion cut off, perhaps because there was not much to be seen in it. This theory is supported by the fact, that Rembrandt is very unlikely to have painted half a dog. The staircase too, which hangs now in the air, might have been painted by a beginner, but certainly not by a painter as Rembrandt was.

In 1755 A. de Marcenay made an engraving after the picture, which is broader but shows only the front of the pump, which is to be seen in full on the copy of Eeckhout. This would lead one to think, that the picture was cut off on two occasions.

Among the engravings made after this painting, there is one by Bouquet. This engraving also shows, that a piece of the painting has been cut off at the right hand side: on the right we see not one child but two and the dark part is also broader.

The painting shows the same type of fire-place as the one mentioned above: "Tobit and his wife" (the picture dated 1650 at Richmond), but the kettle on the fire is now hanging from a chain. The winding staircase is painted after a type known to exist in Rembrandt's times and is also to be found in the two little paintings of 1632 in the Louvre Museum and representing a philosopher.

When we compare the original and the copy, Rembrandt's masterhand is evident. Not only has the distribution of the light become diffused in the copy, so that the attention of the observer is too much drawn to details but the expression on the faces is far less typical. Let me call the reader's attention to the face of old Tobit, which in the original is most naturally depicted: the tension of the muscles of the face and the open mouth have given place in the copy to what is merely a portrait of a serious face with the mouth shut.



Brussels. Earl of Aremberg Collection

Fig. 47

The healing of old Tobit. 1636



Copenhagen. G. Falck Coll.

Fig. 48

The operation of old Tobit, about 1645

Greeff mentions a copper-engraving by De Clausin, reproduced by him in table III and, according to the inscription, engraved after Rembrandt. Here old Tobit is sitting near the table, his head partly turned away from the light. The son is standing bare-headed behind him, the woman sitting with hands folded at the table near him. The angel with his hand under his chin is seated by the spinning-wheel near the fireplace. This engraving was really executed after Rembrandt, for in the Frederik Muller sale at Amsterdam in June 1912 the drawing (*Fig. 48*) turned up. It is now in the possession of Mr. C. Falck at Copenhagen. Yet however hard he tried, De Clausin could not, even with this sketch before him, get the expression Rembrandt obtained with a simple line. On Rembrandt's sketch the look on the faces is most expressive. We cannot say this from De Clausin's engraving, though the expression on the face of the son is well depicted by De Clausin. Rembrandt too, has made a mistake in his drawing (*Valentiner 25, not at HdG.*). The cataract needle which should be introduced sideways and perpendicularly to the axis of the eye, as represented "lege artis" in the painting of the Duke of Arenberg, is now introduced into the horny coat of the eye from above and at an angle of 45 degrees. De Clausin has done this better and he follows the manner of Rembrandt in 1636. Valentiner thinks that the drawing dates from about 1645. As De Clausin lived until about 1640 and remarks himself that he made this engraving after a drawing by Rembrandt, it is evident that the drawing must date from before 1640.

Greeff gives descriptions of the following drawings:

- I. Fodor-Museum at Amsterdam (*Valentiner 247, HdG. 1215, Greeff IV*).

As regards the operation it is an indistinct representation. The father seems to have a mouse-head on the top of which the operation is being performed. The attitudes of the angel, woman and operator are however very natural. The dog is seen sleeping.

- II. Louvre-Collection (*Valentiner 248; HdG. 600; Greeff V*).

The operation here is being conducted in the extreme left hand side corner of the drawing. Near the window behind his father stands young Tobias bare-headed. He is performing the operation. The mother is standing near her son and is looking

on with full attention. The angel is standing near the wall with crossed arms, leaning on a stick. To the right is a door. The left hand of young Tobias partially covers his father's face and it is clearly shown how the needle is introduced from above.

Dated by Dr. Hofstede de Groot about 1636.

- III. J. Reinach=Collection, formerly in the Revil=Collection, in that of Van Oss and of Defer=Dumenil (*Valentiner* 252; *HdG.* 815. *Greeff* VI).

The father is sitting on the left in an arm-chair. He is holding the ends of the arms of the chair with both hands. The son is standing near him on his left. Holding his father's forehead with his left hand and, holding back the upper eyelid with the index finger, he is introducing the cataract-needle from the outer corner into the eye. The old woman is standing behind him, slightly to one side. This time she is wearing spectacles and is holding something in her hands. It is probably a sponge or cloth with which to wipe away the blood. Of the angel only the head and one arm are to be seen; he is standing behind the patient. To the right is the figure of a woman, with hands folded in front and a cloth wrapped around her head. *Valentiner* presumes her to be Sarah, the wife of young Tobias.

- IV. Cabinet of Prints, Berlin, Washed drawing (*Valentiner* 240; *HdG.* 42; *Lilienfeld* 28; *Greeff* VII). From about 1636 and bearing Rembrandt's signature.

Old Tobit is sitting with folded hands, his head turned to the left and towards the window; the son is standing in profile to the right and he is covering the right half of his father's face with his left hand.

It is not quite clear in what way the needle is being introduced; it seems as if it is going in from above into the inner corner of the eye. The mother is sitting behind her husband and only her head wearing a little cap and a hand are to be seen. The angel, in front of Tobit, with wings partially unfolded, fills the whole right half of the drawing. The above mentioned drawing differs from the other a little by the coarseness of its lines and the use of washed East-Indian ink.

- V. Collection of Mr. Max Ziegerts. Frankfurt am Main, reproduced May 1905 in a catalogue of the art-dealer H. G. Gutekunst at Stuttgart (*Valentiner* 249; not in *HdG.*; *Greeff* VIII).

Old Tobit is sitting on a chair near the window, his right arm resting on the arm of the chair; he is holding a pair of spectacles between his fingers, the left hand is gripping the back of the chair. The son is standing behind him and holding the eyelids of the patient's left eye apart with his fingers. He has no needle in his hands and thus the moment of examination before the operation is depicted. The woman is standing by, and is seen in front of the fireplace with the spinning-wheel. At the window is the upper part of the body of the angel leaning against the window-sill. Valentiner suggests that this may be a copy. In that case the original is not known, though the hands of young Tobias, the head of the father and the whole drawing of the woman make us think of Rembrandt's own work (*Valentiner*, page 479).

VI. Sketch in the Albertina at Vienna (*Valentiner* 253; *HdG.* 1409; *Greeff* IV).

Old Tobit is sitting half-turned towards the open window with his hands on the arms of the chair, the son is standing to the right and introduces the cataract-needle from the outer corner into the corner of the right eye. The mother is standing near him, with spectacles on her nose and holding a little bowl ready, the angel is not to be found in this sketch. The whole manner of execution suggests that this etching should be dated at about 1650. The coarser lines by which so much is said with a single stroke belong more to the later period of Rembrandt's work.

VII. Drawing at Stockholm (*Valentiner* 255; not in *HdG.*; *Greeff* X). About 1655.

Valentiner places a point of interrogation behind the inscription: "the healing of old Tobit". It has also been called: "the fainting man". True, a man is sitting on a chair and gives the impression that he is on the point of fainting. Before him is standing an old woman, she is wearing the typical headdress of the wife of Tobit. She is holding a cloth under the man's nose which might be saturated with a strong smelling fluid such as vinegar. Behind the patient we see a man with a high hat, supporting the head of the patient with his right hand. He is holding a long thin object in his mouth between his teeth and, bending forward, is looking closely at the condition of the patient. Three spectators, among them a woman, who is looking anxious and wringing her hands, and a boy with his hands

resting on his knees and bending forward are looking on. On the floor in the lower right corner an oil-lamp. Although no trace of the angel is to be seen and the number of onlookers is greater than in the other drawings, Greeff is still of opinion that this is a representation of the operation of Tobit (*Greeff 1, c. page 61*). The only thing that justifies this opinion is the object which the man behind the patient is holding between his teeth. This might be the representation of a surgical instrument and before the anti- and aseptic days, it often happened that a surgeon, in order to have his hands free during an operation, took the knife between his teeth. It is possible that this object is a cataract-needle, but if it is a representation of Tobit, then a moment is depicted, about which nothing is said in the story. It might be that old Tobit became unwell during the operation and was about to faint. The operator is now supporting the patient's head from behind and the woman is trying to bring him to himself by letting him smell something. Greeff is of opinion that the woman stands ready with the cloth to clean the eye, which has just been operated upon. If this had been the intention of the artist, I think he would have drawn the cloth being applied to the eye in place of the nose.

To this series of seven drawings may be added:

- VIII. Washed pen-drawing (*Fig. 49*) in the British Museum *Valentiner 250; Hind 38; not in HdG; not in Greeff's book*), came from the G. Abbot collection at Edinburgh, dated about 1636.

Old Tobit is sitting in an arm-chair, turned to the right before the open window, holding a stick in his right hand and with his left hand resting on the arm of the chair. The young Tobias is standing behind him and holding his right hand to the right hand side of his father's head, his left hand resting on the arm of the chair before him. His head is turned towards the angel, who is standing with wings spread out, near him and has put his hands on the shoulder of the young Tobias. The wife is on her knees before her husband and holds a little bowl ready. She, too, has turned her head and is listening attentively to what young Tobias is saying to the angel. By the door on the left is standing the young woman, Sarah, dressed almost in the same manner as in the drawing in the Reinach-collection (No. III of this list). To the right we notice the upper stairs of a staircase leading to a lower floor, behind which is a bed with curtains drawn aside. Which stage of the history is repre-



London, British Museum

Fig. 49

The healing of old Tobit, about 1636



Berlin. Cabinet of Prints

Fig. 50
The healing of old Tobit, about 1655

sented here, is not quite clear. The story nowhere says that the angel assisted at the treatment; the last time he is mentioned, is when he tells young Tobias how to prepare the remedy with the gall and in what manner it has to be used. That Rembrandt however now lets the angel be a spectator and in some drawings places him quite in the background shows clearly that it was only his intention to represent the healing of the blind Tobit. In this drawing however the angel appears as assistant: he is laying his hand on the shoulder of young Tobias and is telling him something. No instrument is to be seen in the hands of the operator, only the woman on her knees holds a little bowl ready. In the translation by Luther of the story of Tobit we read that the son took the gall of the fish, anointed the eyes of his father, which he did nearly half an hour and then "the cataract peeled away from his eyes like the skin of an egg".

Rembrandt need not have kept exclusively to the treatment by operation, he might also have drawn the treatment by anointing. The absence of the instrument and the little bowl containing the ointment, held, or rather offered by the woman near the patient, is then in accordance with the latter treatment.

Valentiner says of this drawing: "die ruhige Anlage der Komposition weist auf eine beträchtlich spätere Zeit als die der vorige Nummer" (*Valentiner*, page 479) (The quiet manner of composition points to a considerably later period than that of the former number). In that case we should date the drawing about 1640.

XI. Pen-drawing (*Fig. 50*) Cabinet of Prints, Berlin. (*Valentiner* 255; not in *HdG*: not in *Greeff's book*).

Here old Tobit is sitting with his back to the open window, his hands leaning on the arms of the chair. The son is holding back his father's head towards the light with his left hand and has a long cataract-needle in the right, he is looking closely at the left eye of his father. Behind him, near the group, is the angel, just indicated with wings outspread and the old mother leaning on a stick, with the little bowl in her hand. In the drawing Rembrandt has thus placed the operation in the foreground. The possibility of the combination with the treatment however, is not excluded here. Considering the stronger and thicker lines, the restraint of the drawing and the exceedingly fine expression of the different figures, one certainly can put this drawing with the sketch of the *Albertina*, in a later period and date it about 1655.

Greeff has arranged the drawings, described by him, in chronological order according to the directions of Valentiner (*Greeff l.c. page 63*). If we would follow the system of Greeff for the two drawings added by the author of this study, then we ought to date the drawing in London (*No. VIII*) with the second group i.e. in the middle of the thirties, and the second (*No. IX*) in the third group, whose period begins in 1650.

The last chapters of the Greeff's book are devoted to the descriptions of pictures by other painters representing operations on the eye. In the first place he mentions the cataract operation by C. W. E. Dietrich. Attention is drawn to this painting in the *Nouvelle Iconographie de la Salpêtrière* of 1896 by Henry Meige. He is of opinion that the operation in question is not one for cataract, because the operator does not hold the eyelids apart but thinks it to be the removal of a foreign body from the cornea. This argument does not hold good, as for the removal of dirt, for instance, the separation of the eyelids is obviously necessary.

A pupil of Rembrandt, Gerard Dou, has also painted the same subject, which Rembrandt had studied in so many drawings. The picture, in the collection of Lord Ribblesdale in London, is dated 1630, reproduced and described as No. I by W. Martin in his book on G. Dou. It strikes us that Dou is evidently not so well acquainted with the technicalities of this operation; the operator is standing half in front of the patient and is trying to operate on the outer corner of the left eye with the right hand, a position which makes the sphere of operation practically impossible of access.

Several painters have represented the healing of old Tobit by the treatment of anointing. Greeff gives a beautiful reproduction of the anointing by P. van Cornelius (*Greeff l.c. table II*).

I will draw attention to a picture by Jan Massys (1509?—1575) in the Museum at Antwerp (*Catalogue No. 252*) in which young Tobias stretches out his hand to anoint the eye of his father, and the mother has in her hand a shell filled with the ointment. It is a very beautiful painting in which especially the blindness of the father, the strained attention of the son and the imploring look of the mother towards Heaven, are exceedingly well represented.

Besides the optician mentioned (*etching Bartsch 129*), the spectacles in the hands of Tobit (*see No. V*) and those in the drawing in the Albertina (*see No. VI*) Rembrandt has often depicted persons, who have eye-glasses on their nose or hold them in their hands. We will just draw attention to the fact,

that with the exception of the spectacles which the peddling optician is holding in his hands (*see page 19*) they are all eye-glasses without earpieces but with large round lenses.

In the following paintings we find distinct representations of spectacles:

1. *The money-changer* (1627) at Berlin in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum. The spectacles are worn at the top of the nose, just in front of the eyes.
2. *An old woman reading*. (1629) Wilton House, Lord Pembroke. The woman wears glasses nearly on the point of the nose, very far from the eyes.
3. *The Holy Family*. Louvre-Museum, Paris (*Bode-HdG.* 242). The woman, Elizabeth, is holding a pair of spectacles between her fingers.
4. *Bathsheba after the bath* (*Bode-HdG.* 246). The woman who is cleaning the nails, has glasses on the point of her nose.
5. *Portrait of an old lady*. 1643, Paris (*Bode-HdG.* 288). Louis Lebeuf de Montgermont-collection.
A fairly rare example of a commissioned portrait, in which the sitter is shown, holding the spectacles with the index of the right hand between the two lenses.
6. *An old woman reflecting over what she has read* (about 1649) (*Bode-HdG.* 392) Paris, Jules Porgès.
She is holding the spectacles with the third and fourth fingers of the left hand between the lenses.
7. *Rembrandt's brother Adriaen*. Paris, Jules Porgès.
He is holding the spectacles between thumb and index-finger.
8. *A woman reflecting over her reading*. Formerly in the collection of M. Glume. The original is lost. Engraving by G. J. Schmidt. 1774. Spectacles held between thumb and index finger.
9. *S. Peter in prison*. Paris, Ch. Sedelmeyer-Collection.
Spectacles on the middle of the nose.

In different etchings and drawings there are also representations of spectacles in which is shown the manner of wearing and of holding them, for example the drawing at Stockholm (1639), the portrait of Titia van Uylenburch (*Fig. 51*). Dr. A. Tholinx (*see page 32*) holds his spectacles very elegantly with the ends of his thumb and indexfinger. It is striking that the glasses were so often worn on the point of the nose and at so great a distance from the eyes.

H. W. Singer gives in the second part of his book on Rembrandt's etchings (page 268) a reproduction of an old woman, reading (*Bartsch* 362). This etching shows a most remarkable form of spectacles. Dr. H. Weve in Rotterdam found here an example of so-called front-spectacles. The two lenses have been tied at an angle of 45 degrees to a long bar, which follows the line of the fore head and finds its point of support in the hair. A specimen of these exceedingly rare front-spectacles is preserved in the collections of the Rijksmuseum at Amsterdam.



Stockholm.

Fig. 51. Titia van Uylenburch. 1639.



Maartensdijk. F. Lugt Coll.

Fig. 52. The lying-in-room of Saskia.

CHAPTER VIII.

Lying-in-room and care of infants.

The marriage of Rembrandt with Saskia remained childless until 1641 when a long awaited child, a son, was born. Titus was baptized in the Zuiderkerk at Amsterdam, September 21th 1641, and was christened in memory of Titia, the sister of Saskia, who had died June 16th of that year. It is quite natural, that this event should inspire Rembrandt to make a few sketches. His wife has often posed as a model for paintings and studies in the most different positions and costumes. Now came the turn for her lying-in and the three drawings, which the author has succeeded in finding, are of some value for us, because they show us with great accuracy a picture of a lying-in room in a Dutch burgher family of the middle of the seventeenth century.

The drawings are in the collection of Dr. Hofstede de Groot (Fig. 53), Mr. F. Lugt at Maartensdyk (Fig. 52) and Paul Sachs at Boston. They are all washed pen and ink drawings from the latter half of 1641. The bed is a four-poster with a square canopy and hung with curtains. It had often been used by the painter as model. It stood in a corner of the room with two sides against the walls. In the drawing (Fig. 53) belonging to Dr.

Hofstede de Groot, near to the head of the bed is a small low table, on which is a chamber-pot. Saskia is half-sitting up in bed, with the blankets hanging partly off the bed on the floor. Before the bed is a large, low basket, which was used in Holland and called: "bakermat". This basket was about one and a half metre long with one end higher than the other and the sides sloping towards the lower end. It was meant for the dry nurse, who used to sit in this basket, preferably in front of the fire and wash and dress the baby on her lap. Good representations of such a "bakermat" are to be found in a painting of Cornelis Dusart, in a drawing of Adriaan van Ostade in the Cabinet of Prints at Amsterdam and in a copper-plate engraving in the: "Emblemata" of De Brun. The representation of Pieter Breughel, the Elder: "The scanty kitchen" dating from about the same time as that of Rembrandt, shows it very clearly, although the model is more simple and the basket rounder. In later times the basket was more square with rounded corners. Rembrandt drew the head-end of the "bakermat" considerably higher than the foot-end.

In the drawing at Boston the "bakermat" is also standing in front of the fourposter and is filled with garments and shawls. Near the head of the bed is a little table with a chamber-pot on it. Behind the fourposter is a chair with a very high back, rounded off at the corners on which again there is a shawl, which makes us think that during the time Saskia was in bed, the management of the household left something to be desired.

The drawing in the F. Lugt-collection (*Fig. 52*) shows us Saskia in a semi-recumbent attitude in the bed, lying in such a way that she has her back to the room, and thus the other side of the bed is smooth. In front of her, with her feet on a large, flat cushion, sits a woman busy mending something. Near the bed is an arm-chair with hollowed-out seat and low back, which seemingly did not belong to the bedroom-furniture and from which we may draw the conclusion that the woman in child-bed had already been sitting up.

On the drawing of Mr. Paul Sachs, Saskia has turned over on her right side and is holding the curtains apart. She is looking into the room and young Titus is playing at the end of the bed. Here a later period is represented, when the son was already older and the mother still had to keep her bed. Saskia was delicate before Titus birth and she died when he was a year old.

At the exhibition of Rembrandt's drawings in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris in 1918 attention was called to a drawing of 1655 from the Louvre. This was described as: "a physician



The Hague, Hofstede de Groot Coll.

Fig. 53

The lying-in room of Saskia



Fig. 54
The Holy Family. 1640

Paris. Louvre

visiting a patient" (*Valentiner* 272). It shows a woman lying in a bed with big curtains, drawn aside in front. On a chair near the foot is a man with a big beard, busy writing. Two or three women are near him, looking attentively at what he writes. In the extreme right of the background is a table and near it four persons. The explanation of this subject is to be found in the Gospel according to S. Luke. Ch. I. V. 63: "And he asked for a writing tablet, and wrote, saying: His name is John".

Zachariah, already stricken in years, had no child by his wife, Elizabeth. An angel appeared unto him, who told him of the imminence of the birth of a son and, as Zachariah did not believe it, the angel said to him: "and behold, thou shalt be silent and not able to speak, until the day, that these things shall come to pass, because thou believest not my words, which shall be fulfilled in their season" (*S. Luke, Ch. I. V. 20*).

When Elizabeth had given birth to a child the mother called it "John" as the angel had told her and not "Zachariah" as those who had come to circumcise it on the eighth day, wanted to call it. The father is given a writing-tablet and he writes on it: "His name is John". That is the moment Rembrandt has represented. The scene is thus laid in the lying-in room of Elizabeth and the drawing is now called: "Zachariah writing down the name of John the Baptist".

Schmidt-Degener says in his report of the exhibition at Paris:

„Het is een prachtige compositie, samenstelling, uitvoering, opvatting, hebben allen hetzelfde toppunt van volmaaktheid bereikt, zoodat een geschilderde herhaling overbodig geweest zou zijn (*Oude Kunst, 1908, page 101*). (It is a beautiful composition. Composition, execution, and conception have all reached the acme of perfection: a painted repetition would have been superfluous).

Most of Rembrandt's portraits show only the head and shoulders, only a few are full-length, probably executed at the special request of the person, who gave the commission. The portraits of Martin Day and his wife Machteld van Doorn are full length. Although in Rembrandt's times the costumes for the ladies were designed for full figures, yet the portrait of Machteld shows clearly her condition at that moment. Her figure indicates pregnancy far advanced. The attitude represented is typical, the back is bent backward, in order to restore the balance of the body. She tries to hide this by holding her head bent forward. At that time public opinion held nothing against being portrayed in a pregnant condition, it was regarded as belonging naturally to the married state.

Among the paintings, etchings and drawings by Rembrandt we find a good many representations in which the care of infants is depicted. We will begin with some representations of the feeding of babies, then we will continue with some, representing the care of the body and conclude with some utensils used for little children.

In 1640 Rembrandt painted a series of small pictures. One of them in the Louvre-Museum is called: "The home of the cabinet-maker" (*Fig. 54*). It is only 41 by 33 c.M. and bears the full signature and date of 1640 (*Valentiner* 223). Michel describes it well, we will let him say a few words about it: "Une jeune femme au profil noble et gracieux, assise auprès d'un berceau, allaite son enfant, que caresse, à côté d'elle, la vieille aïeule qui vient d'interrompre sa lecture, tandis que près d'une haute fenêtre le père est occupé à raboter une planche.... Il semble au fini précieux de la peinture, à la délicatesse du modelé, à toutes ces gaietés réunis de la nature et de la vie, que le peintre ait mis là le meilleur de son talent, comme s'il avait voulu par l'éclat d'une si radieuse lumière glorifier cette poétique représentation de la famille et du travail, les deux choses qui lui étaient les plus chères au monde" (*Michel l.c. page 266*). ¹⁾

There is not much to be added to this description, it is really a painting full of sentiment.

For our purposes we are most interested in the mother, who is about to feed her baby. The infant is lying comfortably in her lap and is being put to the breast with her right hand; while pressing her nipple with the second and third finger of the left hand, she is bringing it to the mouth of the child. To the left in the semi-darkness is a cradle with coverlet turned back, from which the baby has just been lifted.

In a drawing in the Cabinet of Prints at Berlin (*Valentiner* 321; *HdG. 51 Lilienfeld* 38) the same scene is laid. Here too, the mother tries to make the baby take the breast and she is putting the nipple into the child's mouth with the outstretched fingers of the left hand. The baby is lying flat on her lap and the mother has to bend forward. The father is looking on very

¹⁾ A young woman with a noble and graceful profile is sitting near a cradle, she is feeding her baby, which is caressed by the grand-mother, who has interrupted her reading while the father is busy planing a plank near a high window..... He seems to have reached the highest pitch of pictorial art by the gracefulness of his modelling, by all these gaieties of nature and life combined, which the painter has executed with the very best of his talents, as if by the brightness of the radiating light he wished to glorify this poetical representation of the family and of work, the two things he loved best in his world.



Downton-Castle, A. R. Boughron Knight Coll.

Fig. 55

The rest during the flight to Egypt, about 1630



J. P. Hesselstine Coll.

Fig. 56

The widow



Stockholm. Cabinet of Prints

Fig. 57

The grand-mother

attentively while warming his hands at the fire. A little dog, warming itself by the fire and pressing against the skirt of the mother, gives a nice finish to the lower part of the group. The baby's sucking is cleverly depicted. The mother holds the breast between her fingers as mentioned above and the baby's puffed cheeks and quiet way of lying, with its knees slightly lifted, shows its enjoyment. The father is sitting on a chair near the fire and is watching his child being fed.

The painting in Dowton Castle (*Fig. 55*) (*Valentiner 21; HdG. 37*) shows the rest during the flight to Egypt. Mary is sitting on the ground, leaning against the trunk of a tree and suckling her child. The little one is lying comfortably and drinking quietly, so the breast need not be held and the mother can hold tenderly the right hand of her baby. The father is sitting near, reading a book. The most remarkable thing in this painting is the representation of a "bakermat" (*see page 98*) which is hanging from the branch of a tree near the harness of the horse. How Rembrandt came to paint a "bakermat" here, is a puzzle. The picture represents "The Holy Family", which lived in a time when "bakermats" were unknown, not to mention the fact, that it was difficult to take such a bulky basket with them and that, when ever it might have been wanted during the flight, a resting place against the trunk of a tree would have been preferred.

The etching (*Bartsch 62*) shows a similar group. The baby seems to have fed sufficiently, and has just let go the nipple, and fallen asleep against the breast. The mother has not yet noticed it and is still holding the nipple with her fingers. She is not looking at the child, but is gazing before her wrapt in contemplation.

There is a charming drawing in the Cabinet of Prints of the British Museum (*Valentiner 342; HdG. 879; Hind. 62*). The baby has fallen asleep, and the position of its left leg, which is bent at the knee and is hanging from the lap of its mother, is very natural indeed. The satisfied expression of the mother and the attention with which the father, leaning on a big block of stone, is looking at the child, give to the whole scene an extremely charming effect.

The great painting in the Alte Pinakotek at Munich, representing the Holy Family, is among the best known pictures by Rembrandt. The little one after being fed, has fallen asleep against its mother's breast, and has its eyes closed. It is resting

on the left knee of the mother, who holds a fur-trimmed mantle around her baby and is holding up its little feet with her right hand. Michel is full of admiration and says: "Plus frappé par la signification intime de pareils sujets, Rembrandt les envisage surtout dans ce qu'ils ont de profondément humain. Comme ces images sont bannies dans les temples, c'est pour des intérieurs hollandais qu'il les peint et il se préoccupe avant tout d'exprimer les sentiments qui l'émeuvent lui même. Le tableau de Munich, tel qu'il l'a conçu, c'est la glorification du travail dans un ménage honnête et laborieux.... Il semble que dans cette gracieuse composition Rembrandt ait voulu consacrer le souvenir des affections et du bonheur qu'il avait goûtés au foyer de ses parents." (*Michel l.c. page 68*). ¹⁾

In the representations hitherto discussed the "maternal" feeding was shown. The "artificial" has been depicted several times by Rembrandt. In a dreadful etching (*Bartsch 59*) we see the rest during the flight to Egypt. The child Jesus is sitting on Mary's lap. She is holding the child, which has already become bigger, with one hand. The baby is leaning against her right arm, Mary is feeding the child with the right hand; in the meantime Joseph, who looks here more like a dressed skeleton than a human being, is holding the bowl of food. Singer says rightly: „Es ist doch wohl eine spätere Fälschung!" (*Singer, l.c. page 286*) (It must be a falsification of later times).

Another example is a drawing in the British Museum in London (*Valentiner 320; HdG. 877; Hind 17*) of 1635. Mary is holding the sleeping Jesus on her lap, no uncovered breast is to be seen, but a bowl of food, in which there is a spoon, stands near her on the window-sill.

On the other hand a drawing "The widower" (*Fig. 56*) in the collection of J. P. Hesseltine is very natural. The father has the little one on his left knee. He holds the baby under its arms and is holding a plate of food. He is trying to feed the child, but the latter refuses the spoon. The face of the father, who is trying as hard as he can to feed his child, is exceedingly well rendered. In the same drawing a sketch of a woman with a crying child is to be seen.

¹⁾ More struck by the intimacy of such subjects, Rembrandt looks upon them from a particularly human point of view. As these pictures were banished from churches, he has painted for Dutch interiors. Above all he wants to express the feeling by which he himself is moved. The painting at Munich, as he has conceived it, is the glorification of work in an honest and industrious home. It seems as if Rembrandt in this graceful composition, wanted to consecrate the remembrance of the affection and happiness he had found at the home of his parents.

As well known as the above-mentioned painting at Munich is that in the Ermitage at Leningrad (*Catalogue No. 796; Valentiner 61; Bode-HdG. 251*) also representing the Holy Family. The child is sleeping peacefully in the cradle; one hand is outside the bedclothes, while the mother has lifted up the coverlet and is looking carefully at the child, forgetting for a moment the book that she is holding open in her left hand. The cradle is in the typical old Dutch style, made of plaited cane with the top-part projecting over the pillow, and with plaited handles at each side. Its stands on wooden curved cross pieces, which allow the cradle to rock. The left foot of Mary is resting on a foot-stove, as in the etching of the "Onion woman."

In the painting in Downton Castle (Arboughton Knight Coll.) called "the cradle" (*Valentiner 280; Bode-HdG. 250*), the cradle is more like a tube and has no top-part. It is called an open cradle. These, which were used by poorer people, often stood on rockers, as may be seen in a washed pen-drawing in the British Museum (*Valentiner 331; HdG. 878 Hind 63*). The head-end raised a little, offers more support for the pillow. In the above-mentioned painting we notice two women behind the cradle. One is holding a cord, which is fastened to the cradle and by which she can rock the cradle from where she is sitting.

When babies reached the age at which they learn to walk, a special shape of hat, a so-called "fall-hat" was used in Holland. It was a kind of cap with a broad thick rim, filled with cotton wool and fastened by strings under the chin. As we have already remarked, Rembrandt laid his scenes in his own country and surroundings and did not trouble about their fitting in with the time and place of the actual events he was drawing. For instance, in a washed pen-drawing, dated about 1637, in London and formerly in the Hesseltine collection (*Valentiner 324; HdG. 987*) the child Jesus is sitting in Mary's lap, wearing such a "fall-hat". The attitude of the sleeping child in its mother's lap is admirably depicted. The "fall-hat" is still more clearly to be seen in a little pen-drawing at Stockholm (*Fig. 57*). A grand mother is busy teaching her grand-child to walk. The child, wearing this hat, is standing, but would certainly fall, if it were not held up by its grand-mother by two strings, fastened to a band round its middle. The attitude of the child slightly bending forward with hands outstretched and the laughing face of the grand-mother who sees her efforts crowned with success, are very true to life. A special contrivance was used to teach a child to stand and to walk. It consisted of a wooden ring

often lined with cloth on the inside, resting on four bars slanting outwards, which were fastened below to a square frame with four small wheels. The child was placed in this apparatus and hung in the ring nearly as high as its armpits. At baby's slightest movement the contrivance moved forward on its wheels. It is drawn by Rembrandt in an etching (*Bartsch 195*) (*Fig. 59*), which was meant to be a study for two figures of naked men and on which is also to be seen the representation of a woman who is squatting and making movements with her hands to draw the attention of the child in the apparatus. The child stretches out its hands toward the woman, and is trying to come near her, by which movements the contrivance would be set in motion.

In a drawing in the Walter Gay-collection at Paris, a child is depicted sitting in an old Dutch baby-chair. The board of the chair could be removed and the child then put in the chair on a ring, under which a chamber-pot could be inserted. The board was fastened with a lock and the child attached by a band round its body to the back of the chair.

A very realistic drawing in the Bonnat-collection (*Fig. 58*) now in the Louvre-Museum, of about 1648 (*Valentiner 344; HdG. 684*) is a washed representation of the rest during the Flight to Egypt. The scene is laid in the dead of night. Mary, with lowered head, holds the child in her lap by its legs, which are raised, and she is busy cleaning it. Joseph is standing near her with a lantern, which provides the light for the operation.



Fig. 59. Grand-mother and child.



Paris, Louvre, Bonnat Coll.

Fig. 58

The rest during the flight, about 1648



Chatsworth. Duc of Devonshire Coll.

Fig. 61

David on his death-bed appoints Solomon his successor



Bonnat Coll. Louvre Paris.

Fig. 60. David on his Deathbed.

CONCLUSION.

The Passion and Death of Christ inspired many painters. As Rembrandt, as it were, illustrated the Bible from beginning to end, — a fact which has led Dr. Hofstede de Groot to publish his beautiful "Rembrandt Bible" — it goes without saying, that Rembrandt depicted also these events. The different sketches and pictures representing the descent from the Cross gave Rembrandt the opportunity of painting the dead body of Christ. He has treated this subject time and again, always trying to find a composition, which, in the most touching way, represented all the grief and affliction which had reached their acme at the moment when Jesus was taken from the cross. Such are the pictures from his early period: the picture of 1633 (*Alte Pinakotek, Munich*), that of 1634 (*Ermitage, Leningrad*) and from later periods, among others the etchings: Bartsch 81 of 1633, B. 82 of 1642, B. 83 of 1654 and the painting at the Hague in the collection of K. W. Bachstitz of 1653—'54. We have already mentioned the "Fainting Mary" (see page 55 and Fig. 25) as represented in the last named picture.

As an example of Rembrandt's representation of the dead Christ I will take the same picture (Fig. 64). Rembrandt must have studied deeply for it. He made undoubtedly studies of

many corpses, perhaps in the dissecting room at Amsterdam, where he also made studies of anatomical preparations for his painting: "The School of Anatomy" (see page 42). It is fairly certain that he made studies there of a dead body which was held by the dissecting-room servants in the same position as Christ in the "Descent from the Cross", because the groups of relaxed muscles show quite different outlines from those shown in living bodies. In what masterly fashion did Rembrandt paint the form of the corpse, which while still partially supported, is hanging by one arm, as shown in our figure 64. I will not enter into detail here, but repeat that this is a beautiful field for study by an anatomist.

Deathbeds were often represented by Rembrandt. Three drawings deal with the death of David. The first one in the Cabinet of Prints at Munich, a signed drawing of about 1633 (*Valentiner 173; not in HdG.*), shows David with his head supported by cushions with his knees drawn up and his left hand by his side, holding his right hand to his breast. He is listening, with his head turned to one side, to the supplications of Batsheba, who, holding the curtains apart and with argumentative force, is apparently trying to persuade him to allow her son Solomon to be proclaimed his successor. By the bed is a little table, on which a medicine-bottle is to be seen and in front of the four-poster a pair of slippers of Eastern design. In the representation of: "The Raising of Lazarus" we have seen the different Eastern objects, Rembrandt made use of in his paintings; perhaps the slippers were among them and served this time to suggest the Eastern environment in which the scene is laid.

A drawing (*Fig. 60*) in the Bonnat Collection in the Louvre, (*Valentiner 434*) dated about 1636, shows us a man, who is lying in bed with his head sunk deep in the cushions, his hands drooping limply near the body. The face is set, the nose pointed, the mouth half-open and all his interest in his surroundings has disappeared. The dying man is already unconscious. Near the bed a woman is standing looking compassionately at him and affectionately holding his hands. A third figure indicated with only a few lines, is standing near. *Valentiner* calls the drawing "David on his deathbed", but apparently is not sure whether this title is right. On the left in the foreground there is part of a completely opened cradle in which is seen the head of a child. This has nothing to do with the story of David's death and I think that the title

given to the drawing is uncorrect and that it has nothing to do with the death of David. What event is depicted here it is difficult to say but from a medical point of view the drawing is very interesting on account of the excellent manner, in which the dead man is shown.

Then there is a washed pen-drawing (Fig. 61) from about 1656 in the collection of the Duke of Devonshire at Chatsworth (*Valentiner* 174; *HdG.* 830). David is half sitting up in bed, supported by cushions and by his wife, who is standing behind him. Solomon is on his knees before the bed and has taken the hand of his father to receive his blessing at the moment when he is proclaimed successor. Solomon is already attired in the royal mantle and the end of it is held by somebody kneeling a short distance away from him. The old four-poster with square canopy served here as a model, but in order to represent a Royal bedstead it is drawn with beautiful turned columns and decorated at the foot.

Valentiner has remarked about this drawing: "Das bedeutende, sehr charakteristische Blatt ist ganz unverständlicher Weise von O. Benesch dem Aart de Gelder zugeschrieben worden (*Graphische Künste* 1922). Abgesehen davon, dass stilistische Gründe dieser Annahme durchaus widersprechen, gibt es auch kaum eine Sammlung Handzeichnungen, die eine so glaubenswürdige Provenienz hat, wie die in Chatsworth, die aus dem Besitz Govert Flinck's stammt, der zeitlich gar nicht in der Lage gewesen wäre, Zeichnungen Aart de Gelder's zu sammeln. C. Neumann (*Rembrandt's Handzeichnungen*, Nr. 34) nimmt merkwürdigerweise an, dass der Vorderposten des Bettes von Rembrandt in später Zeit überzeichnet worden sei, eine sehr unwahrscheinliche Annahme (*Valentiner*, page 474). ¹⁾

In the painting (Fig. 62) in the collection of the Earl of Brownlow at Belton House of about 1636 (*Valentiner* 172), representing "Isaac blessing Esau", Isaac is lying on his death-bed. Half sitting up, supported by several piled up cushions, on which rests his venerable head with the long beard and velvet cap, he is stretching out his right hand, blessing Esau, who is kneeling

¹⁾ This interesting and characteristic drawing has been attributed in a quite inexplicable way to Aart de Gelder by O. Benesch. (*Graphische Künste*, 1922). Apart from the fact that the style of the drawing goes against this supposition, there exists hardly any collection of drawings, whose origin is so trustworthy as that of Chatsworth, which had been in the possession of Govert Flinck, who was not in a position to collect drawings by Aart de Gelder, because the latter lived after him. C. Neumann (*Rembrandt's Handzeichnungen*, No. 34) supposes strangely enough that Rembrandt in later times altered the fore-post of the bed, a very improbable supposition!

at his feet. The whole room is kept very dark and full light falls only on the head of the bed.

Among the studies for this painting a drawing worth mentioning, is in the collection of Dr. Hofstede de Groot (*Valentin* 62). Isaac is sketched here with a few strong lines, his back is supported by cushions, but the upper part of the body is still half upright. By his sunken shoulders he gives the impression of a man holding himself up with the greatest difficulty. The drawing of the eye-brows is remarkable: old people often have them long and Rembrandt represented this characteristically with a few slanting lines.

One of the most beautiful etchings by Rembrandt (*Fig. 63*) is the "Death of the Holy Virgin" of 1639 (*Bartsch* 99). Mary is in extremis, swallowing is no longer possible. Joseph is supporting the pillow, in that way raising the head, and, by putting a cloth under her nose is letting her smell something, even if it be only a temporary stimulant. Near him is standing the physician, whom we have already mentioned above (*see page 17*), when we noticed, that he was feeling the pulse with first and third fingers. Of course this etching has been discussed in the greater and even in the smaller studies of Rembrandt's works. But let me quote some authorities. Michel says about it: „Bien supérieure par l'importance de ses dimensions, aussi bien que par la beauté de l'ordonnance et de l'originalité de la facture, la grande planche de la Mort de la Vierge, est une des plus magistrales de Rembrandt. Le cabinet de Berlin possède un dessin pour une des femmes agenouillées auprès du lit, et ce lit, lui-même avec ses colonnes historiées et son baldaquin, mais sans l'amour sculpté en ronde bosse à son chevet, c'est celui que nous pouvons remarquer dans le tableau de Danaé. Tous les sentiments que peut exciter la mort d'un être aimé et vénéré ont ici trouvé place, et parmi ces assistants qui se pressent autour du lit de la Vierge les uns essayent de soulager ses souffrances, d'autres la contemplent avec amour, d'autres prient, d'autres enfin s'abandonnent à leur douleur. Mais, en dépit de la multiplicité des personnages, ce qui domine, c'est l'émotion pathétique de la scène et son touchant aspect. Si nombreux, si intéressants que soient les détails, non seulement ils n'altèrent en rien l'unité, mais ils ne font que la rendre plus saisissante parce que tout concourt à fortifier l'impression. On ne saurait trop admirer la hardiesse des contrastes qui assurent à si peu de frais la coloration de cette estampe. En réservant pour la partie centrale toute la lumière, Rembrandt s'est contenté d'indiquer par un simple trait, mais singulièrement expressif dans sa con-

cision, tous ces personnages dont il a caractérisé avec tant de puissance les attitudes et les physionomies. Cette manière brève et éloquente suffirait à prouver ce que vaut chez lui la science du dessin. Nous ne savons pas en tous cas d'ouvrage où il ait mieux marqué ses intentions en manifestant avec cette clarté souveraine les impressions qu'excitait en lui le beau sujet et dont il a si noblement exprimé toute la poésie" (*Michel l.c. page 239*). ¹⁾

Let us give the opinion of a second connoisseur, that of Mr. Malcolm Bell: "In 1639 he achieved with conspicuous success the most ambitious etching he had yet attempted, the magnificent "Death of the Holy Virgin" which with the exception of the unfortunate angels hovering above, is admirable alike in conception and execution, attaining by straightforward simplicity the full pathos of the scene. The truthfulness and variety of attitudes and expression, the wholly effective yet unforced arrangement of the composition and the perfection of the chiaroscuro are beyond praise, and justify the somewhat bold assertion that beyond this the etchers cannot go. It is no matter for wonder therefore that the splendid plate seems to have absorbed most of the time he could devote to etching that year" (*M. Bell l.c. page 129*). Michel and Bell are great admirers of this etching and there is not much to be added to what they say. Let me just point out this one thing, as the etching is also interesting from a medical point of view, that I, as a physician, am struck by the quiet attitude of the doctor,

¹⁾ The great etching of the: "Death of the Holy Virgin" is one of the most masterly etchings executed by Rembrandt, not only by reason of its size, but also because of the beauty of the arrangement and the originality of its execution. The Cabinet of Berlin possesses a drawing of one of the women kneeling near the bed, and this bed, with its decorated posts and canopy — but without the carved statue of love at its head — is the same one that we noticed in the painting of Danae. All the feelings, that can be aroused by the death of one who is beloved and venerated, have found place here. Of those standing round the bed of the Virgin, some are trying to ease her sufferings, some are looking lovingly at her, others are praying and yet others give themselves up to their grief. But notwithstanding the great number of persons it is the emotional aspect of the scene which dominates. However numerous and interesting the details may be, they not only fail to disturb the unity, but on the contrary make it the more striking since they combine to strengthen the impression. One cannot admire enough the boldness of the contrasts, which in such a simple way give this print its tone and colour. All the light falls on the centre of the plate and Rembrandt has contented himself with indicating by a simple line, most expressive in its restraint, all the persons whose attitudes and expressions he has powerfully characterised. This manner, at the same time brief and eloquent, suffices to prove how much importance he attached to a knowledge of drawing. We do not know of any other work, in which he has shown his intentions more clearly and given us with such superb insight the impression which the beautiful subject excited in him and the poetry of which he has so nobly expressed.

who, full of earnest care, is keeping an eye on the condition of his patient and so forms a contrast with the expressions of grief of the other persons.

In the foreground a priest is sitting before a table reading a big book, probably the Bible. He has just ceased reading, as the last moment of Mary's life is near. This figure is to be seen on several representations and it was H. Weve, who, by his careful and extensive investigations on spectacles, was the first to draw attention to this figure. The High-Priest is always represented, holding a pair of spectacles in his right hand. In our reproduction they are not to be seen clearly, but in the original etching, which is folio size, the spectacles are distinctly noticeable as eyeglasses with round lenses, held between index-finger and thumb.

We have seen representations of natural death, but death by suicide and by acts of violence are also depicted by Rembrandt. In the collection of G. Winkler at Leipzig (*Catalogue edited in 1768, No. 99*) there was a painting in which the death of Seneca was represented. He is sitting to the left of a man with a grey beard, who is looking to see, that the sentence of death is carried out. Seneca has his right foot in a basin of water to prevent the blood ceasing to flow from the opened artery. He is stretching out his left arm and the blood is spouting from the artery there. A slave kneeling before Seneca, is opening a bloodvessel in his left foot (*Described by Dr. Hofstede de Groot. No. 222*).

"Sophonisbe receiving the cup of poison from her husband Masinissa" hangs in the Prado at Madrid. It is a big canvas, dated 1634. The strong light falls on Sophonisbe, who is standing near a table, holding her left hand to her breast, looking, terrified, at a splendidly chased gobelet, which is being offered to her by a little page.

A painting of 1664 (*Valentiner 467*) in the possession of M. E. D. Borden at New-York shows the moment when Lucretia is committing suicide with a dagger. With arms outstretched, she is standing with the dagger pointed at her breast. She is looking at the weapon and her resolute face gives us the impression, that we have only a few seconds to wait before she executes her design.

A drawing in the Cabinet of Prints at Dresden represents the moment when Saul is committing suicide by letting himself fall on his sword, after having ordered his armour-bearer to stab

him, being hard pressed by the Philistines and not wishing to fall alive into the hands of his enemies.

Death by act of violence is shown in a drawing in the Cabinet of Prints at Berlin, representing the death of Goliath. He has fallen to the ground, fatally wounded and is supported by one of his servants. He is in full armour of the Middle Ages. The stone thrown at him by David is still to be seen at a little distance from his head. In the background is a man holding his hands in the air and looking exceedingly frightened. There is no support in this print, that Goliath belonged to a race of giants. This is shown better in the etching of 1655 (*Bartsch* 36), where the giant is rushing at the little David, who is standing ready to throw the stone at his head.

Finally, I would mention a drawing, bearing Rembrandt's signature and representing an execution. Dr. Hofstede de Groot is of opinion that this is a representation of the beheading of S. John the Baptist. In the centre of the foreground is a man, whose head is already severed from his body. To the left the executioner is standing with sword uplifted to the head of a blindfolded man who is kneeling before him with folded hands. To the right, between two keepers, we see a third victim with hands in irons, who is being forcibly led by the left arm to the place of execution. The various facial expressions in the drawing are again done with only a few lines, in a most expressive manner.

The beheading of S. John the Baptist is twice represented by Rembrandt in etching (*Bartsch* 92, 93). One shows the moment before the execution; the executioner is standing with both hands uplifted with the heavy sword, ready to behead S. John, who is kneeling on the ground with hands folded. Near him on the ground is a cross with a band wrapped around it, and on it the words "Ecce agnus Dei" (*Behold the Lamb of God*). S. John is often represented with this symbol. A great many spectators are standing to the right in the background, among them Herod and Marianne. A moor is standing with a large basin in his hands, in which to receive the severed head. This etching is signed: Rembrandt f. 1640.

The second etching (*Bartsch* 93) shows the moment after the beheading has taken place. The head is severed from the body and near it is S. John's symbol. The victim's hands are bound together behind him. The executioner is trying to put the sword back into its sheath and through an opening in the wall in the

background three figures are to be seen. Of this etching four states are known.

The study of Rembrandt's work in paintings, etchings and drawings has shown us how representations of nearly every branch of medicine are to be found. They are of particular value in the case of this painter, because he was a most careful observer of any thing he wanted to paint or to draw with needle or pencil.

Rembrandt's drawings are called by F. Schmidt-Degener: "drawn thoughts". This is an apt description, for the Master could with only a few lines represent that which he saw and which to him appeared interesting, and in his opinion might be of use to him later on.

In the above lines the author has often found occasion to show the exquisite manner in which Rembrandt could give expression to a face by a single line and several of our reproductions show this to the full. The number of his drawings is considerable. Until a short while ago there existed only works with reproductions of drawings from certain famous collections or selections of them in books of art. Valentiner has now published the first part of a work, in which all the known drawings will be reproduced. When we go through the different editions we agree with Roger de Files when he says: "Infinité de pensées, dessinées par Rembrandt et qui n'ont pas moins de sel et de piquant que les productions des meilleurs peintres". (An infinity of thoughts, drawn by Rembrandt, which have as much spirit and piquancy as the productions of the best painters).

Rembrandt was one, who saw beauty in thought and who could sacrifice the beauty of a drawing, if need be, in order to give a true representation (*Schmidt-Degener*). Jan Veth expresses this as follows: „Hij beschikte volkomen over de kracht, het vermogen tot het onomwonden uitbeelden van het zieleleven.... (He had power and ability perfectly to depict the inner life of the soul).

His etchings were exceedingly interesting for our purpose because for this study we have been able to make use of some of his most beautiful and perfect ones. His pictures have given us examples of the most famous canvases in greater museums and in private collections.

All this shows his mastery of technique by which we are able to perceive details which we seek in vain in other painters. The multitude of his subjects caused Schmidt-Degener to say: „Rembrandt is de onrustige zoeker, die door zijn onderwerp



Belton House, Earl of Brounlow Coll.

Fig. 62
Isaac blessing Esau, about 1636



Fig. 63
The death of the Holy Virgin

wordt gekweld, die de uiterste spanning des geestes en een soms bijna pijnlijke toewijding kent, alles trekt hem aan, alles is hem probleem, zelfs sommige onderwerpen, die weinig verschil in arrangement toelaten, hebben hem aangetrokken om er reeksen van steeds even volmaakte composities voor te ontwerpen. Zijn zoeken naar een hem in allen deele bevredigende compositie gaf ons de reeksen teekeningen voor den barmhartigen Samaritaan en voor de operatie van den blinden Tobias." ¹⁾

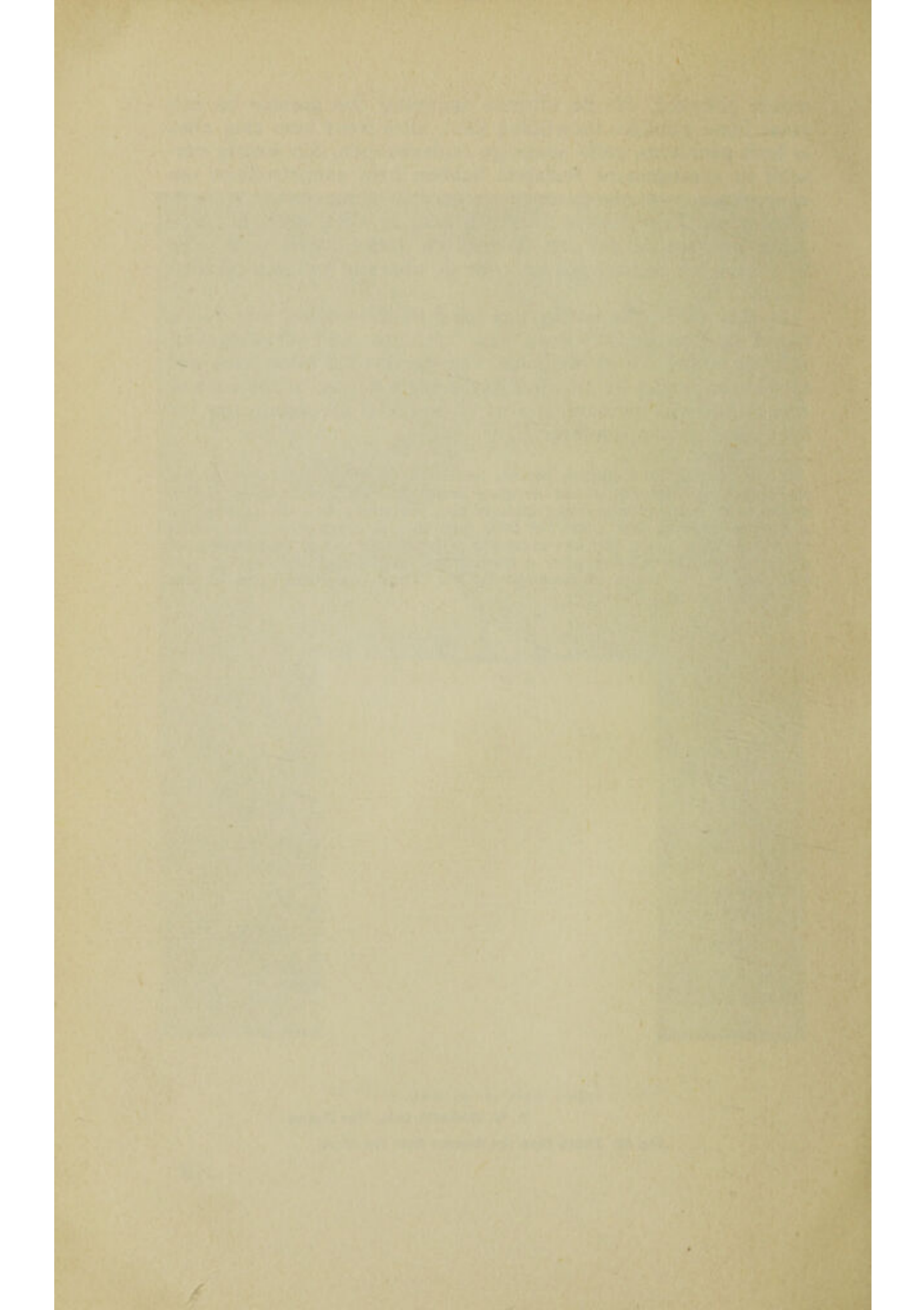
In this study the writer has tried to show what was to be found in Rembrandt's paintings, etchings and drawings in relation to the Art of Medicine. The harvest has been great and should the reader be affected in the same degree as the author, this study will increase, if that is possible, his admiration for that great genius Rembrandt.

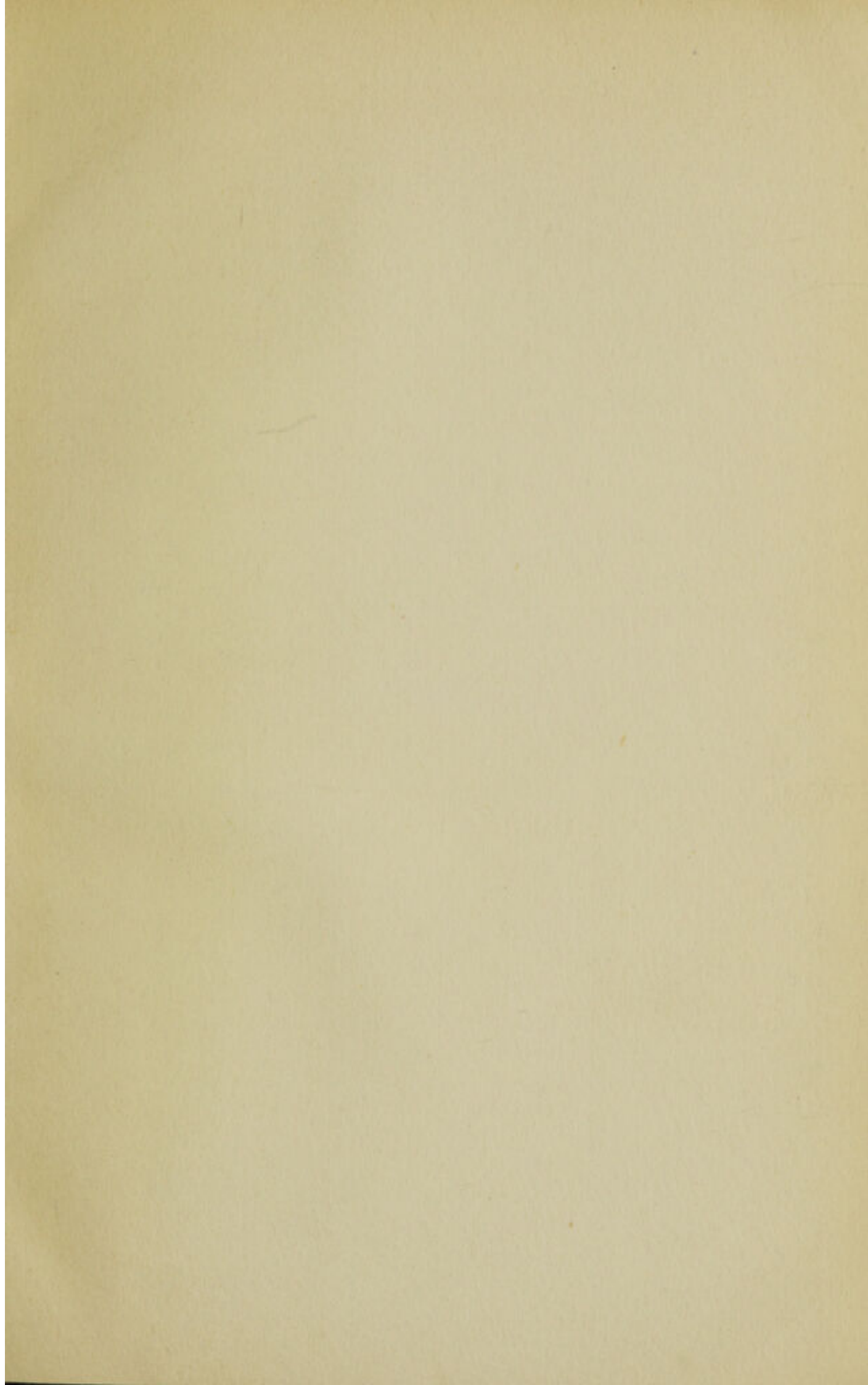
¹⁾ Rembrandt is a restless seeker, tormented by his subject, experiencing the utmost spiritual strain and devoting himself to his work with a painful strictness of purpose: everything attracts him, everything is a problem to him and some subjects, that allow but little difference in arrangement, have even interested him so much, that he has made a series of them, all of the same degree of perfection. His striving after a composition, that completely satisfied him, has given us the series of drawings for the "Good Samaritan" and for the "Operation on blind Tobit".

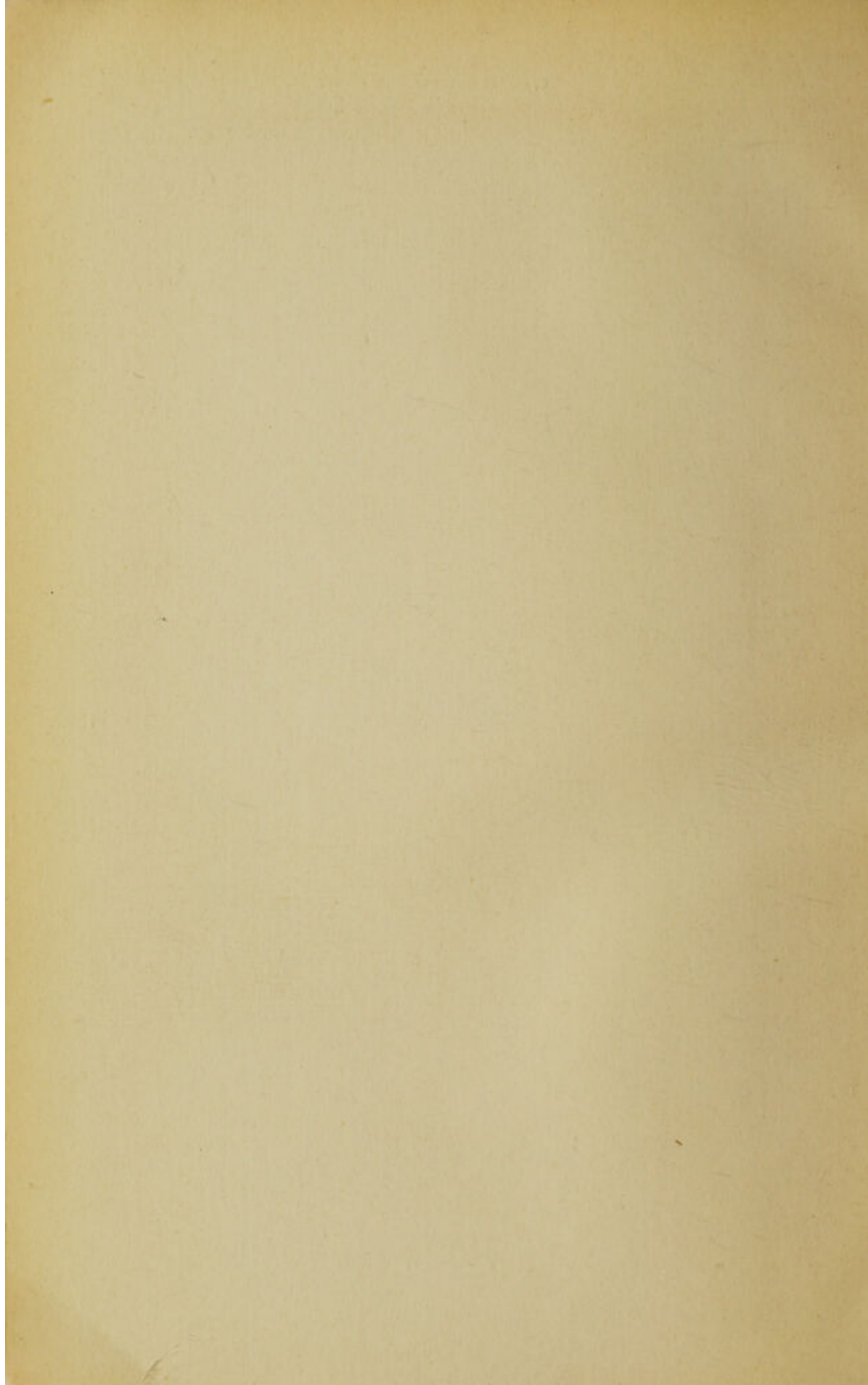


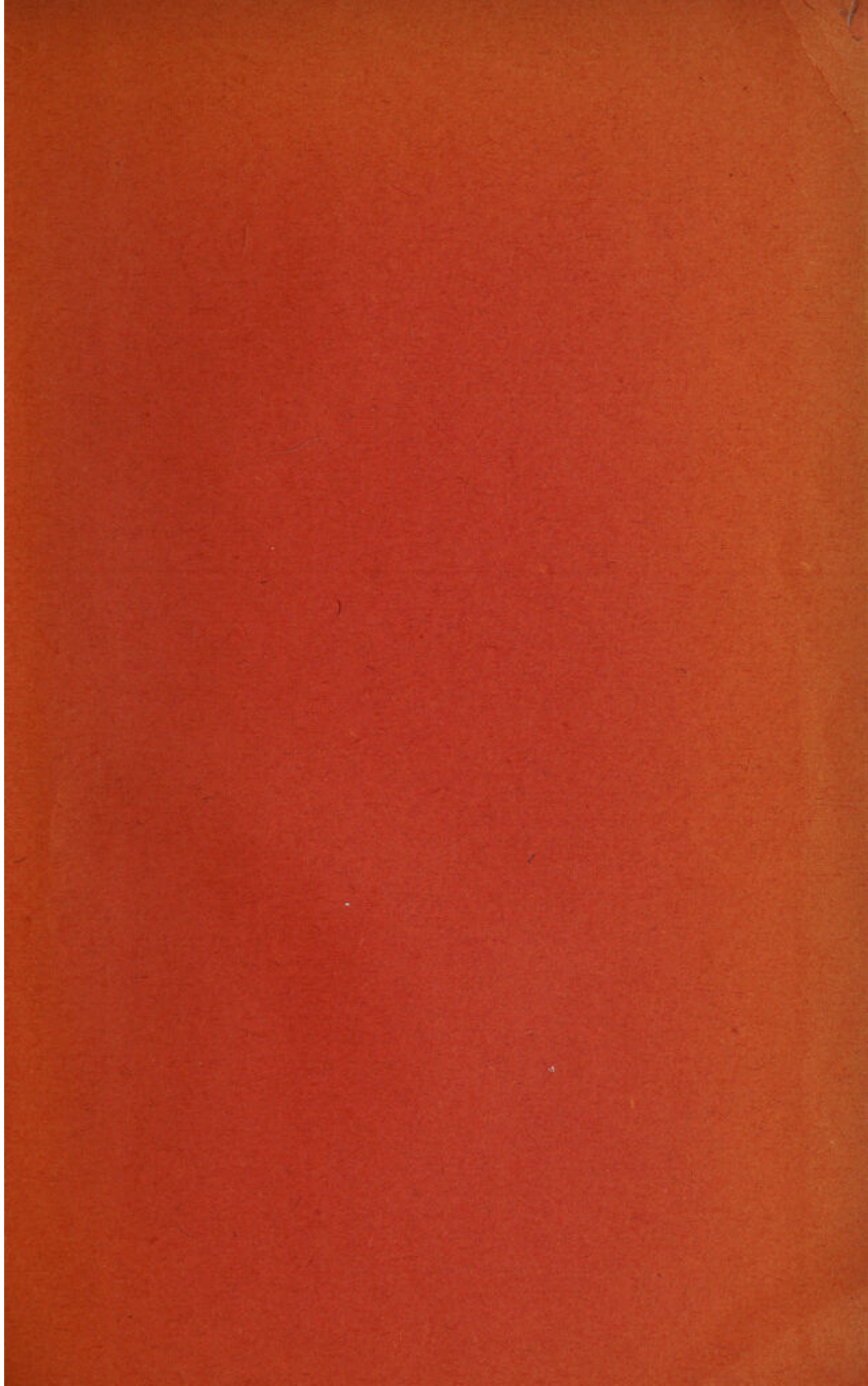
K. W. Bachstitz Coll., The Hague.

Fig. 64. Detail from the descent from the cross.











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and

