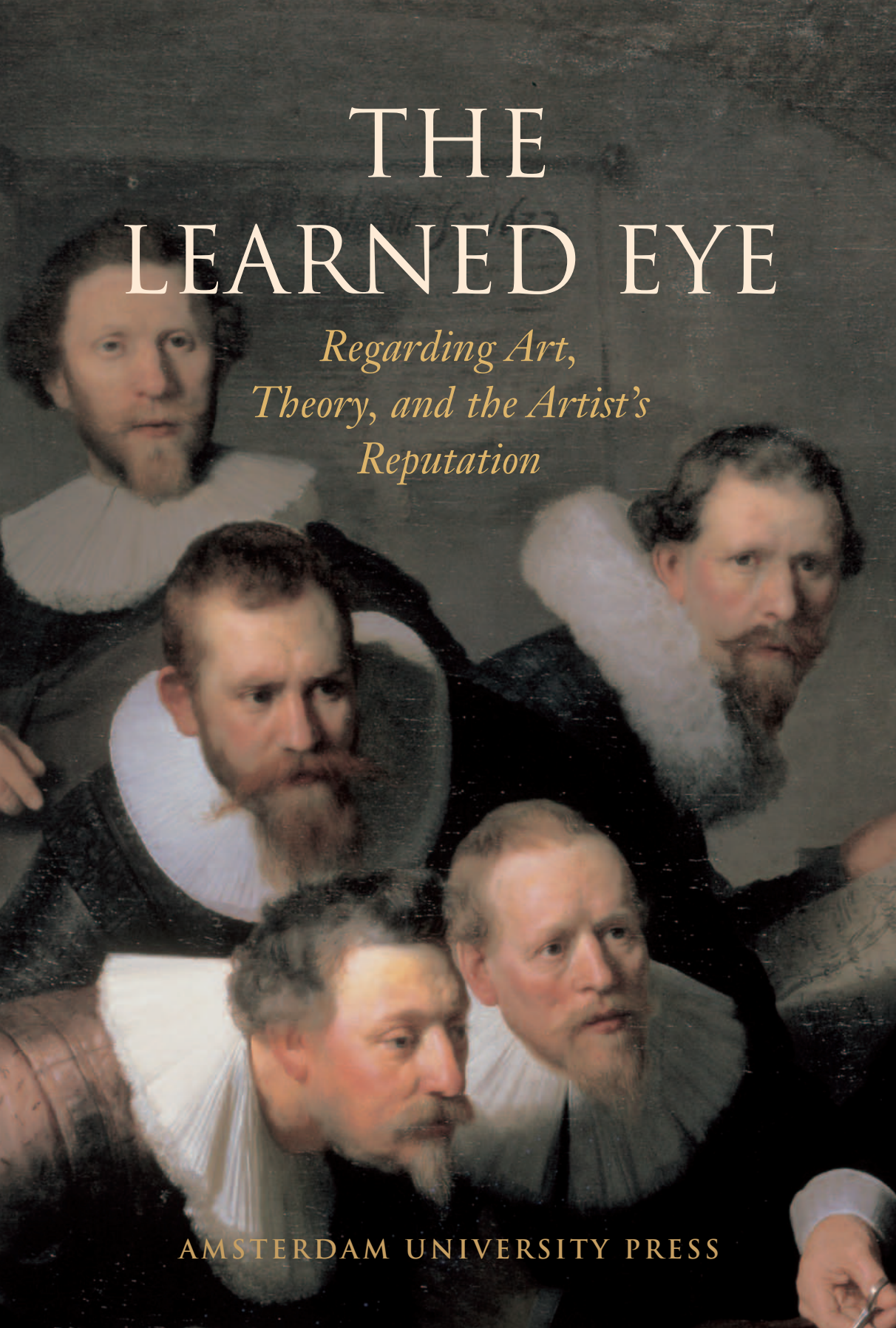

THE LEARNED EYE

Regarding Art, Theory, and the Artist's Reputation

AMSTERDAM UNIVERSITY PRESS

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REGARDING ART, THEORY, AND THE ARTIST'S REPUTATION

Essays for Ernst van de Wetering

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AMSTERDAM UNIVERSITY PRESS

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PAINTERS, PATRONS AND ART-LOVERS

Ernst van de Wetering – Scene photograph from ‘Hollands Licht’ © DKW

INTRODUCTION

The Learned Eye

'In painting one has to have learned eyes.' This is one of the *Paradoxa* formulated by Cicero,[1] a phrase that was taken up eagerly by authors writing on painting in the Italian Renaissance, looking for classical authorities to quote from.[2] It was also rephrased by Dutch theorists of the seventeenth century and adapted to the art of their time. Franciscus Junius, in the Dutch edition of his *The painting of the ancients*, talks about the necessity of '*een Konst-gheleerd oogh*' – 'a learned eye'.[3] Junius was not a painter himself but a philologist with a dilettante's experience in drawing; he wrote mainly on behalf of art-lovers or *liefhebbers*. Interestingly, he is of the opinion that in talking intelligently about art and its values, it is not enough to cite from a stock of quotations with wisdom from classical antiquity, or any other source from the humanist curriculum. No, it is indispensable to have a profound knowledge of the art of painting itself. In the first place, this means that we have to learn how to look. We have to start with the work of art itself.

Junius interprets Cicero in this new way: 'there is a certain kind of eye, which we can call in Aelianus' words artful or art-learned eyes (*Konst-gheleerden ooghen*)'.[4] Junius continues in the English edition of his book: 'it doth then appeare that it is not enough wee should have eyes in our head as other men have, but it is also required here that we should bring to these curiosities "eruditos oculos", that is, "learned eyes", as Tullie [Cicero] termeth them.'[5]

But how do we obtain *'geleerde oogen in 't hooft'* or 'learned eyes in the head', as Willem Goeree still formulates in 1682?[6] Junius is very explicit on this. Although his treatise is mainly filled with references to the writings on literature, rhetoric and history of antiquity, he is convinced that in essence it is only the artist himself who is the final authority, and, sidestepping a surplus of bookish oratory, becomes the most eloquent spokesman for art. Junius states that 'none but an Artificer can judge of a Painter, Carver, Caster in brasse, or worker in clay'.[7] And, in case one has no opportunity to get some practice in the art of painting oneself, one should stick to the judgements of an experienced painter: 'There is no more adequate means to obtain an unfailing judgement in all kind of artworks, than that one seeks to follow the same basis of judgement, that was held by the artist during his work.'[8]

That Junius' advices were not just literary phrasings but were taken to heart by *burghers* of the Dutch Republic is evident from Constantijn Huygens' account of his own education in the art of drawing, which arose from his father's wish: 'He had acknowledged, as also the Greeks have had without doubt in mind, something which he had learned from his own lack of experience, that no one is in any way competent to speak about the art of painting, which is nowadays everywhere to be found, when he has not in one way or another by his own hand made himself familiar with the first principles of this art.'[9]

Departing from this seventeenth-century appreciation for a universal education which combines the knowledge of literary and artistic traditions with a concrete experience in the art of painting itself, the theme of the 'learned eye' serves as the header for this collection of essays dedicated to Ernst van de Wetering. Junius' words on the importance of starting with the art object itself and on the necessity of practical painting experience, sound a surprisingly familiar note to anyone who has attended one of Van de Wetering's lectures. The eloquent way in which these lectures have passed on his own familiarity with the art of painting has held generations of students in rapt attention. It has educated them in a way that can be called a specific 'school' in art-historical thinking and especially *looking* that is not easily comparable to any other scholarly tradition.

Many examples could be given of the fascination of this approach, which was never so great as when Van de Wetering was speaking in an artist's or restorer's studio, or when he at least had at his disposal slides closing up on minute details: the reflected light on a painted jawbone, the nuances in modelling of a moist eyelid – or the way the relief of thickly applied paint would leave a projected shadow that enhanced the illusion of depth. He painstakingly introduced his students to the peculiarities of paint on canvas, the hand's movements, and of seeing itself. Van de Wetering's questioning would always circle around the tension between those two: the relation between on the one hand the material reality of the paint surface, and on the other, the way three-dimensional space was converted by the artist into the two dimensions of the canvas. Van de Wetering would speak about his ideal of determining what he called the paint-illusion coefficient, in which, as in the title of one of his famous articles, the relation between 'brushwork and illusionism' was formalized. His listeners were confronted with quite different issues than the usual search for historical information; the problems raised were the artist's problems; the perspective was the artist's eye.

Van de Wetering never feared to share with his students the proceedings of his research on Rembrandt. These revealed also the working methods of the researcher, his recent findings, and of course, his doubts, involving his students into questions regarding scientific 'truth' and the aesthetics of authenticity. He would confide to them, he hardly dared to say, that he enjoyed more experiencing *how* a work of art came into being, than the final result itself – a preference he appears to share with Franciscus Junius.[10] With a similar touch of modesty, Van de Wetering would begin an explanation in front of the Night Watch, asking

whether the public would mind if he started with something as banal as the canvas.

It is not easy to define and place Van de Wetering's special approach or his 'method'. However, a key to how Van de Wetering arrived at where he is now, is to be found in a very early work: his doctoral thesis, composed under supervision of Josua Bruyn.[11] It addresses the painter Hans von Marées (1837-1887). The thesis accounts how Marées' artistic ideas found their main expression in the art theory of Conrad Fiedler (1841-1887), ideas that were also connected by Van de Wetering to the philosophy of Schopenhauer. Fiedler's artistic theory was epitomized by the philosopher Benedetto Croce in a study entitled *The Theory of Art as Pure Visibility*. Though Croce's words praising 'the Fiedlerian doctrine of art' are not referred to by Van de Wetering, I think they are the best way to identify what can also be called 'Van de Wetering's philosophy of art':

> The principle of art is neither beauty, concept, nor imitation, and not even feeling, but *visibility*; and its organ is the eye, the artist's eye concentrated in seeing, which does not differ from the eye of the ordinary man in that it sees differently or more, but because it sees in a productive way [...] Art is the clarity of autonomous seeing [...] This concept of art is the indispensable condition for understanding and narrating the history of art, at which many work in a sterile way since they confuse it with the history of ideas, of mentality, of practical needs, with biography and with the artist's psychology, and so forth. But a true history of art doesn't have to be anything else than a history of the mediated and revealed knowledge that art yields, that is a history of knowledge of the real, considered under the aspect of visibility.[12]

The basis for Van de Wetering's art-historical approach was probably laid in the years studying Hans von Marées and the doctrine of 'pure visibility'. In any way, Van de Wetering's work has very literally embodied the artistic ideal as it was defined in this philosophy.

To illustrate the powers of this philosophy, I would like to refer to just one anecdotic example. It occurred during a doctoral excursion to Florence and its environs which included lasting educational moments such as a day of model drawing in a Tuscan villa. After having spent an afternoon in the artistic plethora of the Pitti galleries, at one moment a student, in a fit of what probably was a modern derivation of Stendhal's syndrome, burst out in a desperate question: 'But *why* are we doing this? What is the meaning of it all?' Immediately, Van de Wetering made us sit down where we were and set out on a monologue on the things that matter in life. To epitomize a display of eloquence into a few short words, those were three things: first came art, then love, then death. So Van de Wetering told us while a setting Italian sun was highlighting gilt painting frames, and the eyes of renaissance cardinals, saints and gentlemen were on us. The next day our professor treated us to a concrete example – the accidental object of his appraisals being Filippo Lippi

and his handling of light before he sent us wandering through an almost deserted Uffizi. The student who had provoked his eloquence, not long afterwards continued her study in an Italian restorer's studio, and is now training as a professional restorer.

This book brings together some of Ernst van de Wetering's students, colleagues, and friends, who were touched in different ways by his approach of the art of painting. Under the theme of the '*oculus eruditus*' or '*Konst-gheleerd Oogh*', four issues are addressed that closely relate to Van de Wetering's ideas on various topics such as painting technique, Rembrandt, the artist's self-image, and pictorial illusionism. On a general level, the 'learned eye' refers to the experienced view of the art historian, the curator, or the restorer, and the 'closer look' at paintings that is fundamental to their research: a directness of approach which is always advocated by Van de Wetering. Secondly, this scrutiny of the works of art themselves is confronted by the study of the relevant historical vocabulary in literary sources, such as art-theoretical texts. The third part of the book takes the term *oculus eruditus* back to its literary origin where it refers to the endeavour of artists to enhance the status of painting to an art of high intellectual and social importance. The fourth part situates painting in its context of patrons and art-lovers or *liefhebbers*.

The theme of the 'learned eye' touches on a central issue in understanding early modern art and its context: the development in the artist's status. Artists expressed their concern with the intellectual and social position of their profession and tried to define painting in relation to, on the one hand, the crafts that were submitted to guild regulations, and on the other, accepted intellectual arts like poetry and rhetoric. Growing awareness of both the importance of the institutional teaching of art, and of the elusiveness of something like artistic genius, contributed to this development. Painters such as Rembrandt consciously entered artistic emulation with colleagues and famous predecessors, which would enhance their reputation and increase their market share. A catalyst in this development was the concern with the art of painting of the *liefhebber*, who would endeavour to learn the basic principles of painting as well and obtain in his turn *oculi eruditi*, convinced of the well-known opinion that the artist is the best critic of art.

On behalf of the editors,
Thijs Weststeijn

Ernst van de Wetering accompanying a group of students in Florence

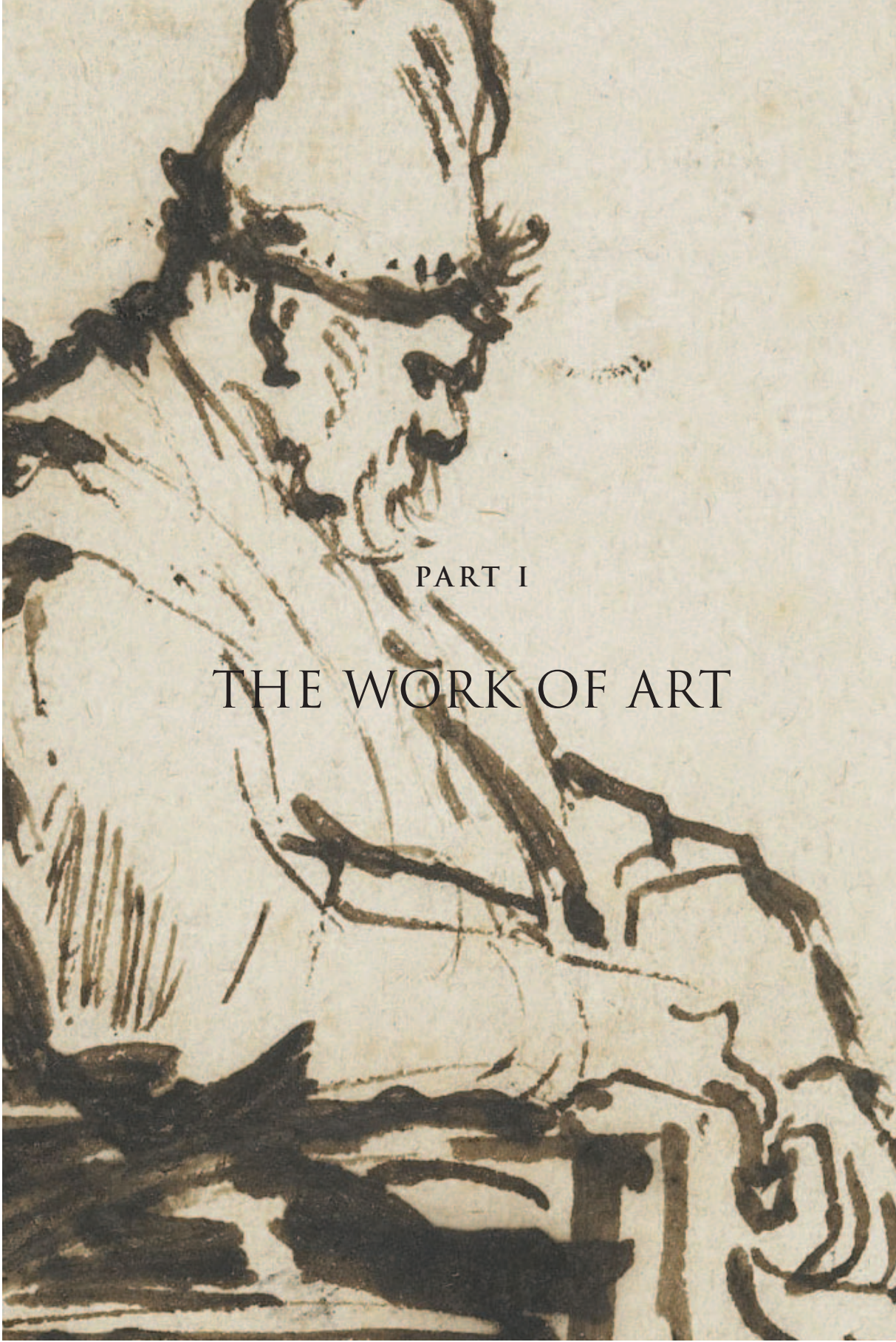
Biography of Ernst van de Wetering

Ernst van de Wetering (1938) was first trained as an artist at the Royal Academy of Fine Arts in The Hague. After finishing his training he became an artist and art teacher. In 1968, while studying art history at the University of Amsterdam, he was invited as an assistant to the Rembrandt Research Project (RRP), which had started the same year. In 1970 he became a member of the RRP team and in 1992 he succeeded Josua Bruyn as its chairman. Between 1969 and 1987 he was a staff member of the Central Research Laboratory for Objects of Art and Science in Amsterdam. Since 1987 he has been professor of Art History at the University of Amsterdam. The Rembrandt Research Project has published three volumes with the results of its investigation in *A Corpus of Rembrandt Paintings*. Volume IV will appear in 2005.

Van de Wetering has published extensively and lectured in numerous countries on Rembrandt, on historical studio practice as well as in the field of theory and ethics of restoration and conservation. His book *Rembrandt. The Painter at Work* (1997) provides an insight into a variety of technical, artistic and aesthetic aspects of Rembrandt's work. In 2003, Van de Wetering was knighted by the Dutch queen for his work on the conservation and restoration of cultural heritage.

1 Cicero, 'in pictura se eruditos oculos habere', *Paradoxa* V 2, 38.
2 As Romano Alberti translates Cicero: 'ch'egli avea gli occhi eruditi nella pittura', *Trattato della nobiltà della pittura*, Roma 1585, cap. 1; in: P. Barocchi (ed.), *Scritti d'arte del Cinquecento* (vol. 1), Milano & Napoli s.l, p. 366.
3 Franciscus Junius, *De Schilder-konst der Oude*, Middelburg 1641, p. 65 'een Konstgheleerd oogh kan maer alleen bespeuren wat daer in te vinden is'.
4 'Daer is dan eenen sekeren slag van oogen diemen met Aelianus "konstighe" of "Konst-gheleerden ooghen" mag noemen', ibid. p. 60. Junius' own reference to Aelianus: *var.hist. Lib. XIV, Cap. 47*.
5 I quote from the English edition of 1638: Aldrich, K., Fehl, P. & Fehl, R. (eds.), *Franciscus Junius, The Literature of Classical Art: Vol. 1. The painting of the Ancients: De pictura veterum, according to the English translation (1638)*, Berkeley/Los Angeles/Oxford 1991, p. 66. Comp. 'So en is het oock niet genoegh dat wy ooghen in ons hoofd hebben als andere menschen, maer het is voorder van noode dat wy sulcke oogen sochten te bekomen die nae de maniere van spreken by Cicero gebruyckt eruditi oculi, dat is, geleerde ooghen verdienden te worden gheaemt.' Junius, *Schilder-konst der oude* (see note 3), p. 60.
6 Goeree, *Menschkunde*, Amsterdam 1682, p. 9.
7 Junius, *Painting of the Ancients* (see note 5), p. 68; comp. 'Hij moet noodwendiglick een konstenaer wesen, segt hy, die van een Schilder, Beeld-snijder, ofte ook van een giet-Konstenaer recht wel meynt te oordelen.' Junius, *Schilder-konst der oude* (see note 3), p. 62.
8 'Daer en is gheen bequaemer middel om een onwraeckbaer oordeel van allerley konstighe wercken te strijcken, dan datmen even den selvighen voet in't oordeelen volghe, die den Konstenaer in't wercken heeft ghehouden.' Junius, *Schilder-konst der oude* (see note 3), p. 329. This passage was left out in the English edition.
9 'Viderat, quo et Graeci procul dubio collimarunt, et sua, ut aiebat, imperitia didicerat fieri non posse, ut de pictura (nusquam non hodie obvia) quisquam vel modice iudicaret, qui manu propria rudimenta artis quodammodo non tractasset.' Constantijn Huygens, *Fragment eener autobiographie*, ed. J.A. Worp, s.l., s.a., p. 63. Huygens composed the manuscript during the period 1629-1631.
10 '[H]et [den Konst-lievers] nerghens nae soo vermaeckelick is de volmaeckte wercken der Konstenaeren met ghemack te besichtighen, of't schijnt hun vele vermaeckelicker uyt de verghelijkckinghe van verscheydene gheteyckende schetsen aen te mercken met wat een bekommerde sorghvuldigheyd 't oordeel des twijfelmoedighen Konstenaers was opghenomen eer hy sijn werkck met een goed verghenoeghen heeft durven aentasten.' Junius, *Schilder-konst der oude* (see note 3), p. 260.
11 E. van de Wetering, *Hans von Marées (1837-1887)*, Doctoral thesis, Universiteit van Amsterdam, 1973.
12 B. Croce, 'La teoria dell'arte come pura visibilità' (1919), in: *Nuovi Saggi di Estetica*, Bari 1969, pp. 233-258, p. 238, on 'la dottrina fiedleriana dell'arte': 'Il principio dell' arte non è, dunque, né la bellezza, né il concetto, né l'imitazione, e neppure il sentimento, ma la visiblità; e l'organo di lei è l'occhio, l'occhio dell'artista concentrato nel vedere, e che non differisce dall'occhio dell'uomo ordinario perché veda diversamente o piú, ma perché vede in modo produttivo e vuol possedere sul serio ciò che la natura sembra offirgli e sottrargli insieme. L'arte (figurativa) è la chiarezza del vedere autonomo [...] Codesto concetto dell'arte è la condizione indispensabile per intendere e narrare la storia dell'arte, alla quale tanti lavorano sterilmente perché la scambiano con la storia delle idee, dei sentimenti, dei bisogni pratici, con la biografia e con la psicologia degli artisti, e via dicendo. Ma una vera

storia dell'arte (figurativa) non deve essere altro che storia della concoscenza mediata e rivelata dall'arte, cioè della conoscenza del reale considerato sotto l'aspetto della visibilità.'



PART I

THE WORK OF ART

KARIN GROEN

In the Beginning There Was Red

Red: Symbolic Meaning

Red is one of the oldest colours used by man. Already in prehistoric times, some 35,000 years ago, red earth was used in European cave paintings. Also, the 71 pieces of red ochre that were recently discovered in the ca. 100,000 year old Qafzeh cave in Israel were, judging by the anatomically modern humans living there, *Homo sapiens sapiens* – clearly chosen for their red colour. Researchers say that the red ochre found in the cave supports the controversial theory that symbolic thinking, a hallmark of modern-day human thought, arose deep in the Stone Age.[1] The pieces of red ochre pigment were found together with ochre-stained tools, near several of Qafzeh's oldest graves. The association with burial was a strong indication of symbolic thought: early modern man had made the mental leap of associating the red colour with death. Prior to the find of red ochre in Qafzeh cave, the oldest undisputed indication for symbolic culture was a 72,000-year-old piece of – again – red ochre, with a scratched-in line pattern, found in Blombos cave in South Africa.[2]

Red had since early times also been symbolic for the divine. Red represented fire and light, the colour of the sun. The colour red was since ancient times the symbol of might and status of dignitaries. There is a long tradition in the preference for red in matters of importance. John Gage lists many special occasions where red was used: in ancient Greece to sanctify weddings and funerals; as a military colour in both Greece and Rome to strike awe into the enemy. Before the fifth century, Greek *stelae* (upright funerary stone slabs or columns) were painted red. So were the interiors of some temples. The list is sheer endless: walls of shrines in India, the walls of the temple of Isis in Pompeii, statues of Roman gods, etc.[3] In the Middle Ages, especially in Northern Europe, red also became the colour of justice, signified by the red church door.[4] In antiquity and early medieval times, red also had a particular affinity with gold. The tradition of assigning a symbolic meaning to red and the affinity of red with gold – an affinity that affected the working methods in painting – continued for a long time, even in unexpected places, as will be shown in this article.

Canvas Painting

Nowadays, painting is usually done on a white surface, either paper or prepared canvas. This was different in the seventeenth century. At that time, the surface to paint on had a colour, often a light flesh colour or grey. These light grey or flesh colours had a function in the painting process. Such a coloured ground was just what was needed for determining the division of light and dark in the composition as a whole in an early stage of the painting process. The coloured ground made it possible to rapidly and efficiently give the light and dark parts their place. The *chiaroscuro*, so important in baroque painting, was almost instantly achieved.

The fact that grey goes very well with all the other colours is already noticed in written sources containing advice for painters. Theodore Turquet de Mayerne, the court physician to Charles I in London, when recommending what pigments to use for the top layer of the ground, which he calls the 'priming', explains: 'For priming canvases, take lead white, red ochre, a little umber and very little charcoal black: In this way, the priming will be bleuisch, and easily takes all the colours, especially blue and green'.[5] In a 1777 anonymous text this advice is more or less repeated: 'The grounds mentioned last are made of lead white mixed with brown red and a little coal black, in order to render the right hue, a reddish grey, that in general agrees with all the colours in the art of painting'.[6]

Not only in the written sources, but also in the paintings themselves one can see the grey ground. Especially from examining paintings on canvas we know, that opaque, light coloured paint often covers a red layer; the canvas was obviously first prepared with a red paint (FIGS.1 and 2). This way of working seems remarkable: why would one first paint red, if then the red is immediately painted on with grey? This manner of preparing canvases was, however, very common in Holland in the seventeenth century, and also with some Flemish, French and Italian painters, and they persisted with this method into the eighteenth century. To give an example, more than half of the canvases used by Rembrandt and his studio to paint on were prepared in this way, as research has shown.[7] In Utrecht, Abraham Bloemaert and Hendrick ter Brugghen used flesh coloured grounds on red. Canaletto started to paint on such grounds in the 1730s.[8]

From the examination of paintings we know that the red coloured ground was more or less covered: the colour did not seem to play a major role. Then, why use such an outspoken colour as red in the first place? Why not use a reddish grey mixture straight away, if a warm grey surface to paint on is preferred to a red one? Why bother with applying red when it will be hidden by grey? As we shall see, there were practical and financial reasons for the use of red. There was also the symbolic aspect of red. The use of red became a tradition in itself, and it often continued, even when practical, financial and symbolic reasons had lost their meaning.

In the following paragraphs I will show that a red ground was used on other objects besides paintings and that its use started long before the seventeenth

FIG. 1 – A double ground, first red then grey, is visible at the surface of the unfinished picture by a follower of the Lenain, *Three Men and a Boy*, canvas, 54.1 x 64.5 cm, London, The National Gallery, cat. no. 4857. The first, red ground is the orange-red patch at the lower right

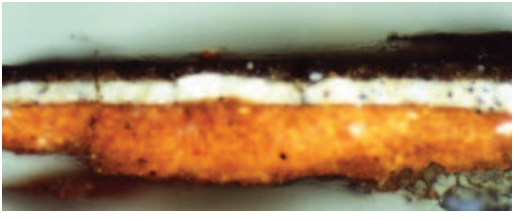


FIG. 2 – Paint cross-section of a sample from the edge of the canvas of Follower of Rembrandt, *Portrait of the Clergyman Eleazar Swalmius*, 1637, Antwerp, Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Inv. Nr. 705. Under the dark surface paint there is the build-up of ground layers: first orange-red, then (light) grey (lead white + a few black pigment particles)

century. With the examples chosen I want to speculate that the use of a red ground stems from early methods of making polychrome stone sculptures, murals and various other decorative coloured and gilded ornaments.

Statues and Murals

Red grounds were encountered often in medieval churches in the Netherlands. The red coloured preparatory layers were found on different types of objects. A typical example is the five polychrome calcareous sandstone sculptures that now form part of the central collection of the Centraal Museum in Utrecht. The gothic sculptures, according to old notes deriving from Utrecht's Dom church, date from 1450/51. The four Saints, Agnes, Mary Magdalene, Paul, and Pontian of Spoleto, are depicted frontally in an upright position. Saint Martin is on horseback, donating part of his mantle to the beggar behind him. It was obvious that the sculptures were meant to be seen only from the front and the sides: the front and sides are carved, the backs are flat. The archives of the Domchapter produced an indication that the five sculptures were made for the sacrament house (*sacramentum*) of the Dom: 'beneden an' t sacramentshuys gemact'.[9] The sculptures were provided by the Utrecht sculptor Jan Nude. Not only the name of the sculptor, but also the names of the painters were identified; they are Ulricus Liebaert and Jacobus van Rietvelt. In 1451 Liebaert and the heirs of Van Rietvelt were paid 'de pictura vulgariter stoffiringe domus sacri eucharistie'.[10]

The sacrament house – a sort of cupboard for keeping the consecrated wafers – was positioned in the choir of the Dom. Furbishing the sacrament house must have been quite a large project; in 1442/43 already thirteen sculptures had been ordered for the purpose of decorating this 'cupboard'.

The sculptures are coloured, but under the colours there is a red ground (FIG. 3). The orange red colour underlies most of the polychrome. For instance, all of the flesh colours including that of the horse, the sole of the beggar's foot and his little finger; the green grass under the feet of the saints, the horse and the beggar; parts of the draperies and all of the gilded parts such as the saints headgear and other decorations and Pontianus harness and shield. The red is thus found under all the colours, including cool ones like green. The only exception were blue painted areas, such as the blue lining of draperies; they were underlain with black, as was common practice. Black would enhance the tone of the greenish blue azurite, suggesting the expensive pigment obtained from the deep blue precious stone lapis lazuli.

A red ground is also specific for a surface that is to be gilded. The richly polychrome and gilded sandstone retable – also in the Dom – of canon Anthonis Pott, who died in 1500, is on a red ground as well. Comparable to the Centraal Museum 'Dom sculptures', under most of the colours and under the gold, including the gilding on imitation textile relief brocade, red was applied first.

FIG. 3 – The examination, in 1974, of the polychrome surface of one of the Dom sculptures – *Saint Mary Magdalene* – and the removal of a tiny paint sample in the Centraal Museum in Utrecht

FIG. 4 – Paint cross-section of a sample from a mural in the Buurkerk in Utrecht. A dark red and an orange-red preparatory layer underlie the green surface paint. (NB: The light areas in the orange ground are light reflections)

Painting on red grounds can be found in many medieval churches in the Netherlands and not only on stone sculptures. Red underlies many of the mural paintings as well. For instance, the remnants of the tin-relief painted tapestries on the piers in the Dom, dating from the middle of the fourteenth century,[11] that served as backgrounds for the statues of Christ, Mary and the twelve apostles, are on a red ground. Tin-relief textiles are a form of applied application that imitated the surface structures of metallic cloths and embroideries, widely used in fifteenth century European polychromy. During the examination and restoration of tin-relief textiles we noticed that detachment of the fragile relief had nearly always occurred between the red ground and the (usually) wax filling of the tin relief, a strong indication that the red was not part of the manufacture of the relief's structure but of the preparation of the surface – in Utrecht the piers – to be decorated with cut pieces of tin-relief.[12]

Also on a red ground are the slightly later *Jesse's Tree* murals in the St. Janskerk in 's Hertogenbosch and in the Buurkerk in Utrecht, dating from just before 1422 and ca.1448 respectively (FIG. 4). Also, the early sixteenth century *St. Christopher* murals in the St. Maartenskerk in Zaltbommel and in the St. Jacobskerk in Utrecht are on a red ground and so is the *Crucifixion* mural dating from the second part of the sixteenth century in the St Joriskerk in Amersfoort.[13] It was very interesting to find that the red grounds in the early sixteenth century *St Christopher* murals in Zaltbommel and in Utrecht, and in the *Crucifixion* mural in Amersfoort have – at least in places – a dark grey application on top of the red. This discovery indicates that in the sixteenth century, for murals, red was considered too outspoken a hue to paint on directly, as it was in the seventeenth century, for canvas paintings. As far as their colour is concerned, the preparatory layers on stone, in the fifteenth and sixteenth century, apparently do not differ much from those of canvases in the seventeenth century.

First Red: A Rule-of-Thumb Method

Chemical identification of the red material would provide insight into the status of the 'red murals'.[14] The analyses of the material of the red grounds used for the murals and the stone sculptures contained – besides a red earth, as was expected – some red lead (*minium*, lead oxide) and sometimes vermilion (mercury sulphide). Red lead, for instance, was found to be the main constituent of the red preparation layer of the painted tapestries on the piers in the Dom church and on the Centraal Museum's 'Dom sculptures'.[15] The find of toxic substances such as lead oxide and a mercury compound suggests that the function of the red is that of a preservative. However, it is not clear if painters were aware of the preservatives qualities of red at that time. Also, since lead or mercury were not present in the grounds of all the paintings, preservation does not seem to be the only reason for applying red to the stone before painting.

A clue as to the use of red paint directly on the wall is already given in Roman times by Pliny: 'Among the remaining kinds of red ochre the most useful for builders are the Egyptian and the African varieties, as they are most thoroughly *absorbed by plaster*' (my italics, KG).[16] In the seventeenth century, De Mayerne continues, saying that stone surfaces, like sculptures, sculpted ornaments and walls, should first be treated with oil to make them smooth and impermeable, so that one can paint on them. Soaking the stone with oil should first close the pores in the different kinds of stone – with differing porosity. De Mayerne is anxious about the drying of the oil; a little red lead – a good dryer – or ochre should be added.[17] Then he remarks that, although the best ground is a grey one, the paint mixture needed for it is expensive, as the main ingredient is the costly lead white. So, in order to save money, one should start with the much cheaper (red) ochre: 'This (grey) ground would be good as the last layer, because, if one wants to save, then one could make the first one with ochre [...]'.[18] The conclusion we can draw from these recommendations is that, when painting walls, stone sculptures et cetera, red lead was added to the oil to enhance its drying properties and red earth was used for economical reasons. From the fourteenth century onwards the use of a red preparatory layer had become tradition, typically a rule-of-thumb method.

Moreover, in early days painters like Ulricus Liebaert and Jacobus van Rietvelt, who painted the 'Dom sculptures', were most probably not 'painters' in our sense of the word. At the time, painters earned their living by painting and gilding a variety of objects, even horse harnesses and saddles, flags and banners, signboards, doors and objects made from leather and wood.[19] An anonymous book of secrets, printed in Antwerp in 1553 (probably copied from an earlier French book), state that when 'applying gold leaf (or silver) to all sorts of metal – for instance iron –, clocks, stone etc.', one should take 'ochre, a third of minium and a fourth of (the red) Armenian bole'. The book concludes: 'brush it onto whatever you like.'[20] Applied in this way, the gilding could stand water. Gilding was done on a large

scale. (Stone) sculptures, painted tapestries and other decorative elements were partly gilded. Making polychrome and gilded stone sculpted and flat ornaments into a unity was easiest done by first giving them a flat ground colour. Therefore the key to the red ground, in the Netherlands, as in other parts of Europe, must lie in the technique of gilding. The application of gold leaf, and therefore the use of red, could stem from the manufacture of objects seemingly remote from easel paintings, namely objects made from metal. The goal was to imitate, or fake, solid metal.

Gold leaf stuck onto Armenian bole could be burnished, red bole being an iron-rich clay that can take a high polish. It would resemble a solid block of gold. The sculpted ornaments would pretend to be hammered from pure gold, the same way the painted tapestries pretended to be expensive gold-threaded textile brocades. A connection between painting and metal working was first proposed by Jilleen Nadolny, who argued that the medieval technique of tin-relief, which later was adapted to the production of tin-relief textiles, would stem from metal working.[21] She in particular investigated the origins of the use of metals – in cast form, in sheets, in applied relief and in gilding – by painters. In a way one could say that also the sculpting and gilding of stone ornaments, old murals and easel paintings, associated with the ornamentation of medieval churches, originates in metal working.

Conclusion

In summary one can say that traditionally and according to the written sources quoted here, there were economical reasons for the use of red in preparatory layers as well as reasons related to preservation, drying and gilding. As a happy coincidence the materials possessing the right physical and chemical properties for these functions were of the favoured colour, red – although this was an orange red and not visible through the paint or gold covering it. Painting red has a long tradition, the affinity with the colour red stemming from symbols from ancient times. Although it cannot be proven that in later times red still had a symbolic meaning, in the early Middle Ages and medieval times there was the affinity with gold, the other important 'colour'. In the guild tradition there was a consolidation of the symbolic meaning of red with the technique of gilding – although orange red instead of deep red. The craft tradition continued through the ages, in the use of red in mural painting and stone sculpture, until well into the seventeenth century, on canvas. The symbolic meaning of red merged with the very strong guild-craft tradition. The use of red continued, even when symbolic meaning of the colour was lost, through rule-of-thumb methods under the strong rules of the Guilds.

The tradition even worked in the seventeenth century – in the priming of canvases. Canvases primed in this way were also used in Rembrandt's studio. Rembrandt broke with this tradition when he received the commission for painting

the *Night Watch*. He went to the trouble of finding clay that was light in colour, not red, so that, to obtain the right tone to paint on, he did not have to revert to an additional grey layer. The basic materials for the new priming – sand and clay – were inexpensive. The fact that the *Night Watch* can still be admired today is due to Rembrandt's brake with tradition and his discrimination in making choices.[22]

NOTES

1 Erella Hovers, Shimon Ilani, Ofer Bar-Yosef, Bernard Vandermeersch, 'An early case of color symbolism: Ochre use by modern humans in Qafzeh cafe', *Current Anthropology: A World Journal of the Sciences of Men*, 44 (2003), no. 4, pp. 491-522 (32).

2 Christopher S. Henshilwood, Francesco d'Errico, Royden Yates, Zenobia Jacobs, Chantal Tribolo, Geoff A.T. Duller, Norbert Mercier, Judith C. Sealy, Helene Valladas, Ian Watts, and Ann G. Wintle, 'Emergence of Modern Human Behavior: Middle Stone Age Engravings from South Africa', *Science* 295 (2002), no. 5558, pp. 1278-1280.

3 John Gage, *Colour and Culture*, London 1993, p. 26.

4 Barbara Deimling, 'De rechtshistorische betekenis van het middeleeuwse kerkportaal', in: Rolf Toman (ed.), *Romaanse Kunst*, Köln 1996, pp. 324-325.

5 Theodore Turquet de Mayerne, *Pictoria Sculptoria & quae subalternarum artium*, 1620, in: E. Berger, *Quellen für Maltechnik während der Renaissance und deren Folgezeit*, München 1901, p. 250: 'Pour imprimer les toiles fault prendre Blanc de plomb, ocre rouge, un peu d'Umbre, & tant soit peu de charbon de bois, cherkole: Ainsi l'imprimeuresera bleuastre, & receura facilement toutes couleurs, bleues & vertes principalement'.

6 Anonymous, *Nieuwen Verlichter der Konst-schilders, vernissers, vergulders en marmelaers, en alle andere liefhebbers dezer lofbaere konsten*, 1777, Vol. 1, p. 167: 'Deze laetste gronden zyn gemaekt van Lood wit gemengelt met bruyn Rood en een weynig Kol-Zwart, om den grond een roodagtig Grys te geven, het welk generaelyk overeenkomt met alle de koleuren van de Schilderkonst'.

7 C. (Karin) M. Groen, 'Grounds in Rembrandt's workshop and in paintings by his contemporaries', in: E. van de Wetering, *A Corpus of Rembrandt Paintings*, Vol. IV (forthcoming), Chapter IV and Tables.

8 David Bomford and Ashok Roy, 'Canaletto's "Stonemason's Yard" and "San Simeone Piccolo"', *National Gallery Technical Bulletin* 14 (1993), pp. 34-41.

9 Jan Klinkaert, *De verzamelingen van het Centraal Museum Utrecht, deel 3: Beeldhouwkunst tot 1850*, Utrecht 1997, pp. 65-69.

10 The Middle Dutch word '*stofferinge*' is not unambiguous. It means 1) to adorn something 2) everything needed for the furnishing of something, especially a house. My suggestion for the translation of this sentence is 'for the painting – in the vulgar tongue *stofferinge* – of the house of the holy Eucharist'.

11 Arie de Groot, 'Beelden in de Dom van Utrecht in de zestiende eeuw', *Netherlands Yearbook for History of Art* (1994), pp. 38-96.

12 For the manufacture of the tin-relief itself see: K.W. Bachmann, E. Oellerman and J. Taubert, 'The conservation and technique of the Herlin Altarpiece (1466)', *Studies in Conservation*, 15 (1970), 354-362. See also Angélique Friedrichs, 'De geperste brokaten op de twaalf koorzuilen', in: *Eredoeken in geperst brokaat*, Leiden, Stichting Pieterskerk Leiden, 2003, pp. 111-117.

13 W. Haakma Wagenaar, 'De buitenschildering van de Joriskerk te Amersfoort', in: W.G.Th. Roelofs and J.A. Mosk (eds.), *Conservering en restauratie: benadering van de problemen*, Amsterdam (Centraal Laboratorium voor Onderzoek van Voorwerpen van Kunst en Wetenschap) 1988, pp. 60-68. Samples were taken by J. Mosk and M. de Keijzer of the Central Laboratory.

14 Documentation file 80/43 at the Netherlands Institute for Cultural Heritage in Amsterdam.

15 Recently, a similar find was reported for remnants of painted textiles on the piers in the St. Pieter church in Leiden; see Friedrichs, 'De geperste brokaten' (see note 12), p. 82.

16 Pliny, *Natural History*, Ed. H. Rackham, London 1961, Book XXXV, p. 287.

17 Berger, *Quellen für Mahltechnik* (see note 5), p. 276: 'quand on peind sur muraille fault premierement sans en coller imhiber ladicte muraille d'huille deux ou trois foys avec une broiüsse y mettant un peu de myne & d'ochre pour ayder a secher'.

18 Berger, *Quellen für Mahltechnik* (see note 5), p. 278: 'ceste imprimeure sera bonne pour derniere, car si on veult espargner on poura faire la premiere d'ochre [...]'.

19 Hessel Miedema, *Karel van Manders Leven der moderne, oft dees-tijtsche doorluchtighe Italiaensche schilders en hun bron. Een vergelijking tussen van Mander en Vasari*. Alphen aan de Rijn 1984, pp. 84, 125.

20 Anoniem, *Dat playsant hoofken van recepten [...]*, Antwerpen 1553.

21 Jilleen Nadolny, *The Techniques and Use of Gilded Relief Decoration by Northern European Painters, c. 1200-1500. Unpublished PhD thesis* (2 vols.), London (The Courtauld Institute, Department of Conservation and Technology) 2001, Vol. I, chapter 10, pp .85-96. See also: Jilleen Nadolny, 'The technical and stylistic context of the relief backgrounds of the Thornham Parva Retable and the Cluny Frontal', in: Ann Massing (ed.), *The Thornham Parva Retable. Technique, Construction and Context of an English Medieval Painting (Technical Bulletin of the Hamilton Kerr Institute 4)*, London & Turnhout (The Hamilton Kerr Institute) 2003, pp. 174-88.

22 Groen, 'Grounds in Rembrandt's workshop and in paintings by his contemporaries' (see note 7).

PETER KLEIN

The Use of Wood in Rembrandt's Workshop. Wood Identification and Dendrochronological Analyses

Introduction

Though art historians in general are more observative towards the frontside of paintings, the back can be of great interest too.* Backs often carry stickers and inscriptions that give telling insides into the painting's provenance. But the support itself can also contain a wealth of information. Seemingly endless afternoons of thread-counting by members of the Rembrandt Research Project have generated valuable knowledge on the use of canvas in seventeenth-century workshops, and especially in Rembrandt's studio.[1] The same is true for Rembrandt's use of wood as a support, though the counting and measuring was this time mainly carried out by dendrochronological specialists from abroad, amongst whom the present author. The back and sides of the panels used in Rembrandt's studio have proven to be very telling, although they do not easily yield their secrets at first sight.

Our knowledge on wood in relation to art-historical problems has risen considerably during the last decades. It is well known that certain wood species were preferred for paintings in different European countries. In Italy the wood most commonly used was poplar, while in the Netherlands, France and England oak panels that were strong and durable were generally used. Marette demonstrated in her book *Connaissance des primitives par l'étude du bois*, published in 1961, that different wood species were used in several European countries.[2] Using many diagrams and tables, she showed the existence of certain 'wood-preferences'. A number of historical maps showed the distribution and types of European forests. At the time, she could however not yet give a description of the specific use of wood

species in different workshops. Nowadays, it is no longer generally thought that in the same workshops several different kinds of wood were used.

During the last twenty years, microscopical analyses of species in combination with dendrochronological research have been undertaken for several museum catalogues at the university of Hamburg.[3] The output of a number of workshops has been analysed, with special attention to the identification of different wood species used as supports for panel paintings. That was done for a lot of different workshops in Europe, but above all the panels of Rembrandt and his students and assistants were analysed.

Besides the identification of the type of wood used by an artist, the dating of the wood is also of great interest. This study method using the growth-ring structure of trees is called dendrochronology. It is part of the biological sciences and is used to date wooden objects. The method, primarily employed for dating archaeological and architectural artefacts, is also used to solve art-historical problems. As such, it is the discipline's principal goal to give at least a *terminus post quem* for the creation of a painting by determining the felling date of the tree that provided the wood for the panel. In the case of Rembrandt's workshop this method has been applied extensively, and has led to quite a few new insights into his paintings and those made by the painters from his direct surroundings.[4] In this article I will outline some of these findings.

Wood Identification

As is usual for panel paintings in the seventeenth century in the Netherlands, the wooden panels used by Rembrandt and the members of his workshop were mostly made of oak, but from oak trees that were felled in different regions. However, other European wood species such as poplar, walnut and beech were also encountered in paintings that originated in Rembrandt's workshop (TABLE 1).

PAINTING/LOCATION	WOOD SPECIES
Self-portrait, W 414	Juglans sp.
Portrait of a Man Seated, W 407	Juglans sp.
Portrait of a Woman Seated, W 409	Juglans sp.
Bust of a Young Man, WNG 667	Populus sp.
Portrait of a Man, priv. coll.	Populus sp.
Maria Trip, A 2072	Populus sp.
Anna Wijmer, A Six Foundation	Populus sp.
The Slaughtered Ox, PL MI 169	Fagus sp.

TABLE 1 – Panel paintings by Rembrandt (1606-69) with supports of various European wood species

Furthermore, it is noteworthy that Rembrandt also used tropical wood species (TABLE 2) for his panels. Up to now it is not clear why Rembrandt used tropical wood. One reason could be that he used these specific panels for experiments, but it is also possible that he used this wood because it was available without costs. It has been proven by microscopical examination that besides genuine mahogany from Central and South America, Rembrandt or members of his workshop also painted on other tropical wood species. It is, however, in general not possible to distinguish these different wood species by microscopical examination, only by dendrochronological analysis. Therefore the term 'mahogany' that one often reads in the catalogues should be taken to mean various botanical species.

PAINTING/LOCATION	ART HISTORICAL ATTRIBUTION/ SIGNATURE	WOOD SPECIES
Raising of the Cross, MP 395	attr. 1663	Cedrela odorata
Man Holding a Glove, NY 14.40.620	sign. 164x	Cedrela odorata
The Holy Famliy, A 4119	attr. 1644	Cedrela odorata
The Visitation, DET 27200	attr. 1640	Cedrela odorata
Self-portrait, KSK 237	sign. 1634	Swietenia mahagoni
Saskia, B 812	sign. 1643	Swietenia mahagoni
Susanna Bathing, B 828E	sign. 1647	Swietenia mahagoni
Christ at Emmaus, PL 1739	sign. 1648	Swietenia mahagoni
Young Woman, PET 784	sign. 165(4)	Swietenia mahagoni
Old Man in Fanciful Costume, DRD 1567	sign. 1654	Swietenia mahagoni
Anna Accused by Tobit, B 805	sign. 1645	Cariniana legalis or estrellensis
Joseph's Dream, B 806	sign. 1645	Cariniana legalis or estrellensis
Man in a Fanciful Costume, CAF	sign. 1650	Brosimum sp.

TABLE 2 – Panel paintings by Rembrandt (1606-69) with support of tropical timber

Above all the use of *Cedrela odorata* and *Cariniana legalis* or *estrellensis* is remarkable. These species were known under the trade name 'Sugarbox-wood', while later in the nineteenth century Cedrela became known as 'Cigarbox-wood'. With these wood species boxes were constructed for the transport of sugar from South America to the Netherlands. They were not specifically made to be applied as panels for paintings.[5] It cannot be excluded that real mahogany was also used for such carriers. After having served as carrier boxes that were transported to the harbours of Amsterdam and other cities in the Netherlands, these wood species were left behind as waste material. It is possible that Rembrandt or members from

his workshop strolled the harbours of Amsterdam looking for such panels. Rembrandt used these kinds of wood mostly from the 1640s upwards, with the one exception: the self-portrait at Cassel that is dated 1634. It might be interesting to find out if all these paintings were done by Rembrandt only as experiments or if he used this material also for commissioned paintings.

Until now, apart from Rembrandt's panels, tropical wood has been found only in paintings by Gerrit Dou (1613-1675) (*The Charlatan*, Rotterdam, *Cedrela odorata)* and by Aelbert Cuyp (1620-1691) (*Three Children*, Montreal, *Swietenia macrophylla)*. It is clear, however, that towards the end of the seventeenth and during the eighteenth century many supports were made from tropical wood, though precise identifications of the species are lacking so far.

Dendrochronological Analyses

In the forthcoming volume IV of the *Corpus of Rembrandt Paintings* compiled by the Rembrandt Research Project, all dendrochronological analyses will be listed. Most were already mentioned in volume III. These data can reveal interesting information about the possible place of origin of a painting. It is of special interest to examine whether boards of the same tree were used not only in the same painting, but in other paintings too. If this is the case, then the possibility that the works date from the same period rises significantly. The painting under research can have originated in the master's workshop, if the same wood is used in an authentic Rembrandt and another painting presumably made in his direct surroundings. For such questions relating to authenticity the dendrochronological analyses can give supporting evidence, though of course always in relation to other arguments.

In the following figures various paintings are shown that have boards of the same tree (FIGS. 1-4). It has been proven that the paintings *Bust of an Old Man in a Cap* (The Hague, *Corpus* I B 7), *Minerva in her Study* (Berlin, *Corpus* I A 38) and *Simeon in the Temple* (Hamburg, *Corpus* I A 12) are painted on panels derived from the same tree, though from different parts. For the *Minerva*, eight sapwood rings, the light coloured perishable wood in the outside zones of a tree, are present and for *Simeon*, four sapwood rings. On the other hand, the board used for the *Old Man* is cut from a more central part of the tree.

Another example shows (FIG. 2) that the *Self-portrait* (Private Collection, *Corpus* IV Add. I) and the *Portrait of Maurits Huygens* (Hamburg, *Corpus* II A 57) were painted on wood from the same tree. This has also been concluded with reference to the boards of the *Self-portrait* (Leipzig, *Corpus* IV 4) and the *Christ* (Berlin, Br 622). When one compares the growth ring curves of the Leipzig *Self-portrait* and the Berlin *Christ* (FIG. 3), they correspond in such a way that the only possible conclusion can be that these were made from wood of the same tree.

More examples can be given of the boards of paintings that were cut from the same tree (FIG. 4). This must have been the case with the *Bust of a Man in*

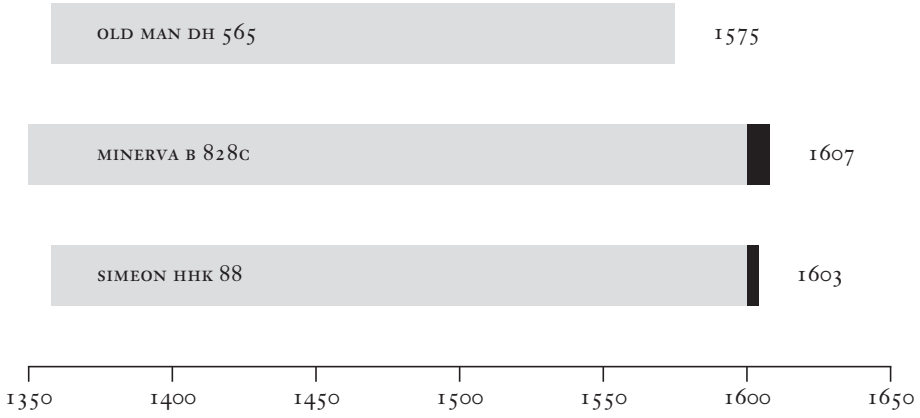


FIG. 1 – Dendrochronological datings of some panels used by Rembrandt. The wood of these paintings was derived from the same tree. The year refers to the date of the last ring of each board. The black sections refer to the presence of sapwood rings

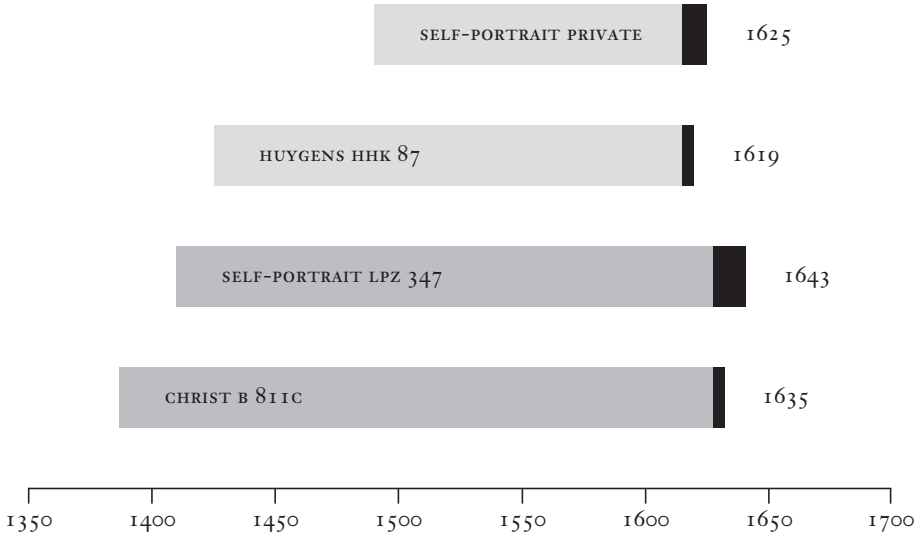


FIG. 2 – Dendrochronological datings of some panels used by Rembrandt. The year refers to the date of the last ring of the board. An identical grey-tone inside the bars means that the wood came from the same tree. The black sections refer to the presence of sapwood rings

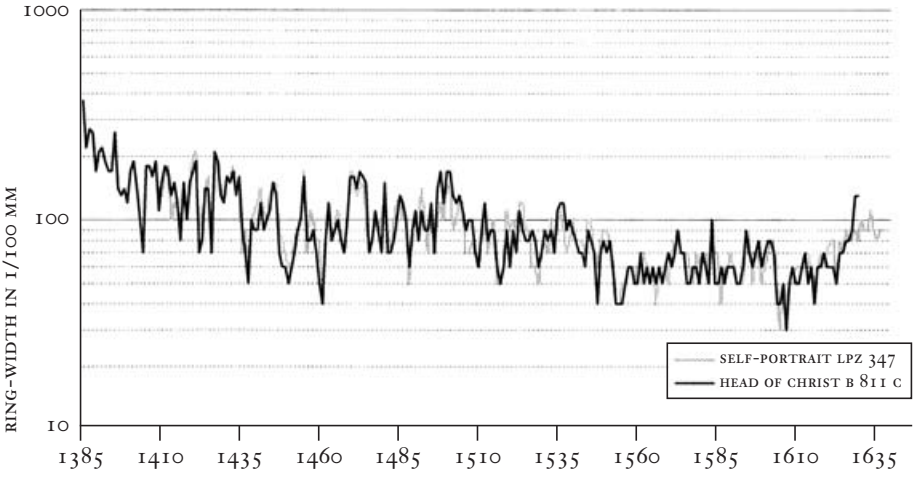


FIG. 3 – Growth ring structure of two boards from the same tree

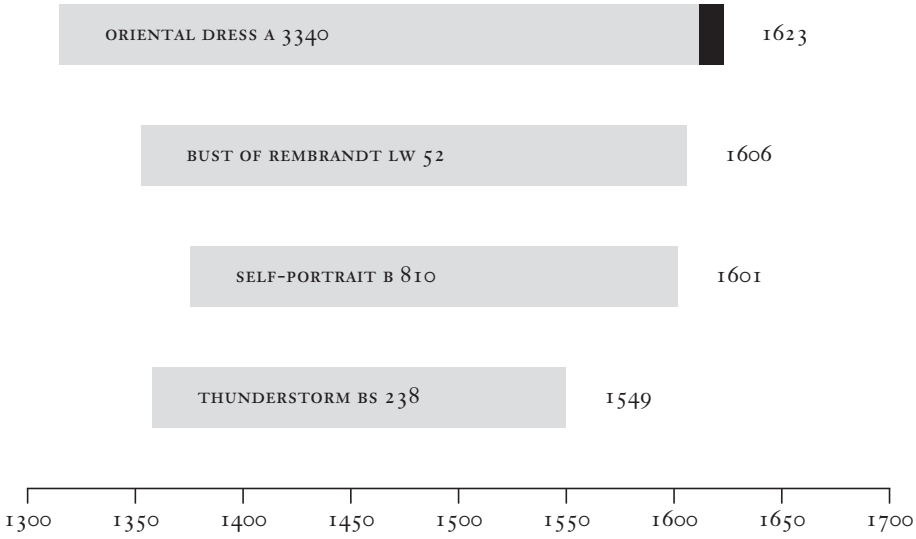


FIG. 4 – Dendrochronological datings of some panels used by Rembrandt. The year refers to the date of the last ring of the board. These paintings were painted on wood from the same tree. The black section refers to the presence of sapwood rings

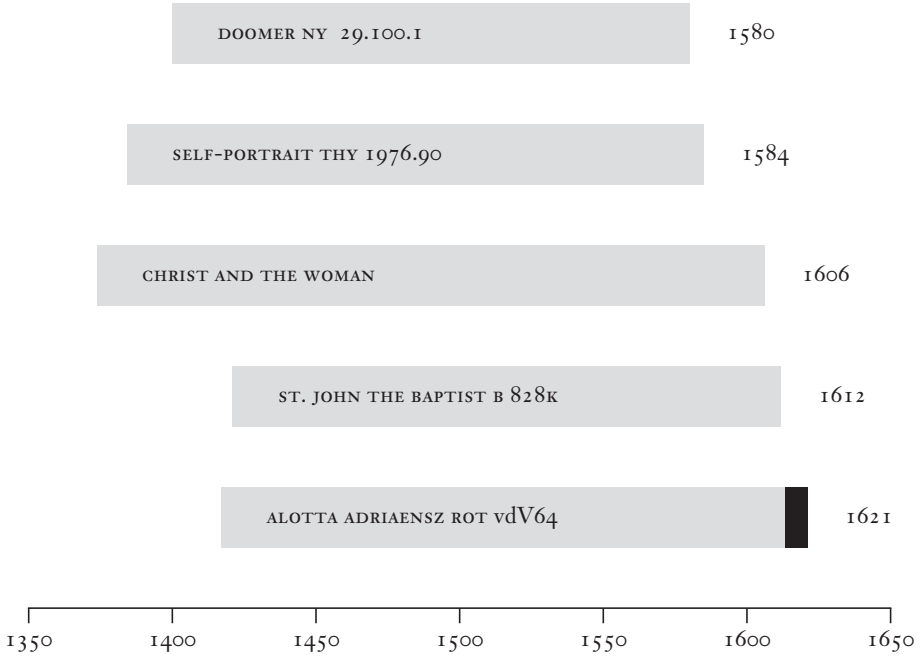


FIG. 5 – Dendrochronological datings of some panels used by Rembrandt. The year refers to the date of the last ring of the board. These painings were all done on *Herzbohlen*. The black section refers to the presence of sapwood rings

FIG. 6 – Dendrochronological datings of some panels used by Rembrandt. The year refers to the date of the last ring of the board. These panels came from the same tree. The black sections refer to the presence of sapwood rings

Oriental Dress (Amsterdam, *Corpus* IV Corr. III C 103), the *Self-portrait in Cap and Fur-trimmed Cloak* (Berlin, *Corpus* II A 96), the *Bust of Rembrandt in a Black Cap* (London, Wallace Collection, *Corpus* III C 96) and the *Mountain Landscape with a Thunderstorm* (Braunschweig, III A 137). The board of the *Bust of a Man in Oriental Dress* shows eleven sapwood rings. This grouping of paintings shows that analyses of the wood alone cannot give answers concerning the authenticity of the paintings. The Rembrandt Research Project has by its analyses of style, quality and the relation to other works come to varying conclusions for these paintings. The research on panels does however give important clues as to whether a painting originated in the master's workshop, or elsewhere.

Something that the present state of research considers typical of the paintings on wood in Rembrandt's workshop is the use of the so-called '*Herzbohlen*'. These were boards which were sawn through the centre of the tree. We therefore find the two sides of the tree in one board (FIGS. 5 and 6). In figure 5 the boards of five paintings which are cut in this manner are shown: *Portrait of Herman Doomer* (New York, *Corpus* III A 140), *Self-portrait* (Madrid, Museo Thyssen-Bornemisza, *Corpus* IV 2), *Christ and the Woman Taken in Adultery* (London, Br 566), *St. John Preaching* (Berlin, *Corpus* III A 106) and the *Portrait of Aletta Adriaensdr.* (Rotterdam, *Corpus* III A 132). Figure 6 also demonstrates the use of '*Herzbohlen*'. This group consists of the *River Landscape with a Windmill* (Kassel, *Corpus* III B 12), *Man in 'Polish' Costume* (Washington, *Corpus* III A 122) and *The Concord of the State* (Rotterdam, *Corpus* III A 135).

The single bars in the diagram of FIG. 6 represent only one side of the tree and the difference of the lengths of the bars in the centre of the tree is due to the fact that the growth rings could not always be measured up to the tree's core.

The previous diagrams demonstrated that wood from the same tree was used in the same workshop. Research up till now has already shown that it is very rare to find wood of the same tree in different workshops. In this light, the findings substantiate the view that the discussed paintings, some attributed to Rembrandt and others thought to be by painters from his surroundings, did indeed originate in his workshop. Such a conclusion can have art-historical consequences. In case of the presumed shared Leiden workshop of Rembrandt and his friend and artistic rival Jan Lievens (1607-1674), it could present an extra argument in favour of this hypothesis (FIG. 7).[6] Comparison of the growth ring curves of a lot of the paintings by Rembrandt and Lievens proved that two boards of Rembrandt's painting *Samson Betrayed by Delilah* (Berlin, *Corpus* I A 24) come from the same tree as the board used for Lievens' *Self-portrait* (Private Collection, USA, Braunschweig, exhib. *Lievens* 1979, no. 32). Also wood from the same tree was used in Rembrandt's painting *Andromeda* (The Hague, *Corpus* I A 31) and Lievens' painting *Rembrandt's Mother* (Dresden, inv. 1580). However, the possi-

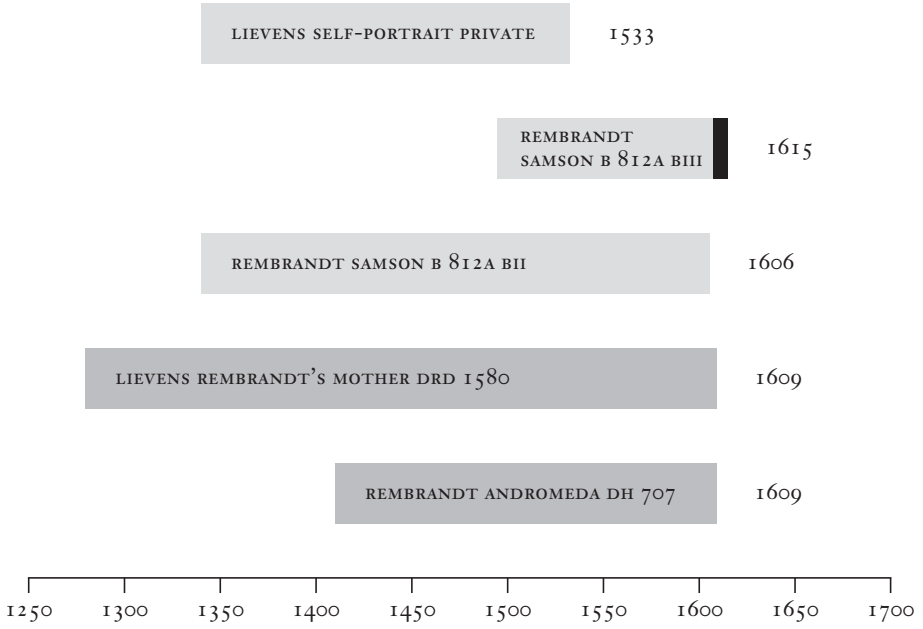


FIG. 7 – Dendrochronological datings of some panels used by Rembrandt and Lievens. The numbers refer to the date of the last ring of the board. An identical grey-tone means that the same wood was used by Rembrandt and Lievens. The black section refers to the presence of sapwood rings

bility cannot be excluded that they bought their panels from the same panel-maker.

Conclusion

Results of dendrochronological investigations such as those discussed above demonstrate that a *terminus post quem* can be established for the execution of panel paintings. This exact dating, however, is only possible for the last growth ring on a panel. Several factors can make an exact determination of the date much harder, if not impossible. Examples are the amount of time that wood was seasoned and the possibility that varying numbers of tree rings might have been cut off during the preparation of the wood for use. Sometimes differences arise between information gleaned from the last measured ring on the panel and the art-historical date and attribution of a painting. This very well reflects the possibilities and limitations of using dendrochronology as a tool in the dating of panel paintings. Furthermore, such research will never be able to give decisive answers about the authenticity of a painting, since many other factors are involved. The potential of dendrochronological analysis lies in the combination with other natural sciences applied to art objects and to visual knowledge gained by 'learned eyes' such as those of the art historian to whom this volume is dedicated.

* The following abbreviations are used for the locations in the figures and tables: A – Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum; B – Staatliche Museen zu Berlin; DET – Detroit, Institute of Fine Arts; DH – Mauritshuis, The Hague; DRD – Dresden, Gemäldegalerie; HHK – Hamburg, Kunsthalle; KSK – Kassel, Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister; LPZ – Leipzig, Museum für Bildende Künste; LN – London, National Gallery; LW – London, Wallace Collection; MP – Munich, Alte Pinakothek; NY – New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art; PET – St. Petersburg, Hermitage; PL – Paris, Louvre; ROT – Rotterdam, Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen; THY – Madrid, Museo Thyssen-Bornemisza; WAS – Washington, National Gallery of Art; W – Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum.

For Rembrandt's paintings the numbers of the RRP or the Bredius numbers are used.

1 Ernst van de Wetering, *Rembrandt. The Painter at Work*, Amsterdam 1997, pp. 90-130.

2 J. Marette, *Connaissance des primitifs par l'etude du bois*, Paris 1961.

3 P. Klein, 'Some aspects of the utilization of different wood species in certain European workshops', in: R. Ashok and P. Smith (eds.), *Painting Techniques, History, Materials and Studio Practice*, London, 1998, pp. 112-114.

4 J. Bauch and D. Eckstein, 'Woodbiological Investigations on Panels of Rembrandt Paintings', in: *Wood Science and Technology* 15, 1991, p. 251- 263; P. Klein, 'Dendrochronological analyses of panel paintings', in: *Proc. of a Symposium at the J. Paul Getty Museum: The Structural Conservation of Panel Paintings* (April 1995, publised in 1998), pp. 39-54.

5 P. Klein, 'Hat Rembrandt auf Zuckerkistenholz gemalt?', in: *Zuckerhistorische Beiträge aus der Alten und der Neuen Welt. Schriften aus dem Zucker-Museum*, vol. 25, 1988, p. 37-42, Technische Universität Berlin; H. Olbrich, 'Zuckerkistenholz als Malgrund bei Rembrandt', in: *Schriften aus dem Zucker-Museum* part 29, Berlin (Technische Universität) 1991, pp. 95-112.

6 For the other arguments see: E. van de Wetering, 'De symbiose van Lievens en Rembrandt', in: *Rembrandt en Lievens in Leiden, 'een jong en edel schildersduo'*, Leiden (Stedelijk Museum de Lakenhal) 1991 (exh.cat.), pp. 39-47.

FIG. 1 – Rembrandt, *The Raising of the Cross*, pen and brown ink with brush and brown and gray wash, 18.6 x 15.3 cm, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts. Gift of Andrew Elliott, Inv. No. 1948.1110. Photograph © 2004 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

EGBERT HAVERKAMP BEGEMANN

Rembrandt's Drawing *The Raising of the Cross* in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

In 1961 I drew attention to a drawing representing *The Raising of the Cross* in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (FIG. 1). I discussed it briefly and illustrated it in my long review of Benesch's six-volume 'Corpus' of Rembrandt drawings in the *Kunstchronik*.[1] I discussed the drawing, which in Boston was classified as 'School of Rembrandt', as a copy of a lost original, and analyzed briefly its place between Rembrandt's *The Raising of the Cross* in black chalk in the Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen in Rotterdam (Ben. 6: ca. 1627/28) (FIG. 2) and the painting in Munich, one of the Passion scenes from the Collection of Frederik Hendrik and Amalia van Solms, now in the Alte Pinakothek in Munich (FIG. 3). I pointed out that, in comparison with the former, in some respects the drawing represented a stage closer to the painting (referred to by me as 'painted in 1633'), while in others it still adhered to the earlier drawing. Thus the subject is already in reverse, the cross has moved further to the centre, and the man who helps raise the cross by means of a long rope has already been eliminated, but the man seen from the back is still standing over the cross rather than next to it. I also added more points to this comparison and postulated a presumed similarity of the lost original to the drawing *Judas Repentant* formerly in the Albertina in Vienna (FIG. 4).[2]

Since the publication of my review in 1961 I have come to the conclusion that the drawing should be considered an original. Since this volume of articles is written for a friend and colleague who himself is not averse to changing opinions he reached in the past, it presents me with a welcome opportunity to both honour him and do the drawing justice.

Before 1961 no one writing on Rembrandt, including Benesch, expressed awareness of the drawing.[3] Presumably on the basis of the reference and illustration of the drawing in the *Kunstchronik*, Ernst Brochhagen recognized its significance in his catalogue of Dutch paintings in Munich,[4] and Josua Bruyn et al., when writing the entry for the painting for the second volume of *A Corpus of Rembrandt Paintings* (No. A69),[5] added astute observations to my analysis of its place between the drawing in Rotterdam and the painting in Munich. Brochhagen

FIG. 2 – Rembrandt, *The Raising of the Cross*, black chalk, 193 x 148 mm, Rotterdam, Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen

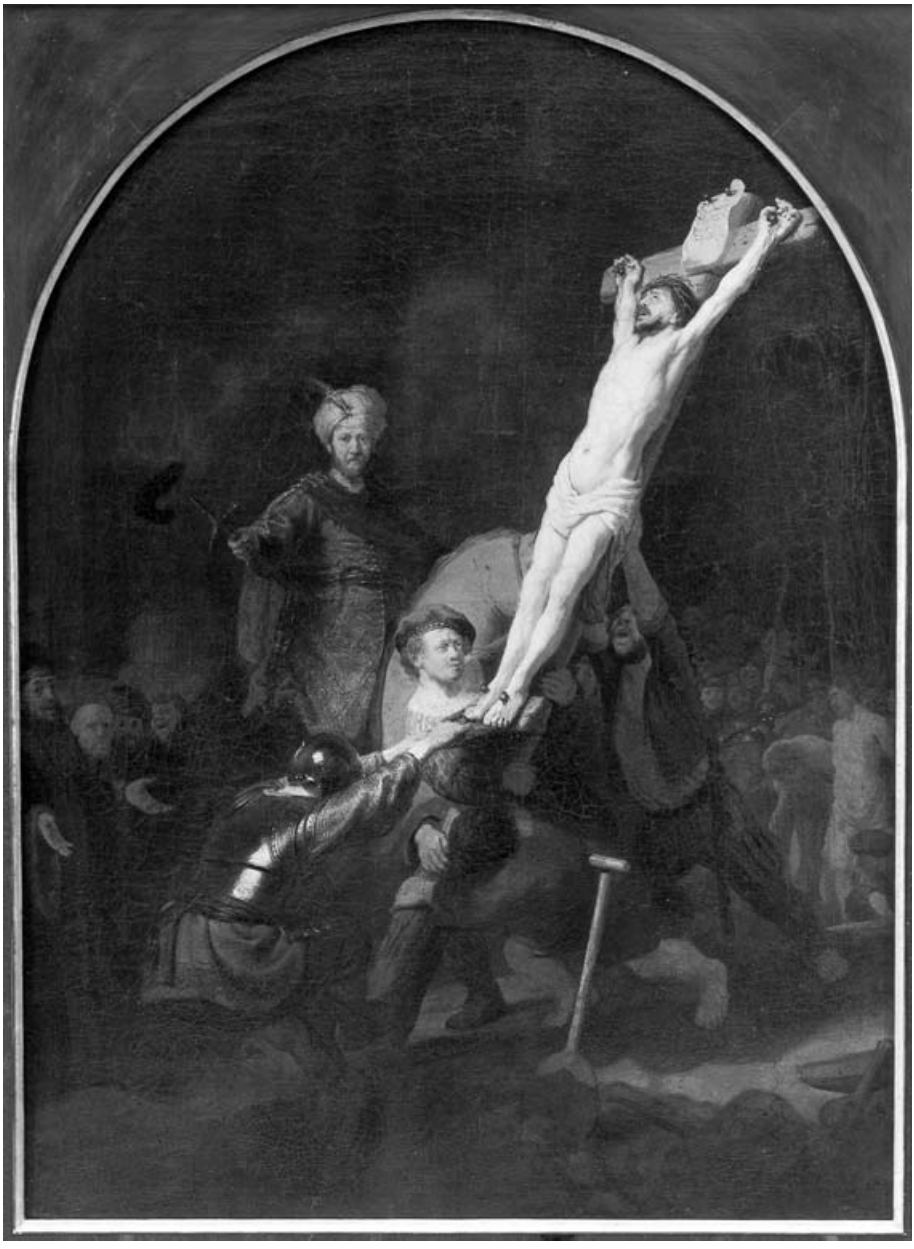


FIG. 3 – Rembrandt, *The Raising of the Cross*, canvas, 95.7 x 72.2 cm, Munich, Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Alte Pinakothek, Inv. No. 394

FIG. 4 – Rembrandt, *Judas, Repentant, Returning the Pieces of Silver*, pen and brown ink, brown and gray wash, 112 x 145 mm, formerly Vienna, Graphische Sammlung Albertina

accepted my evaluation of the drawing as a copy after a lost drawing without comment, but the *Corpus* authors expressed reluctance to do the same by stating that, 'if this is a copy, its succinct style comes extraordinarily close to the definitely authentic sketch for the *Judas Repentant*'.[6] Jeroen Giltaij discussed the drawing at some length in connection with the black chalk study for the painting in his catalogue of the Rembrandt drawings in Rotterdam. He agreed with the verdict of 'copy' and added some arguments in support of this opinion.[7]

The unusual gray tone in the sky was no reason to doubt Rembrandt's authorship because it was obviously added by a later hand, fortunately so carefully that it does not cover any of the original pen lines and brown washes (except for part of the standard at the very right).[8] My unfavourable opinion was based mainly on the absence of sufficient graphic parallels in Rembrandt's drawings of the early 1630s. The principal error in my reasoning was that I was looking for parallels in Rembrandt's work from the years shortly before 1633, rather than earlier in his career. Although Benesch had dated the Rotterdam drawing *The Raising of the Cross* to 1627/28, and although the painting in Munich was only known to have been finished by 1633, its origins were not thought to have gone back as far as 1627/28. The notes to Bredius' *Rembrandt Paintings* of 1935 state flatly that it was painted in 1633.[9] The general feeling among art historians was that this

FIG. 5 – Rembrandt, *Seated Old Man, Seen from the Side*, pen and brown ink, brown and gray wash, 153 x 129 mm, Paris, Musée du Louvre, Collection Edmond de Rothschild, Bequest 1935, Inv. 195 DR. © Photo RMN – Thierry Le Mage

painting was part of Frederik Hendrik's commission, and that the paintings were produced from 1633 onwards. The discovery of *Christ on the Cross* in the Church at Le Mas d'Agenais in 1960 and a more careful reading of Rembrandt's letters in 1961 led to the supposition that the *Raising of the Cross* and the *Descent from the Cross* might have been bought by Frederik Hendrik before making arrangements for more paintings of Passion scenes.[10] It was only the detailed interpretation of the series, and specifically of the *Raising of the Cross*, by Josua Bruyn et al. (among them Ernst van de Wetering) in the second volume of the Corpus (1986) that made the authors reach the conclusion that Rembrandt had been 'preoccupied with the subject since 1628', although they supposed that he probably executed the painting in 1632. Re-reading their entry and reconsidering the drawing, now in the context of Rembrandt's drawings from before 1630, I am convinced that the Boston drawing must have been executed before that year, and shortly after the black-chalk drawing in Rotterdam that dates from 1627/28 or 1628/29.[11]

Parallels between the Boston sheet and Rembrandt's drawings from the years 1627-30 are numerous. One can point specifically to studies of single figures, specifically the *Young Man Leaning on a Spade* in the Van Regteren Altena Collection (Ben. 27), *Seated Man in a High Cap* in Rotterdam (Ben. 29), and *Seated Old Man, Seen from the Side* in the Louvre (Rothschild Collection, Ben. 49) (FIG. 5), dated by Benesch respectively to 1628/29, 1629, and 1631. Schatborn considers the last mentioned study, in the Rothschild Collection, as the earliest (in this context that means ca. 1628). The stylistic commonalities between the Boston drawing and these studies, particularly the last mentioned, are found in the heavy, angular contours of the shadow-sides of bodies and objects, a manner of drawing that Schatborn convincingly traced to Rembrandt's teacher Pieter Lastman.[12] Similarities for the cursory indication of the terrain, particularly in the left foreground, are found in *Outskirts of a Town* in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, England (Ben. 57a, fig. 519, as ca. 1627/28).[13]

The Boston *Raising of the Cross* displays even more stylistic similarities with the *Judas Repentant, Returning the Pieces of Silver*, Rembrandt's compositional study for the painting of the same subject, dated 1629, mentioned at the beginning of this note. Presently inaccessible and known only from illustrations, it displays similar dark and heavy pen lines, most of them drawn decisively, some others, for heads and limbs, more slowly and somewhat hesitatingly. The thinner pen lines, abundant in the *Raising of the Cross* and more sparingly applied in the *Judas*, are also very similar in the fluid and quick suggestion of shapes, and in their relationship to the heavy lines. Furthermore, the shadows applied with wash are very much alike in both works in their manner of indicating those elements that are in shadow. As Ernst van de Wetering pointed out, many of the heavy lines in the *Judas* drawing are placed over preliminary thinner lines,[14] they are similarly drawn in the *Raising of the Cross* (and in the *Seated Old Man* in the Rothschild Collection).

In my opinion, Rembrandt made the drawing in Boston very shortly after the black chalk drawing in Rotterdam (1627-29), and about the same time that he sketched the composition of *Judas Repentant*. A dating to 1628/29 seems appropriate.

Finally, as the authors of *A Corpus* established, Rembrandt made the drawing of *Judas Repentant* for a second state of the painting, after he had started working on it, rather than as a first design.[15] This purpose explains the somewhat idiosyncratic nature of the drawing. It stands out for the boldness and summary nature of its definitive lines. It has been suggested (convincingly in my opinion) that the few times Rembrandt made drawings of the entire composition of a painting, he seems to have wanted to alter a painting already begun.[16] Much later he again made a pen drawing of the entire composition of a painting while in the process of rethinking that painting (*The Conspiracy of the Batavians*; drawing in Munich, 1661; Ben. 1058).[17] In spite of the more than thirty years that had elapsed since the *Judas Repentant*, the two drawings resemble each other in the definition of figures and objects by means of bold, definitive pen lines. The reason is that the purpose of the drawings was the same.

One should ask oneself, therefore, whether Rembrandt made the drawing of the *Raising of the Cross*, since it is so similar to the *Judas Repentant*, because he had already started the painting, and wanted to change its composition. The detailed analysis of the painting in Munich does not seem to indicate such an early origin. We may have to assume that the black chalk drawing in Rotterdam represented for Rembrandt the equivalent of a painted composition. It certainly is a most unusually complete and painterly representation of an entire pictorial subject.

NOTES

1 Egbert Haverkamp Begemann, '[Review of] Otto Benesch, "The Drawings of Rembrandt..."', *Kunstchronik* 14 (1961), pp. 10-28, 50-57, 85-91, esp. p. 19, FIG. 4b.

2 Cornelis Hofstede de Groot, *Die Handzeichnungen Rembrandts*, Haarlem 1906, lists it under no. 1421 (*sic*, *pace* Benesch). Comp. Otto Benesch, *The Drawings of Rembrandt. A Critical and Chronological Catalogue* (6 vols.), London 1954-57, no. 8, FIG. 9; also Josua Bruyn e.a., *A Corpus of Rembrandt Paintings vol I, 1625-1631*, Den Haag etc. 1982, p. 185, FIG. 7. The drawing was first illustrated by Joseph Meder, *Handzeichnungen alter Meister aus der Albertina und aus Privatbesitz, N.F.*, Wien 1922, p. 11, pl. 39; the first to discuss it in its relationship to Rembrandt's painting was Kurt Bauch, *Die Kunst des Jungen Rembrandt*, Heidelberg 1933, pp. 71, 194, 195, FIG. 62 (as formerly Albertina, sold). According to Benesch, the drawing was later in the collection of E.J. Goeritz, London.

3 Benesch lived in the USA during WWII, but the drawing entered the Museum only in 1948, as a gift from Andrew Elliott (inv. no. 48.1110). According to a note on the mount, the drawing once belonged to Reginald Pole Carew. It needs to be established whether it was included in the sale of his collection of mainly Rembrandt etchings (London, 13-15 May 1835; Lugt 13 998).

4 Ernst Brochhagen and Brigitte Knüttel, *Alte Pinakothek München, Katalog III, Holländische Malerei des 17. Jahrhunderts*, München 1967, p. 61. He did not mention the drawing in his excellent, extensive article 'Beobachtungen an den Passionsbildern Rembrandts', *Minuscula discipulorum... Hans Kauffmann zum 70. Geburtstag 1966*, Berlin 1968, pp. 37-44, presumably because it had not yet come to his attention at the time of his writing the article.

5 Josua Bruyn et al, *A Corpus of Rembrandt Paintings vol. II, 1631-1634*, Dordrecht etc. 1986, pp. 311-320.

6 Bruyn et al., *A Corpus vol. II* (see note 5), p. 317; this book also illustrates the drawing in Boston (FIG. 6).

7 Jeroen Giltaij, *De Tekeningen van Rembrandt en zijn school in het Museum Boymans-van Beuningen*, Rotterdam 1988, p. 36, FIG. b, under no. 2.

8 I did not pay attention to these gray washes in 1961, but verified their nature recently.

9 Abraham Bredius, *Rembrandt Schilderijen. 650 Afbeeldingen*, Wien 1935, p. 24, no. 548.

10 Horst Gerson, *Seven Letters by Rembrandt*, Den Haag 1961, pp. 9, 15 (n. 14), 23; A. Bredius, *Rembrandt, the Complete Edition of the Paintings, Revised by H. Gerson*, London 1969, pp. 605-06, no. 548. From the evidence of the letters, Gerson concluded that the *Raising* and the *Descent* were bought separately and that they were completed by 1633.

11 Benesch's dating of the black-chalk drawing in Rotterdam (Benesch, *The Drawings of Rembrandt* [see note 2], no. 6) to ca. 1627/28 was considered plausible by Bruyn et al. 1986 (note 5), p. 317; Giltaij, *Tekeningen van Rembrandt* (see note 7), no. 2, places it slightly later (1628/29).

12 For these figure studies in general, and their dependence on Lastman, see Peter Schatborn, 'Notes on Early Rembrandt Drawings', *Master Drawings*, XXVII, 1989, pp. 118-127, with special attention to the drawing in the Rothschild Collection (FIG. 1, as preceding Benesch 55, therefore 1628 or just before), and in H. Bevers (ed.), *Rembrandt. The Master & his Workshop. Drawings and Etchings*, Berlin & Amsterdam 1991/92 (exh. cat.), pp. 13-14. The drawing in Rotterdam is dated ca. 1627/28 by Jeroen Giltaij, *Tekeningen van Rembrandt* (see note 7), no. 1, the Rothschild drawing also to ca. 1627/28 by Emmanuel Starcky, *Rembrandt et son école, dessins du Musée du Louvre*, Paris 1988/89 (exh. cat.), no. 1.

13 Benesch, in *The Drawings of Rembrandt* (see note 2), no. 57a, places it ca. 1627-28, a date accepted by Cynthia P. Schneider, *Rembrandt's Landscapes*, New Haven & London 1990, pp. 9, 10. Ed de Heer prefers ca. 1628/29, in: E. van de Wetering & B. Schnackenburg (eds.), *The Mystery of the Young Rembrandt*, Kassel, Amsterdam & Wolfratshausen 2001 (exh. cat.), no. 36.

14 Ernst van de Wetering, *Rembrandt. The Painter at Work*, Amsterdam 1997, p. 25.

15 Bruyn et al., *A Corpus vol. I* (see note 2), p. 185.

16 Other reasons were the need to establish the form of a frame for a painting, or the way it could fit on a wall. See Peter Schatborn, *Catalogus van de Nederlandse Tekeningen in het Rijksprentenkabinet, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam. Tekeningen van Rembrandt, zijn onbekende leerlingen en navolgers (Drawings by Rembrandt, his Anonymous Pupils and Followers)*, Den Haag 1985, p. 12, under no. 5; comp. Van de Wetering, *Rembrandt* (see note 14), pp. 26, 27, 75, 81. On these same pages Van de Wetering also points out that seemingly intermediate studies for compositions in fact may be copies by members of the studio. The Boston drawing seems to be too close to the *Judas Repentant* to suppose this one were likewise a studio record.

17 For a review and most recent analysis of the drawing and its complex context we now have Thea Vignau-Wilberg, Peter Schatborn et al. (eds.), *Rembrandt auf Papier. Werk und Wirkung/Rembrandt and his Followers. Drawings from Munich*. München 2001/2002 (exh. cat.), and Thea Vignau-Wilberg, ed., *Rembrandt-Zeichnungen in München/The Munich Rembrandt Drawings*, München 2003.

MARTIN BIJL

The Portrait of Theodorus Schrevelius

Theodorus Schrevelius (1572-1649), started his career as a schoolmaster in Haarlem and was headmaster of the Latin school in Leiden from 1625 to 1642. In this article I will draw attention to a painted portrait of this famous humanist and historiographer, which was, as I will argue, made by Frans Hals (FIG. 1). Two engraved copies after this painting exist: one by Jacob Matham (1571-1631) (FIG. 2) and one by Jonas Suyderhoef (ca. 1613-1686) (FIG. 3), to which a poem by Caspar Barleaus has been added. The two engravings and their respective differences are essential in determining the authorship of the original painting. A discussion of the painting in relation to the prints will also shed light on interesting questions concerning the copying of paintings in print during the seventeenth century.

It is not until 1909 that this portrait of Schrevelius shows up with certainty, when it is described adequately for the first time by Moes.[1] Half a century earlier it is already regarded as a Frans Hals in the archives, but the names of Scriverius and Schrevelius are mixed up and the dates are misinterpreted.[2] In 1970 Seymour Slive accepted the dated but unsigned painting unconditionally in his *Frans Hals*, a *catalogue raisonné* of all the known works by the master.[3] In the catalogue of the major Frans Hals exhibition of 1989/1990 his ideas remained unchanged.[4] Almost at the same moment when Slive's studies were published, Grimm expressed the opinion that it was impossible that this portrait, together with twenty-four other small portraits accepted by Slive, could have been produced by Hals' brush.[5]

Since we know almost all these paintings from seventeenth-century engravings mentioning Frans Hals as the one who *pinxit* the originals, all these rejected works are, according to Grimm, copies after lost originals. With this massive and categorical rejection this author created a new and interesting phenomenon. These paintings have never physically formed a group: they were made in all stages of Hals' career and engraved by different artists, and yet are all lost. A possible explanation for this unfortunate loss may be that these paintings were thrown away after being used as an example for reproduction in the engravings. However, the fact that a new engraving after the same portrait of Schrevelius was made by another artist thirty years after the date of a corresponding engraving,

LEFT FIG. 1 – Frans Hals, *Portrait of Theodorus Schrevelius AET. 44*, 1617, copper, 15.5 x 12 cm, Haarlem, Frans Hals Museum

RIGHT FIG. 2 – Jacob Matham, *Engraving after the Portrait of Theodorus Schrevelius*, 1618 (reproduced in mirror image)

FIG. 3 – Jonas Suyderhoef, *Engraving after the Portrait of Theodorus Schrevelius*, 1642-1648 (reproduced in mirror image)

FIG. 4 – Frans Hals, *Portrait of Theodorus Schrevelius AET. 44*, 1617, copper, 15.5 x 12 cm, Haarlem, Frans Hals Museum (during restauration)

contradicts such a hypothesis. Moreover, why have the presumed copies, probably all dating from the same period as the originals, survived? Why do these copies resemble the engravings so strongly? The fact that almost all these copies are in a relatively poor condition also needs explanation. Is this state of affairs totally accidental? In the mentioned article in which Grimm justifies some of his new ideas he does not clarify anything about his rejection of this specific group when stating that '[i]t is not my intention here to discuss all the rejected works'.[6] The start of the painting's restoration in 1999 offered a good opportunity to consider whether the difficult questions surrounding the painting could be answered.

An analysis of the used materials did not provide a lot of information relevant to the presumed authorship of the painted portrait. The pigments that are used date without doubt from the period of Hals' life, but his colleagues used the same materials. The same is true for the copperplate on which the portrait is painted.

A closer consideration of the painting technique used by Frans Hals might reveal more. Until now several attempts have been made to analyse and describe the master's famous brushwork. Van Dantzig tried so in 1937, and some of his observations might be useful, but they are not relevant to the discussion in this article.[7] In his exhibition catalogue, Slive praised the brushwork in lyrical terms, but made no attempt to an exact description.[8] Grimm did not elaborate on his opinions, but he made a good point when stating that '[t]he brushwork, [is] creating little *ridges* out of the movement of the brush (my italics, MB)'.[9] The team Hendriks and Levy-Van Halm doing research during the exhibition of 1989/1990 on as many as possible Hals paintings, also observed little ridges along one or both edges of firmly applied brushstrokes. It was found in both early and late works. They concluded that these ridges were very typical for Frans Hals' 'hand writing'.[10] It is surprising that the paint remained in this shape during the drying process, which suggests that it must have been of an unguent consistency. Remarkable is also that Hals applied such brushstrokes in all directions with an almost gymnastic flexibility. When examining pupils or followers we in general do not find these ridges, the one exception being the work of Hals' presumed student Judith Leyster (1609-1660), where this phenomenon was found every now and then in vertical brushstrokes, mainly in her earliest work. The consistency of the paint in these early works looks less unguent than her master's work, and Leyster's brushstrokes are never so self-confidently applied as Hals' are.

At first sight the portrait of Schrevelius lacks these ridges too. However, on the photographs taken before and during the restoration they can be seen abundantly in the flesh-coloured under-paint of the hand and the face.[11] Under enlargement only remains of these ridges in the top layer can be recognized. An explanation for this state of affairs gradually surfaced when the portrait could be compared to two contemporary engravings after this painting (or after the lost original) by Jacob Matham, dated 1618, and Jonas Suyderhoef (FIGS. 2 and 3).[12] I will later return to the dating of the last engraving. According to the inscriptions

on both the engravings they were based on an example that had been painted by Frans Hals. Both very skilled engravers, were fellowtownsmen and contemporaries of Frans Hals and must have known him personally. Therefore, there is no reason to doubt these inscriptions.

The first striking thing was that the oval frames of all three works of art were about the same size. But the big surprise came after reproducing the engravings in mirror image. When examining these images, Suyderhoef's engraving showed some white details that drew attention. Corresponding light-coloured details were observed in the painting during cleaning, but it can be presumed that these were not originally meant to be seen. Microscopical research proved that the 'dots' we see in figure 4, are of underlying brushstrokes. This paint is visible as a result of abrasion. The most important places where this has happened are the light strip between the cheek and the end of the moustache, the light dots at the left of the right eye and the anatomically curious vertical brushstroke through the ear.[13]

Before and during the restoration it was noticed that the motive on the book on Suyderhoef's engraving looks very much like the motive on the book on the painting. Under the microscope it appeared that the notoriously badly drying lead-tin-yellow, with which all the decorations on the book had been done, misses quite some paint. How the motive on the book must have looked on the painting could be recognized under enlargement, because remnants of the original paint were still there. The image that could be reconstructed this way was identical to the motive on Matham's engraving.

The other abrasion, as we see now in figure 4, did not exist during the production of Suyderhoef's engraving or the artist can simply have identified this as damage. For example, the strange light-coloured spot above the ear can impossibly be interpreted as part of the original appearance of the painting. We cannot find these results of abrasion reproduced on Matham's print, but that does not mean that the damage was not there.

To understand what has happened we must have a look at the reproduction technique that Matham may have used. The most likely method to copy a painting or a drawing was tracing the original. When using this method a paper was made transparent with oil or glue to prepare it for the tracing. A letter by Constantijn Huygens tells us that he asked his brother Christiaan to find out what recipe the French painter Nantueils used for *'vislijm om deur te trecken'* (fish-glue that enables tracing).[14] The early eighteenth-century engraver George Vertue wrote in the margin of the Richard Symonds notebook *Polygraphice*: 'Mr Wray told me this way to copy faces. Take an oiled thin paper [and] lay it on the face. Being transparent you may run over the outlines with red or black chalk.'[15]

Some of the paint, which is now missing, was probably stuck to such a tracing paper, because paper that is being pressed against the paint layer causes a different kind of damage than abrasion resulting from harsh cleaning. The thinned black area directly under the collar is typical for strong cleaning. It is hard to see where the abrasion starts or ends. Losses caused by the tracing show damages with

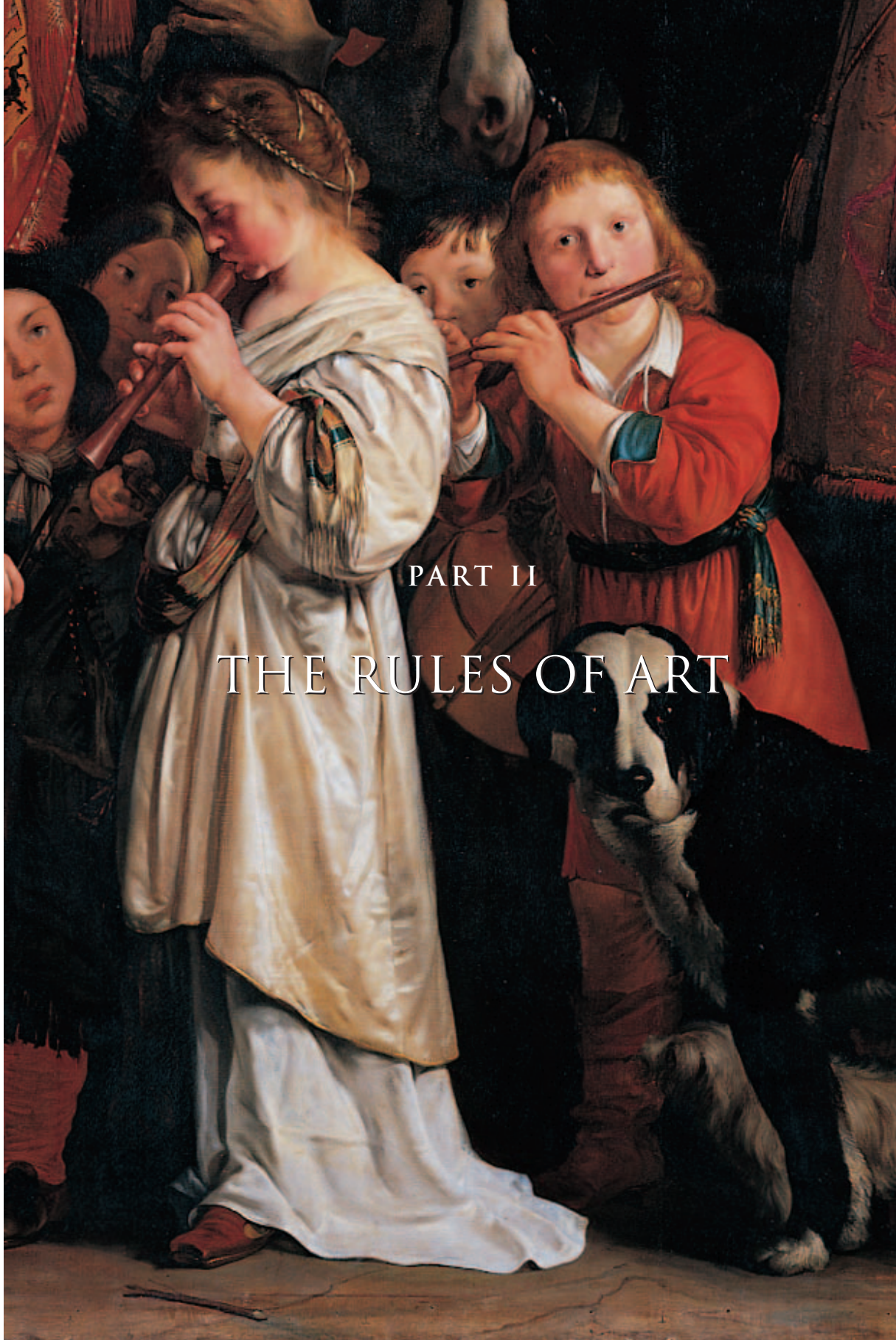
harder edges, as can be seen in the examples already described. These spots were also the highest spots on the surface, because of the presence of a thick underpaint.

It is important to realize that a drying period for the paint of about a year before varnishing was usual, meaning that the painting was most probably not yet varnished during the tracing. The paint must have been still fresh and maybe the paper was also sticky because of the impregnation material. With the knowledge that the paint was still soft, it is also understandable that Matham flattened the ridges along Frans Hals' brushstrokes during the tracing work when the paper was pressed on the paint layer. Such a state of affairs is confirmed by the dates. The painting is from 1617 and the print and the poem were already published in 1618, meaning that Matham started his reproduction work soon after Hals had finished his portrait. With pieces of paint still on the tracing paper it must have been easy for Matham to engrave the painting in the way the painter had meant it to be. For Suyderhoef, who did his engraving work some thirty years later, Matham's tracing paper was obviously not available. During the last restoration it became clear that it was in fact impossible to see with the naked eye that there was loss of paint in the described light-coloured areas.

The loss of paint of a painting must be seen as a 'fingerprint'. Another version of the painting will never show the same abrasion and will never show the same brushstrokes of the underlying paint. The engraving made by Suyderhoef therefore can only be made after this painting. In its turn that means that Frans Hals is the only possible author.

The mutual relationship between the two engravings is of interest as well in this discussion. Between the publication of both the engravings is a gap of 25-31 years. Suyderhoef's engraving is undated, but from the accompanying Latin poem by Barlaeus one can conclude that it must have been made after Schrevelius stopped working, but before his death, respectively 1642 and 1648. It is possible to reconstruct the difference in time of creation out of the visual characteristics of the two prints. Suyderhoef's engraving has a much darker tonality, and although he was a gifted engraver he seems to have had difficulties with interpreting the darkest colours, while all the clear colours do follow the original very precisely. Without doubt the painting has been varnished at a certain moment, but, as said before, not earlier than a year after its creation. This varnish, probably due to the addition of oil and the influence of a humid climate, must have yellowed or even browned firmly after these thirty years. The oil paint itself will also have been darkened in its natural way. This implies that Matham made his reproduction in 1617 or 1618 after a significantly lighter painting. In his engraving the black details do follow the original much more exactly. Furthermore, the little mistake in the composition made by Frans Hals – he did not place Schrevelius straight along the imaginary central axis of the oval – which gives the impression that the man is leaning too much backwards, is not entirely corrected by Matham. Again we have to conclude that the authorship of the painting has to be given to Frans Hals.

1 E. Moes, *Iconographia Batava* (2 vols.), Amsterdam 1897-1905, nr 7038-1 or 7130-1.
2 S. Slive, *Frans Hals*, Washington (National Gallery of Art), London (Royal Academy of Arts) & Haarlem (Frans Halsmuseum) 1990 (exh. cat.), pp. 143.
3 S. Slive, *Frans Hals*, 3 vols., New York & London 1970-1974, volume 3, p. 7.
4 Slive, *Frans Hals* (see note 2), pp. 141-143.
5 Claus Grimm, 'Frans Hals und seine Schule', in: *Münchener Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst* 22 (1971), pp.147-178.
6 Grimm, 'Frans Hals und seine Schule' (see note 5), p. 147.
7 M.M. van Dantzig, *Frans Hals, echt of onecht*, Amsterdam 1937, passim. The author described stylistic aspects of Hals' work. His ideas about contours are comparable with what is found by Hendriks/Levy-Van Halm in their unpublished research: E. Hendriks and K. Levy-van Halm in collaboration with J.R.J. Van Asperen de Boer, *Report Concerning a Preliminary Technical Investigation of Paintings Exhibited during the Frans Hals Exhibition, Held from May 11 to July 22 1990 in the Frans Halsmuseum, Haarlem*, Haarlem 1990.
8 Slive, *Frans Hals* (see note 2), pp. 14-15.
9 Claus Grimm, *Frans Hals. Het gehele oeuvre*, Stuttgart/Zurich 1990.
10 See Hendriks and Levy-van Halm, *Report Concerning a Preliminary Technical Investigation* (see note 7).
11 Hendriks and Levy-van Halm, *idem*, p. 26.
12 The confrontation of the three artworks was held in the Rijksprentenkabinet, Amsterdam. Many thanks to W. Th. Kloek, G. Luiten and H. Leeflang for showing the prints and having an open discussion.
13 Grimm, *Frans Hals. Het gehele oeuvre* (see note 9). The only place where Grimm mentions the portrait of Schrevelius is on p. 235. He shows a detail with the abraded ear where an underlying brushstroke can be seen through the top layer. To recognise a master's hand in such a detail is difficult indeed.
14 Johan Adriaan Vollgraf (ed.), *Oeuvres completes de Christiaan Huygens (23 vols.)*, Den Haag 1888-1950, vol. 3, p. 175.
15 Charles Henry Collins Baker, *Lely & the Stuart Portrait Painters: Study of English Portraiture before & after Van Dyck (2 vols.)*, London 1912. Vertue's note is cited in vol. 2, p. 183. The technique of bringing paintings in print has hardly been subject of research. Recently a special issue of *Delineavit et Sculpsit* (nr. 27, December 2004) was devoted to the subject of printmaking after drawings and oil sketches.



PART II

THE RULES OF ART

FIG. 1 – Overview of the *Oranjezaal*, Royal Palace Huis ten Bosch, The Hague. The paintings are arranged on three horizontal levels, the lowest being largely taken up with scenes of a classical triumphal procession. Above it are depicted episodes from the life of Frederik Hendrik and character traits of the stadholder. Finally, on the wooden vault there are allegorical images. Photo: Stichting Restauratie Atelier Limburg

MARGRIET VAN EIKEMA HOMMES

The Contours in the Paintings of the *Oranjezaal*, Huis ten Bosch*

Introduction

In obtaining a convincing three-dimensional illusion on the painting's flat surface, the contours of the forms depicted play an important role. Indeed, it is not just the modelling with light and shade that gives the effect of rounding and depth, the rendering of the outer boundaries of the figures is equally important in realizing these effects. In Netherlandish painting of the seventeenth century, one of the most important pictorial ambitions was to achieve a convincing illusion of reality, and the manner in which the contours were rendered was a major consideration for painters. In his *De Schilder-konst der Oude* (1641), Franciscus Junius, interpreting the observations on outlines by classical authors, summarizes the pictorial function of contours: '[the painter] should also take great care with the contours [...] the compass or outline of the figures [should] be drawn with such nicety and such unfettered sweetness that the beholders think they see in it [...] what is invisible [...] that not only what lies behind it seems believable, but that it also appears to show what lies hidden there.'[1] The contours should thus ensure that the figures do not appear to cease at their painted edges. In a painting it is precisely this suggestion that gives rise to the impression of depth and lends volume to the figures.

Little attention has been paid to the solutions developed by Netherlandish seventeenth-century painters for the rendering of contours. Ernst van de Wetering is one of the few who have studied this question and its pictorial implications.[2] He analysed Rembrandt's method to graze over the background paint just beyond the outline of the form in question, with a brush moderately loaded with stiff paint producing a rough and diffuse margin. This method, however, was by the middle of the seventeenth century only one out of a large repertoire of possibilities.[3] In this article, I shall examine the methods of four of Rembrandt's contemporaries. These painters, Salomon de Braij (1579-1664), Gerrit van Honthorst (1592-1656), Cesar van Everdingen (1616/17-78), and Theodoor van Thulden (1606-69), each had their own different method for rendering outlines. I shall illustrate their different solutions, with an eye to the consequences for the modelling of

forms and the illusion of depth, on the basis of the works produced by these masters for the Oranjezaal, the central hall of the Royal Residence, Huis ten Bosch in The Hague (FIG. 1).

The decoration of this hall, glorifying the life of the stadholder Frederik Hendrik, was painted between 1648 and 1652 by twelve artists from the Northern and Southern Netherlands.[4] The paintings, arranged on two levels, cover all the walls of the hall, which is crowned by a painted vault and lantern. To establish the required unity in the ensemble, the painters were sent grounded canvases and were provided with instructions on the compositions, the measurements of the figures, the perspective and the direction of light to be depicted. Since all artists worked within the constraints of the same well-defined demands, the pictures in the Oranjezaal offer an excellent opportunity to compare the pictorial solutions of various painters for the rendering of contours. The works are still in their original setting and one can see how the treatment of contours is related to the placing of the paintings. However, in order better to contextualize the different choices of the four painters, it is first necessary to inquire into the thinking of the time about contours and their role in modelling in painting.

Seventeenth-Century Lessons on 'Rounding' and Outlines: Observations and Theory

Anyone who expects the diversity among seventeenth-century painters' ways of rendering contours to be reflected in art theoretical writings of the time will be disappointed, for all authors seem to have been largely in agreement. Yet, within a number of general conceptions there was room for variation.

There was consensus among these seventeenth-century authors over the way in which, in painting forms, one should model passages along the contours in order to create a convincing effect of rounding. Karel van Mander, in his *Den Grondt der edel vry schilder-const* (1604) discussed the current method using as his example a column lit from one side.[5] When introducing nuances of light and shade, the painter must make sure never to set either the highest light or the darkest shadow directly next to the outline. A column seemed much more convincingly round when it had a reflected light along the contour on the shadow side, and a soft shadow along the contour on the lit side. Van Mander therefore advised, in order to prevent a flat effect, '[...] always avoid cutting your work with sharp-edged highlights [*cantighe hooghsels*]'.[6] As examples of painters who had given their works such *cantighe* highlights he mentioned Lucas van Leiden, Jan van Scorel and Maerten van Heemskerck. Indeed, it is apparent in the work of these painters that the figures may perhaps have a reflection along the contour on their shadowed side but that the lit parts are evenly filled in right to the outline, where they are cut off by a razor-sharp edge (FIG. 2). The paintings of Van Mander's friend and close colleague, Cornelis Cornelisz. from Haarlem, can give an idea of what kind of contours Van Mander was advocating. In *The Fall of Man*

FIG. 2 – Lucas van Leyden, *Triptych of the Last Judgement*, 1526/27, panel, 269.5 x 84.8 cm, Leiden, Stedelijk Museum de Lakenhal. Detail. Photo: Netherlands Institute for Cultural Heritage, Amsterdam

FIG. 3A AND B. Cornelis Cornelisz. van Haarlem, *The Fall of Man*, 1582, canvas, 273 x 220 cm, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum. Detail from Eva's legs. Photo: Margriet van Eikema Hommes

(1592), nowhere are the highest and lowest light values contiguous with the contours of the bodies of Adam and Eve (FIG. 3). Nor are the bodies sharply defined, but rather their outlines dissolve into the surroundings. We see a broad diffuse area where the flesh tones gradually give way to the darker colour of the background. It seems here as though you can see a little way round the form, such that the figures seem to acquire a marked plasticity. Van Mander's advice to slightly exaggerate [*overspelen*] the contours would seem to relate to this way of working.[7]

Such a rendering of contours is unthinkable without knowledge of the achievements of Leonardo da Vinci in this area of perspective and modelling, and of his well-known *sfumato*: the soft, almost imperceptible transitions between light and shade and the diffuse, blended contours. Parts of Leonardo's writings first appeared in print with the 1651 French publication of his *Trattato della pittura*, yet long before this his ideas had been circulated by oral tradition, and in manuscript copies and, of course, via his own paintings and those of his disciples.[8] Leonardo had a great interest in the way in which contours were perceived. According to him, 'the true outlines of opaque bodies are never seen with sharp precision', so that near objects never occluded remoter objects in a totally straightforward manner.[9] The Dutch seventeenth-century authors also subscribe to the notion that sharp contours should be avoided, not only in order to get the rounding of individual figures but also to create that convincing illusion of depth in the painting as a whole. Leonardo had already remarked that with increasing distance between us and a form, the contours should also become vaguer.[10]

In the art theoretical treatises in the Netherlands, the concept of *houding* played an important role in the suggestion of depth.[11] The term *houding* related to both the harmony of colour and the illusion of three-dimensionality in a painting. It is essentially a concept of balance in a painting, the balance of strong and weak nuances as well as light and dark tones of colour that either brought the forms forward or allowed them to recede into the background. On the two-dimensional surface of a painting, there arose the suggestion of a continuously advancing space in which figures were located and into which you could, as it were, move freely. Junius seems to link the rendering of contours to this concept of *houding*, as one gathers from the remark quoted at the beginning of this article wherein he explained that the contours must enable the beholder to imagine what is behind the painted forms. The outer edge of a form should very gradually dissolve into the surroundings: '[it should] disappear [in the background] in a fine and invisible brush-stroke [...]'.[12] De Lairesse also emphasized the importance of merging the contour with the background, explaining that the painter could easily realize this effect if he worked up the composed image on his under-painting from the background forward, and left as reserves the forms to be painted later: 'Here, to choose the best way, one has to begin from the back, to wit, with the sky, and thus progressively forward, and then one always keeps a suitably moist ground behind the figures into which one can make the outlines [of the figures] dissolve, which, if you do it any other way, is impossible.'[13]

FIG. 4 – Convex forms often show small shadows along their edges which appear as lines. Photo: Margriet van Eikema Hommes

If we are to believe the seventeenth-century authors, accentuating contours with lines was thought highly inappropriate. In his *Inleydinge Tot de Al-ghemeene Teycken-Konst* (1668), Willem Goeree cited as an example to the student of drawing the contours in paintings: '[...] for in natural life there are no lines to be seen, only an end, or a certain stopping of the breadth and length of all the physical things that on all sides seem to push past or against each other, the same as one can see clearly in a painting, where the outlines of all things correspond with the colour that they have in the middle of their field, so that where that colour stops it indicates the described form, without lines'.[14] Goeree thus thought that in a painting the outer edges of a form should always have the same colour as used for the rest of that form. We find a similar view taken by Junius. Because various classical authors had admiringly written about the *lines* with which painters in antiquity had outlined their figures, Junius concluded that these writers could only have meant the so-called 'geometric line'; the abstract notion of a line as having length but no breadth.[15] And so modern painters should allow the boundaries of their figures to end in a similar, 'entirely miraculous and incomprehensible line'.

Does this mean that in the seventeenth century it was not accepted practice to accentuate a contour with a line? Apparently not, as I will describe later. In fact, it is hard to find a seventeenth-century painting in which absolutely no lines have been used! Goeree's statement that everything in paintings is always represented

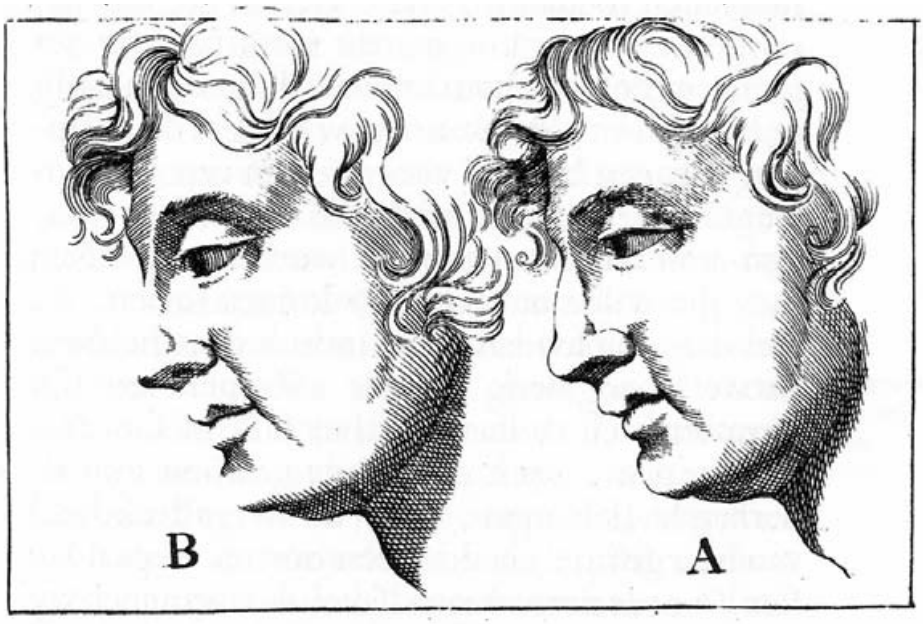


FIG. 5 – Illustration from Willem Goeree, *Inleydinge Tot de Al-ghemeene Teycken-Konst*, Middelburg 1668, p. 68. By means of two portraits in profile, Goeree illustrates his idea that outlines should only be sparsely applied, as in example B. He believes the effect is more successful than in example A, in which the profile has been outlined completely

without lines seems not to be based on artistic practice.[16] Painters did add linear accents along the boundaries of their forms whilst they must have known perfectly well that these were not present in reality, and they did so because the use of such lines in a painting has considerable advantages. When in a composition two forms of very similar colour abut each other, a line can differentiate one form from the other. Lines also play a role in the modelling and expression of specific material effects and ensure that some forms attract more attention than others.

What was deemed inappropriate was apparently not so much the contour line itself, but a contour line that was too obviously visible as a line and therefore disturbed the illusion of reality. However, there are numerous possibilities for painters to provide the boundaries of forms with linear accents without disrupting the suggestion of reality. It is therefore important to select the colour, breadth and sharpness of the line such that this is not perceived by the viewer as a line, but as a small shadow. Indeed, the distinction between contour lines and small shadow edges is not always clear. Thus, when placed in front of a form of the same or lighter colour, convex forms have a small, dark, almost linear shadow along their edges (FIG. 4), a phenomenon that had already been described by Leonardo.[17]

Seventeenth-century texts on painting tend to be rather skimpy whenever it comes to describing how these contour lines should be applied. Occasionally, one finds in painters' handbooks the advice to accentuate the edge of the fingers,

THIS PAGE FIG. 6 – Salomon de Bray, *Triumphal Procession, with Musicians and Conquered Banners*, 1649, canvas, 382/383.5 x 207 cm, The Hague, Royal Collections, Huis ten Bosch. Photo: Royal Palace, Huis ten Bosch, The Hague. Photo: Margareta Svensson, Amsterdam

RIGHT PAGE TOP FIG. 7 – Detail of FIG. 6. The flushed face of the leading trumpeter is precisely defined and rendered with a covering paint so that the underpaint is scarcely visible. The trumpeter immediately behind him is almost entirely left as underpainting

RIGHT PAGE CENTER FIG. 8 – Detail of FIG. 6, with the hands of the children and the faces behind. The leading hand of the girl is precisely defined with light and dark nuances and subtle reflections and highlights at the end of the fingers. The paint has been applied in a covering layer. Her other hand is rendered more vaguely and more loosely executed. Along the leading hand a thin red line has been applied and along her profile a thin dark brown line. Photo: Margriet van Eikema Hommes

RIGHT PAGE BOTTOM FIG. 9 – Detail of FIG. 6. The outline of the red tunic of the boy with the traverso blends into the black horse behind. Photo: Margriet van Eikema Hommes

hands or of a nose with reddish brown or dark red.[18] These must have been lines that more or less correspond with the shadows such as Leonardo observed with convex forms. Instructions for graphic artists, such as those by Van Mander, Goeree and Samuel van Hoogstraten (1678), are more extensive on the nature of contour lines.[19] All seem to have agreed that these edges must be introduced as sparingly as possible and never so that they are obvious as lines. Along the lit side of a form, they therefore had to be pale and the artist had to judge critically whether the line in fact could not better be omitted altogether, as Goeree explained in the example of a face seen in profile (FIG. 5). Along the shadow side the artist could confidently place darker and somewhat broader accents, provided that these merge sufficiently with the shadows. It now appears as though such advice for the graphic artist was also followed by painters, even by painters who amply provided the outlines of their forms with lines.

The Oranjezaal

SALOMON DE BRAIJ

Salomon de Braij's works for the Oranjezaal include two parts for the triumphal procession. The composition for these two works consisted of a large group of life-sized people, animals and objects situated beneath an archway. It could not have been easy to represent these figures in the narrow and shallow space of the image without giving the impression that they were all pressed together.[20] It is thanks to De Braij's clever control of light and shade and his use of colour that he was able to create a powerful effect of depth. As a result, one has the feeling that the figures have been arranged naturally and logically beside and behind one another, as can be seen in his *Triumphal Procession, with Musicians and Conquered Banners* (1649, FIG. 6). To realize this effect of *houding*, De Braij also made use of the principle that precisely defined forms stand forward with respect to more suggestively rendered passages. De Braij worked up the furthest distant zones of the background with free brushstrokes and thinned paint so that the under-painting executed in transparent browns remained partially visible.[21] With De Braij, forms that are situated closely behind each other in the painted space of the image can vary considerably in the degree to which he works out detail, such as the faces of the two trumpeters (FIG. 7). The strong aerial perspective that he thus obtains at a very short distance is not always consistent with the figures' placing in the virtual space. For instance, the faces of the children who stand behind the girl and boy playing the flute are vague and sketchy, whereas the heads of the leading trumpeter and the old man with the flute have been rendered in detail, even though these adult musicians are more in the background. De Braij uses this difference in the degree of detail in which different figures are worked up in order to detach the separate forms within the various groups of figures. Thus, the children's modelled hands stand out against the faces of those children immediately behind them because the latter have been painted without detail (FIG. 8).

De Braij's contours also contribute to the effect of *houding*. The painter, who in the main clearly demarcates his forms, nevertheless at the same time often ensured that the edges were left just a little blurred. He achieved this effect by the method described by De Lairesse. De Braij worked meticulously from the background forwards, and along the outer edges of a passage he worked the paint carefully into the paint of the earlier painted form lying behind (FIG. 9). In several passages, where shadowed forms adjoin each other, De Braij used another effect of vagueness by giving little definition to the boundary areas of these zones (FIG.8). He distributed the coloured upper layer of paint very casually on the brown transparent under-painting so that this undercolour links the different forms, as can be seen for example with the shadowed hands and faces of the children. In contrast, the outlines of the lit hands are sharply defined, the effect of which is to advance these forms optically and moreover to detach them distinctly from their surroundings. Here the contours have just occasionally been accentuated with an exceedingly fine line, for example a thin red-brown brushstroke to the edge of the leading hand of the girl with the white dress (FIG. 8).

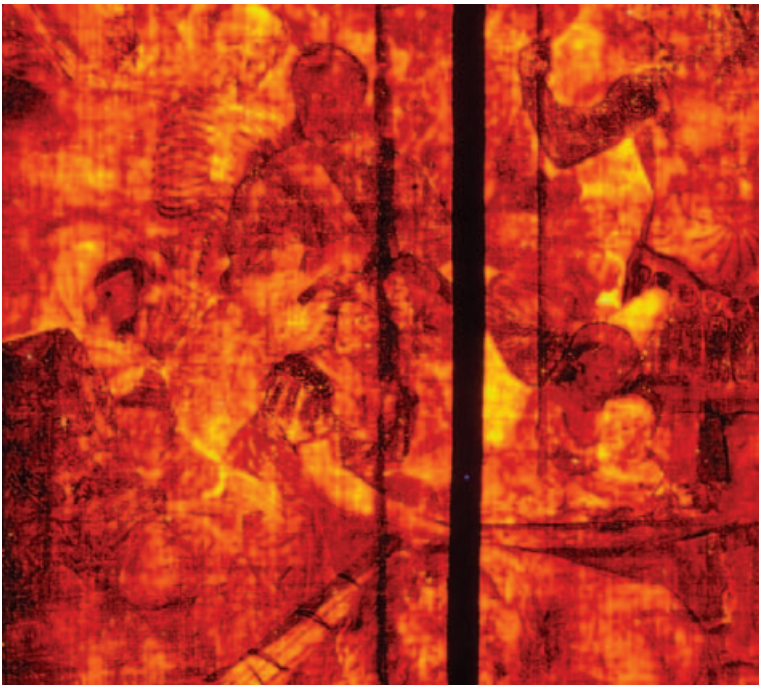
GERRIT VAN HONTHORST

Gerrit van Honthorst's canvases for the Oranjezaal include *The Constancy of Frederik Hendrik*, in which we see a calm and dignified Frederik Hendrik portrayed in a turbulent stream of water, on all sides beset by demons (FIG. 10). This work demonstrates how the painter used his contours purposely to give volume to the figures. In the bodies the lit zones have been given the most detail: the rounding of muscles, veins and sinews are precisely indicated and these passages have been painted with a fully covering paint layer. The shadows, apart from the warm reflected lights, are filled in rather flat and loosely. The painter used thin paint for this so that here and there the under-painting has been left visible. We can also see the different treatment of the lit and the shadowed passages in the contours. On the lit side, the painter has worked the flesh tone a little over the paint of the background, creating a diffuse transition. This can be seen, for example, with the arms of the demon at bottom right (FIG. 11). Because the flesh tone here has been placed against a dark background, the lit forms are slightly darker along their boundary. Along the shadow zones of the bodies, the paint has not been worked over that of the background. The form here is strictly demarcated and the contour mainly done with a brown line (FIG. 11).[22] Although this line is darker than the reflection contiguous with the contour, the line merges with the shadow zone so that from a distance this is hardly perceptible. What we see here corresponds with Goeree's method described for graphic artists mentioned above. Only in a few very loosely painted body zones are the contours accentuated with more pronounced lines, as in the demons toward the top of the image. On those occasions where the light side of a body was placed in front of a light background, the painter used a third type of contour, such as can be seen in Van Honthorst's *Allegory on the Marriage of Frederik Hendrik and Amalia van Solms* (1651) where, on

FIG. 10 – Gerrit van Honthorst, *The Constancy of Frederik Hendrik*, canvas, 201 x 320 cm, The Hague, Royal Collections, Huis ten Bosch. Photo: Royal Palace, Huis ten Bosch, The Hague. Photo: Margareta Svensson, Amsterdam

TOP FIG. 11 – Detail of FIG. 10. On the lit side of the arm of the demon on the bottom right, the painter has brushed the flesh tone slightly over the paint of the background giving rise to a diffuse transition. The shadowed side of the arm and the trunk is strictly demarcated and the contour is accentuated with a dark brown line.
BOTTOM LEFT FIG. 12 – Gerrit van Honthorst, *Allegory on the Marriage of Frederik Hendrik and Amalia van Solms*, canvas, 755 x 318 cm, The Hague, Royal Collections, Huis ten Bosch. Detail of the arm of Neptune. Along the contours of the arm, Van Honthorst has first applied a brown line and over this he has worked the flesh tone to give a smooth transition. Photo: Royal Palace, Huis ten Bosch, The Hague. Photo: Margareta Svensson, Amsterdam
BOTTOM RIGHT FIG. 13 – Gerrit van Honthorst, *Allegory on the Marriage of Frederik Hendrik and Amalia van Solms* (see FIG. 12). Detail of one of the tritons. Along the contours of the profile and the hand of the triton here and there thin red lines have been applied. Photo: Royal Palace, Huis ten Bosch, The Hague. Photo: Margareta Svensson, Amsterdam

FIG. 14 – Cesar van Everdingen, *The Birth of Frederik Hendrik*, in or after 1649, canvas, c. 380 x 255 cm, The Hague, Royal Collections, Huis ten Bosch. Photo: Royal Palace, Huis ten Bosch, The Hague. Photographer: Margareta Svensson, Amsterdam



TOP FIG. 15 – Detail of FIG. 14. With the infant Frederik Hendrik and Amor. Photo: Margriet van Eikema Hommes

FIG. 16 – Detail of the lower half of FIG. 15. with transmitted illumination. A light line is visible around the right hand of Frederik Hendrik, where the paint of two adjoining zones does not quite touch. Above the head of Amor a dark line is visible where the head overlaps the paint of the background. Photo: Stichting Restauratie Atelier Limburg

the left of the painting, a number of mythological figures have been placed in front of a light blue sky. With a brown line, the painter first made a dark boundary at the edge of the body and over this worked the flesh tone to give a smooth transition (FIG. 12), thus giving rise to the narrow shadow along the contour that Leonardo had described for convex forms. In these cases, although the outer side of the contour is clearly demarcated, the narrow shadow margin ensures that the contour itself is neither aggressive nor razor-sharp or *cantigh*. In Van Honthorst's paintings, small body forms such as hands or parts of a profile are also occasionally outlined with a thin red line (FIG. 13). This is mostly a matter of local linear accents of the kind also recommended by Goeree for drawing (FIG. 5).

CESAR VAN EVERDINGEN

Cesar van Everdingen demonstrates in his paintings for the Oranjezaal a highly pronounced treatment of contours such that each separate form is defined with sharp clarity. This is very well illustrated by his *Birth of Frederik Hendrik* (FIG. 14). In the infant Frederik Hendrik and Amor one sees that the boundaries of the figures are diffuse only occasionally, such as along the lit back of Amor, even though this is limited to an area less than a millimetre in width (FIG. 15). More often, two adjacent parts are painted rigidly against each other. These contours give the image an enormous sharpness and clarity, which is enhanced by the lively colours and the minutely detailed rendering of people, animals and objects.

Van Everdingen achieves this effect by positioning his forms with great accuracy from the outset and by under-painting in colours that are chosen with an exact eye to the end result.[23] Once the under-painting was thoroughly dry, the painter worked up the composition in detail, beginning, like De Braij, with the background and systematically working towards the foreground, leaving as reserves the forms to be painted later. In doing so, he painted the adjoining parts rigorously against each other, sometimes leaving an extremely thin edge of the under-painting visible, but more usually letting the paint of the part which comes closer to the foreground very slightly overlap the part that lies behind. In this process, Van Everdingen did not use the technique of merging the paint along the outlines as recommended by De Lairesse and practised by De Braij. On the contrary, he waited until the rear forms were thoroughly dry to prevent the paint of the form in front from smudging it. As a result of these overlaps, if the painting is illuminated by a strong light from behind we see dark lines along some of the contours, such as the upper side of Amor's head because the dark lines show where the paint is thicker and therefore blocks more light than the surrounding zones (FIG. 16). Conversely, where the paint of two adjacent parts does not quite make contact along the contours, with transmitted illumination a light line is visible because the paint is thinner here, such as, for example, round the small hand of Frederik Hendrik.

In fact, Van Everdingen's razor-sharp contours are closer to those of the fifteenth-and early sixteenth-century painters, who had not yet made use of

Leonardo's *sfumato*, than the contours of his contemporaries. The painter appears not to have bothered with the prevalent views of his own time, viz. that to achieve rounding and depth it is better to blur the boundaries of figures somewhat. And yet Van Everdingen would have known this principle, since occasionally he did indeed use diffuse contours, for example in the stream of putti in the background where the rearmost children dissolve, as it were, in the light of the sky. The impression that Van Everdingen's sharp contours were not the result of ignorance, but were rather deliberately chosen, is supported by his way of modelling. Here too he distances himself from the familiar lessons on rounding and the associated achievement of the suggestion of reality. The difference lies not in the zones of shadow of his figures, for these, according to the rules of his time, are painted with subtle nuances and – partly through powerful reflections – give a strong effect of rounding (FIGS. 14 and 15). It is rather the lit sides of the figures that are unusual because they are painted almost evenly with flesh tones, right to the edge of the form. The painter seems here, too, to be reverting to the *cantighe*, cut off, high lights of the early Dutch masters that were criticized by Van Mander. The unnatural sharpness also applies to the infilling of the group surrounding the infant Frederik Hendrik. Both in the foreground and further in the background the individual figures are worked up in the finest detail, as though aerial perspective did not apply to them. What could have led Van Everdingen to his choice? Apparently the representation of a true-to-nature reality was not his most important consideration. In his painting with gods, mythological figures and classical heroes he seems not so much to have depicted nature as it appears to us but more as we should see it ideally.

THEODOOR VAN THULDEN

Van Everdingen did not use contour lines. De Braij made very sparse use of them while Van Honthorst applied these lines more often but in such a way that one hardly sees them. On the other hand, Theodoor van Thulden, who produced no less than six canvases for the *Oranjezaal*, painted pronounced lines along almost all his contours. He was certainly not the only one in the Oranjezaal to do this, for we see this in the work of Jan Lievens, Jacob Jordaens, Pieter Soutman and Thomas Willeboirts Bosschaert. All these painters had worked for a considerable time in Antwerp or were still active there at the time of the Oranjezaal and all were for a shorter or longer time active in the workshop of Rubens. Van Thulden himself had assisted in two enormous commissions, that of the *Pompa Introitus Ferdinandi* (1635) and that of the *Torre de la Parada* (1636/37).[24] The frequent use of contour lines by the painters listed above can thus perhaps be traced back to Rubens, who in any case must have attached great importance to the rendering of contours. It is generally known that he was greatly interested in optics, including the effects of light and colour. He even wrote a treatise on the subject; this, unfortunately, has since been lost.[25] In a letter from Rubens to the Parisian collector and man of letters Nicolas-Claude Fabri de Peiresc, who encouraged him to write

FIG. 17 – Theodoor van Thulden, *Venus in the Shop of Vulcan*, 1650, canvas, 391.2/392.5 x 259.3 cm, The Hague, Royal Collections, Huis ten Bosch. Photo: Royal Palace, Huis ten Bosch, The Hague. Photo: Margareta Svensson, Amsterdam

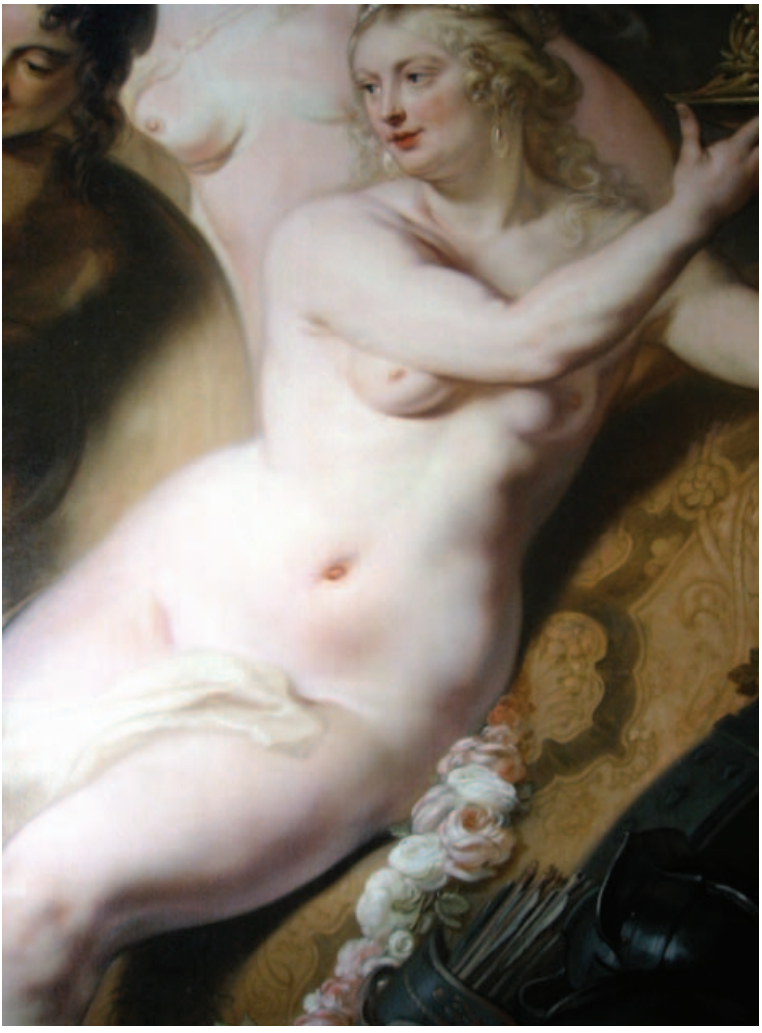
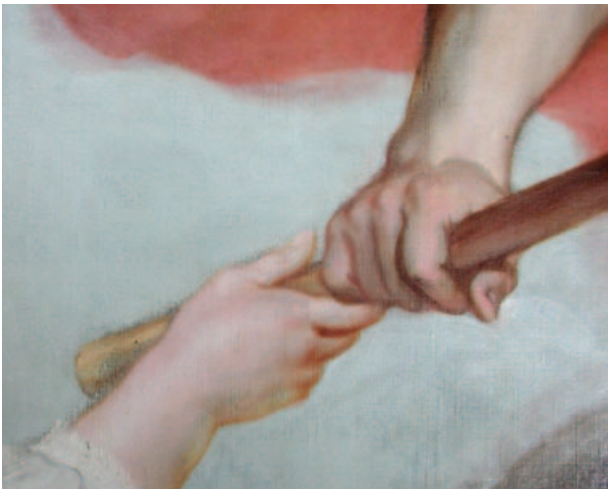
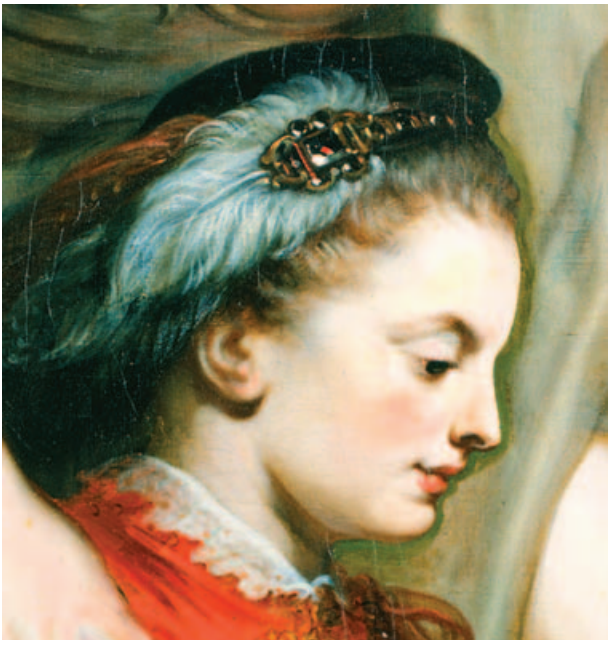


FIG. 18 – Detail of FIG. 17. Photo: Margriet van Eikema Hommes

this treatise, Rubens wrote that his interest in the strong impressions that visible objects make upon our eyes related mainly to their lines and contours.[26] What is astonishing in Rubens' paintings is that although the painter often puts in contour lines, because they vary in thickness, colour and sharpness one always experiences them as natural shadows. The painter uses the lines with deliberate care in order to draw more attention to particular forms than to others. He also applies variation to amplify the volume of figures and to suggest the texture of different objects. In short, by means of these lines the painter could provide a good deal of information on the nature of the forms depicted. Furthermore, Rubens took into account the position of the viewer in relation to the painting. For the more distant a painting hung, the more pronounced the outlining used. The function of





the painting also played a role in this choice of line: thus, Rubens made use of pronounced lines in his great decorative cycles.

A comparable variable use of contours is evident in Van Thulden's canvases in the Oranjezaal. The contour lines here give much information on the nature of the painted form, information which need then not be conveyed by means of extensive modelling and with the result that his paintings could be very efficiently produced. In these works the lines are clearly visible, which is connected with the fact that the Oranjezaal collection comprises large decorative canvases hung in an architectonic setting, and in many cases high up in the hall. Elsewhere, Van Thulden also produced smaller paintings and in these in fact one sees a more extensive modelling and considerably less marked contour lines.[27]

Venus in the Shop of Vulcan from 1650, in which we see Venus with four nymphs grouped together round a large shield, gives an insight into Van Thulden's choices of contours (FIG. 17). The lines with which the women are outlined ensure that these almost naked bodies placed close together are well detached from each other. Along their shadowed sides the bodies have brown, quite dark and sharp lines, while along their lit sides the lines are mostly pale, pastel-coloured and more blurry, and in places altogether absent (FIG. 18). Where two light parts adjoin, the contour is always kept more diffuse. Van Thulden thus followed in his contours almost literally the principles set out by Goeree for drawing, with the difference that Van Thulden, of course, as a painter also had the resources of colour at his disposal.

Van Thulden was also able to convey information on the type of skin a person had, or the texture of an object, by means of contours. When painting the softer skin of female bodies most of the lines have a soft brown or pastel colour and are somewhat diffuse. With a hard metal surface, such as those of the weapons in the foreground, the lines are dark grey and sharp. Something comparable can also be seen in *The Dutch Maiden Offering Frederik Hendrik the Supreme Command* (1651, FIG. 19), where the differentiation of lines contributes to the contrast between male and female skin. In the centre of the composition one sees how the Dutch maiden and Frederik Hendrik clasp the Commander's staff (FIG. 20). The hand with which Frederik Hendrik grips the staff has a brown contour line; while the hands of the Dutch maiden are outlined by a thinner line in an orange-red colour. Because the lines are rather sharp and enclose the whole form,

LEFT PAGE TOP FIG. 19 – Theodoor van Thulden, *The Dutch Maiden Offering Frederik Hendrik the Supreme Command*, 1651, canvas, 321.5 x c. 758.5 cm, The Hague, Royal Collections, Huis ten Bosch. Photo: Royal Palace, Huis ten Bosch, The Hague. Photographer: Margareta Svensson, Amsterdam

LEFT PAGE CENTER FIG. 20 – Detail of FIG. 19. Photo: Margriet van Eikema Hommes

LEFT PAGE BOTTOM FIG. 21 – Theodoor van Thulden, *The Education of Frederik Hendrik*, 1649, canvas, 311 x 197 cm. Detail with the portrait in profile of the young Frederik Hendrik. The Hague, Royal Collections, Huis ten Bosch. Photo: Royal Palace, Huis ten Bosch, The Hague. Photo: Margareta Svensson, Amsterdam

they ensure that this important passage in the painting gets all the emphasis and stands out clearly against a sky that has been executed in equally light tones. Sometimes the painter used very broad strips to give emphasis to forms, as in *The Education of Frederik Hendrik* (1649) where the profile of the young stadholder is demarcated with a thick edge of bright green (FIG. 21).

In the examples dealt with above, the zones under discussion were fairly precisely modelled. But Van Thulden's paintings are characterized by large passages that have scarcely been worked up after the under-painting. The sketchy forms here are outlined with dark brown lines casually drawn, as can be seen with the putti at the top of the painting with Venus and her nymphs (FIG. 17). These are in part sketch lines from the under-painting, but contours have also been applied at a later stage. The lines ensure that those parts that have been merely schematically modelled are nevertheless sufficiently legible. The figures have highly pronounced lines, especially in *The Dutch Maiden Offering Frederik Hendrik the Supreme Command*, on the second level in the hall. Indeed, because so many figures have outlined contours, from close up the painting looks like a large drawing that has been coloured in. From a greater distance, however, this effect decreases and the lines then serve to distinguish the individual people and animals. This ensured that the painter could economize on the precise modelling of figures and consequently produce his work more quickly. Many of the forms in the background, such as the rearmost brown horse on the right, have thus been painted in flatly (FIG. 19), and several zones consist of little more than a contour drawing, such as the figures between the legs of Frederik Hendrik's horse.

Concluding Remarks

In this article, on the basis of four painters, an impression was given of the wide range of possibilities for rendering contours available in the mid-seventeenth century. It was found that the choice of treatment of contours, whether they were diffuse or sharp, and whether or not they were accentuated with lines, had its consequences for the modelling of forms and the suggestion of depth in the image.

In the works of De Braij and Van Honthorst, the variable use of sharp or diffuse contours, however differently executed by these two artists, ensured that the forms in their paintings were given volume and that a convincing effect of depth was realized. Van Everdingen demarcated all his forms with razor-sharp contours, giving his paintings an unnatural clarity.

De Braij and Van Everdingen, who carefully modelled their forms, used hardly any linear outlining or even none at all. Van Honthorst also made sparse use of contour lines. The forms in the works of these masters differ from each other in that they have considerable volume, the result of subtle nuances of in-filling. Exact modelling similarly contributes to the convincing rendering of specific material effects. However, much of this pictorial information can be conveyed by contour lines, by varying their colour, thickness and sharpness, so that the painter

is not wholly dependent on exact modelling for this and as a result can achieve a faster rate of production. Thulden made abundant use of this principle in his canvases for the Oranjezaal. It is remarkable that, of the painters in the Oranjezaal, it is particularly those who had worked or were still active in Antwerp who made most conspicuous use of contour lines. This raises the question of whether an Antwerp tradition might have been started by Rubens.

NOTES

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I would especially like to thank my colleague Lidwien Speleers, from the Institute for Atomic and Molecular Physics (AMOLF), Amsterdam, who investigated the painting materials and structure of the paint layers in the paintings in the Oranjezaal. This research provided me with a firm basis for my observations. I am also grateful to Jolanda de Bruijn, who studied the painting technique of Gerrit van Honthorst: J. de Bruijn, *Honthorst fecit (?). Een onderzoek naar de atelierpraktijk van Gerard van Honthorst (1592-1656) aan de hand van de schilderijen uit zijn werkplaats in de Oranjezaal in Paleis Huis ten Bosch in Den Haag*, unpublished master thesis, University of Amsterdam 2001. I also would like to thank Jørgen Wadum (Mauritshuis, The Hague) and Michiel Franken (RKD) for the critical reading of this article. The article was translated by Murray Pearson.

1 Franciscus Junius, *De Schilder-konst der Oude, Begrepen in drie Boecken*, Middelburg 1641, pp. 269-70: '[...] soo behoort hy met eenen oock goede achtinghe op d'uyterste linien te nemen; vermidts de hooghste volmaecktheyt der Konste wierd oyt gheoordeelt voornaemelick daer in te bestaen, dat den omvangh ofte omtreck der figuren met sulcken aerdighen ende onbedwonghen soetigheyd sy getrocken, dat d'aenschouwers daer in meynen te sien 't ghene onsienelick is [...] Want den uytersten omtreck moet sich selven soo blijckelick omvanghen, en soo gheestighlick in een aerdigh omrondsel eyndighen, dat het niet alleen schijnt te beloven wat daer achter schuylt, maer dat het met eenen oock schijnt te vertoonen 't ghene daer onder verborghen light.'

2 E. van de Wetering, *Rembrandt. The Painter at Work*, Amsterdam 1997, chapter VII 'Rembrandt's Brushwork and Illusionism; an Art-Theoretical Approach', esp. p. 188. The use of contours by Johannes Vermeer was studied by: J. Wadum, 'Contours of Vermeer', in: I. Gaskel and M. Jonker (eds.), *Vermeer Studies. Studies in the History of Art, 55. Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts, Symposium Papers XXXIII*, Washington, New Haven and London 1998, pp. 201-223.

3 For example, Johannes Vermeer used quite another method than Rembrandt to obtain diffuse contours. Vermeer let areas of paint slightly overlap at the transition areas along the contours. Vermeer varied the sharpness of his contours depending on the painterly effect he aimed for. Sometimes he also used knife-edge sharp contours, see: Wadum, 'Contours of Vermeer' (see note 2).

4 On the iconography of the Oranjezaal: H. Peter-Raupp, *Die Ikonographie des Oranjezaal*, Hildesheim and New York 1980, and B. Brenninkmeyer-de Rooij, 'Notities betreffende de decoratie van de Oranjezaal in Huis ten Bosch', *Oud Holland* 96 (1982), pp. 133-190.

5 Karel van Mander, *Den grondt der edel vrij schilder-const: waer in haer ghestalt, aerdt ende wesen de leer-lustighe jeught in verschyden deelen in rijm-dicht wordt voorghedraghen* (in: *Het schilder-boeck waer in voor eerst de leerlustighe iueght den grondt der edel vrij schilderconst in verscheyden deelen wort voorghedraghen*), Haarlem 1604, f. 48v. Similar methods for modelling are given by, for example, Willem Goeree, *Inleydinge Tot de Al-ghemeene Teycken-Konst*, Middelburg 1668, pp. 59-61, and Gerard de Lairesse, *Het Groot Schilderboek*, Amsterdam 1707, 2 vols, vol. 1, pp. 15-19.

6 Van Mander, *Den grondt* (see note 5), f. 48v.: 'Ghy schildert net oft rouw, wilt altijt mijden U werck met cantighe hooghsels besnijden.' For the remarks on the Lucas van Leiden, Jan van Scorel and Maerten van Heemskerck, see: Karel van Mander, Het leven der doorluchtighe nederlandtsche en hooghduytsche schilders (in: Het schilder-boeck waer in voor eerst de leerlustighe iueght den grondt der edel vrij schilderconst in verscheyden deelen wort voorghedraghen), Haarlem 1604, ff. 213v., 245r.. The phenomenon of the 'cantighe hooghsels' was analyzed by P. Swillens, 'Carel van Manders kritiek op de schilderijen van Jan van Scorel en diens tijdgenoten', in: *Miscellanea prof. Dr. D. Roggen*, Antwerpen 1957, pp. 267-277. See also H. Miedema (ed.), *C. van Mander, Den grondt der edel vrij schilder-const*, Utrecht 1973, 2 vols, vol. 2, p. 600.

7 Van Mander, *Den grondt* (see note 5), f. 49v.: 'Maer overspeelt hier vry, ten zijn geen zonden.' The term 'overspelen' in this quote was interpreted by Miedema, *Den grondt der edel vrij schilder-const* (see note 6), p. 605.

8 Leonardo da Vinci, *Traitté de la Peinture de Leonard de Vinci, donné au public et traduit d' italien en françois par R.F.S. de C.*, Paris 1651. Wadum suggested that Leonardo's observations may have influenced the depiction of contours by Johannes Vermeer, see: Wadum 'Contours of Vermeer' (see note 2). Van Mander certainly knew of Leonardo's ideas; various similarities between Van Manders Grondt and Leonardo's treatise indicate that Van Mander was familiar with its content, or in any case parts of it, either by oral tradition or via manuscript copies: Miedema, *Den grondt der edel vrij schilder-const* (see note 6), pp. 640-41.

9 A.P. McMahon (ed.), *Leonardo da Vinci, Treatise on Painting [Codex Urbinas Latinus 1270]*, Princeton 1956, 2 vols., vol.1., p. 270. Leonardo da Vinci's theories on lineair perspective and his observations on contours were discussed by M. Kemp, *The Science of Art. Optical Themes in Western Art from Brunelleschi to Seurat*, New Haven & London 1990, pp. 44-52.

10 Mahon, *Treatise on painting* (see note 9), pp. 183, 271.

11 P. Taylor, 'The concept of houding in Dutch art theory', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 55, 1992, pp. 210-232.

12 Junius, *De Schilder-konst der Oude* (see note 1), pp. 272 en 270: 'Dus sien wy dan dat d'afsnijndinghe van d'uyterste lichaemen nae het langhsaem verschiet der verwen in een gantsch wonderbaere ende onbegrijpelicke linie behoort te eyndighen; ende alhoewel het konstighe verschiet ende uyterste linie niet weynich in haeren bysonderen aerd verschillen, nochtans schijnense een heymelick verstand met malckander te hebben; [...] soo schijnt het eyndelick nae het ghedurigh omronden des verschiets in een fijne ende onsichtbaere verwen-streke te verdwijnen en vernietight te worden. [...] Het maeckt dat de figuren, niet plat, maer rondachtigh schijnen te sijn; als de kanten der selviger met gantsch dunne en fijne verwenstreken, sich allenghskens omrondende, uyt ons ghesicht ontwijcken.'

13 Lairesse, *Het Groot Schilderboek* (see note 5), pp. 13-14: 'Hier moetmen, om de beste manier te volgen, van achter beginnen, te weeten de lucht, en dus allengs na

vooren toe, zo behoud men altoos een bekwame en vogtige grond achter de Beelden, om den uitersten omtrek daar in te doen verdwynen, het welk, anders begonnen, ondoenelyk is.' See for De Lairesse's ideas on the merging of outlines of painted forms, both on their lit and shadowed side: pp. 15-19.

14 Goeree, *Inleydinge Tot de Al-ghemeene Teycken-Konst* (see note 5), pp. 66-68: '[...] want in het Natuyrlijck Leven, geene Trecken te sien en zijn, dan alleen een eynde, ofte bepaelt op-houden van de Breette en Lenghte der Lichamelijcke dinghen die aen alle zijden voorby, often teghen elkanderen aen schijnen te stooten, ghelijck men sulcks in een Shildery klaerlijck kan sien, alwaer de uytterste eynden van alle dinghen, over-een-komen, met het Coleur datse in 't midden van hare heele Veldt hebben; alsoo dat het op-houden van dit of dat Coleur, hare omgheschrevenen Forme, sonder Trecken aenwijst.' Here Goeree may have based himself on Leonardo's *Trattato della pittura* (see note 8 for the first edition in French), chapter LI: 'Ne faites point les contours de vos figures d´vne autre teinte que du propre champ où elles se trouuent; c'est à dire qu'il ne les faut profiler d'aucun traict obscur entre le champs & vostre figure.'

15 Junius, *De Schilder-konst der Oude* (see note 1), p. 272.

16 One wonders whether this is why Goeree omitted the comparison with paintings in the 1697 edition of his book.

17 Mahon, *Treatise on Painting* (see note 9), pp. 169, 170.

18 The Englishman William Gandy recorded in his 'Notes on Painting' (1673-99), his observations on paintings by Anthony van Dyck: 'The Redish purplish Shadows that Vandike Stroked about his fingers & hands, the Eyes & Nose which was a faint Redish shadow was done with Brown Red & a little lack mixt together & a very little ultramarine.' See: K. Talley, *Portrait Painting in England: Studies in the Technical Literature before 1700*, London 1981, p. 321. The English art lover and amateur painter Richard Symonds recorded information on the painting technique of the Roman painter Giovanni Angelo Canini. Canini, according to Symonds, made use of an 'abundance of lake in all ye Contorni of the naked women, ye nose, eyes & armes.' and 'Next day painting the hand, [...] & the scuri & contorni made of Lacca [...]'. See: R. Symonds, *Secrete intorno la pittura vedute e sentite dalla prattica del sig Gio: Angelo Canini in Roma A° 1650, 1651, 1652 [...] Discepolo del famoso Dominico Zampieri allievo de' Carraccj. Non senza una intrinseca favore e amicitia che esso Sig G.A portava a Ricardo Symonds*, London, British Library, MS Egerton 1636, ff. 70, 55, respectively.

19 Van Mander, *Den grondt* (see note 5), f. 9r. Goeree, *Inleydinge Tot de Al-ghemeende Teycken-Konst* (see note 5), pp. 66-69. S. van Hoogstraten, *Inleyding tot de hooge schoole der schilderkonst, anders de zichtbaere werelt: verdeelt in negen leerwinkels, yder bestiert door ene der zanggodinnen*, Rotterdam 1678, p. 28.

20 How easily an overcrowded effect may result can be seen in the Triumphal Procession painted by Van Campen, where the figures seem to have been pressed against the paintings' surface: Jacob van Campen, *Triumphal Procession, with Gifts from the East and West*, canvas, 380 x 205 cm, The Hague, Oranjezaal, Koninklijk Paleis, Huis ten Bosch.

21 This method can be found in the works of most of the painters in the Oranjezaal. The sketchily indicated passages in their paintings do not disturb the illusion of reality and depth. Although the brushstroke is certainly discernible, these passages do not impose themselves stridently but, on the contrary, recede into the background. Rembrandt used a similar method to create depth in his *The Anatomy Lesson of Dr. Nicolaes Tulp*, 1632, canvas, 169.5 x 216.5 cm, The Hague, Mauritshuis. The forms in the foreground are precisely painted with thickly applied flowing paint. In the background the figures have been executed with transparent layers and with loose brushstrokes, see: P. Noble, J. Wadum, 'De restauratie van de Anatomische

les van dr Nicolaes Tulp', in: N. Middelkoop, M. Enklaar, H.S. Lake (eds.), *Rembrandt onder het mes: de anatomische les van Dr Nicolaes Tulp ontleed*, Den Haag (Mauritshuis) & Amsterdam 1998 (exh. cat.), pp. 51-75.

22 The faces of the figures are more sharply defined but also here the contours of the lit forms are somewhat diffuse, whereas they are sharp along the forms in shadow.

23 If a painter approaches his painting in an exploratory way, he will never achieve Van Everdingen's combination of sharp contours and clear, luminous colours. In order to cover earlier versions of his work the painter has to apply his paint thickly. These paint layers, certainly in darker passages, will lack the desired openness and transparency and create a heavy, massive effect. Moreover, oil paints have the property of becoming gradually more transparent with time. The earlier forms, which had subsequently been overpainted, can then become disturbingly visible. The few occasions that Van Everdingen altered a form, this is what has happened, as can be seen in the head of William the Silent in *The Birth of Frederik Hendrik*.

24 A. Roy, *Theodoor van Thulden. Een Zuidnederlandse barokschilder 1606 's-Hertogenbosch 1669*, 's-Hertogenbosch (Noordbrabants Museum), Strasbourg (Les Musées de la ville de Strasbourg) & Zwolle 1992 (exh. cat.).

25 On Rubens' ideas on colour and light, see: Kemp, *The Science of Art* (see note 9), pp. 274-278. See also C. Pakhurst, 'Aguilonius' Optics and Rubens' Colour', *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 12 (1961), pp. 35-49.

26 Ch. Ruelens, M. Rooses, (eds.), *Correspondance de Rubens et documents épistolaires concernant sa vie et son oeuvres*, Antwerp 1887-1909, 6 vols, vol. 6 (1909), p. 128: 'Della impressione gagliarda che fanno gli oggietti visibili nelli ochi di V.S., mi pare più strana quella delle linee e contorni de corpi, che delli colori [...]'.

27 For example, in Van Thulden's *The Music. Allegory on the Conjugal Harmony*, 1651, canvas, 194 x 135 cm, Brussels, Koninklijke Musea voor Schone Kunsten van België, Het Museum voor Oude Kunst.

FIG. 1 – Adam Willaerts, *View of Dordrecht*, 1629, canvas, 181 x 669.2 cm, Dordrechts Museum

ANNA TUMMERS

Aelbert Cuyp's Innovative Use of Spatial Devices

When Aelbert Cuyp (1620-1691) grew up in his hometown of Dordrecht, the city did not have a strong artistic tradition.[1] The most well-known painter of a generation before Aelbert was his own father Jacob (1594-1651/2), who had specialized in portraiture. In the field of landscape painting, there were virtually no painters of significance and when the City Council decided to commission a large panoramic picture of Dordrecht for the city hall in 1629, the assignment was awarded not to a local artist but to Adam Willaerts (1577-1664), a Utrecht painter of Flemish descent (FIG. 1). Cuyp was nine years old at this time and he had presumably just started his apprenticeship in the studio of his father.

A comparison of Willaert's painting with the *View of Dordrecht* that Aelbert Cuyp created some 25 years later, around 1655, illustrates how innovative Cuyp was in his hometown (FIG. 2). While both painters used a number of the same methods to create a sense of depth, the result is very different. For example, in both pictures the colors become lighter and there are less tonal contrasts as the illusionistic space recedes into the distance, a phenomenon known as 'atmospheric perspective' (or *houding* in seventeenth-century Dutch).[2] However, the relatively low horizon, the low sunlight and the imposing cloudy sky in Cuyp's painting help create a sensation of spaciousness that is very different from what Willaerts achieved in his picture. The difference is perhaps most striking when one looks at the way in which Dordrecht's silhouette and the ship in the foreground have been placed in the picture plane.

In Willaerts' picture, the angle from which we see for example the timber raft on the left is not consistent with the angle from which we see the large ships in the immediate foreground (a bird's eye perspective versus a much lower viewpoint). The different elements appear somewhat clumsily above and below one another. Willaerts presumably used a number of different drawings or other sources for his painting and he seems to have had trouble combining the different elements into a convincing illusionistic space. In the case of Cuyp's *View of Dordrecht* we know for sure that the artist based the painting on a number of different sketches, namely his *View of Dordrecht* (Rijksmuseum) and his *Timber Raft* (British Museum).[3] Nonetheless, the spatial illusionism in his painting is very successful. He was clearly able to freely combine the different elements into a convincing

FIG. 2 – Aelbert Cuyp, *Dordrecht from the North*, mid 1650s, canvas, 68.5 x 190 cm, Ascott, the Anthony de Rothschild Collection (The National Trust)

picture. This article focuses on how Cuyp managed to achieve this, or more specifically: on what spatial devices he might have known and how he used them. In turn, an understanding of Cuyp's use of spatial devices raises questions about the authenticity of a painting commonly attributed to Cuyp.

Throughout the seventeenth century, several Dutch art theorists stressed the importance of some knowledge of perspective – not only for painters of architecture but also for painters of landscapes and seascapes. Particularly Rob Ruurs and Arthur Wheelock have done interesting research in this field and I would like to thank Ernst van de Wetering for encouraging me to research Cuyp's work in this context.[4] As early as 1604, Karel van Mander urged landscape painters to pay attention to foreshortening as it appears in nature. In his treatise on painting *Het Schilder-boeck*, he wrote: 'Even if [your subject] is not architecture, which demands strict rules, you must know how to place the viewing or vanishing point accurately on the horizon – that is, on the surface of the water.'[5] Other theorists such as Philips Angel and Samuel van Hoogstraten gave painters similar advice.[6] Willem Goeree even stated in his 1697 treatise on painting that God had created nature according to mathematical laws and that in order to fool a trained eye, a painter had to observe these rules, which had been rediscovered by man.[7]

Although the idea that landscape painters should have some knowledge of linear perspective was apparently widespread, the question as to exactly what methods painters knew and used is quite hard to answer. So far, no evidence has been found in seventeenth-century landscape paintings indicating that artists used a certain method to construct linear perspective. Seventeenth-century books on perspective focus mostly on architecture, and to my knowledge only one discusses a method that seems relevant here. However, this book, George Huret's *Optique de Portraiture et Peinture* was published in Paris in 1670 – after Cuyp had already stopped painting.[8] Of course, one may ask what role these books on perspective played. Had their authors invented the rules they discussed or were they merely recording a practice that was already widespread?

Whatever the answer to this question may be, there is evidence indicating that several Dutch landscape painters of Cuyp's time had a keen understanding of the rules of perspective relevant to their speciality. Both the seascape painter Simon de Vlieger (1600/01-1653) and his pupil Willem van de Velde the Younger (1633-1707) have explained several methods in their drawings.

De Vlieger was a well-established painter working in Rotterdam. As Arthur Wheelock has argued, Cuyp seems to have known his work.[9] For example, De Vlieger's atmospheric skies with rays of light raking through the clouds may well have inspired Cuyp to pursue similar effects in his paintings. In a fascinating drawing in the British Museum, De Vlieger has recorded a number of methods to create a convincing landscape or seascape according to the rules of perspective (FIG. 3).[10] The work, which is dated 1645, consists of ten little sketches, which De Vlieger seems to have created for a pupil or an art lover. Upon close study of the sketches one can almost hear De Vlieger explain the different rules.

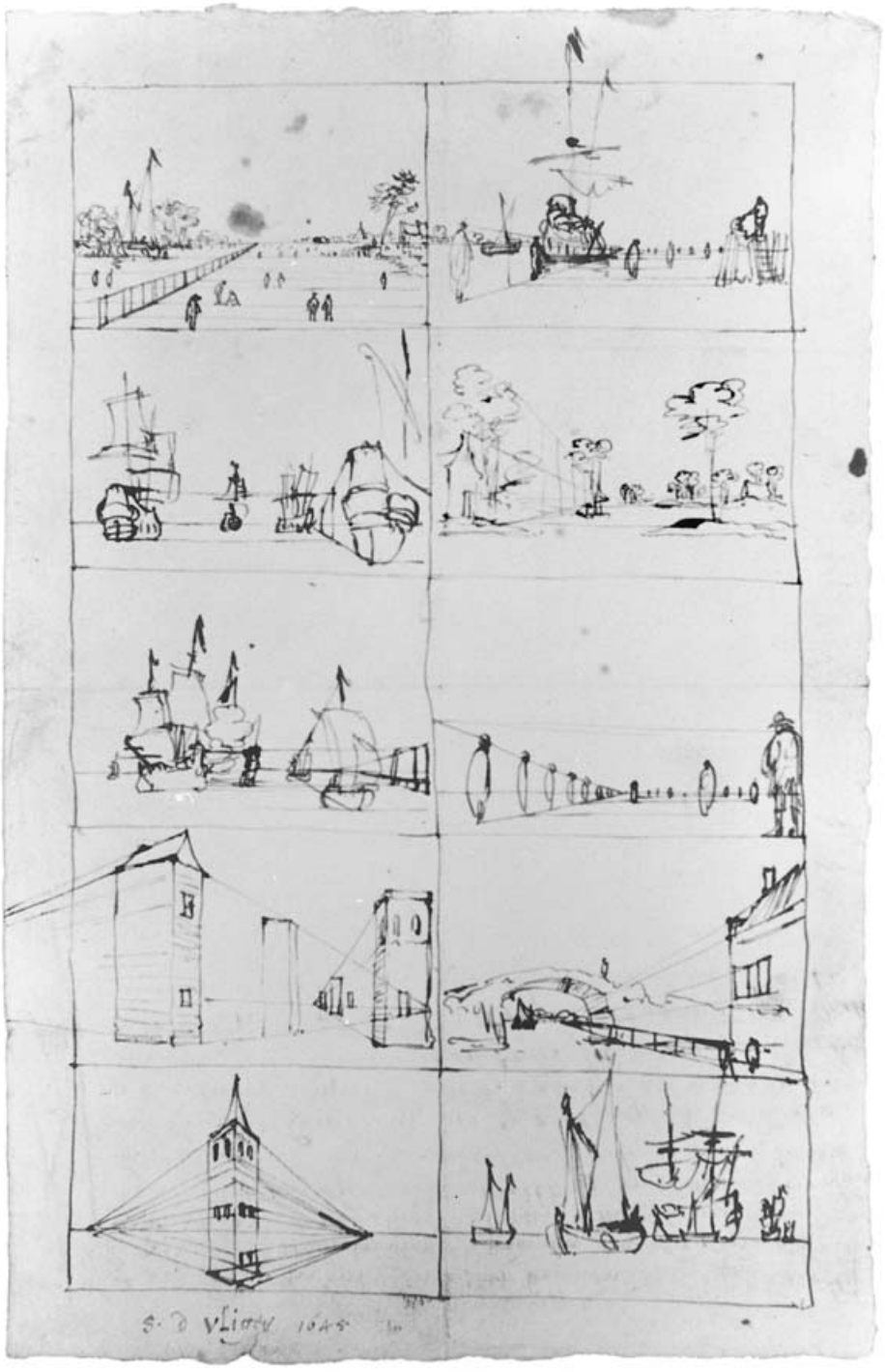


FIG. 3 – Simon de Vlieger, *A sheet of studies in perspective*, 1645, pen and ink on paper, London, British Museum. © The Trustees of The British Museum

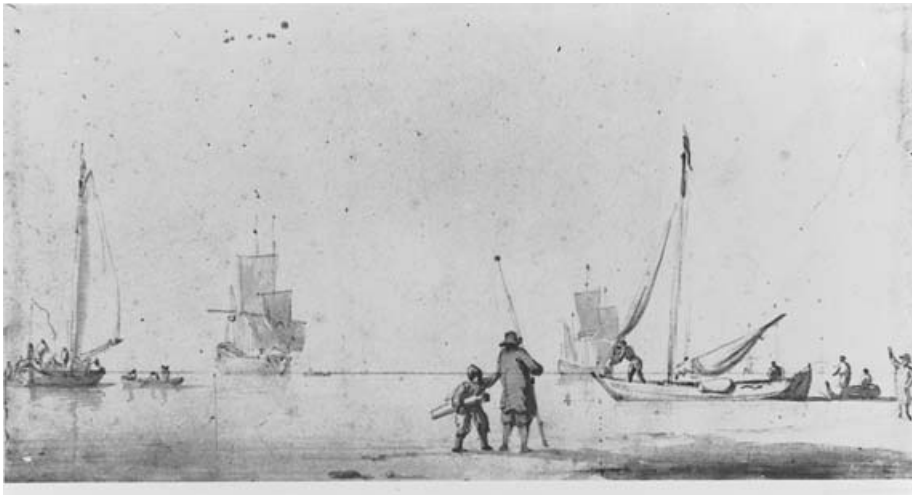


FIG. 4 – Willem van de Velde the Younger, *A Kaag near the Shore*, 1670s, pen and ink on paper, Greenwich, National Maritime Museum

The top left drawing shows a so-called height-wall, an imaginary wall of constant height that recedes towards the horizon. Two oblique lines defining the wall meet at a point on the horizon, which is called the vanishing point ('*oogpunt*' or '*verdwijnpunt*') and this is always exactly *on* the horizon. The height of the wall equals that of a standing man (as one can see in the foreground), and this makes it easy to depict convincingly a standing man (of the same size) at any given point in the illusionistic space. One only has to draw a horizontal line to the corresponding point on the height wall to know exactly how tall the figure should be, that is, just as tall as the height wall is at this point.

While the top left drawing shows a height wall seen from a high standpoint (as if standing on the second floor of a house), the top right drawing shows a height wall that rises above the horizon. Once again, the height of the wall is that of a standing man. This time the wall is used not only to determine the size of a number of standing figures dispersed over the illusionistic space, but also to determine the size of a figure standing on a raised platform in the middle-ground at right. From this figure a first auxiliary line has been drawn to ground level, then from the ground level a horizontal line has been drawn to the corresponding point on the height wall – the height of the wall here is the correct height for the figure standing on the platform. De Vlieger also applied the principle of a height wall to '*spiegelschepen*', i.e. large sea ships (see his third and fifth sketch) and to trees and a house in a hilly landscape (see his fourth sketch; here he uses the same principle as that he used with the figure on the raised platform, that is, he first 'descends' to ground level).

In the context of Cuyp's work, the sketch at the bottom right is particularly interesting. Here, the artist drew a moderately sized seaship in the foreground (a '*boeier*'). He then drew a horizon line and used this line to place similar size ships

at different points in the illusionistic space. Interestingly the horizon intersects all the ships at the same height, that is a little below the stern of the *boeier* and similarly below the stern of the small yacht at the left. It also intersects a second small yacht just below its stern, which one sees as if it were inside the large *spiegelschip* in the middle-ground at right. Subsequently, De Vlieger added this *spiegelschip*, which rises much higher above the water than the *boeier* and the small yacht. This same principle is shown in the background at right.[11]

This latter method, in which one uses the horizon as the only point of reference, has been explained in much greater detail by De Vlieger's pupil Willem de Velde the Younger. The basic idea is as follows: If one stands on the beach and looks at the horizon, then everything that is at exactly the same height as your eyes will appear at exactly the height of the horizon. Thus, if you are six feet tall, for example, and you look at a ship whose stern rises about six feet above the water then the horizon will intersect the ship exactly at the top of the stern. If a larger ship rises for example twelve feet above the water, the horizon will intersect the ship exactly in the middle.

In a drawing in the National Maritime Museum in Greenwich, the draftsman's eye level is four feet above the ground, hence the number 4 to the right of the standing man in the foreground (FIG. 4). It is the height of the child's eyes and the standing man's midriff, and the midriff of the man standing at the far right. The horizon also intersects the ship in the middle-ground at the top of its stern, which since it's a '*kaag*' should indeed be about four feet above the water. As long as one knows the proportions and size of a given element, it is thus easy to place it correctly within the pictorial space. In the case of ships at sea not only their shape but also their size is crucial to recognize them, and the fact that the size of the ship in Van de Velde's drawing is accurate seems telling, suggesting that the artist and/or his patrons had first-hand knowledge about ships and appreciated seeing them depicted in their proper size.

Before discussing how this is all relevant for Cuyp's work, I would like to emphasize that the methods we have just looked at allowed artists to freely place different elements within a given pictorial space and picture plane. Both De Vlieger and Van de Velde knew a number of different methods.[12] However, and this is crucial, both artists created many drawings in which they do not use any of these methods explicitly. Presumably, skilled masters could use their knowledge indirectly without the aid of auxiliary lines.[13] De Vlieger uses auxiliary lines only in sheets that seem clearly intended for instruction. Van de Velde similarly uses the rules most explicitly when he seems to want to explain them or when he corrects a drawing by a student. He does often draw the horizon with a straightedge in his drawings, which suggests that he often used the horizon as the point of reference and that he was rather precise in doing so. Of course, one could also use this same method without using a straightedge. Seventeenth-century treatises on painting occasionally advise painters to not use geometrical tools while painting, and instead to try to arrive at a good feeling of what one can do with these tools, so that

FIG. 5 – Aelbert Cuyp, *A Pier in the Dordrecht Harbour*, early 1640s, panel, 44.5 x 75.5 cm, Private Collection

one can draw geometrical shapes free-handed. For example, both Van Hoogstraten and Goeree urged painters to not use a pair of dividers when drawing but to carry the dividers as if it were in their eyes.[14] As Goeree explains, using rules and tools too strictly can risk making a painter's work rather stiff.[15] The same could be said about applying the rules of perspective, which may explain the absence of perspective constructions in most of De Vlieger's and Van de Velde's drawings.

When looking at Aelbert Cuyp's paintings, it is interesting to see that he often uses a figure in the foreground whose head or waist is more or less level with the horizon. This gives the viewer a frame of reference, an instant understanding of the viewpoint inherent in the picture. It certainly enhances the sense of space that he conveys to the viewer – especially when he contrasts the figure with a vast panorama or an enormous sky. In my opinion this greatly contributes to the sense of grandeur for which Cuyp has become so famous.

Although Cuyp does not seem to have explicitly explained the rules of perspective in any of his drawing, he clearly had a good understanding of the basic principles. Nothing in his early independent works contradicts the rules of perspective, although the perspective in many of his early works is hard to verify with certainty. Using hills, whose height is uncertain, there are few absolute points of reference, such as in his *Cattle and Herders, with Mariakerk, Utrecht* (Residenzgalerie Salzburg).[16] This in itself, I think is significant; later in his career when he develops his mature style he starts to use perspective more freely and daringly, as I will show below.

In the early 1640s, Cuyp repeatedly and prominently uses successions of similar size ships in his paintings, seen from more or less the same angle but at

FIG. 6 – Aelbert Cuyp, *The Melkpoortje on the Dordrecht Harbour*, 1639, panel, 60 x 75 cm, Private Collection

different points in the illusionistic space (FIG. 5).[17] Such successions are interesting from a pictorial point of view, since they tend to create a nice visual rhythm. However, such successions also make it easy for a painter to place ships convincingly in a given illusionistic space. One could simply draw auxiliary lines connecting the tops and bottoms of two similar size ships and have these meet at the height of the horizon.

When applied to the painting above, such auxiliary lines do indeed meet at the height of the horizon, although this does not mean of course that Cuyp constructed his perspective in exactly this manner. We certainly have no evidence of this; the National Gallery of Art (Washington, D.C.) had a number of infrared reflectograms made of Cuyp's pictures prior to the Cuyp exhibition of 2001-2002, and these do not show any traces pointing in this direction. Nonetheless, Cuyp clearly knew how to convincingly place the ships in the pictorial space, in calculated relation to the horizon. This may seem a rather obvious thing to accomplish to the modern viewer, but, of course, today almost everyone is familiar with the basic rules of perspective. However, one only has to recall Willaerts' imposing painting that was made for the town hall of Dordrecht to realize that certainly not everyone understood how to do this when Cuyp grew up. Cuyp was in fact the first one to do so in Dordrecht.

FIG. 7 – Aelbert Cuyp, *A Herdsman with Five Cows by a River*, c. 1650, panel, 45.4 x 74 cm, London, The National Gallery

Apart from the principle we have just looked at, which allowed Cuyp to place similar ships convincingly at different locations in the illusionistic space, Cuyp must have also understood the horizon method that Van de Velde explained so clearly in his drawings. This is perhaps most evident in his painting *The Melkpoortje near Dordrecht*, which is signed and dated 1639 (FIG. 6). The picture shows a quay and pier just outside one of Dordrecht's city gates. Interestingly Cuyp depicted eight standing figures at different points in the illusionistic space whose heads are all exactly level with the horizon, a rather strict application of the horizon method. Other clear examples are his sketch *Dordrecht Viewed from the North* (Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam), a sketch on the verso of his drawing *Calcar and the Monterberg* (Groninger Museum) and his painting *View of Dordrecht* (National Trust, Kenwood).[18]

Not only was Cuyp able to correctly apply various rules of perspective, but he also – and very deliberately, I believe – manipulated the perspective in his pictures for pictorial and compositional reasons. This is most obvious in paintings with a very low viewpoint such as the paintings with cows wading in the water in the Szépmüvészeti Múzeum (Budapest) and the National Gallery (London) (FIG. 7). These paintings mark a culmination of Cuyp's interest in silhouetting birds and animals. In his early pictures, Cuyp often depicted white birds below the horizon line, silhouetted against darker water, and darker birds silhouetted against a white sky. In the 1650s he starts silhouetting his main subjects in his pictures – often cows – against the sky. As the viewpoint lowers in his pictures, the sense of grandeur strongly increases. Just like the large cloudy skies and gentle golden light, this low viewpoint becomes a hallmark of his mature style.

FIG. 8 – Aelbert Cuyp, *Dordrecht at Sunrise*, 1650s, canvas, 102 x 161 cm, New York, The Frick Collection. © The Frick Collection, New York

In the London painting of cows wading in water (just like in the Budapest picture), Cuyp used a different perspective for the foreground than for the background. In the foreground the horizon intersects the head of a man sitting in a small vessel. Yet in the background a man sitting in a much larger ship (a *boeier*) would have to stand up to reach the height of the horizon-line, which suggests that the viewpoint is much higher above the water. If Cuyp would have used the same viewpoint for both foreground and background, these boats in the background should have been placed more or less at the height of the horizon – which would make for a much less interesting motif in the background. Or if he would have wanted to depict the size of the boat in the middle-ground accurately at the place where it is now, it should have been much bigger – which would have disrupted the strong contrast between the foreground and background scenes. This 'adjustment' of the rules of perspective in the picture for compositional reasons seems to fit well with Cuyp who also adapts cloud formations to underline the main shapes in his composition.[19]

The above analysis of Cuyp's use of spatial devices raises two further questions. Firstly, one may ask how Cuyp had become so comfortable with the spatial devices he used. It seems unlikely that he had learned the rules of perspective from his father, whose paintings show no evidence of such knowledge. Instead, this characteristic seems an additional reason to believe that he had not only studied with his father but also with another master such as, for example, Simon de

Vlieger. Or else, would it have been possible for Cuyp to acquire such knowledge without actually working in a painter's studio, just by looking at another painter's work or through talking with a colleague?

Secondly, an understanding of Cuyp's use of the rules of perspective brings a curious inconsistency to light in the painting *Dordrecht at Sunrise* in the Frick Collection in New York (FIG. 8). Upon close examination, the larger ship and adjacent small boat in the foreground at right are relatively too small. It is perhaps illuminating to see how far the ship is away from the viewer – which in this case one can determine with a simple horizontal line related to an imaginary height wall. But perhaps it is easier to look at the two small boats containing adults at left and at right in the foreground, then imagine that both groups of adults would stand up, and estimate where their heads would be in respect to the horizon. A more elaborate way would be to draw a line from each figure to ground (i.e. water) level, and imagine a height wall. Whatever the method, the large ship at right, its figures and the adjacent small boat do not match the perspective in the rest of the picture.[20] This seems strange since instead of enhancing the sense of depth and spaciousness this diminishes it. The mistake is all the more puzzling as it had no equivalent in other paintings attributed to Cuyp, which raises the question if the famous Frick painting is indeed an authentic work by Aelbert Cuyp.

Although *Dordrecht at Sunrise* has long been accepted as an original work by Cuyp, interestingly, Alan Chong, one of the foremost Cuyp experts, has questioned its authenticity. In his view, the flat handling of the water plants in the foreground, the reflections of light on the water, and an unusual conservation problem in this painting, suggest that the work is not an original Cuyp.[21] He even suspects that the work may be a later fake. While the inconsistency in the spatial illusionism alone cannot determine the exact status of the painting, it does strengthen Chong's case, as it seems unlikely that Cuyp was involved in a crucial part of the general lay-out of the composition: in placing the ships at right in the picture plane. An in-depth analysis of the painting materials, technique and condition might give a more definitive answer.

NOTES

1 I would like to thank Arthur Wheelock, Eric Jan Sluijter and Gerbrand Korevaar for their thoughtful comments on earlier versions of this text, and Elisabeth K. Spits, curator at the Maritime Museum in Amsterdam, for identifying the different types of ships in the drawings and paintings featured above. This article is based on the lecture 'Spatial devices in the work of Aelbert Cuyp', which I presented at the Cuyp symposium at the Rijksmuseum, 1 September 2002.

2 Paul Taylor, 'The concept of *houding* in Dutch art theory', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 55 (1992), pp. 210-232.

3 Arthur Wheelock (ed.), *Aelbert Cuyp*, Washington, London & Amsterdam 2001 (exh. cat.), cat. nos. 84 & 85.

4 Rob Ruurs, '"Even if it is not architecture": perspective drawings by Simon de

Vlieger and Willem van de Velde the Younger', *Simiolus 13* (1983), pp. 189-200. Arthur K. Wheelock, *Perspective, Optics and Delft Artists around 1650*, New York & London 1977.

5 'Al ist geen metselrie, die nauwe Wetten / Behoeft, soo moet ghy doch weten te setten / Op den Orisont recht u oogh' oft steke / Dat is, op des waters opperste streke', Karel van Mander, 'Den grondt der edel vry schilderkonst', in: *Het schilder-boeck*, Haarlem 1604, fol. 34v-35r; Ruurs (see note 4), p. 189, translation Miedema/Schwartz.

6 Ruurs, 'perspective drawings', (see note 4), pp. 189-191.

7 'En gelijk als God in alle de geschapene dingen Wiskundige Wetten heeft geleid, volgens welke de natuur, als naar sekere regelen, hare werken voortbrengt, onderhoud, en wederom doet vergaan; soo heeft de goedheid van dien selven Schepper, den mensch met een soodanigen Vernuft begaaft, dat hy zig selven sekere regelen heeft uytgevonden, om de natuur in veelen na te bootsen; want men bemerkt dat het geene niet na gewisse orden gedaan word, seer ydel voor den dag komt, en geen vermogen heeft, om een ge-oeffende ooge als iets natuurlijks te behagen.' Willem Goeree, *Inleiding tot de Praktyk der Algemeene Schilderkonst*, Amsterdam 1697 [1670], reprint Soest 1974, p. 20. See also pp. 66-67.

8 Wheelock, *Perspective* (see note 4), pp. 18-19.

9 Wheelock, *Aelbert Cuyp*, (see note 3), pp. 24-29.

10 Wheelock, *Perspective* (see note 4), pp. 17-18; Ruurs, 'perspective drawings' (see note 4), pp. 190-194.

11 Rob Ruurs interprets this tenth sketch as an explanation of the height-wall principle, although no height wall or corresponding auxiliary lines are used, which allows him to then suggest that Van de Velde may have invented the horizon method (Ruurs, 'perspective drawings' see note 4, p.194). This seems rather unlikely. As I will argue below, not only De Vlieger but also Aelbert Cuyp seems to have had a good understanding of this method in the 1640s, some thirty years before Van de Velde explains the method in great detail in his drawings.

12 See also a drawing in which Van de Velde applies the height-wall principle: Michael Strang Robinson, *National Maritime Museum Made by the Elder and the Younger Willem van de Velde*, London 1974, cat. no. 1409, plate 168.

13 In this respect my interpretation differs somewhat from that of Rob Ruurs, who sees auxiliary lines (including horizons drawn with a straightedge) as a proof that masters such as De Vlieger and Van de Velde did indeed use certain rules of perspective. My impression is that auxiliary lines were not commonly used by masters who had a good understanding of the various rules of perspective. Ruurs, 'perspective drawings' (see note 4), pp. 191, 200.

14 Samuel van Hoogstraten, *Inleyding tot de hooge schoole der schilderkonst: anders de zichtbaere werelt*, Rotterdam 1678, p. 35. Goeree ends his treatise on drawing with a quote from Michelangelo: 'den Schilder moet in't Teykenen de Passer in de Oogen ende niet in de Handen dragen.' Willem Goeree, *Inleyding tot de Alghemene Teken-konst*, Amsterdam 1697, p. 76.

15 Goeree, *Teken-konst* (see note 14), pp. 75-76.

16 Wheelock, *Aelbert Cuyp* (see note 3), cat. no. 5.

17 Wheelock, *idem*, cat. no. 8, see also cat. no. 12.

18 Wheelock, *idem*, cat. nos. 84, 91 and 36.

19 See for example *Nijmegen from the East*, and *The Maas at Dordrecht*, in: Wheelock, *idem*, cat. nos 34 & 38.

20 The large boat and adjacent small boat also appear in a Cuyp painting in the Getty (Inv. nr. 83.PB.272) where they do match the perspective in the rest of the painting.

21 Alan Chong, *Aelbert Cuyp and the Meaning of Landscape*, PhD diss. New York University 1992, cat. C 78, p. 474.

ARTHUR WHEELOCK

Colour Symbolism in Seventeenth-Century Dutch Painting

In Ernst van de Wetering's wonderfully insightful book *Rembrandt. The Painter at Work*, we learn much about the artist's craft, not only about the materials with which he worked, but also about how he used them.[1] We are told, for example, about the size and character of the painter's palette, and how it changed over time. We learn about the types of paints that artists placed on their palettes, and the reasons for their arrangements. Ernst explains about the nature of the support, and about the build-up of paint from the ground layers to the uppermost glazes. He discusses the importance of the monochrome under-painting for establishing the composition and for enhancing colour tonalities in the finished image. We are treated with fascinating discussions about Rembrandt's medium and brushwork, and the effects of time on the appearance of his images.

In his section on 'Rembrandt's Intentions with Colour and Tone', Ernst emphasizes that colour and tone are important for the spatial and compositional structure of a painting. Here he writes about how impastos allow light to 'sparkle' as it bounces from the paint's irregular surface, and, as well, about the pictorial harmony, or *houding* that results when relationships between various colours and between light and dark areas are carefully considered. He based these observations on countless hours of careful looking at paintings and technical examination reports, and on information culled from sixteenth- and seventeenth-century treatises on painting. But one topic that Ernst does not discuss when considering colour in Rembrandt's work is whether the artist ever considered the symbolic language of colour when conceiving his works, a topic that was of great interest to seventeenth-century theorists.

Interest in colour symbolism, which has traditions going back to antiquity, is still very much alive today, not only in red roses, white wedding dresses and black funeral attire, but also in more whimsical adornments such as mood rings and mood bracelets. Although we do not talk very much about colour symbolism in our studies of seventeenth-century Dutch art, the topic is of great concern in the study of many other periods of art history, not least among them fifteenth-

FIG. 1 – Vincent van Gogh, *The Night Café*, 1888, canvas, 70 x 89 cm, New Haven, Yale University Art Gallery, Bequest of Stephen Carlton Clark, B.A. 1903

and sixteenth-century Netherlandish paintings. Colour symbolism re-emerges as an important subject in Dutch art when we get to Vincent van Gogh (1853-1890), who, for example, in a letter to his brother Theo, described his painting *The Night Café*, 1888 (FIG. 1), in the following terms: 'I have tried to express the terrible passions of humanity by means of red and green. The room is blood red and dark yellow with a green billiard table in the middle; three are four citron-yellow lamps with a glow of orange and green. Everywhere there is a clash and contrast of the most disparate reds and greens...'[2] When he chose colours for *The Night Café*, Van Gogh was less concerned with the concept of *houding* that was so important to Rembrandt than with the expressive energy and emotional passions that they would unleash in the viewer. He had, of course, different artistic aims than Rembrandt and his contemporaries. Nevertheless, one wonders whether we have too often overlooked questions of colour symbolism in Dutch seventeenth-century art, and have not asked about the choices artists made in these respects.

Some guidance exists when studying this question in Dutch art. Karel van Mander (1548-1606) and Samuel van Hoogstraten (1626-1678), drawing largely on antique and Italian sources, devoted significant sections of their treatises of 1604 and 1678 to the question of colour symbolism.[3] The same topic also figures prominently in Cesare Ripa's *Iconologia*, an important emblem book first published

in Rome in 1593, which was well known to Dutch artists, particularly after it was translated into Dutch in 1644.[4] One further example that demonstrates the interest in colour symbolism in the Netherlands in the mid-seventeenth century is a list of colour symbols (FIG. 2) contained in the material preserved at the Rijksprentenkabinet from the Ter Borch studio estate.[5] This list, which has been preserved amidst the large number of drawings, sketchbooks and letters that have survived from this important family of Dutch artists, offers an insight into how Gerard ter Borch the Younger (1617-1681) may have used colour symbolism in his paintings.

Van Mander's discussion of colour and its symbolism appears in chapters thirteen and fourteen of his long didactic poem about the foundations for the art of painting, 'Den grondt der edel vry schilder-const', that he incorporated into *Het Schilder-boeck*.[6] He began his explication of the nature of colour on a spiritual note by devoting several stanzas in chapter thirteen to the place of colour in God's creation. He then discussed the importance of colour for understanding objects, and the relationship of colour to light and darkness. The power of colour is another topic that concerned him, for example the intense reactions brought upon by the red of blood, and the importance of colours for depicting animals, flowers, and women. Then he wrote about the role and symbolism of colour in various cultures, as well as the fine colours produced by unusual stones and expensive gems.

The story of the most highly-valued colour, gold, as well as the etymology of the word and its extensive symbolism, was the focus of the opening verses of Van Mander's subsequent chapter on colour symbolism. He then noted symbolic associations of other colours: red equates highness, courageous and boldness (*hoocheyt/en coenheyt moedich*); blue indicates fidelity and skillful science (*trouwheyt/en wetenschap bedreven*); green has associations with beauty, greatness and joy (*schoonheyt/groetheyt/en vreucht*); purple represents abundance and kindness from God and men (*overvloet/Gods en s'Menschen jonste*); and black is equated with evilness and melancholy of the heart (*slechtheyt/en druck/die in't hert heeft wonste*).[7]

Van Hoogstraten, who stressed the importance of colour to the art of painting, and the necessity of knowing how to mix colours to create middle tones, spent much of his discussion about colour describing their symbolic associations.[8] He began with the four colours reputedly used by the ancients: yellow, white, red, and black. In his assessment of yellow, for example, he explained how the ancient Greeks used this colour in the interiors of temples because of its association with the sun. Yellow, thus, means wisdom, nobility, or high-mindedness (*wijsheyt*, *edelheyt*, *of grootmoedicheit*). Only after supplying its symbolic significance did Van Hoogstraten recommend the pigments that should be used to make yellow paint (ochre, 'schietgeel,' and orpiment), thus providing the type of information most scholars find useful for their analyses of Dutch painting techniques. In similar fashion Van Hoogstraten noted that white means innocence, purity, and truthfulness (*onnozelheit*, *zuiverheit*, *en waerheyt*) and black grief and sadness (*rouw en*

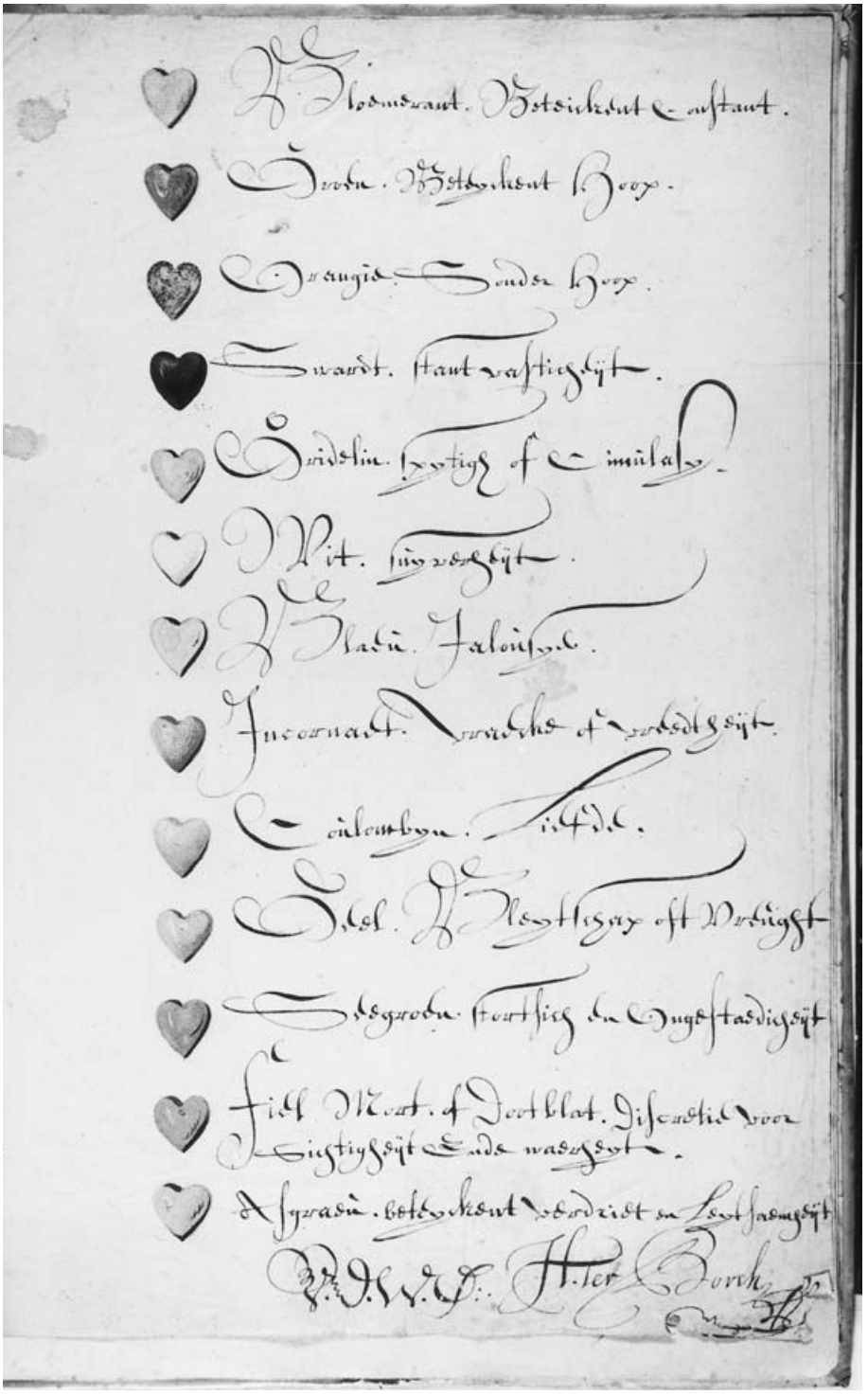


FIG. 2 – Harmen ter Borch, *List of Colour Symbols*, fol. 111 recto, from Gesina ter Borch, 'Poetry Album,' ca. 1659, pen in brown, brush in black and various colours over pencil, 31.8 x 21.0 cm, Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet

treuricheit). Borrowing freely from Van Mander, he also noted the existence of cultural differences in colour symbolism in his discussions of white and black.[9] In Java, the associations with white are with sorrowfulness (*droefheit*), and black with joy (*vreugde*).

And so it goes when he comes to listing modern colours. Blue, associated with Jupiter, is equated with knowledge and fidelity (*kennisse en getrouwicheit*); green, associated with Venus, is equated with youth, beauty, joy, and incorruptness (*jeugd*, *schoonheit*, *vreugd en onverdorvenheit*). Violet refers to comfort of love (*troost van liefde*). Combinations of colours also are important to consider for their symbolic associations. Gold and blue, for example, refer to the enjoyment of worldly pleasures (*'t gebruik van 's werelts lust*), whereas gold and gray refer to carefulness (in the sense of accuracy) (*zorgvuldicheyt*). A mixture of orange and green means hope and fear (*hoop en vrees*), and gray with yellow indicates one should preserve poverty in acquired goods (*geeft te kennen kommer in het verkregen goet te bewaren*).

Beyond these colour associations, however, are those related to the four temperaments, the four elements, the four seasons of the year, the ages of man, and the virtues. The list of colour symbols for the virtues, which Van Hoogstraten acknowledges that he has drawn from Ripa, include gold and topaz (which has a yellowish colour) for Faith; silver for Hope; red or carnation for Love; blue for Constancy and Justice; green for Fortitude; violet for Temperance; black for Prudence. By this time, one's head is beginning to spin with all of these symbolic associations, a situation Van Hoogstraten clearly recognized, for he concluded this paragraph by writing: 'But, let us be satisfied with these examples, for having too much on one's mind numbs our senses' and then directed the reader to consult Ripa for further examples.[10]

The variety of symbolic associations attached to colours is, indeed, stupefying when one considers all of the possibilities listed in Van Mander and Van Hoogstraten, which is one reason that the list of symbols in the Ter Borch family estate is so interesting. The impetus for this interest in colour symbolism seems to have come from Gerard ter Borch's step-sister, Gesina ter Borch (1631-1690), who, along with her brother Harmen (1638-1677), compiled a list of colours and their symbolic associations in the mid-to-late 1650s. The list of thirteen colours and their symbols appears at least four times in the material preserved in the Rijksprentenkabinet, twice on folio pages written by Harmen that Gesina incorporated into her Poetry Album (FIG. 2), once on the last folio of the family scrapbook, signed and dated by Gesina 1659, and once on the verso of one of Gesina's drawings.[11]

In the sheets penned by Harmen appropriately coloured hearts introduce each line. The hearts refer to the types of symbolic associations given to the colours, those related to love. Hence, for Gesina and Harmen light blue means constancy, green means hope, black steadfastness, grey spitefulness or dissimulation, white pureness, blue jealousy, carnation revenge or cruelty, pink love,

yellow gladness or joy, seagreen instability and unsteadfastness, brown discretion, prudence and truth. Finally, ash gray means sorrow and suffering.[12]

The appearance of this list, not just once but twice, in Gesina's Poetry Album is remarkable, but not out of place.[13] Gesina, as with Harmen and her older step-brother, Gerard ter Borch the Younger, received her artistic training at her home in Zwolle from her father, Gerard ter Borch the Elder (1584-1662).[14] From him she learned the rudiments of drawing and painting, but also an interest in literature, not least among which were the morally uplifting ideals about human behavior found in the writings of Jacob Cats (1577-1660). Her own motto, for example, was 'Virtue Creates Beauty.'[15] The father's literary interests, his awareness and writing of poetry, and his involvement in illustrating song books resonated in Gesina. The most evident manifestation of this interest is the Poetry Album, a remarkable manuscript consisting of 113 folio pages, most of which are illustrated on both recto and verso, which Gesina began compiling in 1652.[16] Over the next seven or eight years she filled her pages by copying, writing, and illustrating poems, songs, and emblematic literature.

Gesina, who began compiling this album in her early twenties, was enthralled by Petrarchan concepts of love, about the complexities, worries and disappointments that accompanied the search for a true and lasting love. In one of the folios, for example, Gesina's poem concerns the shepherd Phijllis, who kneels before the shepherdess Amaril to declare his unflagging devotion even though she has scorned him.[17] Such love laments were frequently expressed in early seventeenth-century Dutch songbooks and emblematic literature by, among others, Jan Hermansz Krul (1601/1602-1646), one of the authors whose poems Gesina frequently transcribed in her album.[18] A perfect visual means to extend love sentiments was colour symbolism.

Whether she (and/or Harmen) copied their list of colour symbols directly from a preexisting source, or compiled it from various texts is not known. It is probable that some of their colour symbolism was culled from the Dutch edition of Ripa, where the colours of the robes of allegorical figures representing abstract qualities such as love, hope and purity are indicated.[19] For example, as in Gesina and Harmen's list, Ripa described Hope as being dressed in green (or yellow), Love in red, Purity in white.[20] Cruelty wears red, because all of her thoughts are bloodthirsty (*alle haere gedachten bloetdorstig zijn*), and Jealousy wears blue, because blue is the colour of the sea, which never appears so still as when a storm is about to appear (*die sich nimmermeer soo stille vertoont, of ons behooren haere stormen verdacht te wesen*).[21] However, not all of Gesina's and Harmen's list of colour symbols are to be found in Ripa, and sometimes the colour symbols are different. For example, whereas yellow is equated with joy by the Ter Borchs, the allegorical figure for Joy in Ripa is a young male dressed in green. Similarly, instead of wearing brown, Ripa's allegorical figure of Truth is a naked woman, wearing no robe at all.[22] Constancy, which is symbolically associated with light blue in Gesina's Poetry Album, is assigned no symbolic colour by Ripa.[23]

FIG. 3 – Gerard ter Borch the Younger, *The Suitor's Visit*, ca. 1658, canvas, 80 x 75 cm, Washington, National Gallery of Art. Image © 2004 Board of Trustees, National Gallery of Art, Washington

FIG. 4 – Gerard ter Borch the Younger, *A Lady at her Toilet*, c. 1660, canvas, 76.2 x 59.7 cm, Detroit, The Detroit Institute of Arts, Founders Society Purchase, Eleanor Clay Ford Fund, General Membership Fund, Endowment Income Fund and Special Activities Fund, Photograph © 1995, The Detroit Institute of Arts

Whatever its origins, this list of symbolic associations of colours has great relevance to the paintings of Gerard ter Borch the Younger. Gesina was about seventeen when Gerard returned to Zwolle in the late 1640s after his travels to Münster and Brussels, and a close bond between the two quickly evolved. Young, attractive, and emotionally sensitive, Gesina became Ter Borch's favorite model by the early 1650s, inevitably playing a role in paintings that resonated with these very issues.[24] Many of these focused upon those moments of anticipation prior to a meeting of lovers, or uncertainties caused by the arrival of a letter. It is impossible to determine how much this new direction in Ter Borch's subject matter was his own doing, and how much it resulted from discussions within the family, particularly with Gesina, but a remarkable synergy clearly existed between his pictorial ideas and those evident in his family's literary concerns.

A particularly fascinating area of shared interest appears to have been colour symbolism, for to judge from Ter Borch's genre scenes from the late 1650s and early 1660s, the list of colour symbols in Gesina's Poetry Album were also known to him. In a number of paintings from this phase of his career the symbolism of the colours of the dresses the women wear seems to relate directly to the narrative scenario being depicted.[25] For example, in *The Suitor's Visit*, executed about 1658, a seemingly gentile narrative unfolds that is, in fact, alive with sexual innuendo (FIG. 3). The gazes of the couple at the door (with Gesina serving as the model for the woman) are at once enticing and yearning, a private communication that is complemented by the suggestive character of their gestures. Contemporaries of Ter Borch would have noted that the scenario has remarkable parallels with an emblem in Jan Hermansz Krul's influential *Eerlycke Tytcorting* [*Honourable Pastimes*], published in Haarlem in 1634, that warns the suitor that he is likely to be rejected and then belittled. It, therefore, is probably not accidental that the woman wears a red dress, since in the Ter Borch version of colour symbolism red is equated with revenge or cruelty. [26]

Other examples from this same period of Ter Borch's career also exist. In *A Lady at her Toilet*, Detroit Institute of Arts, a young woman glances absentmindedly to the side while fingering the ring on her left hand (FIG. 4).[27] Her expression, while difficult to read, is certainly not one of reverie or joy. It has a tinge of uncertainty, and even worry, which is even more apparent in the reflected image of the woman's face that fills the mirror on the table. The exact nature of the woman's concerns is unknown, but the fact that her dress is blue, the colour of jealousy in the Ter Borch colour chart, should be taken into consideration when trying to interpret the painting's meaning. Finally, in *A Glass of Lemonade*, c. 1663/1664, from the Hermitage, a young suitor is offering a woman (Gesina, again) a lemon both to sweeten and temper her wine and to provide her with an antidote for lovesickness.[28] The young woman's joy at being near her loved one is further suggested by the yellow fur-lined jacket she wears; yellow, according to the list of colour symbols in Gesina's Poetry Album, represented gladness or joy.

How far-reaching was the interest in colour symbolism is difficult to say, but my sense is that an awareness of its narrative potential was quite widespread, even if symbolic associations for specific colours varied somewhat from artist to artist. Van Mander was such an important source that it is unlikely that his recommendations went entirely unheeded. Moreover, Johannes Vermeer (1632-1675) and Jan Steen (1625/1626-1679), as well as other painters familiar with Ter Borch's approach, certainly used colour to enhance the narrative emphases of their genre and history scenes.[29] Finally, Van Hoogstraten often recounted common usage in his seemingly theoretical texts, which further suggests that colour symbolism was common currency among Dutch seventeenth-century painters, perhaps even in the Rembrandt studio, where Van Hoogstraten trained.

As for Rembrandt himself, the evidence is admittedly rather inconclusive, in large part because he so effectively mixed and blended his colours (*houding*, as has been mentioned). He also painted in a relatively restrained palette with an emphasis on chiaroscuro effects. Still, there are plenty of instances, particularly in his mature paintings, where one could conclude that, much as Van Mander recommended, Rembrandt painted gold-coloured robes for regal figures and used red accents to suggest high status and/or courageous boldness. Among the many paintings that come to mind are the portrait of *Jan Six*, 1654, in the Six Collection, Amsterdam, the magnificent *Self-portrait*, 1658, in The Frick Collection, and *Jacob Wrestling with the Angel*, ca. 1659, in Berlin.

A thorough study of Dutch seventeenth-century colour symbolism would probably reveal that the language's core was well understood by most painters, and that they would not have been bothered by the seemingly contradictory associations given to various colours. They would have generally understood the context in which the colour was used, and would have interpreted the symbolism appropriately. While a lot of the clues to which they instinctively responded are lost to us today, we still need to be aware that the idea of colour symbolism was widespread in that culture when we attempt to assess their paintings.[30]

NOTES

1 Ernst van de Wetering, *Rembrandt. The Painter at Work*, Amsterdam 1997.

2 Quoted in John Gage, *Color and Culture. Practice and Meaning from Antiquity to Abstraction*, Boston, Toronto & London 1993, p. 196.

3 Karel van Mander, *Het Schilder-boeck*, Haarlem 1604, 2nd. ed. Amsterdam 1618, 'Den grondt der edel vry schilder-const,' fol. 50r-54v; Samuel van Hoogstraten, *Inleyding tot de Hooge Schoole der Schilderkonst; Anders de Zichtbaere Werelt*, Rotterdam 1678, p. 219-223.

4 Cesare Ripa, *Iconologia of uytbeeldingen des verstands*, trans. Dirck Pietersz Pers, Amsterdam 1644.

5 Alison McNeil Kettering, *Drawings from the Ter Borch Studio Estate* (2 vols.), Amsterdam 1988, p. 384 (Gs 39); p. 440 (folio 39 verso, Poetry Album); p. 474

(folio 111, recto, Poetry Album, Gs 61); p. 673 (folio 181, Family Scrapbook, Gs 62).

6 Van Mander, *Het Schilder-boeck* (see note 3); see also H. Miedema (ed.), C. van Mander, *Den grondt der edel vrij schilder-const*, Utrecht 1973, vol. 1, pp. 266-286; vol. 2, pp. 608-625, for Miedema's extremely helpful translation and commentaries on Van Mander's text.

7 Van Mander, *Het Schilder-boeck* (see note 3), fol. 54v (chapter 14, verse 24).

8 Van Hoogstraten, *Inleyding* (see note 3), pp. 219-223.

9 Van Mander, *Het Schilder-boeck* (see note 3), fol. 52r, chapter 13, verse 23.

10 Van Hoogstraten, *Inleyding* (see note 3), p. 223: 'Maer wy laten't genoeg zijn met deeze staeltjes; want te veel muizenesten in 't hooft te hebben maekt de zinnen versuft.'

11 Kettering, *Ter Borch Studio Estate* (see note 5), p. 384 (Gs 39); p. 440 (fol. 39v, Poetry Album); p. 474 (fol. 111r, Poetry Album, Gs 61); p. 673 (fol. 181, Family Scrapbook, Gs 62).

12 These translations are taken from Kettering, *idem*, vol. 2, p. 440. The original Dutch text, which is also transcribed by Kettering, is as follows: 'Bloemerant beteickent Constant; Groen beteijckent Hoop; Orangie sonder Hoop; Swardt Stantvasticheijt; Gridelin Spytigh of Simulasij; Wit Suijverheijt; Blaeu Jalousije; Incornaet Vraecke of Vreedtheijt; Coulombijn Liefde; Geel Bleijtschap oft Vreught; Seegroen Stortsich en Ongestaedicheijt; Fiel Mort of Dootblat discretie voorsichtigheijt ende waerheijt; Asgraeu beteyckent Verdriet en Leijtsaemheijt.'

13 The fact that these folios were carefully penned by Harmen rather than Gesina herself is intriguing, given that Gesina also made comparable lists in her own handwriting. A few of the folios in the Poetry Album contain inscriptions by other authors, including Gesina's friend, Henrik Jordis, who contributed three dedications in her honor. As Kettering notes in *Ter Borch Studio Estate* (see note 5), vol. 1, pp. 194-196, Gesina and Harmen shared many of the same interests, and often copied each others' drawings. Given Gesina's interest in literature and the complexities of love relationships, it seems probable that the motivation for compiling the list of colour symbols came from her.

14 For a discussion of Gerard ter Borch the Elder's life, see Arthur K. Wheelock, 'The Artistic Development of Gerard ter Borch', in: Arthur K. Wheelock et al. (ed.), *Gerard ter Borch*, Washington (National Gallery of Art) 2004 (exh. cat).

15 Kettering, *Ter Borch Studio Estate* (see note 5), vol. 2, p. 416.

16 For Gesina's Poetry Album, see Kettering, *idem*, vol. 2, pp. 420-614.

17 Kettering, *idem*, vol. 2, pp. 435-436, p. 510. In folio 29r from Gesina's poetry album, the shepherd Phijllis kneels before the shepherdess Amaril to declare his unflagging devotion even though she has scorned him. As Kettering notes, the sentiments of this poem are similar to those found in the writings of Jan Harmens Krul, one of the authors whose love laments Gesina frequently transcribed in her album.

18 For an excellent discussion of the character of seventeenth-century songbooks, see H. Rodney Nevitt II, *Art and the Culture of Love in Seventeenth-Century Holland*, Cambridge 2003, pp. 50-98.

19 Ripa, *Iconologia* (see note 4).

20 Ripa, *idem*, p. 205, pp. 292-293, and p. 498.

21 Ripa, *idem*, pp. 631-632, and p. 215. Ripa includes a further explanation of the associations of the blue colour of the sea with jealousy: 'Also is't mede gewis, dateen Mensch, hem op eens anders Compas, van tusschen de klippen van Ielousie te seylen, betrouwende, niet sal mogen passeren, dan met groote vreese, verdriet en onlust.'

22 Ripa, *idem*, p. 572, and pp. 589-590.

23 Ripa, *idem*, p. 484.
24 The identification of Gesina in these paintings is based on Gerard's drawing of her from the mid 1650s. See Kettering *Ter Borch Studio Estate* (note 5), vol. 1, p. 142 (Gjr 78).
25 Kettering, *idem*, vol. 2, p. 440, fol. 39v of Gesina's Poetry Album.
26 For further discussion of this painting, see Wheelock, *Gerard ter Borch* (see note 14), cat. no. 30.
27 For further discussion of this painting, see Wheelock, *idem*, cat. no. 34.
28 For further discussion of this painting, see Wheelock, *idem*, cat. no. 39.
29 A number of correlations can be made between the character and mood of Vermeer's compositions and the colour of the dress of his main female protagonists (generally red, blue or yellow). For a discussion of Steen's use of colour in *Bathsheba Receiving David's Letter*, ca. 1659, private collection, see H. Perry Chapman, Wouter Th. Kloek, Arthur K. Wheelock, *Jan Steen: Painter and Storyteller*, Washington (National Gallery of Art) and Amsterdam (Rijksmuseum) 1996-1997 (exh. cat.), pp. 132-134.
30 I would like to thank Anneke Wertheim, Aneta Georgievska-Shine, Molli Kuenstner, and Adriaan Waiboer for their thoughtful comments on this text. I would also like to thank Alison Kettering for her many contributions to Ter Borch studies.

THIJS WESTSTEIJN

Rembrandt and Rhetoric

The Concepts of affectus, enargeia *and* ornatus *in Samuel van Hoogstraten's Judgement of His Master**

In this essay I will try to shed new light on the period appreciation of Rembrandt departing from rhetoric. The view that Dutch art theory was essentially in favour of a 'classicist' doctrine, and critical towards Rembrandt as a painter who putatively did not obey to the 'rules of art', can be substantially modified.[1] From my analysis of Samuel van Hoogstraten's treatise, the *Inleyding tot de Hooge Schoole der Schilderkonst*, Rembrandt emerges as a 'rhetorical' painter. As is well known, Van Hoogstraten's treatise probably contains vivid reflections of the practises of speaking and thinking about art in Rembrandt's studio, where he was a pupil; these practices can be clarified from the context of seventeenth-century rhetoric.[2]

The relation between rhetoric and painting has been studied extensively, although mainly in the context of Southern European art. Dutch art has escaped much of this analysis, which is remarkable because the Netherlands knew a rhetorical tradition which was widely and commonly popular,[3] and developed into a very general and indispensable skill in all branches of professional life.[4] When examining Rembrandt and Van Hoogstraten, one has to take into account that both painters probably had some rhetorical training, which was an essential part of the curriculum of the Latin school.[5] Probably set off by the example of Rembrandt's studio and its 'coterie' of learned art lovers such as Huygens, Van Hoogstraten shortly after his teaching period became a prolific author of various literary works himself.[6]

In his painting treatise, which was to a large extent didactic in scope, Van Hoogstraten deploys several rhetorical strategies, for example transferring the ideal education of the orator as outlined by Quintilian to the education of young painters.[7] In doing so, he cites not only the classical texts which shaped early modern rhetoric such as the works of Cicero and Quintilian,[8] but also modern authors, such as Gerardus Vossius who wrote several very commonly used schoolbooks on rhetoric and a small treatise on painting, and Julius Caesar Scaliger, whose *Poetices*

libri septem were widely influential.[9] He also drew eagerly from Franciscus Junius' *De Pictura Veterum*, in which the classical theory of rhetoric had been adapted to painting, often simply by changing the word 'orator' to 'painter'.[10]

Within the scope of this article, my analysis of Van Hoogstraten's views will focus on three rhetorical terms that are explicitly used in connection to Rembrandt's painting. The first is *passio* or *affectus*; the second is *enargeia*; and the third is *ornatus*.[11]

Rembrandt and the passiones animi *or 'lijdingen des gemoeds'*

Van Hoogstraten divides the art of painting in distinct parts or *kunstdelen*: an adaptation of Junius' Latin formulation *partes pingendi* which was in its turn derived from the *partes orationis*.[12] Van Hoogstraten elucidates this by identifying exemplary painters with each of the different parts. Strikingly, when Rubens has been allotted *ordo* or *dispositio* (*ordinantien*), Van Dyck *gratia* (*bevallijkheid*) and Goltzius selective imitation or *imitatio auctoris* (*eenige groote Meesters hand eigentlijk na te volgen*), Rembrandt is listed as epitome of the *passiones animi* or *'lijdingen des gemoeds'*.[13] This remark was interpreted by Jan Emmens, who coined the terminology concerning the supposed 'classicist criticism' of Rembrandt, as essentially pejorative: as a '*pictor vulgaris*' Rembrandt would 'only' occupy himself with the passions, to the detriment of classical beauty and the rules of art.[14]

Van Hoogstraten devotes a chapter to the depiction of the passions or *hartstochten*, which literally means 'movements of the heart', a term which is still in use in modern Dutch in poetic language. He uses the passions for example to promote his equation of painting with poetry or drama, and calls them the 'most noble part of painting', *het alleredelste deel der kunst*.[15] He echoes Van Mander who called the depiction of the passions the 'soul' of painting, as well as older Italian authors.[16]

The theory of the passions was developed in classical rhetoric, following the rhetorical tradition's emphasis on persuasion by moving the feelings. Especially the Roman texts on rhetorical theory, which were used in particular by seventeenth-century authors such as Van Hoogstraten, put the greatest stress on emotion for winning an audience's ear.[17] In the threefold function of rhetoric, next to *delectare* and *docere*, *movere* was deemed most important.[18] These three functions corresponded to the three rhetorical *genera dicendi*, the grand, the medium and the low style, a triad which Van Hoogstraten introduced into the Dutch literature on painting. Van Hoogstraten speaks about the three 'degrees of art' or *graden der konst*: his adaptation of the *genera pingendi*.[19] When one follows Emmens' division and takes mainly the two functions of teaching and delight into account, it is clear that 'imitation of the ancients' is connected to teaching, to the detriment of 'imitation of nature' which can only cause delight. But it is this third function of *movere* to which Van Hoogstraten pays particular attention and which he connects to Rembrandt's name.

For a good understanding of Van Hoogstraten's views on the affective qualities of painting, one has to acknowledge how his theory is greatly determined by the early modern conception of the narrow relationship between body and mind. As the body was deemed to echo directly the diverse mental 'movements', so the mind putatively responded directly to sensual impressions. Van Hoogstraten elaborates on the famous formulations in Horace's *Ars Poetica*:[20] 'It is not enough, that an image is beautiful, but there has to be a certain movement in it, that has power over the beholders; like Horace says about poetry: "A beautiful poem will not lightly move me, but friendliness can perturb heart and soul. One laughs, one cries, and the spectator will follow: So if you want me to cry, cry first in front of me" (*wilt gy dat ik schreye*, *schrey my voor*).'[21]

Van Hoogstraten states that the painter should 'learn to entirely imitate the actor', and practice by using a mirror, in order to be 'at one time both the one who represents, and the spectator'.[22] Quintilian formulates the rhetorical conviction that the orator who wants to move his public should first be moved himself. Rembrandt must have taken this to heart, when he made studies of his own face in different expressions.[23] In order to provide his pupils with experience in this matter, Van Hoogstraten let them perform dramatic plays, in which he may have continued a practice that had originated in Rembrandt's studio.[24] Van Hoogstraten urges his readers to take his advice very literally: 'when you have experienced something negative, you may console yourself with art; or when something pleasing happens to you, it is time to notice what internal sensibilities and external movements are caused by these affections'.[25]

The depiction of the passions requested a very naturally inclined soul of the painter; something not every *dozijnwercker*, making paintings in mass production, could achieve; a receptive soul easily moved by the passions, although not letting one's behaviour be influenced by them. Quintilian states the orator must be of a noble spirit.[26] Van Hoogstraten: 'Since these are subjects which imply more than an animal-like movement [*beweeging*], the artists who have the right capacity to this, are the very most sparsely dispersed'.[27] This ideal artist would pair a great imagination and memory to an ability to experience the passions without being disturbed by them, and represent them on canvas. Van Hoogstraten, following this tradition, describes this ability as a divine gift, an instance of poetic *furor* (*Poëtische geest*).[28]

The depiction of the passions was closely related to the faculty of the painting to convince the spectator, or, to use an anachronistic term, to successful pictorial illusionism. The faculty to make a 'lifelike' image was most importantly connected to the depiction of the passions, which literally gave 'life' to otherwise inanimate objects.[29] The aspects of evocation of space were united with this affective power in Van Hoogstratens well-known definition of the perfect painting: it evokes, just like the theatre, a 'mirror of Nature', and 'deceives' the spectator 'in an admissible, pleasing and laudable way'.[30] Van Hoogstraten's appreciation of the deceiving skills of the painter reflects the rhetorical tradition in which these were positively evaluated.[31]

FIG. 1 – Rembrandt, *Judas Repentant, Returning the Pieces of Silver*, panel, 79 x 102.3 cm, England, Private Collection (Compare FIG. 4)

As has been noted by Eric Jan Sluijter, the expression of the passions is connected by Van Mander closely to the painter's faithful imitation of nature, for example when he closes his chapter on the passions with a reference to the painter Eupompos, who supposedly said that one ought not to follow the example of the ancients but rather study the people around one.[32] Also Van Hoogstraten stresses that in order to gain knowledge of how passions develop into bodily movements, one shouldn't turn to books, but only to nature itself: 'to arrive at the right path, and go with certainty, a practitioner of art has to turn to living nature, and observe how far he is allowed to go in the movements [*beweegingen*]'.[33] Junius describes the perfect painter as someone who derives his knowledge of the passions from diligent observation of nature, not from theory. The artist is not obliged 'to examine [...] the severall opinions of naturall and morall Philosophers about these affections and passions of man [...] for it sufficeth that he doe but learne by a daily observation how severall passions and affections of the minde doe alter the countenance of man. [...] To a learned and wise imitator every man is a booke: he converseth with all sorts of men, and when he observeth in any of them some notable commotions of the minde, he seemeth then to have watched such an opportunitie for his studie, that he might reade in their eyes and countenance the severall faces of anger, love, fear, hope, scorn, joy, confidence, and other perturbations of our minde'.[34]

This connection between the passions and lifelikeness is stressed in classical poetics by the conjunction of the concepts *affectus* and *varietas*. Authors are praised, who are able to conjure up a vision of a multitude of persons showing their individual emotions.[35] Van Hoogstraten refers to the praise for Timanthes' painting of Iphigenia, in which the different kinds of sorrow in the bystanders are discerned,[36] and also praises Rembrandt in this respect: 'I recall having seen in a certain characteristically composed piece by Rembrandt, representing John the Baptist preaching, an admirable attentiveness in the listeners of different moods: this deserves the highest praise'.[37] This praise probably referred to Rembrandt's grisaille *John the Baptist Preaching*, now in Berlin.

When he praised Rembrandt for his experience in the *passiones animi*, Van Hoogstraten was not an exception. Huygens too praised the master exactly for his skill in the depiction of the passions and in 'moving' the beholder, and applauded especially Rembrandt's painting of *Judas repentant* in this context. He writes that Rembrandt especially by focusing on the 'liveliness of the passions' (*affectuum vivacitas*) has surpassed the ancients and Italians (FIG. 1).[38] As is well known, the image of Rembrandt as someone who works from 'nature' with neglect of the 'rules', is a returning issue in the Dutch tradition of art theory. I stress here that this same tradition often speaks of Rembrandt's 'lifelike' images that, indeed, by convincingly depicting the passions enrapture and 'deceive' the spectator into thinking he is confronting a virtual reality. So De Piles writes in 1699 that Rembrandt 'knew very well that in painting one can, without much effort, deceive the eye by representing motionless and inanimate objects; and not satisfied with this quite common artifice, he endeavoured with an extreme diligence to impress one's eyes with living figures.'[39] And Lambert ten Kate in 1720 puts Rembrandt not in the highest degree of painters but in the *genus medium*, because of his supposedly common subject matter, but still praises him for adding to these common and 'lifelike' figures 'eloquent spiritualities and passions'.[40]

The ability of the painter to 'move' the audience in an affective way was given great theoretical appreciation in art literature from the Netherlands. Vossius even gives the painter the epithet *pathopoios*, maker or designer of the passions; a qualification subordinated to the painter's being an *ethopoios*.[41] Clearly this, derived from the classical authors on rhetoric, was the highest form of praise; the ultimate scope of rhetoric being none other than moving an audience in order to be able to influence their *ethos*. Rembrandt may have self-consciously modelled himself after the ideal of the painter of the passions who works principally from nature, when he painted his *Self-portrait as Zeuxis*, as Van de Wetering concludes in part IV of the *Corpus*.[42] Van Hoogstraten describes Zeuxis as a painter skilled in, among other virtues, his depiction of the passions.[43]

Painters Do Not Touch the Soul If They Omit enargeia: *'de Schilders, zy beroeren 't gemoed niet, zooze deeze beweeglijkheyt overslaen'*

There is one aspect in which the classical authors themselves stress the similarity of rhetoric and painting. It is connected with the faculty of the orator to conjure up a very vivid image. Quintilian speaks about the virtue of '*enargeia*, what Cicero calls *illustratio* and *evidentia*, that does not seem to speak, but to show'.[44] Junius quotes Quintilian in this way: 'Whosoever therefore conceiveth these images aright, propounding unto himselfe the truth of things and actions, the same is likely to be most powerfull in all manner of affections: seeing his endeavors shall bee waited upon by a vertue knowne by the Greeke name *Energia*. *Tully* [Cicero] calleth it *Evidence* and *Perspicuitie*. This vertue seemeth to shew the whole matter; and it bringeth to passe, that the affections follow us with such a lively representation, as if we were by at the doing of the things imagined.'[45] The classical authors distinguished between *energeia* and *enargeia*, which are etymologically not related. However, early modern rhetorical and artistic theories often did not make this distinction, and the meanings of the terms became fused; Junius uses the term *energia* both for forcefully 'moving' aspects of a painting and for rhetorical *evidentia*, a typical adaption of the classical terminology to his own theory.[46]

This notion of *enargeia* is already prominent in Aristotle's theory of the tragedy. Only a vivid image was able to evoke the dramatic experience of peripety, and move the spectator to one of the contrary emotions of empathy (*compassio*) or terror (*horror*). These notions were actualised in the seventeenth century in the works of Heinsius, and have clearly left their mark on Van Hoogstraten's theory of painting.[47] I quote:

'Be it that one conceives of a single-figure piece, or a many-figured piece, one has to see to it that one displays only an instantaneous movement [*oogenblikkige beweeging*] which mainly expresses the History's action; like Horace says, "Make every piece of work, just like it should be, self-standing and with unity". In order for a piece to enchant the beholder, with one distinct style of voice, like someone who is present in the painting himself, and terrify him with a horrific action, and make him rejoice in seeing something of gay spirit: or that he is moved to compassion by some afflicted injustice; and finds himself delighted in a just action.'[48]

The terminology used by Van Hoogstraten is significant. The uncommon term '*eenweezich*' literally means 'of one nature': the *eenweezich* image answers the demands of the rhetorical *perspicuitas*; a related adjective is *eenstemmich*, litterally 'with one style of voice'.[49] The quoted passage has the scholium: 'the depiction of a single and momentaneous action' (*Een enkele en oogenblikkige daet uit te beelden*). Van Hoogstraten refers in this last sentence to the functions of the tragedy, horror (*doen schrikken*) and pity (*met medelijden bewegen*).

Eenweezig, *eenstemmich*, *oogenblikkig* all refer to the orator's virtue of *evidentia*: the ability to conjure up a lifelike image, related to the original Greek term *enargeia*, which was necessary to move the spectator of tragedy to one of the two cathartic emotions.[50] The related term *energeia* meant moving the affects of the beholder by the lifelikeness of the presentation; in Junius' words, 'as if we were by at the doing of the things imagined'. Van Hoogstraten connects the virtue of *energeia*, in his terminology '*beweeglijkheid*', closely related to the '*beweegingen des gemoeds*' or movements of the soul, to the painting's prowess to move and deceive the spectator: 'It is not enough that a painting is beautiful, but there has to be a certain movement or energy [*beweeglijkheid*] in it [...] Painters [...] do not move the soul when they don't apply this *beweeglijkheid*.'[51]

The term *energeia* is used close to the original Greek in Italian art theory.[52] Junius has the term '*beweghelick*'; an exemplary image of *energeia* which moves the spectator he deems an image of Abraham's sacrifice: 'Saint *Gregory Nyssen* after an ample and most patheticall [*beweghelick*] relation of *Isaac* his sacrifice, hath added these words; "I saw often in a picture", sayth he, "the image of this fact, neither could I looke upon it without teares, so lively did Art put the historie before my eyes."'[53] Elsewhere, Junius refers also to the two functions of the arousal of emotion: pity or hatred.[54]

The various endeavours undertaken in Rembrandt's studio to evoke an image of Abraham's sacrifice in an '*oogenblikkelijk*' way – Rembrandt's painting has such a degree of it that the knife falling from Abraham's hand is depicted hanging in mid-air – are probably directed at the effect of '*oogenblikkige beweeging*' or *enargeia*, focusing on the moment of sudden insight in a situation: the moment of peripety of the tragedy (FIG. 2).[55] Van Hoogstraten connects the virtue of *perspicuitas* especially to Rembrandt, when he calls the *Night Watch* an exemplary '*eenweezich*' work, repeating Horace's verses about the instantaneousness of a painting. He recalls that Rembrandt to the opinion of some even took this concept too far, 'devoting more work to the large vision of his choice than to the diverse portraits that were commissioned'.[56]

The momentaneous emotional change or *Staetveranderinge* was a popular issue in the history painting that originated in Rembrandt's studio, as Blankert has indicated.[57] It was also given the greatest theoretical appreciation: the depiction of different, possibly contrary, emotions in one figure. The art theoretical tradition has countless examples of this; such as the dying mother, who also tries to care for her baby, showing both sorrow and maternal care, to which Van Hoogstraten also refers.[58] Huygens praises Rembrandt's *Judas* exactly because the 'diverse passions are put together in one figure and expressed in a unity'.[59]

The effect of calculated 'horror' in the violent histories which Rembrandt painted in the 1630s – possibly appealing to the courtly public of The Hague – might be glanced from a passage in Huygens' autobiography, when he praises a Medusa by Rubens for the emotion of *subitus terror* it causes, but remarks that he wouldn't like to have it in his personal collection.[60] This conviction has been con-

FIG. 2 – Rembrandt, *Abraham's Sacrifice*, canvas, 193.5 x 132.8 cm, Leningrad, Hermitage Museum, cat. no. 92

FIG. 3 – Rembrandt, *The Blinding of Samson*, canvas, 236 x 302 cm, Frankfurt am Main, Städelsches Kunstinstitut, inv. no. 1383 Photograph © Joachim Blauel – Artothek

nected by art historians to Huygens' refusal of Rembrandt's *Blinding of Samson* (FIG. 3).[61] In Scaliger's poetics 'the stabbing out of eyes', an event which was painted by Rembrandt in a very *oogenblikkelijk* way, is brought forth as an exemplary theme in tragedy; it is a very fit subject for *demonstratio*.[62]

That Van Hoogstraten may have taken these notions of the rhetorical virtue of *energeia* from his master Rembrandt, might be concluded from Rembrandt's letter to Huygens in which he recommends his Passion-series by stating to have committed himself to '*die meeste ende die naetuereelste beweechgelickheyt*', the greatest and 'most natural' energy or movement.[63] My analysis of the rhetorical roots of the concept of *beweeglijkheid* adds to the discussion on this remark that it not only refers to the affective powers of Rembrandt's painting, but as well to the depiction of a specific dramatic moment with particular rhetorical acumen.[64] In the painting Rembrandt refers to he has not only painted affectively agitated figures, as part of a Passion-series, he has also painted an *oogenblikkige daad*, an instance of *demonstratio* in which the moment when one of the soldiers drops his sword is being depicted: in Van Hoogstraten's words, 'a certain *beweeglijkheid*, that has power over the spectators' (FIG. 4). Rembrandt's letter testifies to his self-presentation as *pathopoios*, a sensitive mind who possesses a combination of a knowledge of man's inner life, the affective powers of painting, and faithfulness to nature, and who moreover may be himself 'moved' by a poetic inspiration when painting.

The Ornate Rembrandt: 'den verzierlijken Rembrandt'

There is a third term from rhetoric that Van Hoogstraten uses in relation to Rembrandt, when he calls him '*den verzierlijken Rembrant*, after my father's death my second master'.[65] The adjective *verzierlijk* deserves closer scrutiny. The verb *versieren* in modern Dutch still means to ornament (hence the substantive *versiering*, ornament); it also occurs several times in Van Mander's *Schilder-boeck*.[66] The meaning of the adjective in this context is, however, not at all obvious to the modern reader. The Latin *ornatus* has been the subject of study in an art-theoretical context, and it is first of all to classical rhetoric that one has to look.[67]

The virtue of *ornatus* should not be connected too hastily to 'ornament' as mere *amplificatio* of style. In classical rhetoric, it was, next to 'pure' and 'clear' language, the most important part of speaking commandingly.[68] In artistic theory, clearly ornament and beauty are distinctly separated. The beauty of a painting results largely from the beauty of the human figure that is depicted (either from nature or derived from the imagined ideal), and also from the variety in the represented objects. Ornament, on the contrary, is an added value, which is skilfully bestowed by the painter's artifice and which can be best understood in terms of style (the rhetorical *stilus*).[69] I quote a long part of Cicero's *De oratore*, where *perspicuitas* and *ornatus* are presented as the two main constituents of *elocutio*:

'Whom do people stare at in astonishment when he speaks? Whom do they applaud? Whom do they regard, as I might put it, as a god among men? Those who speak distinctly, explicitly and copiously, whose words and arguments are presented with complete clarity, and who in delivering a speech are able to attain a kind of rhythm, speaking in the manner I call ornate.'[70]

Quintilian echoes this sentiment in stating that *ornatus* is the climax of the orator's skills. It is with rhetorical 'colours' or figures of speech (*colores rhetorici*), that he has to 'ornament' his work to conquer the beholder's attention. In rhetoric *ornatus* is explained by the metaphor of colour that renders something 'lively', vivid to the eye, and pigment as it is used in cosmetics. Quintilian warns, for example, that the orator's use of *ornatus* should not produce the kind of colour which is the result of the use of deceptive dyes, in a passage which is repeated by Junius.[71] The most telling adaptation of the formula 'ornament' for painting I find in a late sixteenth-century adaptation of the classical theory: a literary treatise by George Puttenham (1589), which I quote mainly as an illustration:

'This ornament we speake of is given to it by figures and figurative speeches, which be the flowers as it were and colours that a Poet setteth upon his language by arte, as the embroderer doth his stone and perle, or passements of gold upon the stuffle of a Princely garment, or as th'excellent painter bestoweth on the rich orient coulours upon his table of pourtraite. [...] If the same coulours in our arte of Poesie (as well as in those other mechanicall artes) be not well tempered, or not well layd, or be used in excesse, or never so litle disordered or misplaced, they not onely give it no maner of grace at all, but rather do disfigure the

FIG. 4 – Rembrandt, *The Resurrection*, canvas, 93 x 69 cm, Munich, Alte Pinakothek, Inv. No. 397 (compare FIG. 3 in the article of E. Haverkamp Begemann)

stuffe and spill the whole workmanship, taking away all bewtie and good liking from it.'[72]

The quotation indicates the dangers that lie in the application of ornament: like make-up colours, it should be applied carefully, and not show its artificial character.[73] Possibly Van Hoogstraten when using this term refers to Rembrandt's numerous depictions of brocade and jewellery. But *ornatus* has a wider meaning. The positive function of ornament in classical oratory, for instance by using metaphor, was not only to enliven one's speech, but to imitate the 'brightness' of life itself. Cicero states that the 'ornament' of metaphor is 'a method of adding brightness [*lumen*] to our speech'[74], and adds that 'this makes it possible in the highest degree to mark out and illuminate what we are saying with stars of light'.[75] For the orators it is clear that this putting of arguments in a clear light meant. It enhanced their power of persuasion.

In art theory ornament is not especially connected to light; but it often occurs in relation to colour. Colour is deemed to 'ornament' the framework laid by drawing; Van Hoogstraten calls colours the ornaments (*verzieringen*, *opsmuk*) of the art of drawing.[76] As opposed to drawing, the ornament of colour has a greater affective power. Van Hoogstraten quotes Plutarch that, 'mere drawing never has such a moving power [*bewegende kracht*] as colours; because only those are able to move our soul, by the deceit of a vivid likeness';[77] Junius, who also quotes Plutarch's line, continues: 'coloured pictures for all that, as they shew a more lively force in the severall effects and properties of life and spirit, so doe they most commonly ravish our sight with the bewitching pleasure of delightsome and stately ornaments'. The Dutch edition speaks of *veruw-cieraeten*.[78]

So the most likely way in which I can interpret the use of the term '*verzierlijk*' in Van Hoogstratens qualification of his master, is an associative but lexically very rich combination of a deliberative use of powerful colouring (the *colores rhetorici* or 'rich orient colours') and lighting (*lumen*) which in its extremity does not exceed nature's norms, and the persuasive prowess this colouring possesses to have the beholders 'stare in astonishment' at the works. As is well known, Van Hoogstraten speaks in positive terms about Rembrandt's attention to colouring,[79] his use of lighting,[80] and the 'arranging of shadows and light tones (*schikking van schaduwen en lichten*)'.[81] The use of the term *ornatus* or *verzierlijk* in connection to tonal values, is corroborated by Vondel's remarks which have in the past been connected to Rembrandt's painting.[82] Slive ascribes to Vondel the 'classicist' condemnation of *obscuritas*, when the poet writes: 'Who follows life can do without ornate [*verzierde*] shadow', confronting this painter to the 'sons of darkness' who 'prefer staying in shadows'.[83]

Colour and tonal values appear as an essential aspect in the painter's 'rhetorical' ability to conquer the spectator's attention. This ability is described by Van Hoogstraten and other authors in terms of power or force (*kracht*). So Van Hoogstraten calls the *Night Watch* as 'so powerful [*krachtig*] that, as is the senti-

ment of some people, all the other pieces stand like playing cards next to it'; in other words, while Rembrandt's work evokes a virtual reality, the other paintings only present lifeless figures.[84] This term would be parallel to the praise Rembrandt is given in other contemporary art literature; De Lairesse reports the general public's liking of Rembrandt, 'both in respect to his naturalness, and in respect to his protrusive power [*uitstekende kracht*] [...] [there are people who ask:] was there ever a painter who came so near to nature in power of colouring [*kracht van coloriet*], because of [among other things] his beautiful light tones [...] and is such not enough to seduce the whole world?'[85] Just like the almost magical *vis verborum*, the orator's charming 'power' to persuade his audience, Rembrandt's *kracht van coloriet* manages to seduce the beholder into believing his pictures are 'close to nature', which means, first of all, that they seem 'alive'.[86]

Conclusion

When approached from the point of view of rhetoric, Van Hoogstraten's judgement of his master Rembrandt appears in a new light, contrary to the older view towards Dutch art theory of the second half of the seventeenth century as determined by 'classicist' critical attitudes.

Van Hoogstraten's view of Rembrandt as a painter who was a paradigm for someone devoting himself to the depiction of the passions, should certainly not be taken as an instance of negative criticism, as it was regarded by Emmens. As Van Hoogstraten uses the terms I have analysed to describe Rembrandt as a painter devoted to capturing and moving the beholder, he uses a terminology in which Cicero and Quintilian would have praised the perfect orator, whose main virtues were exactly *perspicuitas* and *ornatus*, and whose powers were directed at one main point: to move the audience. This terminology was eagerly taken over by learned writers on painting in the seventeenth century such as Junius and Vossius, whose words Van Hoogstraten could borrow to express his experiences in Rembrandt's studio.

In the outline of a rhetorical approach of seventeenth-century art, the terms I have selected appear to function in a vivid theory incorporating elements such as emotion, movement, and colour, and stressing the persuasive character of both pictorial illusionism and painted physical movements.[87] Rhetoric, obviously, could by moving the masses fulfil an essential ethical and political function in society; that is why moral philosophy of the early modern period put such weight on the formula *vir bonus dicendi peritus*, the 'good man', embodying the ideals of civic humanism, 'skilled in speaking'.[88] Ellenius adapted this phrase to the seventeenth-century theory of painting by changing it to *vir bonus pingendi peritus*.[89] Seen in this context, Van Hoogstraten, when conferring the virtues of the ideal orator to Rembrandt, gave his master the highest compliment.

NOTES

* This article is a spin-off from my dissertation research on Van Hoogstraten's *Inleyding tot de Hooge Schoole der Schilderkonst* (1678) funded by NWO (the Netherlands Organisation for Scientific Research). For their comments on my use of rhetoric, I thank Lex Hermans and Caroline van Eck; for any possible mistakes, I am the only one responsible. For a first reading of this article I thank Eric Jan Sluijter.

1 For Van Hoogstraten as an exponent of 'classicism' see J.A. Emmens, *Rembrandt en de Regels van de Kunst* (diss. 1964), in: *Verzameld Werk dl. 2*, Amsterdam 1979; this view of Van Hoogstraten as a 'classicist' and therefore not representative of the older masters of the 'Golden Age' has proven very tenacious and was still recently expressed by Christopher Brown in his *The Dutchness of Dutch Art. First Golden Age Lecture, 26 sept. 2002*, Amsterdam 2002, p. 22: 'At the end of the seventeenth century Samuel van Hoogstraten, Gerard de Lairesse, Andries Pels and Jan de Bisschop all attack the popular art of the earlier part of the century and promote classical ideas in art [...] they were attacking the prevailing conventions in the name of a new movement, classicism.'

2 Van Hoogstraten describes in his treatise how discussions in the studio took place between the master and his pupils, as well as between his pupils. As he describes this, the discussions largely followed rhetorical topoi. Van Hoogstraten's discussions with Fabritius, that the painter should be in love with the art of painting (*Inl.* p. 11), Furnerius's remark on the painter's knowledge of history (p. 95), and Fabritius's sentiments on the selective imitation of most noble parts of nature (p. 181), are all topoi recurring in poetics and rhetoric. On the title page of chapter II, devoted to the Muse of Rhetoric, Van Hoogstraten depicts two persons discussing a painting. For Van Hoogstraten's experiences in Rembrandt's studio, see the in many respects still valuable article of W.R. Valentiner, 'Rembrandt and Samuel van Hoogstraten', *Art in America*, 18/3, (1930), pp. 123-143.

3 The main study addressing the issue of rhetoric in the context of Dutch art is G.J.M. Weber, *Der Lobtopos des 'lebenden' Bildes. Jan Vos und sein "Zeege der Schilderkunst"* von 1654, Hildesheim 1991; for rhetorical aspects of art theory see in particular Miedema's commentary on Van Mander's works in H. Miedema (ed.), *C. van Mander, Den grondt der edel vrij schilder-const*, Utrecht 1973.

4 See for the situation in the Republic: J. Jansen, 'Het geslaagde spreken: welsprekendheid als beroepsbekwaamheid in de zeventiende eeuw', *De zeventiende eeuw 1* (2002), pp. 31-42. On rhetoric in education, see P.N.M. Bot, *Humanisme en onderwijs in Nederland*, Utrecht & Antwerpen 1955.

5 Van Hoogstraten may, just like Rembrandt, have visited the Latin school. It is likely that Van Hoogstraten was, together with his brother Frans, trained in the principles of humanist education and had at least an elementary knowledge of Latin, although his education is not to be established with certainty. Samuel stayed in contact with many of the members of the Latin school in Dordrecht, who went to the university in Leiden when he set out as an apprentice in Rembrandt's studio, and he was an important figure in their literary experiments; see M. Spies, *Dordrechtse 'roman'-tiek in de zeventiende eeuw, lecture Amsterdam Center for the Study of the Golden Age, March 7th, 2002 (see: cf.uba.uva.nl/goudeneeuw/archief/2002/colloquium-7mrt2002.rtf)*. Van Hoogstraten's painting treatise may have developed from the collection of quotations he already started on during his years at the Latin school. For earlier work on Rembrandt and rhetoric see, mainly on the concepts of aemulatio and the affects, S. Grohé, *Rembrandts mythologische Historien*, Köln 1996, esp. pp. 64-73, and the essay on Rembrandt's use of the *genera dicendi*, as reconstructed by Ernst van de Wetering in his essay on Rembrandt's self-portraits in *A Corpus of Rembrandt Paintings*, vol. IV (forthcoming).

6 Van de Wetering draws an outline of the learned coterie of humanists and their intellectual ideals surrounding Rembrandt's studio in Leiden in E. van de Wetering, 'Rembrandt's Beginnings – an Essay', in: E. van de Wetering & B. Schnackenburg (eds.), *The Mystery of the Young Rembrandt*, Kassel, Amsterdam & Wolfratshausen 2001 (exh.cat.), pp. 22-57, esp. pp. 27-32. That Van Hoogstraten felt attracted to these ideals is also testified in his early self-portrait, now in Rotterdam, where he has depicted himself while reading. On the intellectual culture surrounding Rembrandt see also A. Golahny, *Rembrandt's Reading. The Artist's Bookshelf of Ancient Poetry and History*, Amsterdam 2003. For Van Hoogstraten's literary achievements, see Thissen, P., *Werk, netwerk en letterwerk van de familie Van Hoogstraten in de zeventiende eeuw: sociaal-economische en sociaal-culturele achtergronden van geletterden in de republiek*, Amsterdam & Maarssen 1994, esp. pp. 52-71.

7 On the rhetorical framework applied in the *Inleyding* see H.-J. Czech, *Im Geleit der Musen. Studien zu Samuel van Hoogstratens Malereitraktat 'Inleyding tot de Hooge Schoole der Schilderkonst: Anders de Zichtbaere Werelt.' (Rotterdam 1678)*, Münster 2002, esp. pp. 208-209, 222-225. Van Hoogstraten compares painting to the different liberal arts, among which rhetoric, *Inl.* p. 346; he compares composition in rhetoric and painting on pp. 190-191.

8 Van Hoogstraten refers in his *Inleyding* to several of Cicero's works, among whom *Orator*, *De Oratore*, *De Officiis*, *Tusculanae Disputationes*, and to Quintilian's *Institutio Oratoriae*; but also to the *Orationes* of the Greek rhetorician Dio Chrysostom (1st c. AD).

9 Van Hoogstraten refers in the *Inleyding*, p. 42, to Julius Caesar Scaliger, *Exotericarum exercitationum*, Paris 1652, CCLXVII, pp. 339-340, 347-350; for the other authors see the apparatus in Czech, *Im Geleit der Musen* (see note 7).

10 Van Hoogstraten probably used Junius' own Dutch translation, *De Schilder-konst der Oude*, Middelburg 1641. On Junius' adaptations of classical rhetoric, see C. Nativel (ed.), *De Pictura Veterum. Edition du livre I*, Genève 1996. I will cite from the English edition of 1638: Aldrich, K., Fehl, P. & Fehl, R. (eds.), *Franciscus Junius, The Literature of Classical Art: Vol. 1. The Painting of the Ancients: De Pictura Veterum, According to the English Translation (1638)*, Berkeley, Los Angeles & Oxford 1991.

11 Other rhetorical terms like *imitatio*, *varietas*, *gratia*, and *modus* will be treated in my dissertation. For a first result of my research see my 'Schilderkunst als "zuster van de bespiegelende wijsgeerte": de theoretische status van het afbeelden van de zichtbare wereld in Samuel van Hoogstratens Inleyding tot de Hooge Schoole der Schilderkonst, *De zeventiende eeuw* 2 (2002), pp. 172-184, and 'Imitatie in Samuel van Hoogstratens Inleyding tot de Hooge Schoole der Schilderkonst' (publication in consequence of the congress *Imitation in the Renaissance*, Amsterdam, April 23rd 2004), in *De Zeventiende Eeuw* 2 (2005).

12 For an elaboration on this theme see C. Nativel, 'Partes orationis et partes pingendi: Rhétorique antique et peinture au XVIIe siècle dans le De pictura veterum de Franciscus Junius', *Acta Conventis Neo-Latini Torontonensis, Proceedings of the Seventh International Congress of Neo-Latin Studies (Toronto 8 August to 13 August 1988)*, Binghamton 1991, pp. 529-538.

13 *Inl.* p. 75.

14 Emmens, *Rembrandt* (see note 1), p. 89, pp. 119-120.

15 *Inl.* p. 109.

16 Van Mander calls the passions 'rechte Kernen oft Siele die Const in haer heeft besloten', and adds the scholium: 'D'Affecten uytbeelden, Siele der Consten'; Van Mander, *Den grondt* (see note 3), VI, 55. Junius also calls passions the 'soul of art', *Schilder-konst der Oude* (see note 10), p. 221, p. 281, p. 289. Leonardo already spoke on the passions in a comparable way; see Weber, *Lobtopos* (see note 3), p. 196. About the significance of the passions for early modern art theory, from Alberti to

LeBrun, a lot has been written. I refer only to N. Michels, *Bewegung zwischen Ethos und Pathos. Zur Wirkungsästhetik italienischer Kunsttheorie de 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts*, Münster 1988, in which the author shows how the passions gained in importance in the art theory from Alberti onwards to the beginning of the seventeenth century; his research did not cover the rest of this century.

17 B. Vickers, *In Defence of Rhetoric*, Oxford 1989, p. 37.

18 Quintilian, *Inst. Orat*, 3.5.2.

19 I borrow Philip Sohm's phrase, in his *Style in the Art Theory of Early Modern Italy*, Cambridge a.o. 2001, p. 137.

20 '*Si vis me flere, dolendum est primum ipsi tibi*'; Horace, *Ars Poetica*, 3.99-102. Compare Alberti, *Della Pittura*, ed. Grayson, Bari 1980, 2.41: '*Piangiamo con chi piange et ridiamo con chi ride et dolianci con chi si duole*'.

21 ''t Is niet genoeg, dat een beelt schoon is, maer daer moet een zeekere beweeglijkheyt in zijn, die macht over d'aenschouwers heeft; Gelijk Horatius van het dichten zingt: Een schoon gedicht zal mij niet licht beroeren,/Maer vriendelijkheyt kan hert en ziel vervoeren./Men lacche, of ween', d'aenschouwer raekt op't spoor: /Dus wilt gy dat ik schreye, schrey my voor', *Inl.* p. 292.

22 '[G]eheel den komediant leeren nabootsen', in order to be 'voor een spiegel, om te gelijk vertooner en aanschouwer'; *Inl.* p. 110. Van Hoogstraten gives the example of the actor Polus, who when he had to play Elektra, first dug up the bones of his own son; *Inl.* p. 109.

23 See C. White & Q. Buvelot (eds.), *Rembrandt by Himself*, London, Den Haag & Zwolle 1999-2000 (exh.cat.), cat.nos. 20-23. The etchings are dated 1630.

24 S. Alpers, *Rembrandt's Enterprise*, Chicago 1988, pp. 38-46.

25 'Zoo moogt gy ook, als u eenigen druk overkomen is, u met de konst troosten, en als u iets behaeglijx voorkomt, zoo is't tijdt, dat gy aenmerkt wat innerlijke gevoelicheden en uiterlijke bewegingen deeze lijdingen veroorzaken'; *Inl.* p. 109.

26 Junius also regards painters that devote themselves to the passions as 'rechte Konstenaers' or 'gheleerde kloeckaers', in contrast to 'gemeyne dozijnwerckers'; *Junius, Schilder-konst der Oude* (see note 10), p. 222.

27 'Dewijl dit onderwerpen zijn, de meer dan een dierlijke beweeging in hebben, zoo zijn de konstenaers, die hiertoe een rechte bequaemheyt hebben, alderdunst gezaeyt', *Inl.* p. 87.

28 'Maer hier is een Poëtische geest van noode, om een ieders ampt zich wel voor te stellen. Die deeze niet en gevoelt, tree vry terugge; want hy en zal de zaek niet machtich zijn; ten waer hem eenich Godt of Poëet de hulpige hand bood', *Inl.* p. 110.

29 As Weber's *Lobtopos* (see note 3) demonstrates, the rhetorical theory of the 'living image' was largely based on the passions.

30 '[E]en volmaekte Schildery is als een Spiegel van de Natuer, die [...] op een geoorloofde, vermakelijke en prijslijke wijze bedriegt'; *Inl.* p. 25. The equation of the theatre with a mirror occurs in Cicero, *Oratio in Pisonem*, 29.71, *De finibus*, 5.22.51, en *De re publica*, 2.42.69. Its most famous repetition in the early modern period is made by Shakespeare, *Hamlet*, III, 2.

31 For the confronting attitudes concerning rhetoric's use see Vickers, *In Defence of Rhetoric* (see note 17); for the appreciation of deceit in the early modern period in general, I refer to G. Schröder, *Logos und List. Zur Entwicklung der Ästhetik in der frühen Neuzeit*, Königstein 1985.

32 See E.J. Sluijter, "Horrible nature, incomparable art": Rembrandt and the depiction of the female nude', in: J. Lloyd Williams e.a., *Rembrandt's Women*, Edinburgh 2001 (exh.cat.), pp. 37-49, p. 41.

33 'Maer om op den rechten wech te komen, en zeeker te gaen, zoo moet een konstoeffenaer zich tot de leevende natuer keeren, en zien, hoe ver het hem in de beweegingen geoorloft is te gaen'; *Inl.* p. 294.

34 Junius, *Painting of the Ancients* (see note 10), p. 208; compare the Dutch edition: 'dat een fijn ende bequaem Konstenaer boven alle dingen nae een natuyr-kondighe ervaerenheyd behoort te trachten: [...] min dat hy 't ghevoelen van soo veele teghenstrijdighe ghesintheden der naturelicker Philosophen in sijne eenigheyd besighlick soude siften, om daer uyt den rechten aerd van allerly harts tochten ende beweghingen volmaektelick te verstaen: Dit en is de meyninghe niet: Want wij het ghenoegh achten dat hy door een daghelicksche opmerckinghe uytvinde hoe de menighvuldighe gheneghenheden ende beroerten onses ghemoeds 't gebaar onses aenghesichts dus of soo veranderen ende ontstellen. [...] Een wijs ende verstandigh aenmerker der dinghen diemen behoort nae te volghen, houdt sijne ooghen geduyrighlick geslagen op die menschen onder welcke hy leeft; achtende dat hem de lesse, die hy te leeren heeft, in elck bysonder mensche, als in een klaer en leesbaer Boeck, op't aller duydelickste voorghespelt is', Junius, *Schilder-konst der Oude* (see note 10), p. 221.

35 Compare Junius, *Schilder-konst der Oude* (see note 10), p. 220.

36 *Inl.* p. 110.

37 't Gedenkt mij dat ik, in zeker aerdich geordineert stukje van Rembrandt, verbeeldende een Johannes Predicatie, een wonderlijke aendacht in de toehoorderen van allerleye staaten gezien hebbe: dit was ten hoogsten prijslijk', *Inl.* p. 183.

38 C. Huygens, *Fragment eener autobiographie*, ed. J.A. Worp, s.l., s.a. p. 77. Huygens composed the manuscript in the period 1629-1631.

39 R. de Piles, *Abregé de la Vie des Peintres*, Paris 17152 (16991), p. 423: 'Il scavoit fort bien qu'en Peinture on pouvoit, sans beaucoup de peine, tromper la vûë en representant des corps immobiles et inanimez; et non content de cet artificé assez commun, il chercha avec une extrême application celuy d'imposer aux jeux par des figures vivantes.'

40 L.H. ten Kate, *Verhandeling over het Denkbeeldige Schoon der Schilders, Beeldhouwers en Dichters*, Amsterdam 1720 (HS 1436 UBA), pp. 7-8: '[hij geeft] door een kunstige verdeeling van licht, om dezelven beter te doen uitblinken, gewoonlyk aan zyne eenvoudige beelden spreekende vrolykheden en gemoedsbeweegingen, verzeld van eene gemaklyke en ongemaakte houding'.

41 G. Vossius, 'De Graphice, sive arte pingendi', in: *De Quator Artibus Popularibus, Grammatistice, Gymnastice, Musice, & Graphice, liber*. Amsterdam 1690 (1650[1]), § 19, p. 70, uses *Pathopoios* as a synonym for 'Affectus effingens': 'Hinc Graphice Callistrato, ubi Aesculapii statuam describit, vocatur "ethopoios techne", ars mores effingens. Ac poterat similiter "pathopoios" (affectus effingens) dicere.'

42 See also White & Buvelot, *Rembrandt by Himself* (see note 23), p. 219.

43 *Inl.* p. 299, see also p. 110. Comp. Van Mander, *Den grondt* (see note 3), VI 65, p. 509, p. 511, with a reference to Pliny.

44 Quintilian, *Inst. orat.* vi.ii.32: 'Intersequitur 'enargeia' quae a Cicerone illustratio et evidentia nominatur, quae non tam dicere videtur quam ostendere; et adfectus nonaliter, quam si rebus ipsis intersimus, sequentur.'

45 Junius, *Painting of the Ancients* (see note 10), p. 265. Junius translates Quintilian's Greek term *enargeia* by *energia*, making no distinction between the different, although related, Greek terms *enargeia* and *energeia*. He thereby expresses his conviction that *enargeia* and *energeia* are overlapping concepts. In the Dutch version, the problem is evaded by leaving out the term altogether: 'Dies plaghten oock dieghene allerley herts-tochten te nae haeren eyghenen lust ghemackelick te ghebieden, die dese verbeeldinghen recht-wel begrijpen, sonder yet te verswijmen 't welck tot de waere omstandigheden behoort. Waer op dan d'uytdruckelickheyd ofte duydelickheyd plaght te volghen, die ons de gantsche saecke soo blijckelick voor d'ooghen stelt, als of wy de naeckte vertooninghe der dinghen selver aenschouden.' Junius, *Schilder-konst der Oude* (see note 10), p. 291. On the concepts of *enargeia* and *energeia* see Michels, *Bewegung* (see note 16), p. 61, p. 182.

46 See the lemma on *energia* in the glossary to Junius, *Painting of the Ancients* (see note 10), p. 379. For the interrelationships between the concepts of enargeia and energeia in the theory of painting, see V. von Rosen, 'Die Enargeia des Gemäldes. Zu einem vergessenen Inhalt des Ut-pictura-poesis und seiner Relevanz für das cinquecenteske Bildkonzept', *Marburger Jahrbuch für Kunstwissenschaft* 27 (2000), pp. 171-206.

47 On Heinsius' adaptation of Aristotelian poetics see J. Konst, *Woedende wraakgierigheid en vruchtelooze weeklachten. De hartstochten in de Nederlandse tragedie van de zeventiende eeuw*, Assen 1993.

48 'Het zy nu, datmen een enkel beelt, of veele te zamen voor hebbe, men moet toezien, datmen alleenlijk een oogenblikkige beweeging, welke voornamentlijk de daed der Historie uitdrukt, vertoone; gelijk Horatius zegt: Breng yder werkstuk, zoo 't behoort, slechts enkel een eenweezich voort. Op dat het werk eenstemmich den toeziender, als een anderen omstander verrukke, van een felle daed doe schrikken, en door het zien van iets blygeestichs doe verheugen: of dat hy door eenich aengedaen ongelijk met meedelijden bewoogen worde ; en in een rechtvaerdige daed zich vernoegt bevinde'; *Inl.* p. 116.

49 On the concept '*eenweezich*', see also Van de Wetering, *Rembrandt. The Painter at Work*, Amsterdam 1997, p. 253.

50 On the related concepts of *enargeia*, *illustratio*, *evidentia* see Quintilian, *Inst. orat.* VI 2.32.

51 '[D]aer moet een zeekere beweeglijkheyt in zijn, die macht over d'aenschouwers heeft [...]. Zoo is't ook met de Schilders, zy beroeren 't gemoed niet, zooze deeze beweeglijkheyt overslaen', *Inl.* p. 292.

52 Dolce uses the term *energia;* see M.W. Roskill, *Dolce's Aretino and Venetian Art Theory of the Cinquecento*, Toronto 2000 (1968), p. 128. Gauricus uses *energetikoteron* to describe the 'moving' powers of vivid representation; Gauricus, P., *De Sculptura [1503], Introduzione, testo latino, traduzione e note a cura di P. Cutolo, saggi di F. Divenuto, F. Negri Arnoldi & P. Sabbatino*, Napoli 1999, De statua 1.3.

53 Junius, *Painting of the Ancients* (see note 10), p. 53; compare the Dutch edtion: 'Greg. Nyssenus na een wijdtloopigh en gantsch beweghelick verhael van Isaacks Offerhande, heeft dit daer en boven daer by gevoeght. Ick hebbe menighmael, seght hy, d'af-beeldinge deser geschiedenisse in een Schilderye met weenende ooghen aanschouwet, soo krachtighlick was de gantsche Historye door de Konst voor ooghen gestelt.' Junius, *Schilder-konst der Oude* (see note 10), p. 49. He refers to St. Gregorius Nycenus, *De Deitate Filii et Spiritus Sancti Oratio*; the topos was repeated in the tradition of art theory and especially popular with authors of the Counter-reformation such as Gilio, Paleotti and Molanus; compare e.g. G. Comanini, *Il Figino*, Mantova 1591, p. 310.

54 'Tu Artifex, quid quaeris amplius? delectantur spectans multitudo, ducitur Pictura, gaudet, dolet, ridet, miratur, et, Pictura quosuis affectus inspirante, ad misericordiam aut odium inducitur.' Junius, *De Pictura Veterum* (ed. Nativel, see note 10), book I, chap. 5, par. 4, p. 370. This passage is left out of the Dutch translation.

55 On the issue of the peripety in Rembrandt's histories see A. Blankert, *Ferdinand Bol 1616-1680. Een leerling van Rembrandt*, Den Haag 1976, pp. 41-45.

56 *Inl.* p. 75.

57 See note 55.

58 Van Hoogstraten describes the contrary emotions of a dying mother, still wanting to take care of her child: both 'moederlijke voorzorge' and 'kommer en droefheyt', *Inl.* p. 109. He praises the sculptor Demon who made the 'Genius' of the city of Athens: an example of 'strijdige driften' in one statue, Inl. p. 111.

59 Huygens, *Fragment eener autobiographie* (see note 38), p. 78: '[Rembrandt] uno in homine collegit singula et universa expressit'.

60 Huygens, *Fragment eener autobiographie* (see note 38), p. 7.

61 The RRP thinks that the offering to Huygens was the Samson (another possibility would be the Danaë in the Hermitage). J. Bruyn e.a., *A Corpus of Rembrandt Paintings vol. III*, Den Haag 1989, p. 192 ff.

62 J.C. Scaliger, *Poetices libri septem*, 1.6.

63 For the most recent discussion of this letter see J. Bruyn, 'Wat bedoelde Rembrandt in zijn derde brief aan Constantijn Huygens over diens huis te zeggen?', *Oud Holland* 112 (1998), p. 251 ff.

64 Compare Miedema's interpretation in Van Mander, *Den grondt* (see note 3), XII 2f, p. 495.

65 '[D]en verzierlijken Rembrant, nae de dood van mijn Vader Theodoor mijn tweede Meester'; *Inl*. p.25.

66 See the index to Miedema's edition of Karel van Mander, *The Lives of the Illustrious Netherlandish and German Painters*, Doornspijk 1995.

67 M. Hazard, 'An Essay to Amplify "Ornament": Some Renaissance Theory and Practice', *Studies in English Literature 1500-1900*, 16 (1976), pp. 15-32; and by V. Biermann, *Ornamentum. Studien zum Traktat 'De re aedificatoria' des Leon Battista Alberti*, Hildesheim/Zürich/New York 1997. The interpretation of the term ornament as a fundamental category for Italian art theory of the Cinquecento, as undertaken by H. Wohl, *The Aesthetics of Italian Renaissance Art. A Reconsideration of Style*, Cambridge/New York/Melbourne 1999, is not relevant to this discussion.

68 The four *virtutes dicendi* are *latinitas*, *ornatus*, *perspicuitas* (or *evidentia*), and *decorum.*

69 Alberti: 'ornamentum autem afficti et compacti naturam sapere magis quam innati', quoted in Biermann, *Ornamentum* (see note 67), p. 144.

70 'Quem deum, ut ita dicam, inter homines putant? Qui distincte, qui explicate, qui abundanter, qui illuminate et rebus et verbis dicunt, et in ipsa oratione quasi quemdam numerum versumque conficiunt – id est quod dico ornate', Cicero, *De oratore* iii.xiv.53, ed. and trans. E.W. Sutton and H. Rackham, London 1942, vol. 2, p. 42.

71 Quintilian, *Inst. orat.* viii.iii.6, quoted by Junius: 'De manhaftige schijn-staetelickheyd, ghelijckse voornaemelick in de rechtschaepene rustigheyd van een onverseerde kloekheyd bestaet; soo moet se haer meeste cieraet soeken in de ghesonde verwe van een onghekrenckte sterckte, sonder sich met de vertaerde glattigheyd van hoogh-verwighe blancketsels in't minste te behelpen, seght Quintil. VIII.3', Junius, *Schilder-konst der Oude* (see note 10), p. 273.

72 Puttenham, G., *The Arte of English Poesie*, ed. G. Willock and A. Walker, Cambridge 1970, p. 138.

73 So Lodovico Dolce assures the painter to use natural colouring by referring to Propertius' criticism of his lover's make-up; see Roskill, *Dolce's Aretino* (see note 52), p. 299; cf. Propertius, *Elegies* I,2 vv. 21-22. 'Sed facies aderat nullis obnoxia gemmis, Qualis Apelleis est color in tabulis.' Compare Dolce's use of ornatus in respect to Titian: 'Non ha dimostrato Titiano nelle sue opere vaghezza vana, ma proprietà convenevole di colori: non ornamenti affettati, ma sodezza da maestro, non crudezza, ma il pastoso e tenero della natura', p. 184.

74 Cicero, *De oratore*, iii.xl.161, vol II, p. 126: [translatio] lumen affert orationi'. Quintilian calls metaphors the 'lumina orationis', *Inst. Orat.* viii.v.34.

75 Cicero, *De oratore*, iii.xliii.170, vol II, p. 134 'quod maxime tanquam stellis quibusdam notat et illuminat orationem'.

76 *Inl.* p. 217. Ornament and incarnate are connected in the letter written in Raphael's name to pope Leo X: 'senza ornamento [...] l'ossa del corpo senza carne'; Alberti also makes this connection, and treats incarnate colouring in books VI-IX of *De re aedificatoria*, which are devoted to architectural ornament. See Biermann, *Ornamentum* (see note 67), p. 145.

77 'De bloote Teykening (zegt Plutarchus) heeft nergens nae zulk een bewegende

kracht, als de verwen: gemerkt dezelve, door het bedroch van een levende gelijkenisse, alleen machtich zijn ons gemoed te ontroeren', *Inl.* p. 226.

78 Junius, *Painting of the Ancients* (se note 10), p. 252; compare the Dutch edition: 'd'over-veruwde figuren evenwel, gelijckse de verscheydene eyghenschappen ende werckinghen van eenen levendighen gheest klaerder uytdrucken, soo plaghtense met eenen oock ons ghesicht door d'aenlockelicke lustbaerheyd van menigherley treffelicke veruw-cieraeten seldsaemlick te beguychelen', Junius, *Schilder-konst der Oude* (see note 10), p. 274.

79 Van Hoogstraten praises Rembrant's skills in incarnate, *Inl.* p. 228, and colouring (*Rembrandische verwen*), p. 291 and p. 268.

80 Reflected light was putatively Rembrandt's 'true element' ('Wonderlijk heeft zich onzen Rembrant in reflexeeringen gequeeten, jae het scheen of deze verkiezing van 't wederom kaetsen van eenich licht zijn rechte element was'), *Inl.* p. 273.

81 *Inl.* p. 306 For an analysis of Rembrandt's tonal qualities and his use of lighting in relation to the remarks in Van Hoogstraten's *Inleyding*, see E. Van de Wetering, 'Het licht van het ware', *Kroniek van het Rembrandthuis* 1-2 (2001), pp. 3-10. As is noted by A. Golahny, *Rembrandt's Paintings and the Venetian Tradition* (diss.), Ann Arbor 1984, Van Hoogstraten has greater attention and appraisal for painterly qualities such as brushwork and tonal values than any other Dutch writer on art, which might be well explained form his experiences in Rembrandt's studio.

82 S. Slive, *Rembrandt and his Critics*, Den Haag 1953, p. 70.

83 J. van den Vondel, *Werken*, X 630: 'Dus baert de schilderkunst ook zoons van duisternisse/Die gaerne in schaduwe verkeeren, als een uil/Wie't leven navolght kan versierde schaduw missen/en als een kint van 't licht gaet in geen scheemring schuil'; quoted by Slive, *Rembrandt and his Critics* (see note 82), p. 70.

84 '[Z]oo krachtich, dat, nae zommiger gevoelen, al d'andere stukken daer als kaerteblaren nevens staen', *Inl.* p. 176.

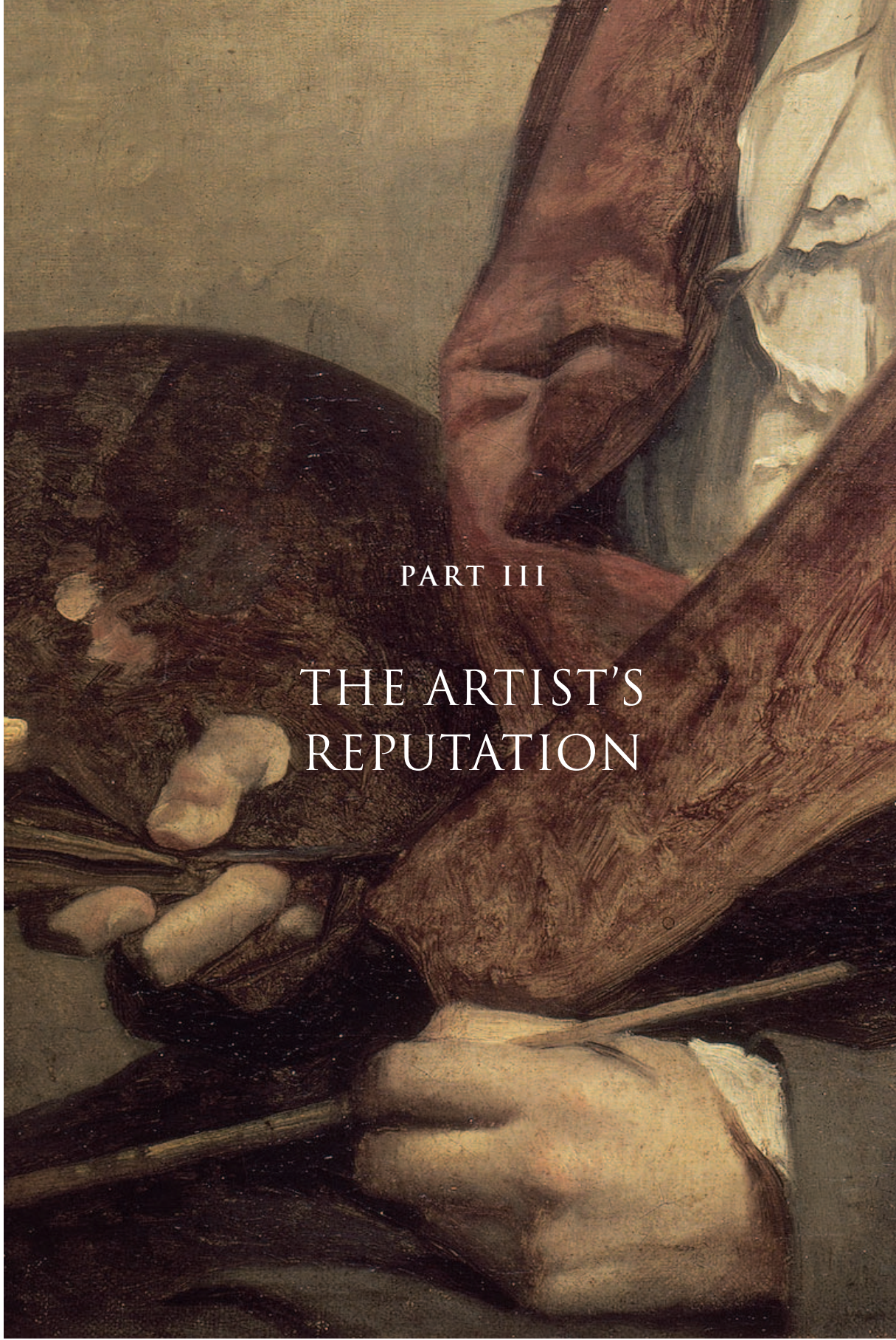
85 'Rembrand en Jan Lievensz, welker manier wel niet geheel te verwerpen is, voornamentlyk die van den eersten, zo ten opzichte van zyne natuurlykheid, als ook zyne uitsteekende kragt. [...Some people ask:] was'er ooit een Schilder die de natuur in kracht van coloriet zo na kwam, door zyne schoone lichten, lieffelyke overeenstemming, zyne zeldsaame en boven gemeene gedachten, enz. [...] En is zulks niet genoeg om de geheele waereld te verlokken[?]' G. de Lairesse, *Groot Schilderboek*, Haarlem 1740 (first ed. 1707), I, p. 325.

86 Colouring and to a lesser extent clair-obscur are in the tradition of art theory often appreciated for their affective powers; see J. Gavel, *Colour. A Study of its Position in the Art Theory of the Quattro- and Cinquecento*, Stockhom 1979, esp. pp. 153-155; and M. Cencillo Ramírez, *Das Helldunkel in der italienischen Kunsttheorie des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts und seine Darstellungsmöglichkeiten im Notturno*, Münster 2000, p. 68-78. Van Hoogstraten echoes this traditional sentiment especially when he deems clair-obscur an attribute of the Muse Melpomene, whom he also names the *Treurdichtster*, the muse of tragedy.

87 The structure, general nature, and details of this theory of painting rooted in rhetoric will be elaborated on in my dissertation (see note 11).

88 These words are used for example by Huygens, *Fragment eener autobiographie* (see note 38), p. 60, with the marginal reference 'M. An. Seneca, Praef. in Controversias'.

89 A. Ellenius, *De Arte Pingendi. Latin Art Literature in Seventeenth century Sweden and its International Background*, Uppsala/Stockholm 1960, p. 77.



PART III

THE ARTIST'S REPUTATION

FIG. 1 A, B, C – Anthony van Dyck, *Charles I and the Knights of the Garter Procession*, oil on panel, 29.2 x 131.8 cm, Oxford, Ashmolean Museum
FIG. B & C – Details of A

CHRISTOPHER BROWN

'A Record and Memorial of his Talents for Posterity': Anthony van Dyck's Sketch of the Garter Procession

Van Dyck's largest and most important oil sketch is a grisaille showing the Knights of the Order of the Garter taking part in a procession held annually on St. George's Day, April 23rd (FIG. 1). The King, Charles I, can be clearly made out beneath a canopy on the left hand side of the composition. The oil sketch records an extremely important but sadly uncompleted royal commission for a series of large tapestries which were to have hung in Inigo Jones's Banqueting House at Whitehall, beneath the great painted ceiling by Rubens.[1] A discussion of this remarkable work, which has recently been acquired by the Ashmolean Museum, seemed to me an appropriate way in which to honour my friend and colleague Ernst van de Wetering. It has been Ernst's achievement to greatly enhance our understanding of both the working methods and the artistic ambitions of Van Dyck's countryman and fellow painter, Rembrandt. On the one hand, the grisaille is a preparatory work in which we can see very clearly a key stage in Van Dyck's working methods in terms of subject matter, style, and technique. The sketch yields us a rare moment of insight into a seventeenth-century painter's creative process. On the other hand, the unaccomplished decoration project was a unique endeavour of a successful and ambitious painter to expand upon his reputation and enter into artistic emulation with his predecessors in a courtly context. Van Dyck's sketch raises more issues than can be resolved within the scope of this article; however, it clearly poses just those questions regarding the artist's creativity and status that have been asked and often answered by Ernst during his career.

The sketch has a distinguished history. It was in the collection of Charles I – the King's CR brand is on the back of each of the two oak panels which make up the support (FIG. 2) – and in Abraham van der Doort's inventory it is described as 'painted in black and white in oyle Cullors a long narrow peece – which was made for a moddell for a bigger piece where yor Maty and the Lords of the Garters, goeing a Precessioning upon St Georgs day.'[2] Subsequently it was acquired

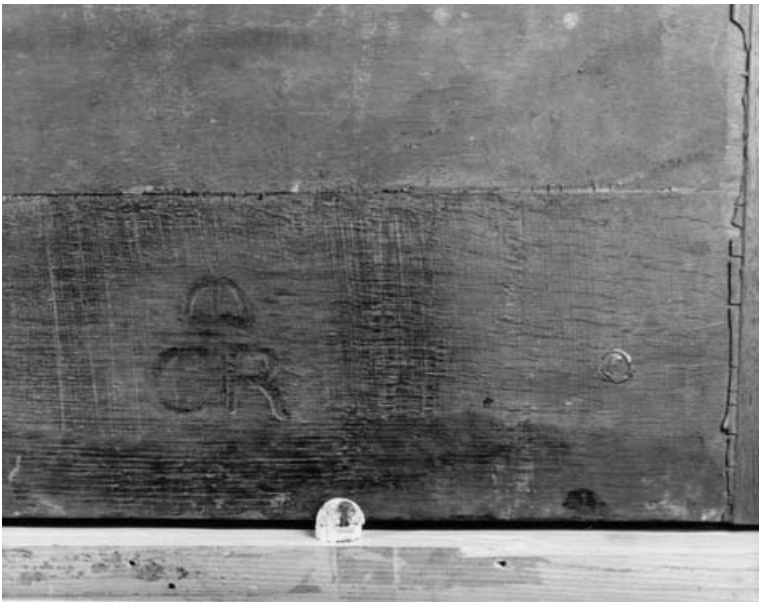


FIG. 2 – *Brand of Charles I ('CR') on the back of the panel* (see FIG. 1)

by Sir Peter Lely as part of his great collection of the work of Van Dyck, the artist he admired above all others. Later the sketch was bought by Sir Joshua Reynolds for the 4th Duke of Rutland, and has been at Belvoir Castle, the seat of the Duke of Rutland, until it entered the collection of the Ashmolean.[3]

The earliest description of the project of which this sketch is part is given by Gian Pietro Bellori in 1672. His main informant for the thorough and well-informed life of Van Dyck in his *Vite* was the naval commander, philosopher and diplomat Sir Kenelm Digby, who was in Rome in the 1640s representing the exiled Queen Henrietta Maria, Charles I's widow. Digby had been a close friend of Van Dyck from shortly after the painter's arrival in London in 1632 and Bellori's account is, therefore, largely reliable.

The author has been describing the painter's poor health and his wish to 'retire from the continuous activity of painting portraits and other pictures':

'Instead,' Bellori continues, 'he hoped to dedicate himself to a more tranquil type of work, far removed from the business of the court, which would bring him both honour and profit, and thus leave a record and memorial of his talents for posterity. To this end he negotiated with the king, through the good offices of Digby, to make designs for hangings and tapestries for the great saloon of the Royal Court of Whitehall in London. The individual compositions and general themes were related to the election of the king, the institution of the Order of the Garter by Edward the Third, the procession of knights in their robes and the civil and military ceremonies, and other royal functions. The king liked this proposal,

because he already owned both the very rich set of tapestries by Raphael of the Acts of the Apostles, and the original cartoons ; and these new ones would have been twice the number and larger in scale. Yet the king's intention was not realized, for Van Dyck had reached the point where he did not hesitate to ask three hundred thousand *scudi* for the cartoons and paintings needed for the tapestries. The price seemed excessive to King Charles, but the problem would have been resolved if the death of Van Dyck had not intervened.'[4]

This immensely informative account is a unique source, documenting an instance of an artist's desire for fame, universality, and emulation, and describes Van Dyck's reluctance to be solely identified with portrait painting, traditionally ranking at the lowest point in the hierarchy of the painter's subject matter. Bellori tells us that Van Dyck wished to make some sort of artistic testament, 'which would bring him both honour and profit, and thus leave a record and memorial of his talents for posterity'. The way to attain this kind of lasting fame was evidently emulation with predecessors who had attained their place in the history of art: not only with Rubens, below whose works Van Dyck's tapestries would eventually be displayed, but also with Raphael, the most graceful and most 'universal' of all painters who had ever been in court service. Van Dyck, however much as he was praised by his contemporaries for his graceful manner, never in contemporary literature attained the status of *pictor absolutus*, skilled in all kinds of subject matter. With this undertaking, twice the size of Raphael's project, Van Dyck would demonstrate his ability to create an ambitious cycle of large history paintings.

The document tells us that this project dates from shortly before Van Dyck's death in 1641. In Bellori's life it is placed just before the trip to Paris, which he made in an attempt to secure the commission for the decoration of the Grande Galerie of the Louvre. This took place late in 1640 and it can be imagined that the failure of the king to fund the ambitious Garter project would have been the stimulus for Van Dyck's attempt to secure the Louvre commission. Both were an expression of Van Dyck's sense of frustration at being confined to portraiture and his wish to undertake a major decorative scheme. We can suggest, therefore, that the negotiations for the Garter project, and so the execution of the Ashmolean's oil sketch, took place in 1639 or 1640.

Bellori's account also makes it clear that this was a very ambitious project. It has been assumed in the past – for example, in the entry by Julius Held in the catalogue of the great Van Dyck exhibition held in Washington in 1990/1[5] – that there were four tapestries in the series but Bellori states very clearly that there were to have been 'twice the number [of the Raphael Cartoons]'. There are ten tapestries in the series showing the Acts of the Apostles which Raphael designed for Leo X.[6] The cartoons were acquired by Charles I in 1623 but in Van der Doort's inventory of the Royal Collection only seven are mentioned and only seven survive today. However, whether Bellori meant to suggest the number of tapestries or the number of cartoons, it was his belief – and the information was

provided by the champion of the scheme, Kenelm Digby – that the series was to number either fourteen or twenty tapestries. It is difficult to imagine how such a large number of tapestries would have been shown on three walls of the Banqueting House, the fourth being pierced by windows with insufficient space between them to hang tapestries. It may well be that this scheme was at a very early stage when it was abandoned and it is certainly the case that the only preparatory work to survive is the Ashmolean sketch. There are no other oil sketches or drawings for this project, nor do I know of any references to lost sketches or drawings.

The sketch represents the procession moving from left to right. The fullest description, which is also the most ambitious in its attempt to identify individuals, dates from 1782 while the sketch was in the Northington collection. A print was made by Richard Cooper, which has a lengthy inscription, identifying the scene and a number of the participants. As this print seems to be rare – the Ashmolean's Sutherland collection which is so rich in seventeenth century English printed portraits does not have one, although the British Museum does – it is worth quoting Cooper's description at some length:

'The Sovereign, King Charles the First, with the Globe and Scepter under a Canopy, supported by Four Gentlemen, and his Train borne up by young Noblemen. The Sword of State carried by a Nobleman. Walter Curle, Bishop of Winchester, Prelate; and Sir Thomas Rowe, Chancellor of the Order. The Prelate carrying the Book of the Order – These two Portraits are distinguishable. The three next are the Register [who in these years was Christopher Wren], the Garter [Garter King of Arms was Sir John Burroughs] and Black Rod [James Maxwell]. The senior Knight by himself [probably the Earl of Mulgrave], a place being left for the King his Knight Companion, Two Knights with Staves, the one in profile is the Earl of Pembroke, Chamberlain: the other the Earl of Arundel, Earl Marshal – These portraits are also distinguishable. Two Knights. Two Knights looking up towards the Queen who is in the Gallery. Two Knights bowing to the Queen. The Knights proceed two and two as far as the Knight with his arm extended, opposite to the large columns, which make twenty-six, including the Sovereign (being the full Number of the Order) proceeded by the poor Knights and others belonging to the Procession. The Procession is represented passing by a colonnade of elegant Architecture (most probably the design of Vandyke's intimate Friend, Inigo Jones). In the Niches of the Colonnade are the statues of the Kings of England. In the first is that of Edward the Third, the Founder of the Order; and in another is very distinguishable that of Henry the Eighth. In the Gallery over the Colonnade are two groups, one representing the Queen and her Attendants; the other the Princess Royal and her Suite. The King is followed by the Royal Band of Gentlemen Pensioners with their Battle-Axes; amongst them Vandyke has introduced the Portrait of Inigo Jones looking up towards the Building and his own in the last supporter of the Canopy on the

King's Right-hand. The short figure in the foreground holding a particular kind of Dog is Jeffrey Hudson, the King's Dwarf. To prevent too great a sameness in the Figures, and that the likenesses might have their full Effect, Vandyke has omitted giving the knights their Caps; a liberty he was authorised to take, it being customary at one Period to walk without them; and it also renders the Royal Personage more conspicuous, who alone is covered.'

Cooper then provides the list of the Garter Knights in the years around 1640. The accuracy of his identifications is very hard to judge but the portraits of, for example, Jones, Hudson and Van Dyck are very difficult to make out and the identity of the figures on the balcony – said by Cooper to include the Queen and the Princess Royal – cannot be confirmed from a study of the sketch itself. We may imagine that Cooper's identifications are a rich mixture of tradition and informed speculation.

Also the architectural setting of the procession cannot be identified with certainty on the basis of the sketch. Elias Ashmole informs us in *The Institution, Laws and Ceremonies of the Most Noble Order of the Garter* of 1672 that the location of the Great Feast of the Garter, instituted by Edward the Third, was Windsor Castle, but Charles I also celebrated the Feast in Whitehall and it was there, in 1638, that the young Prince Charles was installed into the Order. Although it has been suggested by Millar and others that it may have been this occasion that is recorded by Van Dyck, there is no evidence that this was the case. As a new Knight the prince would have walked at the head of the procession and so would have not been seen in Van Dyck's composition. It would seem more likely that Van Dyck did not have a specific occasion in mind but was showing a generic account of the ceremony. During the day the Knights actually processed twice, to a service in the morning and to their Feast in the evening, but once again it is unclear which Van Dyck is referring to. Nor is it clear that it is Whitehall rather than Windsor which is intended as the location. Indeed, the arched screen in front of which the Knights walk – and which contains sculptures possibly of Edward III and Henry VIII, as Cooper imagines – suggests the Venetian-inspired architecture of Paolo Veronese rather than any particular location. This timeless setting may have appealed to Van Dyck's ambitions of competition with Italian predecessors.

Would Van Dyck have succeeded in his wish to create a reputation as a major history painter, had the project for the Banqueting Hall been finished? Would the requested fee of three hundred thousand *scudi*, which Bellori thought so high, be justified by an outstanding specimen of skill and artistic prowess in producing large compositions with many figures, including elaborated portraits, in an architectural setting? Examining the Ashmolean sketch one is struck by its high quality. Measuring 29.2 x 131.8 cm, it is painted very thinly in brown paint on a prepared ground of light brown. Heightening is provided with strokes of white. At numerous places on the panel Van Dyck's preliminary drawing in pencil can be made out.

Although the grisaille technique does not give us information on the eventual colouristic effects of Van Dyck's paintings and the tapestries based on them, this very swiftly executed sketch does provide compelling evidence of the artist's ability to compose on a large scale. As he had done in the Pembroke Family Portrait, which today dominates the Double Cube Room at Wilton House, Van Dyck has given drama and incident to a large portrait group. Within the procession, there is, as Millar has written, 'a remarkably rich variety of movement and courtly gesture linking the elegant individual figures and groups; and the play of twists and thrusts in, and between, the figures [...] would have been seen in the finished composition on a monumental scale.'

Van Dyck's sketch raises many questions, not only about this extraordinary project, questions which are unlikely to be fully resolved unless further information, in the form of documents or related sketches, comes to light. In the present state of knowledge, it seems that this sketch was the first idea for this immensely ambitious project, made to be shown to the King in an attempt to secure the commission. Sadly, either the King's financial problems or the artist's health precluded any further progress. What remains to us is an outstanding example of Van Dyck's skill and ambition. In 2001 the Ashmolean Museum acquired the sketch from the Trustees of the Belvoir Settlement under the terms of the excellent Acceptance-in-Lieu legislation, which allows for the payment of capital taxation by the donation of pre-eminent works of art to public collections in Great Britain. It is highly appropriate that the grisaille has found its final home in the Museum, which was founded by the historian of the Order of the Garter, at the centre of a superb group of oil sketches by Van Dyck and Rubens.

NOTES

1 This short article, which I intend to expand upon in a future publication, is largely based on the entry for the painting by Sir Oliver Millar in the catalogue raisonné of Van Dyck's paintings, S.J. Barnes, N. de Poorter, O. Millar, & H. Vey, *Van Dyck: A Complete Catalogue of the Paintings*, New Haven & London, 2004, cat. No. IV. 59. I am very grateful to Sir Oliver for making a proof copy of his catalogue entry available to me.

2 O. Millar (ed.), *Abraham van der Doort's Catalogue of the Collections of Charles I (The Walpole Society)*, vol. 37 (1958-60), p. 158. In Bodleian Library, Ms. Ashmole 1514 (f. 161) is added: 'done by Sr Anthonie Vandike.' In Horace Walpole's annotations to his copy of William Bathoe's 1757 publication of the Ashmole 1514 ms. he added, 'This is the Sketch by Vandyck that belonged to the last Earl of Northington & from which he had a print taken.'

3 The sketch was sold on 16th July 1650 for £5 to Wagstaffe. Subsequently it was acquired by Sir Peter Lely; at the sale of his possessions in 1682 it was bought by Austin. It is next recorded in the collection of the 1st Earl of Northington at The Grange in 1758. It passed to the 2nd Earl who died in 1786 and was included in his sale in the following year. In 1782, while the sketch was in the Northington col-

lection, a print was made by Richard Cooper. At the Northington sale of 1787 Reynolds bought the sketch for the 4th Duke of Rutland.

4 The English translation of Bellori's life of Van Dyck used here is taken from C. Brown, *Van Dyck Drawings*, London 1991, p. 21.

5 See Arthur K. Wheelock, Susan J. Barnes and Julius S. Held (eds.), *Anthony van Dyck*, Washington (National Gallery of Art) 1990/1 (exh.cat.), cat no. 102, pp. 364-6.

6 For Charles I's acquisition of the cartoons, see J. Shearman, *Raphael's Cartoons in the Collection of Her Majesty the Queen*, London 1972, pp. 145-8.

MADELON SIMONS

'Das Werk erdacht und cirkulirt'

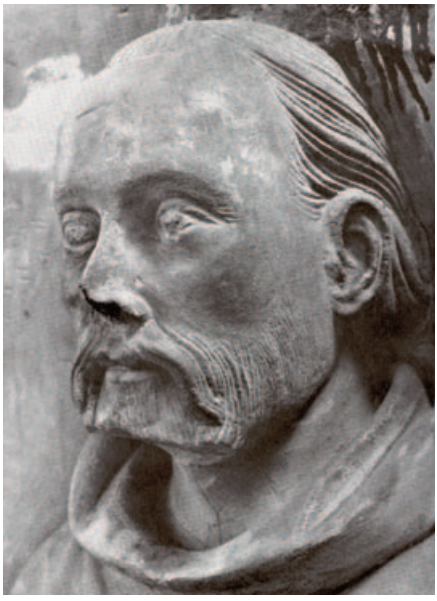
The Position of Architects at the Court of King Ferdinand I of Bohemia and His Son, Archduke Ferdinand II of Austria

For Ernst van de Wetering who emancipated art historical research and left others at court free to move around.

The triforium of the Saint Vitus cathedral at the Prague castle is decorated with a series of busts. This series, which is dated 1374, shows next to the bust of the Bohemian king Charles IV, his family and some prominent members of his court. The architects Matthias of Arras en Peter Parler share a remarkably prominent position on the same level as their patron. Portraits of builders are not rare in gothic churches; they appear quite often and have even been called traditional.[1] It is therefore not Parler's appearance that surprises, but the fact that his portrait has the same size as the king's and that it is positioned in the same row, at the same level high up at this triforium (FIG. 1). Does this equality in position reveal something about the position of these royal architects in the real court life? Reiner Hausherr thinks so, since he suggests that 'maybe already in fourteenth century Prague a kind of Renaissance-like emancipation existed in the manners of patron and artists'. Unfortunately no sources are known that could prove this assumption, as the author concludes sadly.[2]

With this Renaissance-like emancipation Hausherr postulates the change that would have taken place in the position of artists during the fifteenth century. In this period artists supposedly liberated themselves from their position as artisans without a say, bound by all kinds of rules, and began to function as intellectual advisers in close contact with their patrons. Court artists discussed with their patron the way his court should be designed in order to represent his power.

In the following text I would like to pose the same question as Hausherr does on the position of the artists, but here focused on the Prague court between 1527 and 1567. This was the period the Renaissance entered Bohemia seriously, as has been pointed out by authors who analysed the changed forms and designs



LEFT FIG. 1 – Anonymous, *Bust of Master Builder Peter Parler on the Triforium of the Cathedral of Saint Vitus*, Prague
RIGHT FIG. 2 – Leonhard Beck, *Portrait of a Master Builder, Probably B. Ried* (detail of a fresco in the Chapel of Wenzeslas in the Cathedral of Saint Vitus), ca. 1508, Prague

of the royal commissions. These changes were mostly based on the studies of the classical and the Italian art theories and inspired by changes at the Italian courts. They show that the king wanted a different kind of building and a different environment for his courtiers. A court that would allow the king, his nobility and guests to meet outside during the hunt, games or sports close by the castle.

Benedikt Ried, the royal master builder, showed around 1500 that he was acquainted with the Italian building innovations and theory.[3] Analysts of the stylistical elements of the Vladislav Hall within the royal Palace in Prague castle recognise remarkable combinations of gothic constructions of the vaults and renaissancistic proportions (FIG. 3).[4] Little is known about the life or exact status of master Ried. However, the scarce sources and legends about him indicate an influential position. In appreciation of his work on the Vladislav Hall, king Vladislav knighted him not long afterwards. In doing so the king neglected, it seems, the restrictions he had promised the nobility with regards to this privilege.[5] Moreover, like Parler, Ried would have been immortalized in a portrait in the St. Vitus cathedral. On a prominent spot, on a fresco in the chapel of St. Wenceslas, a master builder appears (FIG. 2). This fresco was made in commission of the Bohemian nobility in honour of the abdication of king Vladislav and his wife Anna in 1509. The fresco shows a master builder with angle and compasses

FIG. 3 – Benedikt Ried, *Vladislav Hall*, around 1500, 62 x 16 x 13 m, Prague, Old Palace, Prague castle

in his hand, in a meeting with Erik the king of Denmark. According to Fehr this must be a portrait of master Ried, since he was the most prominent architect at the Prague court at that time.[6]

Apparently the architect's status allowed him to move freely in the company of the Royal guests and to even have his portrait painted in their midst. Much like Parler, Ried seems to have been part of his majesty's closest social circle; yet, again no sources can confirm this presumption. Apart from his knighthood Ried also had other privileges at court. He was granted a house within the Prague castle where he was permitted to live until his death. In Warncke's analyses of the court artists' duties and privileges these are two important characteristics of their special position.[7] A third important element indicating Ried's high position is the fact that he acted as mediator in conflicts between other master builders and the guilds outside Prague. Whether or not Ried was allowed to sit at dinners in the vicinity of the king and to wear cloths indicating his special rank, is not known; according to Warncke such privileges were awarded to court artists elsewhere in Europe. Nor do we know if Ried has been a member of any diplomatic delegation.

When the young king Ludvig died in a battle against the Turks in 1526, his brother in law Ferdinand I of Austria was chosen as king of Bohemia and Hungary.[8] The very aged Ried kept his status at the court of this new king, although the building plans of the Habsburg monarch differed greatly from those of his predecessors. Contrary to Vladislav en Ludvig Jagiello, who had renovated their court within the confinements of the fortified castle, Ferdinand I gave the

commission to make gardens and to build a summer palace outside the walls of the Prague castle. The medieval walls of the castle were literally broken down to construct a gate and a wooden bridge to the other side of the grove. The king could now easily spend his pastime in the countryside, much like Francesco Petrarca had advised rulers to do.[9] From the fourteenth century onwards the Italian nobility had built such rural villas, inspired on Roman examples. While initially fortified, these villas became increasingly open in structure in the fifteenth century and all sorts of gardens usually surrounded them. When planning his summer palace king Ferdinand I was clearly inspired by these Italian precedents, witness the palace's shape with its characteristic arcades and surrounding gardens.[10] The resulting new court marks an important change in architectural style, which is known as the adaptation of the Renaissance at the court in Prague. However, does this change in architectural form and function also implicate changes in the position of the architects working on at these projects? Who were they and what was their relation to the sovereign?

After Benedikt Ried died in 1534, his position as royal architect was left vacant. Although more than thirty Italian craftsmen were sent to Prague to work at the garden project, no one obtained a leading position with a status similar to that of master Ried.[11] The master sculptor Paolo della Stella acted as the craftsmen's supervisor yet he does not seem to have had any previous experience as a leader; before he came to Prague he worked as an assistant for Jacopo Sansovino in Venice.[12] The master builders, bricklayers and sculptors that worked on the summer palace, have left little trace, only a few names are known. In the eight months they worked in Prague every year, they weren't even housed within the walls of the castle.[13] They stayed in the gardens and remained literally outsiders. Sculptor Stella is said to have been the architect of the summer palace, but if he indeed made the design, he did not do so in Prague. The model of the summer palace that was shown to the king, master Paolo brought with him from Genua.[14] Within the Prague court the traditional royal building lodge seems to have been closed and the Italian workers presumably did not work in the restrictive inherent to a lodge. Can one therefore presume that those workers were emancipated, that they were not bound to the traditional rules and that they were allowed to act more freely at the Prague court?

The court hierarchy is fairly complicated to research as the king was mostly absent. Ferdinand I did not have his general residence in Prague, but stayed in Vienna, Graz and Innsbruck as well, when he was not travelling abroad or on campaign. His involvement in the building activities can be found principally in letters and in the reports on financial affairs.

The political situation in Prague was tense; a majority of the Bohemian nobility had joined the German protestant opposition and the king had to find a balance in those political affairs. The circumstances were not favourable for having the courtly use of the new facilities tested. In 1541 a large fire ruined large parts of

the royal palace and the cathedral within the castle. The Italian workmen necessarily had to devote their attention to the restoration activities and as a result of this the activities in the gardens nearly stopped.

More information about the courtly affairs of the Habsburgs in Prague dates from after their victory over the protestant nobility and the Bohemian cities, the Schmalkaldic war in 1547. The king removed all the members of the opposing nobility and punished the cities severely. High taxes were raised and money came in. The king appointed his son, archduke Ferdinand II of Austria to represent him in his Bohemian affairs and the latter started reporting back to his father quite extensively on all sorts of issues and projects, including the building activities.

Ferdinand II, the second son of Ferdinand I and Anna of Hungary, was born in 1529 in Innsbruck. He had been living in Prague since 1544. In that year he received an income and a so-called *Hofstaat*, with more than 120 members of staff.[15] The archduke was very active in his years in Prague. Many of his undertakings can be interpreted as attempts to normalise the situation and to attract a larger part of the Bohemian nobility to his court. In the gardens special enclosed grounds were prepared for tournaments. In the grove between the castle and the gardens deer were set loose to be hunted by the nobility and the king's guests. Although the situation in court was calm and the representative to the king was in residence, there does not seem to have been a royal architect, with a traceable fixed income, a house within the compounds paid by the king and a fitting social status.

In the gardens more than thirty craftsmen continued the work on the summer palace under the leadership of Della Stella. The building had neither a second floor nor a roof and the main hall at the ground floor was not in use for ceremonies, since the Italians were living there. The fragile plants from the botanical and fruit gardens were kept in the basement, in the absence of a greenhouse. The Bohemian clerks complained in their financial reports about the Italians. They did not come back in time from Italy, they used too much wood for their cooking. In those reports full of trivialities nothing can be concluded about the status and freedom of movement of these sculptors, bricklayers and master builders. Artists, most of them Italians, but also Bohemians and Germans worked hard to redecorate the royal apartments in the castle. The king and his son were responsible for many commissions and orders all over Europe.[16]

In 1552 Paolo Della Stella died. Several master builders were sent from Vienna to Prague, but none of them was appointed as a supervisor or as royal architect. Instead, the German-speaking master builders Bonifatius Wolmut and Hans von Tirol were assigned to coordinate the work of a number of Italians.

Nonetheless, the quality of the projects in Prague is high and the projects were innovative, even though the building of the summer palace took more than thirty years.[17] The king and his representative kept putting their faith in the Italian masters, despite the negative information provided by the Bohemian administration. Ferdinand I even knighted four of his Italian architects. This is highly exceptional.[18] Warnke traced forty-five knighted artists in the sixteenth

FIG. 4 – *Hunting Lodge Stern at the Slope of the White Mountain.* This aerial photo must have been taken in around 1935, the building had lost its former function as military gunpowder depot and was empty

century. Among them are Giulio Romano and Giorgio Vasari, who were both very many-sided architects who played an important role as advisers to their sovereigns.[19] Two painters in Habsburg service were knighted too: Titian in 1533 and Jacob Seissenegger in 1554.[20] Warnke explains this high status of the court painter as a result of the nature of their work. They stood in close contact with their sovereign and his family and they visited many other courts while making the portraits. Presumably the architects that were knighted by Ferdinand I were in much closer contact with the king than can be deduced from the documentary evidence. Their work was certainly essential to the ruler.

The focus on Prague is a bit misleading in this respect, for the building projects in Prague are only meant for recreation and embellishment. Many other projects on Austrian soil were focused around fortifications as the Turkish army posed an immense threat. Not surprisingly perhaps, the four knighted architects were also fortress engineers. Their Italian background and education provided the king with an architectural vocabulary he appreciated. Therefore it seems quite possible that the four architects stood in close contact with both the king and his military strategists and played a crucial part in state affairs and subsequently in the social hierarchy.

In Prague the period of the governorship of Ferdinand II was strategically very calm. No fortification was built at all, although there is one beautiful indication that at least one of the mentioned architects was in close contact with the

FIG. 5 – *Plan of the basement of Stern*, Vienna, Österreichischer Nazionalbibliothek, Handschriftensammlungen, Cod.min. 108/1. This text is dated the 25th of June 1555

archduke. Together they may have designed the most remarkable building of the second half of the sixteenth century in Prague: the hunting lodge Stern (Star) White Mountain near Prague.[21] Its ground plan has the form of a six-pointed star. In a draft for the text for what seems to be a foundation stone the archduke is said to have designed the building himself: *'Das werk erdacht und circulirt'* on June 27, 1555.[22] A text written in Italian on the plan of the basement also mentions the archduke as the architect (FIG. 4). Of course, this might be a form of *laudatio*, since the archduke was the most important representative of the king and he

was directly responsible for the project on the hunting grounds of the White Mountain.[23] The text is however unusual, as Stern is unique itself. Ferdinand must have worked very closely with a master builder, perhaps even a fortress builder, who had firsthand knowledge about constructing geometrical forms. Significantly, Stern is built with bricks, the building material the Italians introduced in Bohemia. The stucco decorations on the vault of the main floor are of high quality and show that much attention was paid to the form and the finishing off. Compared to the summer palace, Stern was built very rapidly, in just four years time. Not only the building itself, but also the enclosed ground built on the slope of the hill, was done with great energy. The hand of the fortress builder can be recognized in the solid construction; over four hundred years later, the building is still largely in pristine condition (FIG. 5).

In my opinion archduke Ferdinand must have shared his plans with one of the Italian fortress builders in service of his father. It is not quite clear who this could have been. The painter and architect Pietro Ferrabosco was, together with Domenico de Lallio, the most involved in fortress building.[24] He was in Prague in 1555, the year to which the plans are dated. Detailed studies of his work and his handwriting should be able to reveal if he indeed drew the geometrical plans as well as the ingenious designs for the interiors. In any case, he does not seem to have been involved in the building process, which would be rather peculiar if he indeed worked on the project as an architect.

Another Italian architect who worked in close proximity of the archduke was Giovanni Luchese. He was in Prague in 1555 and worked in the Neue Tiergarten, but he did not have a leading position. In the sixties Luchese is known as a protégé of the archduke; the latter had sent Luchese to inspect the castles of Innsbruck and Ambras the moment when the archduke had inherited Tyrol in 1564. Luchese did not behave according to the rules of the court in Innsbruck. If we are to believe the king's clerks in Innsbruck he was pretentious and incapable of doing his work since he did not speak German.[25] Nonetheless, the archduke appointed him as court architect, preferring him above the court master builder Paul Ushal. Luchese subsequently became responsible for all building activities in the archduke's future residence castle Ambras, an assignment for which he later was knighted.[26] However, I reject the name of Luchese as the architect of Stern. He had to my knowledge no experience in fortress building and the quality of his work in Ambras cannot be compared with Stern. The identity of the man who designed the building is still unknown.

The word Renaissance implies changes and those certainly took place in Prague during the reign of king Ferdinand I, as the palace was renovated and extensions were added in Habsburg Renaissance style. Unfortunately, little evidence indicates the position of architects within the court's social hierarchy. There does not even seem to have been a royal architect in Prague for some time. The free moving, emancipated architects that Hausherr presumes in the fifteenth century

remain elusive at the Prague court of king Ferdinand I. All the more so as no portraits of them have survived. To be fair, no portrait of king Ferdinand has remained in the castle either, apart from the one in his funerary monument in the St. Vitus. Many master builders must have served the king in Prague, but hardly any are known by name.

I would like to postulate the hypothesis that the master builders who created the architectural innovations in Prague, who did the measuring, the planning and made the designs, were not in residence in Prague. If this hypothesis is correct they cannot really be compared with master Parler nor with master Ried. My sense is that master builders like Ferrabosco moved around with the king, worked in the Hofburg in Vienna and elsewhere and were highly respected, in some cases even knighted. The knighted architects did not have to deal with local affairs, they did not even supervise at the actual building sites and in this sense their position was much different from that of their predecessors. The still not identified architect of Stern must have had close contact with his sovereign. Maybe he even sat at the table with archduke Ferdinand II and gave him the feeling that his highness himself had: *'Das Werk erdacht und cirkulirt'*.

NOTES

1 Kurt Gerstenberg, *Die deutschen Baumeisterbildnisse des Mittelalters*, Berlin 1966.
2 Reiner Haussherr, 'Zum Auftrag, Programm und Buestenzyklus des Prager Domchores', *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, 34 (1971), p. 41.
3 Benedikt Ried von Piesting died September 30th 1534. According to the inscription on his gravestone he died at the age of 80. In 1489 his name is mentioned in Prague for the first time. He worked for king Vladislav Jagiello, king in Bohemia from 1490-1509 and later for his son Ludvig. See U. Thieme & F. Becker, *Allgemeines Lexikon der bildenden Künstler von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart* (37 vols.), Leipzig 1907-1950, vol. 28, p. 1934.
4 Eva Samankova, 'Ueber die anfänge der Tschechischen Renaissance-architectur', *Acta* (1907), pp. 115-122.
5 Götz Fehr, *Benedikt Ried*, München 1961, p. 69; Fehr mentions anecdotes about Ried that were recorded long after the building master's death, pp. 78-79.
6 Fehr, *Benedikt Ried* (see note 5), pp. 72-76.
7 Martin Warnke, *Hofkünstler, zur vorgeschichte des modernen Künstlers*, Köln 1985.
8 Ferdinand I of Habsburg (1503-1564) married Anna Jagiello (1504-1547).
9 Comp. Francesco Petrarca, *Vita Solitariana*, as cited in: James Ackerman, *The Villa*, Washington 1990, p. 63.
10 Lietzmann suggests Ferdinand I got his inspiration for gardening during his youth in Spain. He reputedly commissioned to replant the royal gardens of Seville and Valencia when he was still very young. H. Lietzmann, 'Ferdinand I., Verdienste um die Gartenkunst', *Ferdinand I, 1503-1564. Das werden der Habsburgmonarchie*, Vienna 2003 (exh. cat), p. 259. During the garden project in Prague the king had an international network. He asked the duke of Mantua to lend him his gardener Hans Wolhgemut for advise. The Flemish botanist Hugo Velius came over from Leiden and the Italian master Francesco was the master gardener for years. See

Karl Köpl (ed.), 'Urkunden, Acten, Regesten und Inventare aus dem K.K Statthalterei Archiv in Prag', *Jahrbuch der Kunstsammlungen des Allerhochsten Kaiserhauses* X (1889), Statthalterei Archiv regest 6035, d.d. 4/4/1539.

11 Ferdinand mentions the death of '*unser werckmeister*' Ried and proposes to assign his duties to Bonifatius Wolmut. Wolmut had to wait 25 years before he was appointed royal architect. See Köpl, 'Urkunden' (see note 10), Statthalterei Archiv regest 5961.

12 A. Markham Schutz, 'Paolo Stella Milanese', *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz* 29 (1985), pp. 79-110.

13 In the sources some of the members of the Austallis family are mentioned, advice was asked of Johann Tcherte and Hans de Spatio, compare Köpl, 'Urkunden' (see note 10), Statthalterei Archiv regest 6000-6013.

14 Köpl, 'Urkunden' (see note 10), Statthalterei Archiv regest 6000, 1/6/1538.

15 Vaclav Buzek, 'Erzherzog Ferdinand als Statthalter von Böhmen, Residenz, Hof, Alltagsleben und Politik', in: exh. cat. *Ferdinand I* (see note 10), p. 283.

16 Commissions were given to for example smiths of armory, tapestry workshops in Flanders and to painters. A decoration programme was made for the restored rooms and halls of the palace of Vladislav, sources for example in David Ritter von Schönherr (ed.), 'Urkunden und Regesten, K.K. Statthalterei Archiv in Innsbruck', *Jahrbuch der Kunstsammlungen des Allerhochsten Kaiserhauses* XI (1890), regest 6827, 6921, and 7463.

17 Wolmut eventually designed and built the first floor and the roof of the summer palace. Ivan Muchka, 'Die Bautätigkeiten Kaiser Ferdinands I in Prag', in: exh. cat. *Ferdinand I* (see note 10), pp. 249-254.

18 Giovanni Baptista Austallis de Sala was knighted in 1554, Pietro Ferabosco in 1556, Franceso Pozzo in 1556, Dominicus de Lallio in 1558. See Hans von Voltelini (ed.), 'K.u.K Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv in Wien', *Jahrbuch der Kunstsammlungen des Allerhochsten Kaiserhauses* XI (1890), regest 6482, 6470, 6483, and 6490. Compare Warnke, *Hofkünstler* (see note 6), p. 218.

19 Giulio Romano was knighted in Mantua in 1526, as is accounted in Vasari's V*ite*; Vasari himself was knighted in Rome in 1571, as is stated in his *Neue Briefe*; for both sources see Warnke, *Hofkünstler* (see note 6), p. 218 and p. 219.

20 Titian was knighted by Charles V as is stated in Ridolfi's *Meraviglie*; Jacob Seissenegger was knighted by Ferdinand I. See Warnke, *Hofkünstler* (see note 6), p. 218.

21 Madelon Simons, 'Archduke Ferdinand II of Austria, Governor in Bohemia and the Theatre of Representation', *Rudolf II, Prague and the World*, Praha 1998, pp. 270-277.

22 See Voltelini, 'Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv' (see note 18), regest 7143:
'[...]Das Werk erdacht und cirkulirt,
mit sainer tuiren rechten Hand,
Von Osteraich erzherzog Ferdinand [...]'
('[...] The work invented and designed in geometrical forms, with his own valuable right hand, of Austria archduke Ferdinand [...])'.

23 This enclosed hunting field is called '*der Neue Tiergarten*', the old one was in the grove between the castle and the gardens.

24 Pietro Ferrabosco [Ferabosco] was born in 1512 or 1513 in Laino near Como, and died after 1588. He worked for Ferdinand from 1544, first as a soldier and a painter, later he was involved in building practices in Pressburg and Kaiser-Ebersdorf and fortresses in Croatia. Thieme & Becker, *Lexicon* (see note 3), vol. 23, p. 1929. During the building process of Stern in 1556, Ferrabosco was not in Prague but in Tyrnau. He was knighted '*ReichsRitter*' in 1556 (see note 19).

25 Ritter von Schönherr, 'Urkunden und Regesten' (see note 16), regest 9754, 9761, and 9852.

26 See Ritter von Schönherr, 'Urkunden und Regesten' (see note 16), regest 9949.

FIG. 1 – Jacques Louis David, *Self-portrait*, Paris, Musée du Louvre, Inv. No. 3705 © Photo RMN - Droits réservés

MARIETTE HAVEMAN

Crossing the Wall of History

Etienne Delécluze on the Art and Morality of Jacques-Louis David

For recent centuries we have a choice variety of tools at our disposal to prove that this or that event indeed occurred at such and such a time, and the wonderful side-effect of these tools is that they give us more information than we explicitly asked for. Thus on the day when Queen Mother Juliana died, many films were shown, giving astonishing evidence of the changes in the way people behaved only fifty-odd years ago. For one thing the way they moved from A to B was quite different from ours – stiffer, in a way, less fluent, as if they were more self-conscious and at the same time less aware of their own appearance.

Around 1900, 1910, the film recording abruptly breaks off, leaving us to guess how the history of homespun reality would evolve further into the recesses of time. We are left to assume that before the twentieth century people used to move and sound the way they did in the old films, or differently again, in ways we simply cannot know. They remain discreetly hidden behind the wall of time, behind the last glimpses on celluloid, murky scraps of older times helpfully reminding us that the differences between the past and the present lurk in the most unexpected little corners.

For any historian setting out to compose a reconstruction of some past phenomenon this can be a very daunting fact. Art historians in one sense have the advantage that their field of study remains restricted between clear and material parameters: the production of works of art, many of which are still among us. Yet whatever we attempt, the person who made these wonderful objects remains 'a distant stranger long since returned to dust'. This is how Van de Wetering characterized the main subject of his own exploring efforts during almost forty years. As we know this particular stranger was also one of the most famous inhabitants of our part of the world, ever.

Of course the whole field of art history is populated with distant shadows hovering uneasily behind the legacy in our museums, and this puts a sobering perspective on the time and again recurring imperative 'to put an artist in his time'.

FIG. 2 – *Photo of Etienne Delécluze*, Princeton, Laurence Hutton Photograph Albums, Princeton University Library, Manuscript Division, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections

Where are we to begin, doing that? We can safely assume that the raw materiality of the world the old people inhabited was probably similar to ours: sand under their feet, rain in the air, roofs and clothes to protect them from these elements. Like us they had other people to quarrel with, talk to, or to teach. Like us they had views on beauty and morality, and they were very articulate on these too. But it remains very difficult to know, let alone understand, in what ways these were applied in daily practice. We are simply denied access to this domain that our ancestors inhabited.

But as every truly dedicated historian also knows, the wall of time is never entirely opaque. There are unexpected openings, and to the maker of one of these openings I would like to turn in this essay. His name is Etienne Delécluze. He lived from 1781 until 1863, in Paris. During the nineteenth century he was relatively famous as an art critic, less so as a painter in his own right. To us his enormous importance lies in his activities as a writer, pupil and biographer of the great French neo-classicist painter Jacques-Louis David during the 1790s (FIG. 1). Delécluzes book remains one of the most convincing specimens of cultural history that I know. As far as I know, few writers before or after him have ever placed an artist in his time as convincingly as he did. Delécluze wrote his book some fifty years after the events took place, which may have helped him putting things in perspective. This same fact might shed doubt on the accuracy of his remarks. I do not share this doubt, as I will explain below.

In any case, it is astonishing to see how attentive a reporter was hidden in the quiet boy who in 1897 came to follow the great master's tutorials – *le petit d'en haut*, as Delécluze was called, not because of his attitude, but because his first lessons were given him by the painter Charles Moreau in the entresol-like room above the main class of David. For one thing he seems to have known from the start that he attended the studio of not only a great painter, but also the most influential teacher in European art during the 1790s. Where most of us undergo these early learning experiences like sleepwalkers, hardly recognizing, let alone recording, what happens outside our immediate radius, Delécluze, even at a young age, must have possessed an unusually disinterested alertness to events and people more important than himself. (FIG. 2)

And so in 1855, more than fifty years after the event, he tells us things we would like to ask – such as: how the studio was organized, what David actually said to his pupils while making his rounds, how he dealt with differences in talent and temperament; how his studio was furnished, how many students he had at a time, how much half of them paid, the other half having free access, how things like modelling and heating were arranged and how the general curriculum ran –, as well as things we would not think of asking – such as particular turns of phrase or expletives the master often used, where he placed his own strengths and weaknesses, odd physical characteristics, such as the jaw abscess causing a speech deformity, which never seems to have prevented him from sharing his views with the rest of the world; how the footsteps of the secret police sounded; what people ate during those years.

Delécluze also leaves many things unsaid, which is all the more tantalizing as he does give us so many insights. Thus, about the way David organized the making of a huge canvas like *The Crowning of Napoleon*, he leaves us in complete ignorance. Delécluze does tell us that the more accomplished students were allowed to assist, and also that this assistance generally took the form of the plotting of the perspective, or modelling. But how we would love to know more about the way he built up such an incredibly demanding task. He does not tell us much at all, for that matter, about the basics of how David set out to compose a canvas. The reason for this is partly that David seems to have kept this part of his work rather private. For example, the pupils were only allowed access to his *Sabines* once it was finished.[1]

There is also the matter of authenticity: how are we to know that what Delécluze does tell us, is true? At best he may have strengthened certain episodes, coloured or dramatized them, at worst he may have made them up. There is little proof to be found one way or the other – except in an intuition we all have as to the credibility of what our spokesman has to say. What gives such an overwhelming impression of real life in this book is, for one, to be found in the fleeting remarks he makes about the way things went, the surplus information he disinterestedly provides on the daily doings in David's studio. A wonderful example of this lies in his recording of the habit students had of singing long-forgotten revolutionary or

anti-revolutionary street-songs during the long hours of toiling behind their canvases, and how this singing was syncopated to the rhythm of the working brushes and concentration of the working minds (*'le fa-*...pause...*-natisme insensé, l'ennemi juré-*...long pause...*-de notre liberté est ex-pi-ré!!'*). It takes the cunning of a Tolstoy-like novelist to evoke scenes like that out of pure imagination, and I don't think Delécluze had a mind or the least ambition in that direction. He was not a good writer in any literary sense – a fact contemporary writers like Stendhal and Sainte-Beuve, who knew him, did not fail to point out.

Another impressive stamp of truth rests, to my mind, on the way Delécluze deals with the complicated character of the man to whom he devoted most of his career. Contrary to some critics who contest Delécluze's exorbitant admiration for David, I find the image he draws of his master totally convincing, the more so *because* this clear admiration does not prevent him at all to be outspoken on the man's wretched and sometimes disastrous sense of judgment in worldly matters, like David's friendship with Robespierre. He goes about these in a very thoughtful way, and it is clear that he doesn't enjoy making certain observations. But he makes them all the same. Of course David's great talent stands beyond doubt, it still glares at us from his *Marat* and *Récamier*, and Delécluze gives some interesting examples of the subtlety and dexterity with which David knew how to manipulate his gift. Again these are all the more interesting because of the unhampered view he allows us of David's self-acknowledged limits: his relentless need for a model (furnished by a nice supply in the shape of an unending stream of beautiful young male students in his studio), his insecurity in matters of perspective, and most interesting, his need for an enthusiasm outside the realm of art. David's tendency toward infatuation makes Delécluze's book a bit tiring at times, tempting the reader, as I certainly did, into skipping passages, such as his faithful recording of the raving, ten-page speeches David made in praise of his most recent love or other descriptions of David's rather fickle enthusiasms. David, the great master as seen through the eyes of the revering but never raving Etienne was a bit of a bigot, and this bigotry seems to have been the fuel to his talent. Blundering his way through contemporary politics, he made some of his best paintings. And when his last hero Napoleon left him and he went into a relatively comfortable exile in Brussels, his art waned into myth and fantasy, two subjects which, as David knew himself, he was not so good at because they left him relatively cold. *Mars, Disarmed by Venus and the Graces* (Brussels, 1834) is a very well-made painting, but also very slick. If standing alone it would never have crossed the wall of time right into our century, the way his *Brutus*, *Marat* and *Napoleon* do. *'Je n'aime ni je ne sense le merveilleux; je ne puis marcher à l'aise qu'avec le secours d'un fait réel'*, Delécluze quotes him saying. And the paintings still stand in affirmation of this important piece of self-knowledge Delécluze records in his subject.

Did this extremely rare quality of observation make Delécluze a celebrity in cultural history? Well, if so only in a very limited sense. The posthumous Delécluze

has met the fate of practically all his colleagues in the field of art history: while his legacy is sometimes extensively picked (a book like *The Dawn of Bohemianism* by George Levitine would hardly have existed without this source, and likewise Delécluze is mentioned sooner or later whenever the talk is of David),[2] today no one seems to feel obliged to pay homage to this modest and attentive historian of his own time. For one thing, the book cannot be found in the art-historical section of the Utrecht University library. Also it does not seem to have been digested very thoroughly by many of David's historians in the twentieth century. Those events in Paris from the seventeen eighties into the nineties themselves are generally sketched in the most passing adjectives, as a colourful *décor* for the noble political as well as artistic involvement of the great masters of Western art history. Rosenblum in his standard work *Art of the Nineteenth Century* praises David for his 'power to re-create a complex story as a timeless emblem'.[3] Arnold Hauser in his *Sozialgeschichte der Kunst* assigns the painter as 'the most persuasive refutation of the thesis that political ends and authentic artistic quality would be irreconcilable.'[4] Michael Levey goes one step further in his book *Rococo to Revolution*, for years compulsory reading for students of art history.[5] David's own teachers, reinventors of classicism in their own right but dressing it in the dreamy atmosphere of rococo are being covered in verbal acid, as superficial, frivolous weaklings whose art was fed on a watery diet of sentimental novels. For a reader in the year 2005 it is surprising to observe the former director of the National Gallery wrapping his praise for David in military fulminations against his teacher Joseph Vien. 'The century had been waiting a long time for a truly moral artist, a regenerator, a patriot, a great painter who was also an admirer of the antique. That David's revolutionary qualities should not be only artistic but also political is part of the price that the century had to pay; it was the opposite extreme from the uncommitted yet *serviable* nature of the rococo. So much eighteenth-century art lacked a cutting edge? David answered with the guillotine.'

If these commentators have made the effort to read Delécluze they have missed or dismissed the point of all he has to say about David's relation to the world around him to an astonishing degree. Of all the arguments in praise of David which can be gathered from Delécluze, the one of him being an artist with a well-adjusted moral compass is conspicuously lacking. According to Delécluze, Robespierre and Marat were monsters, and if David drew on them profitably in an artistic sense, this was certainly not because he had a moral right to do so (FIG. 3). Yet up until now this part of David's reputation, even in balanced revisions of Levey's attack on Rococo, is left mostly intact. Thus even the level-headed Matthew Craske writes in his *Art in Europe, 1700-1830*: 'David strongly associated moral rectitude with physical clarity and social reform with the reimposition of visual perspicuity. His whole technique functioned as an emblem of his broader moral agenda.'[6]

Even amongst people who agree on David's duplicity in moral versus artistic matters, his poor biographer has not been safe. In the most recent case of Delécluze-bashing that I have encountered, Richard Wrigly, in his essay 'The

FIG. 3 – Jacques Lous David, *The Death of Marat* (1793), oil on canvas, 165.0 x 128.3 cm, Brussels, Musees Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique

Politics of Composition: Reflections on Jacques-Louis David's *Serment du jeu de paume*', accused our biographer of 'an exculpatory strategy to absolve his master from responsibility for his involvement in the Jacobin Republic.' The strategy being David's 'return to a simpler imitation of nature'.[7]

Reading Delécluze's *Louis David, son école et son temps*, this accusation, as I hope to have made clear, can only be qualified as a muddling up of crucially separate issues of morality. Delécluze is very explicit and personal in his account of the atrocities of the regime of Robespierre. His tale of his mother and himself being caught by the sight of the *charrettes* rolling toward the guillotine has a Soviet-like reality. This is the setting in which Delécluze places his hero and his ill-chosen friendship with the man who was largely responsible for the Terror regime. He certainly does not gloss over this fact. He even tells us how it damaged David's marriage and how his behaviour in the direct aftermath was anything but brave. Yet Delécluze is clear-sighted enough, as few critics have been in retrospect, to see how this same terrible mistake worked to David's advantage in artistic matters.

What becomes clear of so much of the David literature is how difficult it is to separate real morals from artistic ones. The two are very much related by analogy, as Van de Wetering has made clear in the impressive epilogue to his *Rembrandt. The painter at work*. Here he explains how great art has a core of truthfulness, an inner logic giving the sense that the work was not 'made' but has 'become': 'It is one of the most intriguing aspects of art, and in my view it is just this which gives art a certain moral quality.'[8]

David's return to a simpler imitation of nature during the years of Robespierre is a simple fact, confounded by his great paintings, which combine the sobriety of a really staged scene with the sense of beauty and *gravitas* that David bestowed on all his subjects drawn from reality. Indeed these paintings have an impressive inner consistency, strongly suggesting anything but a fickle nature in their author. Surely this is what saved David himself during the years of settling scores following the Terror. However people may have despised him for his actions and allegiances, for good reason, as an artist he was beyond comparison.

NOTES

1 Etienne J. Delécluze, *Louis David, son école et son temps*, Paris 1855 (ed. Editions Macula 1983).
2 George Levitine, *The Dawn of Bohemianism: the 'Barbu' Rebellion and Primitivism in Neoclassical France*, London 1978.
3 Robert Rosenblum & Horst W. Janson, *Art of the Nineteenth Century*, London 1984.
4 Arnold Hauser, *Sozialgeschichte der Kunst und Literatur*, München 1953.
5 Michael Levey, *Rococo to revolution. Major Trends in Eighteenth-century Painting*, London & New York 1966.
6 Matthew Craske, *Art in Europe, 1700-1830: a history of the visual arts in an era of unprecedented economic growth*, Oxford 1997.
7 Richard Wrigly, 'The Politics of Composition: Reflections on Jacques-Louis David's *Serment du jeu de paume*', in: François Quiviger & Paul Taylor (eds.), *Pictorial Composition from Medieval to Modern Art*, London & Torino 2000, pp. 198-216.
8 Ernst van de Wetering, *Rembrandt. The Painter at Work*, Amsterdam 1997.

ERIC JAN SLUIJTER

Goltzius, Painting and Flesh; or, Why Goltzius Began to Paint in 1600

For many visitors to the spectacular Goltzius exhibition held in 2003 in Amsterdam, New York and Toledo,[1] the paintings would have come as a surprise. After admiring around 175 more or less chronologically arranged drawings, engravings and penworks, delicate virtuoso performances in the handling of line, one suddenly came to a group of eleven large and colourful paintings with rather naturalistic life-size figures, that seemed far removed from Goltzius' work as a draftsman and engraver. Visitors may have wondered why Goltzius started to paint so suddenly and why so late in his career? Apart from that, many of them may have reacted in the same way as journalists who reviewed the exhibition in Dutch and American newspapers: 'acres of erotic flesh', 'a lot of fleshy nudity', or 'all the paintings are about one thing: flesh, its texture, its colour, its chemistry. Willem de Kooning once said that oil paint was made for depicting flesh: Goltzius would probably have agreed.'[2] In fact, Karel van Mander already noted how 'miraculously fleshily' Goltzius' painted nudes were, after having described his transformation into a painter as – indeed – a sudden occurrence: as if it were some kind of miracle.[3] But how to explain this abrupt metamorphosis into a painter of lifelike human flesh, if we do not believe in miracles?

That was the question that urged itself upon me too, after having seen this exhibition. Several reasons have been given for Goltzius' decision to start painting, often crediting Van Mander as being the prime influence. It has been argued repeatedly that Goltzius' move to painting was theoretically inspired and followed Van Mander's ideals.[4] Indeed, Van Mander called drawing the body and painting the soul of art.[5] Several authors cited the lines from Van Mander's biography of Jacques de Gheyn, a pupil of Goltzius, in which he writes how De Gheyn moved from draftsman and engraver to painter. De Gheyn was of the opinion that his career as engraver had been a waste,[6] because 'oil painting, working with colour, was the highest endeavour in art and by far the best means to come as close as possible to nature in all her aspects by way of representation'.[7] One might indeed

assume that Van Mander saw in Goltzius' career a justification for his own theoretical position, but that does not mean that Goltzius obediently followed Van Mander's ideas and theories; in many instances it might even have been the other way round. I do not think that 'it is warranted to presume that Van Mander's ideas were indeed a significant factor in Goltzius' decision to become a painter', as is stated in the catalogue.[8] If that were the case, why did Goltzius – who seems to have been highly ambitious and anxious to be praised as a great artist – wait until 1600, when he was already 42 years old, before he started to paint? After all, Van Mander had been his friend since 1583.

Let us first consider how Van Mander informs us about Goltzius' transition to the art of painting. Before he embarks on Goltzius' career as a painter, Van Mander concludes his extensive discussion of Goltzius' engravings and drawings with the words: 'I do not believe that anyone else is so sure and quick at drawing a figure and even an entire history offhand without making a sketch, completed with the pen in one go so perfectly and precisely and with such great liveliness. With this we allow his artful pen to rest – in the art of which he will always remain the king – so that we now can tell about his paintings.'[9] Thus, this part ends with the statement that Goltzius has achieved the highest in the art of drawing (engraving was discussed by Van Mander as part of this art):[10] Goltzius had surpassed everybody and would remain the one who reigns in this field.

Having said this, Van Mander begins the paragraphs about Goltzius' paintings by relating what happened when Goltzius came back from Italy in 1591, nine years before he started to paint: 'When Goltzius returned from Italy he had impressed the beautiful Italian paintings as firmly in his memory as in a mirror, so that wherever he went he still saw them continuously before him: now it was the sweet grace of Raphael that he enjoyed, then the natural appearance of the flesh of Correggio, then the advancing highlights and recessive fleeing depths [i.e. shadows] of Titian, or the beautiful silken material and well-painted things of Veronese and others in Venice – so that the works from his native land could no longer entirely satisfy him. For painters it was stimulating and instructive to hear him talk on this subject, for he spoke all about glowing flesh parts, glowing shadows and such unfamiliar and little heard expressions. When he drew something, then the flesh parts in particular had to be coloured with crayons: and thus he eventually proceeded to brushes and oil paint only two years after he was cured or weaned from suckling the breast, when he was no less than 42 years of age, in 1600.'[11]

Van Mander underlines in this passage that it was his visit to Italy that made Goltzius think and talk incessantly about painting; and the things he thought and talked about entirely concerned the Venetian and North Italian art of *colorito* – using terms that tried to describe its specific qualities. The only Tuscan/Roman artist mentioned is Raphael, and then it was the sweet grace that had enchanted him; for the rest it was natural appearance of flesh, advancing

highlights and deep shadows, glowing flesh, glowing shadows, beautiful textiles and other well-painted things. There is one other passage in which Van Mander explicitly tells us something about Goltzius' admiration of certain paintings in Italy. In the life of Correggio he writes about the *Mystic Marriage of St. Catherine*: 'Just like the sun outshines all other celestial bodies in clearness, so does this painting by its outstanding excellence. Goltzius, who has a good judgement and saw this painting when he was in Rome, told me that immediately his art loving eyes were drawn to it with great delight and pleasure, being truly amazed by the very beautiful manner of rendering and the lovely glow of the colouring.'[12]

The fact that Van Mander informs us that Goltzius extensively told other painters about all this and could not appreciate any longer what the painters in his own country were doing, adding that Goltzius himself now felt the need to colour the flesh of the nudes in his drawings with coloured crayon, makes one wonder even more why he did not start painting right away. If all this had become so obsessively important for him, why did he wait for another nine years? The simplest answer seems to be: because he could not paint.

In Van Mander's account it is a very sudden event that Goltzius starts to paint in 1600. As of that time Goltzius was immediately making highly accomplished works for which collectors were willing to pay huge prices.[13] Van Mander describes it as if Goltzius was born anew – which even more separates his activities as a painter from that of the draftsman. The rebirth is announced with precise date and underlined with a jest: it was only two years after he was weaned from the breast. This refers to information Van Mander gave two pages earlier, where he tells that Goltzius had to suckle a woman's breast as a cure for his dangerous disease – his friends thought he was going to die, Van Mander tells – and this disease was diagnosed by Van Mander as a very serious case of melancholy.[14] But now Goltzius was reborn and, moreover, he appeared to be a child prodigy. He could suddenly paint, only two years after he was given the breast. The expression 'suckling the breast' was also used metaphorically by Van Mander in the *Grondt* and the *Lives*, meaning 'getting instruction'; at the same time it recalls the image of *Pictura* as a nurturing mother with which Van Mander opens his book.[15] Thus, the implication seems to be that Goltzius was reborn after having sucked from *Pictura*'s breast, while this cured him from his terrible illness as well. What may all this mean?

Van Mander described Goltzius as the king in the art of the pen and burin. This would have concurred with Goltzius' own self-image: he was the greatest master in the art of drawing, the *teyckenkonst* – as exemplified by his spectacular oeuvre of drawings and engravings. He had proved that by practicing those arts one could become one of the truly famous artists of Europe. As long as the most prestigious conception of art was based on the *disegno* ideal – the ideal of the line as the expression of the invention originating in the mind – he did not have to be a

painter to achieve this. Besides, as Walter Melion extensively argued, Goltzius' conception of *teyckenkonst* was essentially that of an art of imitation, in particular of imitating *handelingen* (methods/manners of rendering) of the great artists of past and present.[16] This was the way in which he competed with all of them. As Van Mander tells us, he was the 'rare Proteus or Vertumnus in the art', the Protean artist, who could transform himself in all shapes – taking on different *handelingen*: during the first half of his career he set out 'with miraculous skill to imitate the various manners of Maarten van Heemskerck, Frans Floris, Anthonie Blocklandt, Federigo Zuccaro and finally Bartholomeus Spranger',[17] and later in his career he did so in optima forma with the styles of Albrecht Dürer and Lucas van Leyden in several prints and print series. These were all *handelingen* that were based in the first place on line. As long as the art as he knew it – and which he imitated and emulated as no one else had done – was in essence based on line (and up till his Italian sojourn his knowledge of contemporary Italian painters almost exclusively would have been based on reproductive engravings), he could see himself as the supreme master, surpassing northern masters as well as Italians by way of his specific conception of *teyckenkonst*.

However, this self image may have fallen apart during his stay in Italy. There he was confronted with great art he was not prepared for and he could not compete with: the art that made such a devastating impression on Goltzius was essentially an art of paint and colour and the artists mentioned were precisely the ones canonized by Ludovico Dolce as the masters of colouring.[18] Ludovico Dolce, the great advocate of *colorito*, argued in his *L'Aretino* of 1557, basically a response to Vasari's subordination of Venetian masters to the Florentine *disegno*-ideal, that by *colorito* the painter should persuade and captivate the viewer by deceiving his eyes pleasurably, rendering the appearance and variety of natural things, especially of the most important and the most difficult: the color and texture, the hue and the softness, of human flesh.[19] The objective of Titian's style was described by Dolce as: 'Titian [...] moves in step with nature, so that every one of his figures has life, movement and flesh that palpitates. He has shown in his works no empty gracefulness, but a palette which is properly appropriate: no artificiality in ornament, but a masterly concreteness: no crudity, but the mellowness and softness of nature. And the highlights and shadows in his creations always contend and interplay with one another, and fade out and decrease in the very same way as nature itself has them do'.[20] That must have been precisely what captivated Goltzius: this was an entirely different conception of art, and one he could only compete with *if* he were a painter – but he wasn't.

Shortly after he came home, Goltzius made the *Meisterstiche*, introduced by Van Mander as '[...] six pieces, which he did after he returned from Italy: since he remembered what *handelingen* he had seen everywhere, he demonstrated with one and the same hand the various *handelingen* following his own invention [...]'[21] Thus, apart from the two prints in the style of Dürer and Lucas van Leyden, he appropriated in the other four prints the manners of several contemporary Italian

masters. However, he could only do so by way of making his versions look like beautiful reproductive engravings after paintings of such artists, capturing pictorial manners by linear means – which he did masterfully, for instance with his 'Bassano' *Adoration of the Shepherds* (FIG. 1).[22] In drawings he often coloured the flesh of his nudes with crayon, as Van Mander tells us, and in engravings he brilliantly suggested with the burin the 'appearance of flesh that is *polposa* (pulpy) and *tenera* (tender) and that invites the tender caress of the eyes', as Walter Melion argued in his discussion of Goltzius' *Pygmalion* print of 1593, pointing out that he achieved effects associated with painting, such as *sfumato* (blurring), *morbidezza* (softness) and *vaghezza* (charm) (FIG. 2).[23]

These drawings and prints were great achievements, but one wonders if such endeavours were not frustrating in the end and even may have aggravated his melancholy! Towards 1600 he also devised the brilliant invention that I discussed extensively elsewhere: his *Visus* print, an *Allegory of Sight*, that shows in its centre the nude Venus as the subject of a painter sitting before his easel (FIG. 3).[24] In this complex invention *Visus* and *Pictura* are merged in the figure of the nude Venus, paragon of beauty and seductress of the senses. It deals with the relation between Venus, *Visus* and *Pictura*: the depiction of (nude) female beauty, the sense of sight and the art of painting, affirming the power that painting has over the sense of sight: offering sensual delight and eliciting desire. It underlines emphatically Goltzius' preoccupation with such matters at this point in time. The only way to compete with the great masters in this newly discovered art was to become a painter himself; and at last he became one – but not before 1600.

Now we should ask the question: how did Goltzius learn to paint? To become the accomplished painter that he immediately seemed to be, takes a long time. To acquire all the knowledge and tricks of the techniques of oil painting is not something one learns overnight. Moreover, there was nobody in Holland he could turn to. As a famous master he could hardly go to Cornelis van Haarlem or Van Mander and mingle with their pupils. Besides, no one in Haarlem could have taught him the 'Venetian' manner of painting that had such an impact on him. So the question is: who could teach him precisely the techniques to paint the glowing flesh and glowing colours he was so crazy about and which he *did* learn after all? The obvious answer seems to be: the young Frans (also François or Francesco) Badens.

Van Mander informs us that Frans Badens travelled together with Goltzius' stepson Jacob Matham to Italy, where they stayed for four years; they must have left in 1593 and returned in 1597.[25] Badens would have been one of the young painters who loved to listen to Goltzius' account about painting in Italy and Goltzius would have been able to tell this friend of his stepson where to go, what to look at and what to learn. Van Mander introduces Badens as a painter who played an important role in the recent changes in the art of the Netherlands, 'especially in relation to colouring, flesh colours and shadows', with the result that

FIG. 1 – Hendrick Goltzius, *Adoration of the Shepherds*, 1594, engraving, 461 x 350 mm

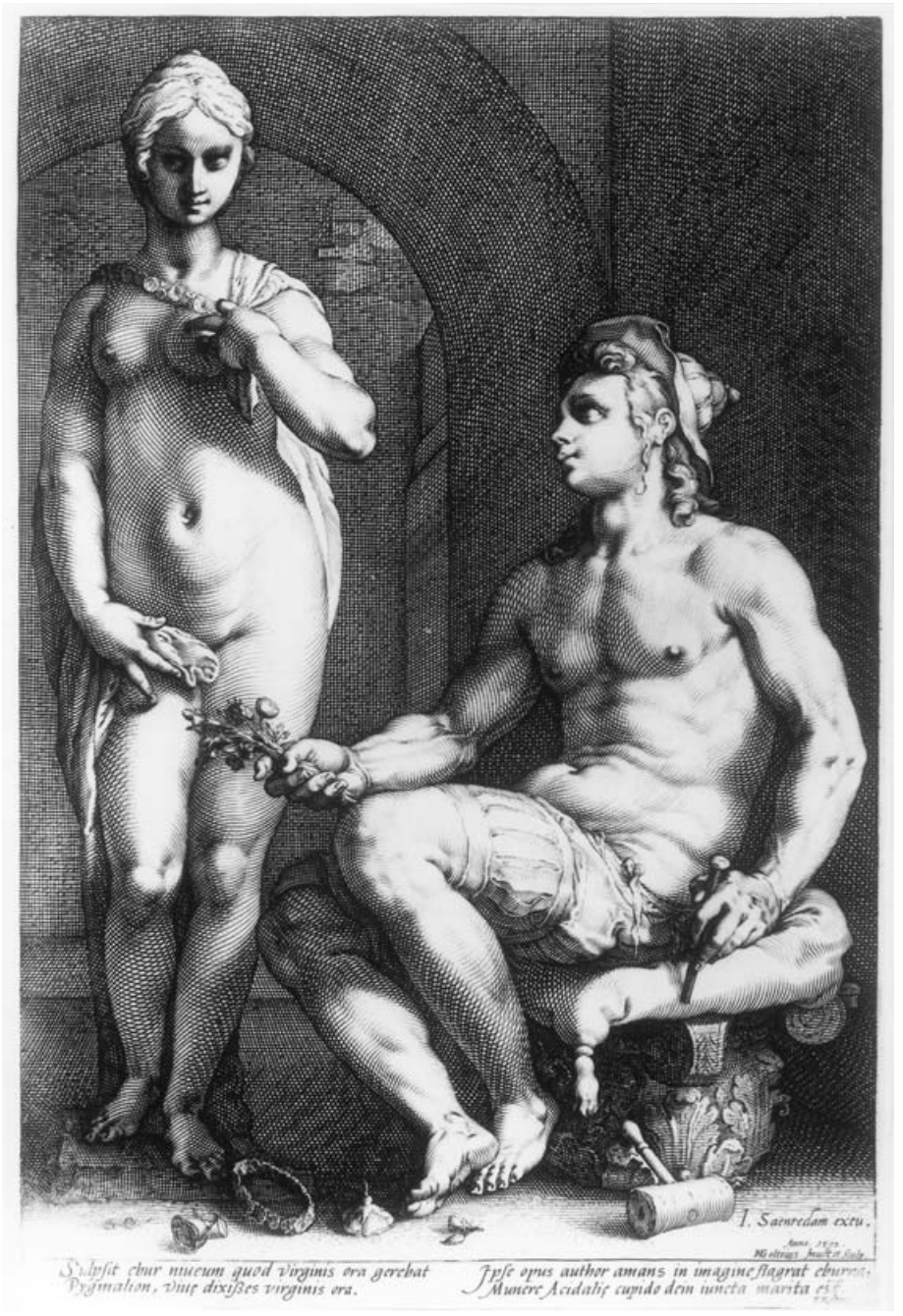


FIG. 2 – Hendrick Goltzius, *Pygmalion and the Ivory Statue*, 1593, engraving, 315 x 215 mm

FIG. 3 – Jan Saenredam after Hendrick Goltzius, *Allegory of Visus and the Art of Painting*, c. 1598-1601, engraving, 244 x 182 mm

FIG. 4 – Frans Badens, *The Lovemaking of Venus and Adonis*, 1596, black chalk, with brown and gray washses and some touches of oil paint, 227 x 181 mm, London Courtauld Institute Galleries

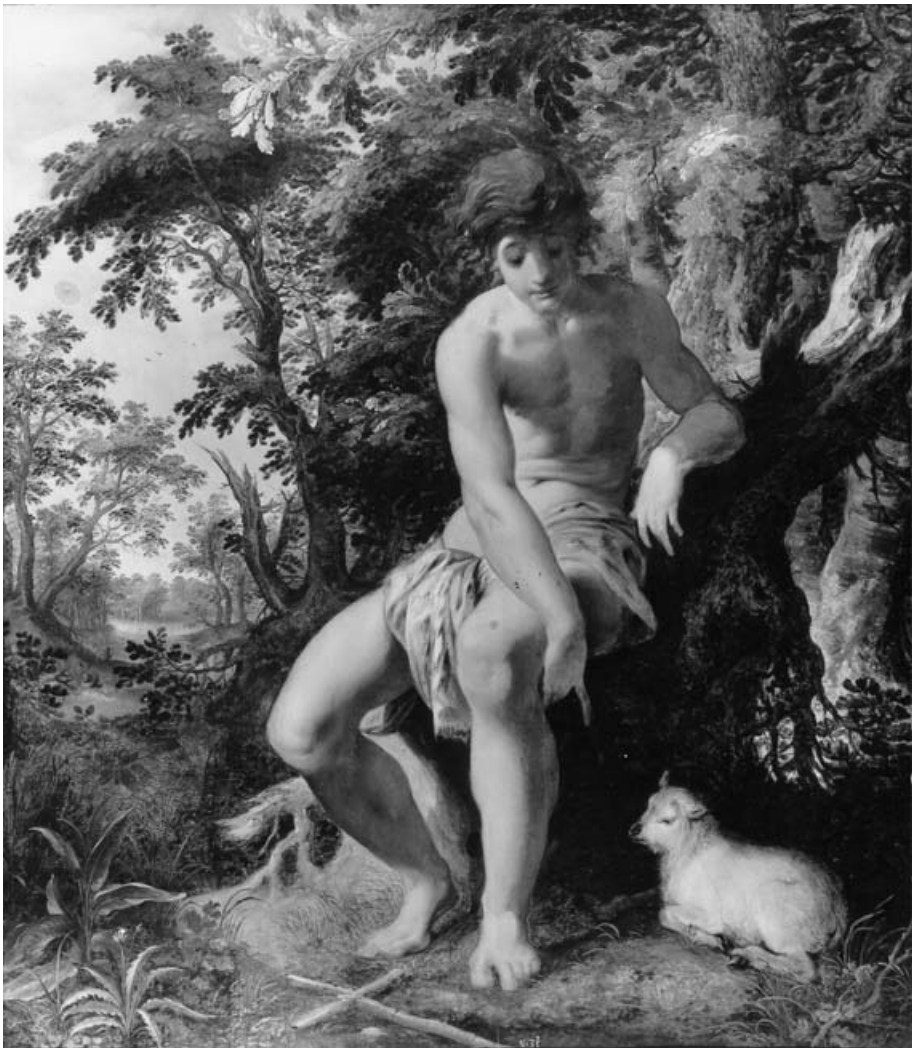


FIG. 5 – Attributed to Frans Badens, *St. John the Baptist in the Wilderness*, panel, 113 x 98,5 cm, Salzburg, Residenz Galerie (on loan from the Schönborn Buchheim collection)

the usual 'stony greyness, or a pale, fish-like, chilly colour' disappeared and was replaced by a 'glow in the flesh colour and flesh-coloured shading'.[26] Van Mander then tells that, after returning home, Frans Badens was called 'the Italian painter' because he was the first in Amsterdam to bring the newest Italian manner to this country: 'for he has a very beautiful, flowing and glowing method of rendering, being an excellent master, whether painting histories, faces or portraits.' Badens seems to have done precisely what Goltzius needed.[27] And now he was the one that could teach him – which, if I am right, must have happened between 1597 and 1600.

We know that there were many contacts between the two artists: Badens, for instance, owned two of Goltzius' penworks, one of which he sold to the Emperor – the work now in Philadelphia.[28] More important is that Balthasar Gerbier, in his lament on the death of Goltzius, names Badens as Goltzius' best friend: 'He was his most beloved friend, never did Goltzius come to the Amstel/ Or Badens was the first to welcome him.'[29] However, although Badens was considered an important painter by contemporaries, we do not know any paintings that can be attributed to him with certainty.[30] Only two signed coloured chalk drawings made in Italy are known; these are close to Goltzius' coloured drawings from this period, showing nude figures in a soft modelling with hardly any lines (FIG. 4).[31] As we learn from Van Mander and from contemporary inventories, Badens must have favoured large paintings with nudes in biblical or mythological subjects, for instance *Bathsheba Bathing*, *Judith with the Head of Holofernes*, *Lot and his Daughters*, *Baptism of Christ*, *Lucretia*, *Venus*, *Rape of Ganymede*, *Bacchus and Ceres*:[32] it reads like a list of works by Goltzius. A painting attributed to Badens, *St. John the Baptist* in Salzburg (FIG. 5), looks like the kind of work that one might expect of him, although this is impossible to prove. According to Paul Taylor, the painting shows in the depiction of flesh the same technique that Goltzius used, which can indeed be described as 'glowing': in the shadows we see greyish scumbles over a red underpainting that shines through and creates the warm, glowing depths. The red underpainting, in which red ochre, organic red or vermilion are mixed, constitutes a second layer over a cool grey ground. The third layer also contains some red, but consisted mainly of lead white.[33] As Paul Taylor argued convincingly, this must have been Goltzius', and probably also Badens', technical solution to suggest this 'glowing fleshiness'.[34]

Hence, I suggest that now that Goltzius had learned from the young Badens how to paint, he was cured from his melancholy and could conquer the world again. He was already the king of *teyckenkonst*; now he could truly compete in the art of *colorito* as well. Using this 'newest beautiful manner' he would immediately outshine his most direct rivals in the Netherlands, painters like Cornelis van Haarlem and Abraham Bloemaert.

But one question remains: why did he inaugurate his career as a painter with two small works that refer to northern styles of the early 16th century and are painted

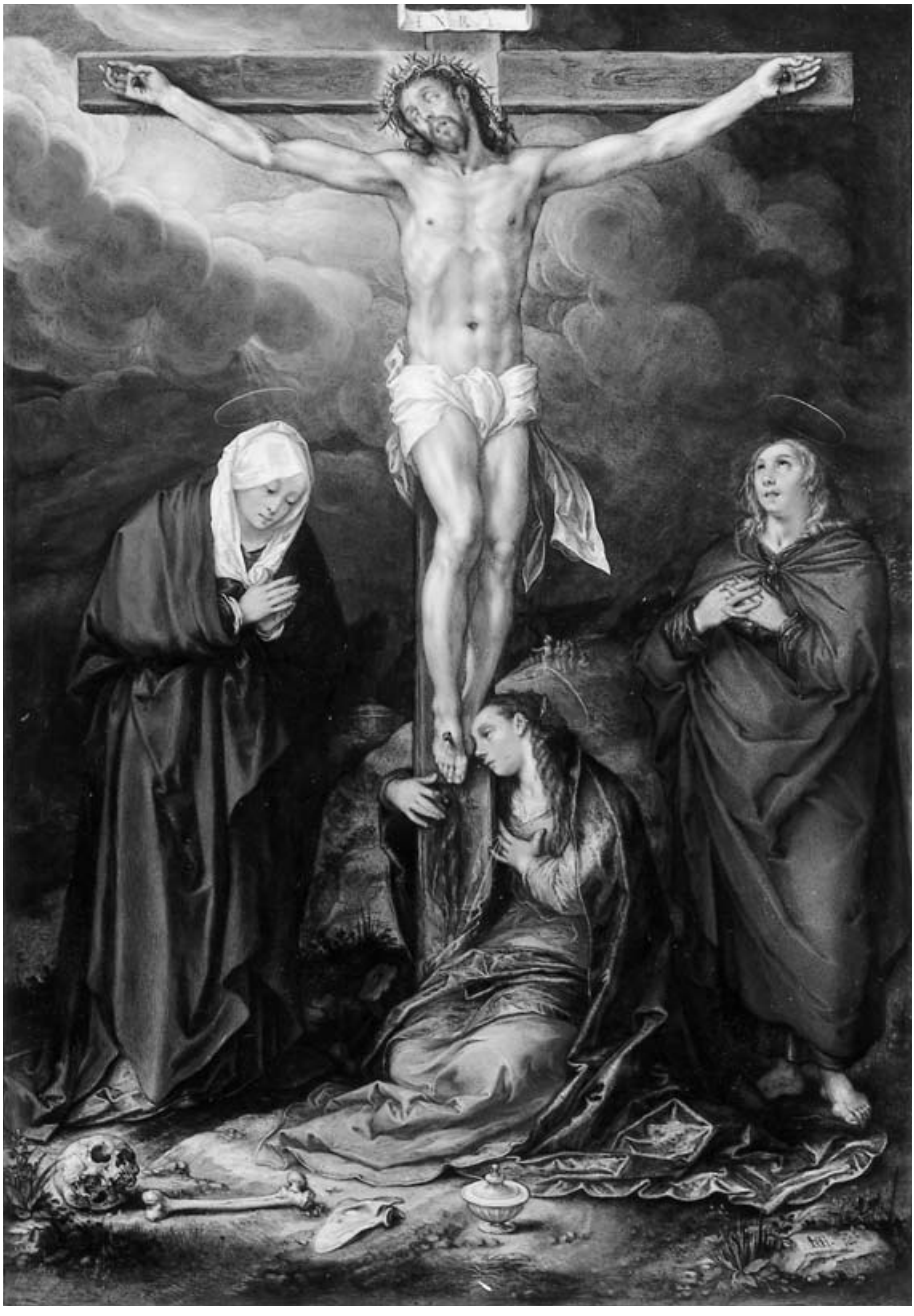


FIG. 6 – Hendrick Goltzius, *Christ on the Cross, with Mary, St. John and the Magdalene*, c. 1600, copper, 43.3 x 29.4 cm, Karlsruhe, Staatliche Kunsthalle Karlsruhe

FIG. 7 – Hendrick Goltzius, *Danaë*, 1603, canvas, 173.3 x 200 cm, Los Angeles, Los Angeles County Museum of Art

on copper plates in a refined and detailed technique (FIG. 6)?[35] The use of copper plates, in particular for small, smooth, highly detailed and expensive paintings, was developed in northern Italy and immediately taken up by northern masters in particular, especially Germans working or having worked in Italy, like Johann Rottenhammer, Adam Elsheimer and Hans von Achen.[36] For his first public venture in painting, Goltzius started with small religious paintings with devotional subjects, *Christ on the Cross* and *Christ on the Cold Stone*, using a style most fitting for such subjects and particularly suited to elicit an emotional response. Demonstrating that also as a painter – in the field of precious devotional pictures for which *oltramontani* had been famous – he could compete with the northern masters of the past, seems to have been his first step (as an engraver he had done something similar in his *Meisterstiche*), matching himself in particular against the greatest of all, Albrecht Dürer, but infusing this archaic style with his newly learned 'glowing' fleshtones. With those paintings he catered to the tastes of Roman Catholic art lovers, among them Rudolph II, who was willing to pay fantastic prices for such works.[37]

FIG. 8 – Hendrick Goltzius, *Vertumnus in the Guise of an Old Woman with Pomona*, 1613, canvas 83.5 x 146.5 cm, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum

But in the meantime he was working on the painting which should position him in the forefront of contemporary art: the *Danaë*, his first life-size female nude, finished in 1603 – now still the high point of his career as a painter (FIG. 7). As I have argued before, the choice of *Danaë* was certainly not an accidental one.[38] I am convinced that the painting may even be considered as a kind of manifesto. After all, it was Titian's *Danaë* that elicited the first emphatic exposition about the contrast between the Venetian *colorito* and the Tuscan *disegno*, supposedly from the mouth of Michelangelo, written down by Vasari and in extenso repeated by Karel van Mander.[39] Ever since, painters could take sides, choosing for the one or the other, or trying to combine the two. The last was obviously Goltzius' goal and Van Mander makes that clear in the way he describes the *Danaë*: 'This nude is painted miraculously fleshily and plastically and displays great study of contours and structure':[40] 'miraculously fleshily and plastically' being obviously terms referring to the 'Venetian' manner – Goltzius used the new methods to make the flesh as glowing and palpable as he could and he did so within the framework of the Venetian Venus type, but he took pains that it showed at the same time 'great study in contours and structure', that is, precisely drawn contours, and well structured anatomy – ideals of *disegno* – even incorporating the pose of Michelangelo's *Dawn*.[41]

Moreover, *Danaë* was a subject that gave painters the opportunity to compete with a legendary painting from antiquity that was said to have provoked a young man to rape a girl, a story often referred to in the sixteenth century as proof of the power of images over the senses, particularly in the provocative effect of erotic paintings.[42] Because of this it became in the sixteenth century the

prototype of a portrayal which aimed at arousing the senses of the viewer and a subject par excellence for painters to compete in making the nude as lifelike and as sensual as possible, especially by depicting skin and flesh, resulting in some of the most sensual nudes in the history of art: the *Danaë's* by Titian, Correggio, and Rembrandt, and, we may add, by Goltzius.[43] Thus, Goltzius tried to position himself between the great painters of the nude, just as Rembrandt would do 35 years later with *his* first life-size nude.[44]

Goltzius would indeed have agreed with De Kooning: oil paint was made for depicting flesh. He had finally reached his goal: now he was a true Vertumnus in his love for the beautiful, enticing, but virtually unattainable Pomona: in his last guise, that of a painter, he went to great lengths to achieve the ultimate in the depiction of beauty that awakens love (FIG. 8):[45] love for what is seen – that is, love for his works of art.

NOTES

1 See H. Leeflang and G. Luijten (eds.), *Hendrick Goltzius (1558-1617). Drawings, Prints and Paintings* (exh. cat. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam; The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; The Toledo Museum of Art, Toledo [Ohio], 2003-2004), Zwolle & Amsterdam 2003.

2 Roelof van Gelder in *NRC Handelsblad* 11/3/2003, Clare Henry in *Financial Times* 9/6/2003; Holland Cotter in *New York Times* 27/6/2003.

3 Karel van Mander, *Het Leven der Doorluchtighe Nederlandtsche en Hooghduytsche Schilders*, in: *Het Schilder-Boeck*, Haarlem 1604, fol. 286r and 286v respectively. Van Mander describes Goltzius' first nude, his *Danaë* of 1603 as being 'miraculously fleshily' ('wonder vleeschachtigh'). See below (notes 6-7) about Van Mander's account of Goltzius' transition to the art of painting.

4 See O. Hirschmann, *Hendrick Goltzius als Maler 1600-1617*, Den Haag 1916, pp. 30-31; E.K.J. Reznicek, 'Het begin van Goltzius' loopbaan als schilder', *Oud Holland* 75 (1960), pp. 30-49, esp. 33-34; E.K.J. Reznicek, *Die Zeichnungen von Hendrick Goltzius*, Utrecht 1961, vol. 1, p. 223; H. Miedema (ed.), *Karel van Mander, Den Grondt der edel vrij schilder-const*, Utrecht 1973, vol. 2, p. 528; H. Miedema (ed.), Karel van Mander, *The Lives of the Illustrious Netherlandish and German Painters. With an Introduction and Translation Edited by Hessel Miedema (6 vols.)*, Doornspijk 1994-1999, vol. 5, p. 212; L. Nichols, 'Brushes and Oil Paint. The Paintings 1600-1617', in: Leeflang and Luijten, *Goltzius* (see note 1), pp. 266-267. Other reasons that have been proposed: poor health and a failing eyesight (especially Reznicek 1960, pp. 30-31), which seems unlikely considering the many very detailed drawings Goltzius still made after 1600 (see for instance, as late as 1614, Reznicek, *Zeichnungen* [see note 4], vol. 2, FIGS. 442 and 443, drawn in the technique of engraving). Nichols points especially to the 'career-long penchant for creating works of art in a tonal mode, quite often in actual color'. This, however, does not explain his abrupt move to painting late in his career; in that case one would have expected Goltzius to have done this many years earlier. Nichols also sees the penworks as a kind of transition to the paintings. However, these are made at the same time as his early paintings, and the use of colour in those works is restricted to a few touches of red and yellow in the Philadelphia penwork only (cat. no. 99).

The penworks are essentially virtuoso performances in drawing on a large scale and were considered by Van Mander as such (see also note 10).

5 Van Mander, *Den grondt* (see note 4), fol. 8r-v.

6 Van Mander, *Leven* (see note 3), 294r (*Lives*, vol. 1, pp. 431-432): '[...] hy Plaetsnijden en Druckerije verlatende, beclaeghde zijnen verloopen tijt, welcken hem docht t'onnuttigh daer in door the hebben ghebracht'. ('[...] abandoning engraving and printing, he lamented the time he had wasted, which he felt he had spent uselessly in those techniques').

7 Van Mander, *Leven* (see note 3) , fol. 294r (*Lives*, vol. 1, pp. 434-435): '[...] den beolyden Pinceel, met verwen te wercken en te schilderen, als wesende het opperste der Const, en den alder bequaemsten middel, om de Natuere in allen deelen met uytbeeldinghe ten alder ghelijcksten nae te comen'.

8 Nichols in Leeflang and Luijten (ed.), *Goltzius* (see note 1), pp. 266-267.

9 Van Mander, *Leven* (see note 3), fol. 285v (*Lives*, vol. 1, p. 400-401): 'Ick acht niet, dat yemant so vast en veerdigh is, een beeldt, jae een gantsche Historie, uyt der handt, sonder yet te bootsen, te trecken ten eersten met de Pen, met sulcken volcomentheyt, en suyverlijck te voldoen, en met so grooten geest. Hier mede laten wy zijn constige Pen berusten, en den Monarch in haer te handelen blijven, en moghen van zijn schilderen verhalen.'

10 Van Mander discussed the penworks also in the context of the art of drawing, before he starts his account on Goltzius as a painter. In the catalogue of the Goltzius-exhibition the penworks were treated as part of Goltzius' painted production, in ch. X 'Brushes and oil paint', instead of ch. IX 'Pen Works, Sketches, Chalk Drawings 1587-1614' (in the installation in the Rijksmuseum they rightly got their own room; in the Metropolitan Museum, however, they were exhibited between the paintings). This seems to me fundamentally wrong. Also see above, note 4.

11 Van Mander, *Leven* (see note 3), fol. 285v (*Lives*, vol. 1, pp. 400-401): 'Goltzius comende uyt Italien, hadde de fraey Italische schilderijen als in eenen spieghel soo vast in zijn ghedacht ghedruckt, dat hyse waer hy was noch altijts gestadich sagh: dan vermaeckte hem de soete gracelijckheyt van Raphael, dan de eyghen vleeschachtigheyt van Corregio, dan de uytstekende hooghselen, en afwijckende verdreven diepselen van Tiziaen, de schoon sijdekens en wel gheschilderde dinghen van Veroneso, en ander the Venetien, dat hem de Inlandtsche dinghen soo heel volcomen niet meer conden voldoen. Het was den Schilders eenen lust en voedsel, hem hier van te hooren spreken: want zijn woorden waren al gloeyende carnatien, gloeyende diepselen, en derghelijcke onghewoon oft weynigh meer ghehoorde verhalinghen. Teyckende hy yet, de naeckten sonderlingh mosten met de cryons hun verwen hebben: soo dat hy eyndlijck tot den Pinceelen en Oly-verwe hem heeft begheven, doe hy maer twee Jaer van het suyghen oft borst ghewendt oft gespeent was, doch zijns ouderdoms 42 Jaer, Ao.1600.'

12 Van Mander, *Leven* (see note 3), fol. 116v: 'Maer ghelijck als de Son ander Hemelsche lichten passeert in claerheyt: also uytmuntende in excellentie gaet dit de ander te boven: by dat ick uyt den mondt des goet oordeelenden Goltzius hebben verstaen, die dit te Room wesende te zien quam, alwaeer straex zijn Const-lievende ooghen nae toe ghetrocken waren, met grooten lust en vermaken, hem seer verwonderende in die seer fraey handelinghe, en de schoon gloeyentheyt des colorerens.'

13 See the letter from Johann Tilmans to Count Simon IV zu Lippe, concerning the acquisition of a painting by Goltzius for Rudolph II as early as 1603. Tilmans wrote that 400 Kaiser's guilders have already been offered for one of Goltzius' first paintings, the *Christ on the Cold Stone*, that was in the possession of Jacob Matham (who seems to have taken care that the prices were being pushed up by showing

himself unwilling to sell); see L. Nichols, 'Hendrick Goltzius – Documents and Printed Literature Concerning his Life', in: R. Falkenburg, J.P. Filedt Kok and H. Leeflang (ed.), *Goltzius Studies. Hendrick Goltzius (1558-1617)*, *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 42-43 (1991-92), Zwolle 1993, p. 95; and Nichols in Leeflang and Luijten, Goltzius (see note 1), p. 282.

14 According to Van Mander it was the same disease from which he suffered before his travels to Italy. Van Mander, *Leven* (see note 3), fol. 284r (*Lives*, vol. 1, pp. 394-395).: '[...] gantsch uytdrooghende, soo dat hy etlijcke Jaren Geyten-melck heeft ghedroncken, en heeft moeten suyghen Vrouwen borsten, ...' ([...] became completely dehydrated so that he had to drink goat's mild for several years and had to suckle women's breasts', and earlier: fol. 282v. (*Lives*, vol. 1, pp. 388-389: '[...] heeft sulcken swaermoedicheyt ter herten toegangh laten hebben [...] een uytteerende sieckte oft teeringhe geraeckt [...]. De Doctoren deden wel vlyt hem te helpen, doch was al vergheefs, dewijl dese swaermoedigheyt te seer in hem was ghewortelt' ('[...] he allowed such melancholy to enter his heart [...] he got a wasting sickness or consumption [....]. The doctors did their best to help him but it was in vain because this melancholy was too deeply rooted in him.').

15 In the life of the brothers Van Eyck the metaphor is used to state that Italy has now to send her *Pictura* to Flanders to suckle from new breasts (Van Mander, *Leven*, fol. 199r; *Lives*, vol. 1, pp. 54-55); in the first chapter of the *Grondt*, pupils have to suckle the breast of the virgin Minerva, the virtuous goddess of wisdom and intellect and as such patron of the arts (*Grondt*, fol. 5r [I, 49]), and he ends the first chapter by saying that he himself has suckled from many different breasts (Grondt, fol. 7v [I, 84]; see also Miedema, *Grondt*, vol. 2, pp. 422-23). In the life of Dirck Barendsz., this painter is introduced as an example of the artist who suckled 'from the full and overflowing breast of the most perfect instruction', because he went to Venice and worked in the studio of Titian (*Leven*, fol. 259r; *Lives*, vol. 1, pp. 294-295). Since Van Mander mentions twice Goltzius' suckling women's breasts, he appears to have been fascinated by this cure and he seems to relate the sexual implications to the image of Pictura as a beautiful, seductive woman, an image with which he begins the Grondt (*Grondt*, fol. 1 r-v [I, 3-4], fol. 2r [I, 13], as well as that of *Pictura* as a nurturing mother, with which he opens the Preface (*Grondt*, 'Voorrede', fol. *iiiir, the first sentence).

16 W. Melion, 'Karel van Mander's "Life of Goltzius": Defining the Paradigm of Protean Virtuosity in Haarlem around 1600', *Studies in the History of Art* 27 (1989), pp. 113-133. Also: W. Melion, *Shaping the Netherlandish Canon. Karel van Mander's Schilder-Boeck*, Chicago & London 1991, pp. 43-48.

17 Van Mander, *Leven* (see note 3), fol. 284r (*Lives*, vol. 1, pp. 394-395): '... heeft oock seer wonderlijck hem ghewent verscheyden handelingen der beste Meesters nae the bootsen, alsnu Hemskercken, Frans Floris, Blocklandts, dan Fredericks [Federigo Zuccaro] en eyndlinghe des Spranghers [...]'.

18 W. Melion, '*Vivae dixisses virginis ora*: the discourse of color in Hendrick Goltzius's *Pygmalion and the Ivory Statue*', Word and Image 17 (2001), pp. 153-175, esp. p. 163.

19 L. Dolce, *Dialogo della pittura intitolato L'Aretino* (Venice 1557), in: *Trattati d'arte del Cinquecento: Fra Manierismo e Controriforma*, (ed. P. Barocchi), vol. 1. M.W. Roskill, *Dolce's Aretino and Venetian Art Theory of the Cinquecento*, New York 1968, pp. 5-61 and Melion, '*Vivae*' (see note 18), p. 162-165.

20 Roskill, *Aretino* (see note 19), pp. 184-185. Also see: D. Rosand, 'Titian and the critical tradition', in: idem (ed.), *Titian, his world and his legacy*, New York 1982, pp. 15-21.

21 Van Mander, *Leven* (see note 3), fol. 284v (Lives, vol. 1, pp. 396-397): '... ses stucken, die hy uyt Italien gecomen wesende dede: want bedenckende wat hy over al

voor handelingen hadde ghesien, heeft met eenighe handt verscheyden handelinghen van zijn inventie ghetoont [...]'.

22 See about this series: Leeflang in: Leeflang and Luijten, *Goltzius* (see note 1), pp. 210-215. Also see Melion, 'Defining the Paradigm' (see note 16).

23 Melion, '*Vivae*' (see note 18), p. 165.

24 E.J. Sluijter, 'Venus, Visus en Pictura', in: Falkenburg, *Goltzius Studies* (see note 18), pp. 335-396, reprinted in an English translation in: E.J. Sluijter, *Seductress of Sight. Studies in Dutch Art of the Golden Age*, Zwolle 2000, pp. 86-159, 306-321.

25 Van Mander, *Leven* (see note 3), fol. 298v-299r (*Lives*, vol. 1, pp. 452-455; also see Miedema's comments: Lives, vol. 6, pp. 107-110). G.T. Faggin, 'Frans Badens (Il Carracci di Amsterdam)', Arte Veneta 23 (1969), pp. 131-145. Very little is known about Badens' life, apart from what Van Mander tells us. Van Mander complains bitterly that, out of modesty, Badens did not want to give him much information. Miedema, *Lives*, vol. 6, pp. 107-110.

26 Van Mander, *Leven* (see note 3), fol. 298v: 'Onse Const hebben wy cortlijck in onse Nederlanden ghesien in beter ghestaltenis toenemen en veranderen, besonder in de coloreringhe, carnatien, en diepselen, meer en meer zijn gheworden afghescheyden van een steenachtige graeuwicheyt, oft bleecke Vischachtighe, coudtachtighe verwe: want de gloeyentheyt in lijf-verwe en vleeschachtighe diepselen zijn nu heel seer in ghebruyck gheworden. Hier toe heeft oock geen cleen behulp ghedaen Francesco Badens.'

27 Van Mander, *idem*, fol. 298v (*Lives*, vol. 1, pp. 452-453): 'Thuys gecomen, also hy t'Amsterdam was d'eerste, die de jonghste schoon maniere hier in 't Landt bracht, des noemden hem de jonge Schilders den Italiaenschen Schilder: want hy een seer schoon vloeyende en gloeyende maniere heeft, wesende een uytnemende Meester, beyden in te schilderen Historien, tronien, en Conterfeytselen.'

28 Both mentioned by Van Mander as in the possession of Badens: Van Mander, *idem*, fol. 285r-v (*Lives*, vol. 1, pp. 398-401). About the Philadelphia penwork: see Nichols in Leeflang and Luijten, *Goltzius* (see note 1), pp. 275-77. One could even imagine that this magnificent work, made around 1600, was given to Badens as an expression of gratitude for teaching him the art of painting.

29 For the complete text see Nichols, 'Documents' (see note 13), pp. 113-114 and O. Hirschmann, 'Balthasar Gerbiers eer ende claght-digt ter eeren van Henricus Goltzius', *Oud Holland* 38 (1920), 104-125. The passage concerned: 'Hy was sijn liefsten vrient, noyt d'Amstel hy betrat / Oft Badens d'eerst van al hem yv'righ wil'com bat.'

30 Faggin, 'Badens' (see note 25), pp. 140-142, attributed several paintings to Badens. Some of them seem to be plausible attributions, but nothing can be proved. For good reproductions of five attributed paintings, see: J. Briels, *Vlaamse schilders in de Noordelijke Nederlanden in het begin van de Gouden Eeuw*, Antwerpen 1987, figs. 70-72. and J. Briels, *Vlaamse schilders en de dageraad van Hollands Gouden Eeuw*, Antwerpen 1997, figs. 77 and 78. I myself added the attribution of a large painting of the *Lovemaking of Venus and Adonis*, in 2002 in the possession of the art dealer Albrecht Neuhaus in Würzburg, reproduced in the catalogue of *The European Fine Art Fair Maastricht* 2002, p. 286, with the mention of an expertise by Albert Blankert (which was based on my information); this is the kind of painting, very close to the paintings by Goltzius, that one would imagine as a work of Badens on the basis of Van Mander's information, the types of works mentioned in other sources and the known drawings.

31 Faggin, 'Badens' (see note 25), p. 138: *Apelles Painting Campaspe*, dated 'Roma 1596' (black and red chalk with brown and grey washes and some touches of oil paint), and *Venus and Adonis*, signed and dated 'a roma 1596' (black and red chalk with brown wash and white highlights on coloured paper); both reproduced in: P. Taylor, 'The Glow in late Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century Dutch Paint-

ings', in: E. Hermens (ed.), *Looking through Paintings. The Study of Painting Techniques and Materials in Support of Art Historical Research*, Leiden 1998 (*Leids Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* XI), pp. 160-161, FIG. 2 and plate 1. Faggin mentions a third drawing with dancing nude men, in the Albertina in Vienna; it is not signed, but has an old attribution to Badens (FIG. 151 in Faggin's article). Apart from the drawings, there is a print by Egbert van Panderen after a painting by Badens, representing S. Jeremy (Faggin, FIG. 153).

32 Van Mander, *Leven* (see note 3), fol. 198v (*Lives*, vol. 1, pp. 52/53), describes a *Bathsheba Bathing*, portraits, 'many masquerades and banquets by night' and a painting with 'two lovers in the Italian style'. Faggin, 'Badens' (see note 25) mentions no less than eighteen descriptions of paintings by Badens in 17th-century sources. Apart from the ones mentioned in the text, also: *S. Andrew*, *Nativity*, *Sacrifice of Marcus Curtius*, *Banquet of the Gods*, *Saturn and Apollo*, *Venus*, *Juno and Minerva*, *Head of a Woman*, *Amorous Couple* and two *Merry Companies*.

33 Taylor, 'Glow' (see note 31), pp. 162-165. Taylor demonstrates convincingly what must have been meant by the 'glowing' flesh colours, showing that the technique of Badens and Goltzius were probably similar and must have been introduced by Badens; however, even Taylor does not ask the question who taught Goltzius the art of oil painting.

34 Taylor, *idem*, passim. Taylor shows that Rubens used a similar technique directly after his return from Italy, for instance in his *Samson and Delilah* of 1609 (National Gallery); whether this was due to direct influence, indirect influence or common influence is not clear (from the paintings we know, Goltzius' *Danaë* in Los Angeles seems to be the earliest example showing this technique of depicting 'glowing' flesh fully developed). Taylor also points out that, remarkably, no similar technique with a red underlayer seems to be have been used by Italian artists. Titian, Veronese, Correggio, 'all painted with brown shadows, which would certainly have seemed striking to northern eyes', as Taylor says. He considers this technique as 'one of those creative misunderstandings in the history of art: in their attempts to capture the warmth of the Italian style, Badens and Goltzius went too far, and so created a new manner.' (Taylor, 'Glow' (see note 31), p. 169).

35 See for these two paintings, *Christ on the Cross with Mary*, *St. John and the Magdalene*, ca. 1600, and *Christ on the Cold Stone with Two Angels*, 1602: Nichols in Leeflang and Luijten, *Goltzius* (see note 1), pp. 280-283; for the second painting also: Reznicek, 'Het begin' (see note 4), pp. 35-38.

36 See M.K. Komanecky et al., *Copper as Canvas. Two Centuries of Masterpiece Paintings on Copper, 1575-1755* (exh. cat. Phoenix Art Museum, Phoenix, Phoenix; Nelson-Atkins Museum, Kansas; Mauritshuis, The Hague), Oxford & New York 1998.

37 See above, note 13.

38 E.J. Sluijter, 'Emulating Sensual Beauty: Representations of Danaë from Gossaert to Rembrandt', *Simiolus* 27 (1999), pp. 4-45, esp. pp. 25-39. The catalogue entry by Nichols in Leeflang and Luijten, *Goltzius* (see note 1) is disappointing.

39 See Sluijter, 'Emulating' (see note 38), pp. 25-26 with further references.

40 Van Mander, *Leven* (see note 3), fol. 286r (*Lives*, vol.1, pp. 402-403): 'dit naeckt is wonder vleeschachtigh en verheffende gheschildert, en van grooter studie in omtreck en binne-werck.'

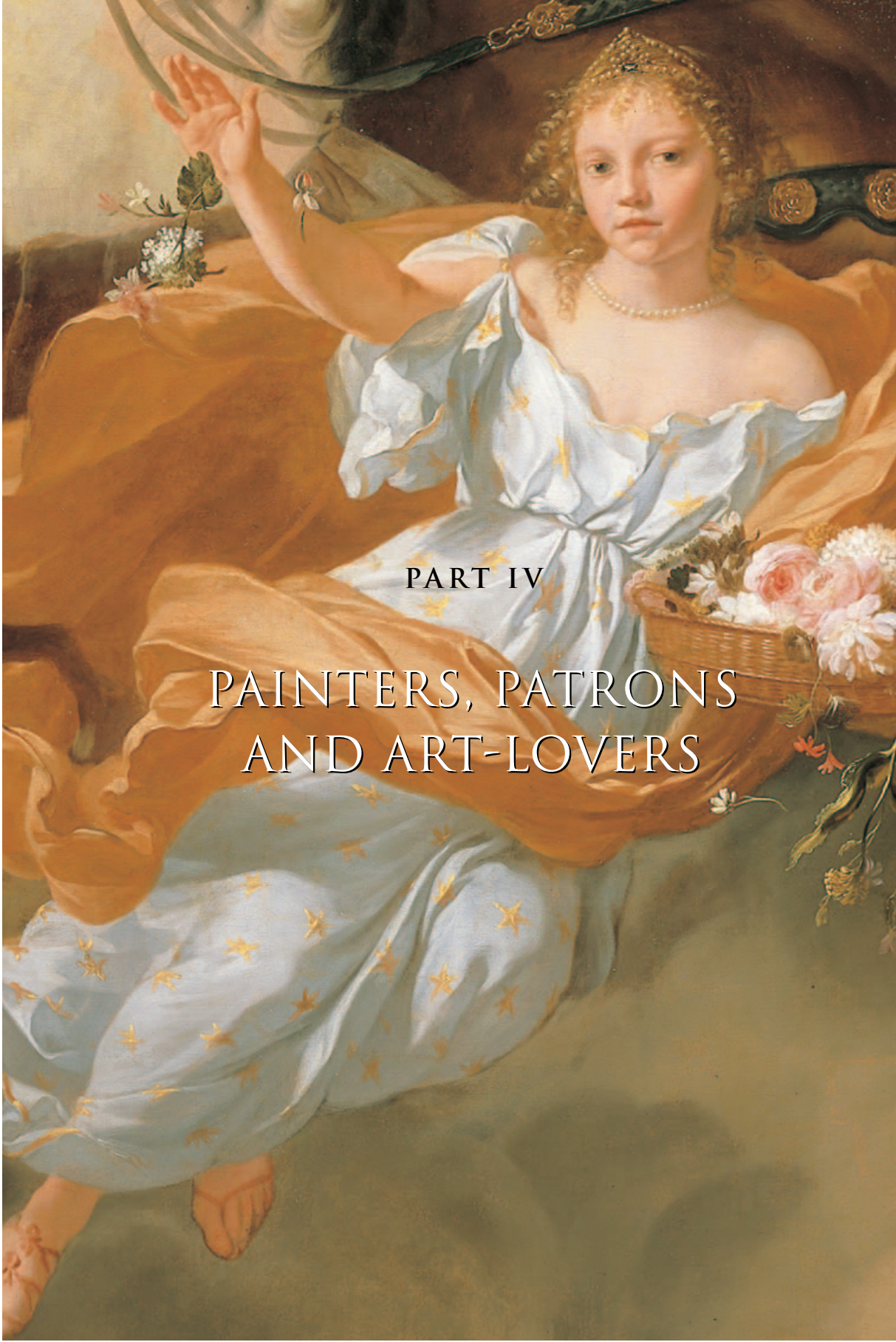
41 Sluijter, 'Emulating' (see note 38), pp. 26-28.

42 Sluijter, *idem*, pp. 14-18.

43 Sluijter, *idem*, passim.

44 Sluijter, *idem*, pp. 39-45 and E.J. Sluijter, '"Horrible nature, incomparable art": Rembrandt and the depiction of the female nude', in: J. Lloyd Williams (ed.), *Rembrandt's Women* (exh. cat. National Gallery of Scotland, Edinburgh; Royal Academy, London, 2001), Edinburgh 2001, pp. 36-45.

45 See for this interpretation of Goltzius' two large paintings of *Vertumnus* and *Pomona:* Sluijter, *Seductress* (see note 24), pp. 84-85 and 148.



PART IV

PAINTERS, PATRONS AND ART-LOVERS

FIG. 1 – Nicolas Poussin, *Self-portrait*, 1650, canvas, 78 x 94 cm, Paris, Musée du Louvre, signed and dated: EFFIGIES NICOLAI POUSSINI ANDELYENSIS PICTORIS, ANNO AETATIS 56. ROMAE ANNO JUBILEI 1650

MICHIEL FRANKEN

'Pour mon honneur et pour vostre contentement': Nicolas Poussin, Paul Fréart de Chantelou and the Making and Collecting of Copies

On 25 July 1665, Gian Lorenzo Bernini visited Paul Fréart de Chantelou's collection in the latter's Paris residence on the Rue Saint Thomas du Louvre. With the permission of his patron, Pope Alexander VII, Bernini had travelled to France to work on the expansion of the Louvre. Louis XIV excused Chantelou from his duties at court as *maitre d'hotel* in order to assist the celebrated Italian architect and sculptor during his approximately five-month sojourn in the French capital. Chantelou kept a diary during this period in which he assiduously charted the progress of the Louvre expansion plans as well as the opposition Bernini faced in carrying out this undertaking.[1] In his *Journal* Chantelou also gave a meticulous account of Bernini's other projects at the French court, including his portrait bust of Louis XIV. Moreover, he recorded the comments Bernini made on a range of artistic matters during their almost daily meetings in Bernini's Parisian quarters, the hôtel de Frontenac, or on their outings. Together they visited royal palaces and other worthy edifices, and institutions such as the Gobelins tapestry factory and the Académie royale de peinture et de sculpture, as well as art dealers and private collections.

One of the subjects Bernini touched upon was the quality of works of art he had seen, particularly those by Italian painters and artists active in Italy. The increasing number of collectors in France in the course of the seventeenth century contributed to the growing interest in the specific features and qualities of a given artist. This interest was expressed in discussions about attributions and the authenticity of individual works of art.[2] Traces of this are also found in Chantelou's *Journal*, for example with respect to two versions of a *Holy Family* by Raphael, one in the collection of Louis XIV and one in that of Cardinal Mazarin. Opinions differed as to which one was the original.[3] Upon visiting Mazarin's collection, Bernini asserted that the version before him was not autograph.

He pointed to a hand in the painting saying that such details gave a work away. According to Bernini, its maker had to be Giulio Romano, and not Raphael.[4]

Visiting Chantelou's own collection, Bernini also commented upon the quality of the works presented to him.[5] Naturally, he devoted most of his attention to the paintings by Poussin (FIG. 1), particularly the highlight of the collection, namely the series of the *Seven Sacraments* that Poussin had painted for Chantelou between 1644 and 1648. These seven paintings, each protected by a curtain, hung in a separate room. Upon his arrival, the curtain was moved aside for only one painting, the *Confirmation*.[6] After carefully studying this work, Bernini thoroughly examined the other six one by one; two of them, the *Extreme Unction* and *Baptism*, were even taken down so that Bernini could have a closer look at them in proper light.[7] He lavished praise on the *Seven Sacraments* and other Poussins in Chantelou's collection. In and of itself this was not so exceptional: Bernini had expressed his great admiration of Poussin on other occasions as well. However, given the value attached to quality and authenticity at the time, the fact that all sorts of copies were also studied and spoken about during this visit to Chantelou is quite remarkable. For instance, when looking at the copies of the *Bacchanals* that Poussin had originally painted for Cardinal Richelieu, Bernini alluded to Poussin's merits as a history painter and a narrator.[8]

In viewing the copies of works by Raphael and Annibale Carracci the focus lay not only on the qualities of the original painters, after whose paintings the copies had been made, but also on the copyists themselves. Not only did Chantelou mention various copyists by name, but Bernini himself also proved interested in who they were. He asked who the copyist was of Carracci's *Vierge de pitié* (it was Pierre Le Maire), and Ciccio Graziani's copy of the *Vierge au chat* elicited the comment that he valued these kinds of copies. Such a positive view of the copies is highly unusual and recurs nowhere else in Chantelou's *Journal*. His copies are also mentioned in various other contemporary sources. Although it has not been possible – with one exception[9] – to link the copies to presently known paintings, these sources afford great insight into contemporary appreciation of them, as well as the circumstances under which they were produced and collected. This wealth of unique source material was the motivation for discussing the copies in Chantelou's collection at greater length.

As appears from the inventory drawn up after Chantelou's death in 1694, during his lifetime he managed to amass a modestly sized collection consisting of 45 paintings.[10] The best represented artist was Nicolas Poussin (12 paintings), with whom Chantelou maintained intensive contact from the late 1630s until the artist's death in 1665. Furthermore, the inventory makes it clear that copies formed an essential part of his collection: of the 45 paintings, 14 were designated as copies. The mention of copies in Chantelou's inventory is not unusual: many inventories of seventeenth-century French collections list copies as such. In addition, works given without a maker or as by a famous artist could also, naturally, be copies. Thus, the anonymous *Hunt of Diana* in Chantelou's inventory is most

likely a copy of Domenichino's famous painting in the Galleria Borghese.[11] The *Vision of Ezekiel* that Chantelou bought in Bologna in 1643 is currently thought to be an old copy by a pupil, or an immediate follower, of Raphael's painting now in the Palazzo Pitti in Florence.[12] Chantelou himself was convinced that it was, in fact, an autograph work by Raphael. He even ordered a pendant for it, Poussin's *Ecstasy of St Paul*.[13] In his estimation, moreover, Chantelou was not alone. While discussions were held throughout the seventeenth century as to whether other paintings in French collections were autograph Raphaels or works by a pupil or immediate follower,[14] the authenticity of Chantelou's painting was never called into question. Even Bernini[15] and Felibien[16] both believed it to be by Raphael.

All of the paintings listed as copies in Chantelou's inventory are accompanied by the name of the painter of the original: seven works were copied after Raphael, five after Poussin and one after Annibale Carracci and Leonardo da Vinci respectively. The name of the actual copyist is given in only two cases, both times as 'Monsieur Mignard', or Pierre Mignard (Troyes 1612-1695 Paris). When the inventory was drawn up, Mignard was director of the Académie royale de peinture et de sculpture in Paris. However, as a young man he had spent considerable time in Rome and was one of the painters who made copies for Chantelou there in 1643 and 1644. Chantelou had commissioned these copies during his stay in the Eternal City in 1643. Upon his return to France, he put Poussin in charge of supervising the copyists. Thanks to the letters in which Poussin apprised Chantelou of the progress being made, the makers of other copies mentioned in the inventory can be identified.[17] In addition to Pierre Mignard these were the French painters: Pierre Lemaire (Montdidier ca. 1610-1688 Rome); Jean Nocret (Nancy ca. 1616-1672 Paris); Nicolas Chaperon (Chateaudun 1612-ca.1656 Lyon); Renaud Levieux (Nimes ca.1620-ca.1690 Rome); the later director of the Académie Française in Rome, Charles Errard (Nantes 1606-1689 Rome), and one non-French painter – referred to in Poussin's letters as 'le Napolitain' or 'Cicce' – who has been identified as the Neapolitan artist Francesco Graziani.

Not only Chantelou, but other Frenchmen as well commissioned copies of Italian masterpieces during a stay in Rome. For example, the maréchal de Créqui, the French ambassador to Rome in 1633-34, ordered copies of works by Titian from Charles Errard.[18] However, none of these commissions are as well documented as Chantelou's copies. From Poussin's letters we gather that virtually all these painters copied works in the renowned Farnese collection. Alongside a few *Madonnas* by Raphael, including the *Madonna della gatta*, and his *Portrait of Leo X and Two Cardinals*,[19] copies were made of Annibale Carracci's *Pietà* and a *Madonna* in tempera by Parmigianino.[20] Only Nicolas Chaperon worked elsewhere, namely in San Pietro in Montorio, where he began on a copy of Raphael's *Transfiguration*. Chaperon, though, became troublesome after completing the first layout. He stopped all work at the beginning of August 1643 demanding the unreasonable sum of 600 *escus*, which Poussin simply ignored, and left Rome suddenly. The unfinished copy remained behind with the monks of San Pietro in Montorio, who

notified Poussin that they wanted Raphael's *Transfiguration* returned to its permanent place in the church as soon as possible. This request was finally honoured more than two months later. In the meantime, Poussin repeatedly asked Chantelou what he wished to do with the unfinished copy. He also sought another copyist – to no avail, for no one was willing to complete someone else's work. After the unfinished copy had been with the monks of San Pietro in Montorio for months on end, on 30 May 1644 Poussin informed Chantelou that the rolled-up canvas was now at his house and would be sent to him in due course.

The story, however, does not end here. The French ambassador in Rome, the Comte de Saint-Chamont, entered the scene. He was under the impression that the copy had been made for the French king and had already been half paid for by the crown. Poussin delivered it to the ambassador, but when Chantelou made clear in a letter that he wished to be reimbursed for the expenses incurred, it was returned to Poussin, who then shipped it to Chantelou in France.[21] Chantelou must have disposed of this painting somehow, for no mention of it is made in either his *Journal* or his inventory. Chaperon, who had returned to Rome in the meantime, complicated matters with the ambassador even further. Not only did he – again – complain about having been insufficiently paid, he also attempted, and failed, to recover the copy from the ambassador. Chaperon was not the only copyist to cause problems for Poussin. Like Chaperon, Nocret, Le Maire, Le Vieux and Mignard tried to exact as much money as possible for their work, to Poussin's great displeasure. This may have been because Chantelou failed to make clear agreements about the financial remuneration when giving the commissions.[22] Furthermore, Poussin repeatedly complained to Chantelou about the slow working pace, particularly that of Francesco Graziani.[23] Mignard created yet different problems: without any consultation whatsoever he introduced colours in his copy not found in Raphael's original. Moreover, Mignard took his copy home with him, where he had a copy made of the copy.[24] And, Poussin was not always satisfied with the quality of the copies. Accordingly, in a letter of 25 April 1644, he noted that while a great deal of effort had gone into the copy made by Le Maire, it was inferior to Mignard's. And, when Le Vieux would complete his, it would prove to be the most objectionable of all.[25] In the end Poussin sent the seven copies to Chantelou, and they too are recorded in the 1694 inventory. Poussin's letters make it clear that this number was well below what Chantelou initially had in mind. For instance, Poussin had been unable to find a copyist for Raphael's *Madonna di Foligno*.[26] Moreover, Chantelou had wanted two copies of each painting.[27] In the case of Raphael's *Transfiguration* there is even mention of a small and a large copy.[28] This desire for two copies of each masterpiece was largely unfulfilled. Only two copies were made of the *Madonna della gatta*, one by Francesco Graziani and one by Renaud Le Vieux.

In addition to the seven copies produced under Poussin's supervision, two copies of Italian paintings, one of *'la maitresse de Raphael'* and one after Leonardo, are listed in Chantelou's 1694 inventory. We do not know where and when

Chantelou acquired them. This also applies to the five copies of paintings by Poussin, three *Bacchanals*, a *Nativity* and a *Flight into Egypt*, which are mentioned nowhere in Poussin's letters. They could quite possibly have been made in France and purchased there by Chantelou. In any case, we know that the three *Bacchanals* are copies of paintings that Poussin painted for Richelieu. The fact that two of these were already in Richelieu's possession in 1636,[29] even before Chantelou first came into contact with Poussin, makes a French provenance for these copies highly likely.

Furthermore, from Poussin's letters we can deduce that the painter was not favourably disposed towards the copying of his work. This is particularly evident from another project Poussin carried out for Chantelou involving the copying of the *Seven Sacraments* series that Poussin had produced between about 1635 and 1642 for his Roman patron Cassiano del Pozzo.[30] The copying of the *Sacraments* is first mentioned in a letter that Poussin wrote from Paris to Cassiano del Pozzo in 1642. On 17 January of that year, Poussin informed Cassiano del Pozzo that Chantelou had suggested to the *surintendant des Bâtiments*, Sublet de Noyer, that he seek permission from Cassiano del Pozzo to have his *Seven Sacrament*s copied by a painter to be designated by Poussin. Poussin made clear that this appeal did not come from him. Naturally, Cassiano del Pozzo had to do what he felt was right, but Poussin let him know that he personally would find no gratification in reproducing something he had already made. From Sublet de Noyer's involvement and Poussin's comment that he would be willing to fashion a few designs for tapestries, we can infer that this request was not for Chantelou himself, but probably for the *Manufacture Royale*. Cassiano del Pozzo was disinclined to comply with the request. He did offer to provide coloured drawings, but to Poussin's relief refused permission for the making of painted copies.[31]

This refusal did not discourage Chantelou from trying again more than a year later, this time for himself. As of 4 August 1643, Poussin began looking for suitable candidates to copy Cassiano del Pozzo's *Seven Sacraments*. In a letter, Poussin proposed Charles Errard as a possibility.[32] However, the latter's return to France in September of that year compelled Poussin to resume his search. On 23 September 1643 Poussin announced to Chantelou that Francesco Grazziani was willing to copy two of the seven paintings, and on 7 January 1644 that Claude le Rieux had also come on board.[33] Poussin made his decision a few days later: he abandoned his plan of using copyists. For his own honour and the satisfaction of his patron, he proposed to Chantelou that he himself copy all or some of the seven paintings, or even produce a whole new series. The painter subsequently did everything in his power to persuade his patron to choose the latter option. Not only did he assure him that these new compositions would be better than the copies, but also that they would hardly cost more and could be made almost as quickly.[34]

It took a while for Chantelou to reply, but he finally concurred with the painter's first choice, namely a new series of paintings of the *Seven Sacraments* by

Poussin himself. The artist immediately set to work and produced the seven paintings in a relatively short period of time, between April 1644 and March 1648. What initially began as a request for copies resulted in the highlight of Chantelou's collection. This is evidenced not only by Bernini's reaction when he visited Chantelou's collection quoted above, but also by the inventory of it drawn up after his death in 1694: the assessment of the *Seven Sacraments* is by far the highest for any work listed there.[35]

In spite of his very own new *Seven Sacraments*, Chantelou still wanted copies of Cassiano del Pozzo's series. From Poussin's letter to Chantelou of 20 December 1655 in which he gives an account of a visit to Cassiano del Pozzo, we can conclude that Chantelou proposed having copies made of both series and then exchanging them. Poussin relates that Cassiano del Pozzo's response was rather cold: he knew no one who could copy them, nor did he have a suitable place where the work could be done. Poussin added that others had also been denied permission. In his view, the owner of the copies of Chantelou's *Sacraments* would have an advantage because they were larger and richer in composition. According to Poussin, Cassiano del Pozzo feared that a direct comparison of the two series would diminish the value of his *Seven Sacraments.* Interestingly, here Poussin does not seen to have opposed Chantelou's proposal. He wrote that he found Cassiano del Pozzo's feeble excuses to deny Chantelou that which he so dearly wanted highly regrettable, a typical example of Italian ingratitude.[36]

The above makes clear Chantelou's great eagerness to acquire copies, an enthusiasm not shared by Poussin, certainly if it involved copies of his own work. He defended the decision in 1644 not to have copies of the *Seven Sacraments* made by other individuals with a number of considerations regarding copying in general. First he noted how little love, care and meticulousness professional copyists devoted to their imitations. Next he lamented that they were paid exorbitantly for their scrawls. To be sure, he appreciated satisfying one's longings for beautiful things one could not have with more or less successful copies, but warned that they could damage the reputation of many a fine painter. This was especially true with respect to poor copies, for they made it all too easy to believe that the originals were not that great.[37]

Poussin's decision not to have Cassiano del Pozzo's *Seven Sacraments* copied was probably due to his concern for his reputation. Artists such as Guido Reni, Guercino and Franceso Albani do not seem to have shared this apprehension. On the contrary, these Italian contemporaries had their work copied on a large scale in their populous studios.[38] However, comparable reticence on the part of another painter active in Rome, namely Claude Lorrain, is well documented. From 1636 until his death in 1682, he made almost 200 drawings of his paintings in his *Liber Veritatis*, signing them and writing the name of the person to whom he had sold the painting on the back. According to Baldinucci, he compiled this album because of the numerous imitations of his work being sold in Rome as originals. These imitations by jealous men intent on making dishonest profit tar-

nished the good name of the artist, did a disservice to those for whom the paintings were produced and deceived the buyers who were offered the copies as originals.[39] What Poussin and Claude Lorrain had in common and what distinguished them from painters such as Reni, Guercino and Albani, is that they did not have a large studio with assistants and pupils.[40] Hence, the copying and imitating of their work was done largely without their knowledge or control.[41] This would seem to justify their concerns. Still, Poussin wished to honour Chantelou's wishes and therefore offered to make the copies of Cassiano del Pozzo's *Seven Sacraments* himself or produce an entirely new series 'for my honour and for your satisfaction.'

The author wishes to express his gratitude to Natasja van Eck and Gerbrand Korevaar for their help and their patience, and to Katy Kist and Jennifer Kilian for the translation of this text.

NOTES

1 P.F. de Chantelou, *Journal de voyage du Cavalier Bernin en France*, ed. M. Stanić, Paris 2001.
2 A. Schnapper, *Curieux du Grand Siècle. vol. 2 Collections et collectionneurs dans la France du XVIIe siècle*, Paris 1994.
3 A. Brejon de Lavergnée, *L'Inventaire Le Brun de 1683. La collection de tableaux de Louis XIV*, *Paris 1987*, no. 118; Schapper, Curieux du Grand Siècle (see note 2), p. 58; P. Michel, *Mazarin, Prince des collectionneurs. Les collections et l'ameublement du Cardinal Mazarin (1602-1661) Histoire et Analyse*, Paris 1999, pp. 106-7.
4 Chantelou, *Journal* (see note 1), pp. 221-2.
5 Chantelou, *idem*, pp. 87-90.
6 Nicolas Poussin, *Confirmation*, Canvas, 117 x 178 cm. Coll. Duke of Sutherland, on loan to The National Gallery of Scotland, Edinburgh. See A. Blunt, *The Paintings of Nicolas Poussin. A Critical Catalogue*, London 1966, cat. no. 113, and exh. cat. *Nicolas Poussin 1594-1665*, Paris, Galeries nationales du Grand Palais, 1994/95, cat. no. 108.
7 Nicolas Poussin, *Extreme Unction*, Canvas, 117 x 178 cm. Coll. Duke of Sutherland, on loan to The National Gallery of Scotland, Edinburgh; see Blunt, *The Paintings of Nicolas Poussin* (see note 6), cat. no. 116, and exh.cat. *Nicolas Poussin 1594-1665* (see note 6), cat. no. 107. Nicolas Poussin, *Baptism*, canvas, 117 x 178 cm. Duke of Sutherland Collection, on loan to The National Gallery of Scotland, Edinburgh; see Blunt, *The Paintings of Nicolas Poussin* (see note 6), cat. no. 112, and exh.cat. Nicolas Poussin 1594-1665 (see note 6), cat. no. 109.
8 Blunt, *The Paintings of Nicolas Poussin* (see note 6), cat. nos. 136-8.
9 Pierre Le Maire, *Pietà*, after Annibale Carracci, Saint Benoît, Le Mans. See A. Brejon de Lavergnée, 'Who was Pierre Lemaire?', *The Burlington Magazine*, 140 (1998), pp. 739-748, esp. 744 FIG. 31.
10 Chantelou's inventory, drawn up on 29-30 March 1694, is published in: I. Pantin, *Les Fréart de Chantelou. Une famille d'amateurs au XVIIe siècle entre Le Mans, Paris et Rome*, Le Mans 1999, pp. 158-9.

11 Domenichino, *The Hunt of Diana*, 1616-17, canvas, 225 x 320 cm. Rome, Galleria Borghese, inv. no. 53. According to the account of Bernini's visit to Chantelou's collection, there was a copy of a painting by Domenichino, the subject of which is not mentioned, in which the face of a girl was damaged, see Chantelou, *Journal* (see note 1), p.87. It is highly likely that this is the same work as is mentioned in the inventory, the *Hunt of Diana*.
12 Raphael, *The Vision of Ezekiel*, panel, 40.7 x 29.5 cm, Florence, Palazzo Pitti, Galeria Palatina, inv. 1912, no. 174. For the copy, see Schapper, *Curieux du Grand Siècle* (see note 2) p. 235; D. Cordellier and B. Py, *Musée du Louvre, Inventaire general des dessins italiens, V, Raphael, son atelier, ses copiistes*, Paris 1992, p. 295.
13 Nicolas Poussin, *The Ecstasy of St Paul*, Panel, 41.5 x 30 cm. Sarasota, Florida, John and Mable Ringling Museum. Blunt, *The Paintings of Nicolas Poussin* (see note 6), cat. no. 33.
14 See above, note 3.
15 Chantelou, *Journal* (see note 1), p. 89.
16 A. Felibien, *Entretiens sur les vies et sur les ouvrages des plus excellens peintres anciens et modernes*, 5 vols., Paris 1666-1688; Nicolas Poussin, 8e Entretien, IV, Paris 1685, ed. 1725, p. 50.
17 Ch. Jouanny, 'Correspondance de Nicolas Poussin', *Archives de l'Art français, Nouvelle Période*, V (1911).
18 J.-C. Boyer, I. Volf, 'Rome à Paris: les tableaux du maréchal de Créquy (1638)', *Revue de l'Art*, 79 (1988), pp. 22-41, esp. 24.
19 Of the Madonnas, in Poussin's letters only the *Madonna della gatta* is mentioned as such: Jouanny, 'Correspondance' (see note 16), p. 204; from summary descriptions of the other Madonnas it can be deduced that we are dealing with the *Madonna del velo* and most likely the *Madonna del Divino amore*. In the seventeenth century these paintings were all thought to be autograph Raphaels, now they are seen a copies from Raphael's immediate surroundings. Even the *Portrait of Leo X* is not an autograph Raphael, but rather a copy by Andrea del Sarto, see cat. *La collezione Farnese. I dipinti lombardi, liguri, veneti, toscani, umbri, romani, fiamminghi. Altre scuole, Fasti Farnisiani, Museo e Galleria Nazionali di Capodimonte*, Naples 1995, pp. 83-4; 121-2; 126-8.
20 See cat. *La Collezione Farnese. La scuola emiliana: i dipinti. I disegni. Museo e Galleria Nazionali di Capodimonte*, Naples 1994, pp. 131-33; 211-12.
21 Jouanny, 'Correspondance' (see note 17), pp. 206-13; 216-17; 222; 230-31; 269; 275-77; 281-84.
22 Jouanny, *idem*, pp. 204-05; 210.
23 Jouanny, *idem*, pp. 204-5; 214; 223; 231.
24 Jouanny, *idem*, p. 204.
25 Jouanny, *idem*, pp. 266.
26 Jouanny, *idem*, p. 208.
27 Jouanny, *idem*, pp. 211, 235.
28 Jouanny, *idem*, p. 209.
29 See above, note 8.
30 Blunt, *The Paintings of Nicolas Poussin* (see note 6), cat. nos. 105-11. Exh.cat. *Nicolas Poussin 1594-1665* (see note 6), cat. nos. 63-69.
31 Jouanny, 'Correspondance' (see note 17), pp. 112, 125, 129.
32 Jouanny, *idem*, p. 208.
33 Jouanny, *idem*, p. 214, 231, 239.
34 Jouanny, *idem*, pp. 244-5.
35 I. Pantin, *Les Fréart de Chantelou* (see note 9), pp. 158-9.
36 Jouanny, 'Correspondance' (see note 17), pp. 440-41; 443.
37 Jouanny, *idem*, pp. 244-45.

38 R. E. Spear, *The 'Divine'Guido. Religion, sex, money and art in the world of Guido Reni*, New Haven & London 1997, pp. 215-7; 233-45.

39 M. Roethlisberger, *Claude Lorrain. The Paintings Volume 1: A Critical Catalogue*, New Haven 1961, pp. 37-40; M. Kitson, *Claude Lorrain: Liber Veritatis*, London 1978, pp. 20-23.

40 The connection between Poussin's reluctance with respect to the copying of his work and working alone was already suggested by Felibien: '[Poussin] ne voulait pas même permettre qu'on copiat ce qu'il faissait, sachant la différence qu'il y a d'une copie à un original. :Le Poussin n'a point eu de maîtres qu'il ait imitez et n'a point fait d'élèves, travaillant toujours seul dans son cabinet sans entreprendre de grands ouvrages.' See Felibien, *Entretiens* (see note 16), vol. II, Paris 1672, p. 2.

41 A documented example of a copy, which was made outside Poussin's workshop almost at the same time as the prototype, is Angelo Caroselli's copy after Poussin's *The Plague at Ashdod*; see H. Wine, *The Seventeenth Century French Paintings, National Gallery Catalogues*, London 2001, pp. 16-23.

WALTER LIEDTKE

Gerard de Lairesse and Jacob de Wit *in situ*

As one steps out of Ernst van de Wetering's headquarters, the Kunsthistorisch Instituut at 286 Herengracht in Amsterdam, a turn in either direction, but especially to the right, will lead one past seventeenth- and eighteenth-century houses on both sides of the canal, as well as more recent structures. This experience, repeated week after week and year after year, would contribute to a sense of neighbourhood, and of familiarity and continuity in the course of daily life. If we look back over decades, however, a different picture emerges, one that the historian or any thoughtful person will understand, even without the help of Dutch paintings and literature that address the subject. Works of art, furniture, walls (or at least their coverings), windows, ceilings, staircases and so on all come and go, along with facades and in many instances everything behind them, such as individuals, families, epochs and ages enter the annals or the oblivion of the past. Of course, the 'Amsterdam School' office building at 286 Herengracht is itself an example of this kind of progress, having replaced (on behalf of Van Gendt Bros.) the two houses dating from about 1620 that were at 288 and 290 Herengracht, and the splendid town house of about 1720 at number 286. The latter's four-story facade was surmounted with the crest of Jannetje Parvé, which was elaborately framed and flanked by statues of Hercules and a female figure, probably Fortitude. Within six years, however, the first of many different owners had moved in, making the residence their own in all but the crowning element, which itself was destroyed in 1921.[1]

This sort of information, if not these precise details, should appeal to the present volume's dedicatee. In Van de Wetering's devotion to problems of connoisseurship in Rembrandt, to the painter's style, technique, and way of thinking, one discovers not only the usual formal concerns (and then some), but senses also a deep interest in the artist himself, and in his workplace, which in Amsterdam was located in the now famous house at 2-4 Jodenbreestraat, and then at an address (184 Rozengracht) that for many readers will not ring a bell. They may know, nonetheless, that both streets were in artistic sections of the city, with numerous painters, collectors, dealers, and other sympathetic parties (Vondel, for example) living nearby.[2]

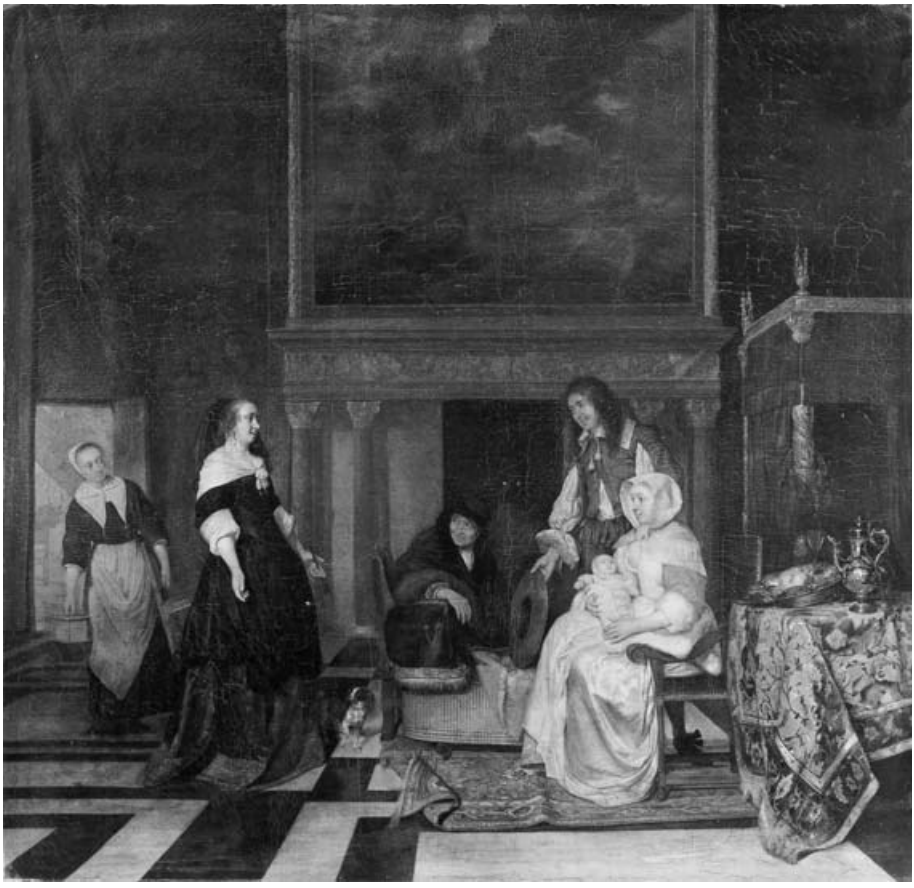


FIG. 1 – Gabriël Metsu, *The Visit to the Nursery*, 1661, canvas, 77.5 x 81.3 cm, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art

Van de Wetering's book, *Rembrandt. The Painter at Work*, opens with the observation that 'Rembrandt van Rijn really existed once', that is, in the flesh, and in fact 'still fresh and vigorous,' according to an Amsterdam notary in 1632. The news is more useful than it might seem at first, considering modern ideas about what Rembrandt was ('a genius and his impact'), and all the images called 'Rembrandts' that may be found in museums, in books, and on the internet. 'We would love to follow Rembrandt's steps back into the house once the notary had gone.' But just as the historian attempts to cross the threshold, 'to the back part of the house', and indeed 'to the studio' where the objects we study were actually made, the artist who briefly stood on the doorstep 'disappears again into the deep obscurity of the past.'[3]

It is somewhat easier to follow objects back into their original locations, although here too one must combine the unstable ingredients of imagination and documentary evidence. The present article attempts to place a few pictures now

in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York back into the rooms, or at least the buildings, for which they were originally intended, and to catch a fleeting reflection of the occupants.

The value of this exercise has already been demonstrated for some celebrated works in the Museum's collection of seventeenth-century Dutch paintings. Rembrandt's *Aristotle with a Bust of Homer*, dated 1653, was sent to Antonio Ruffo's palace in Messina, Sicily, and *The Standard Bearer (Floris Soop)* went from Rembrandt's studio to the so-called 'Glass House' (Soop manufactured glass and mirrors) at 105 Kloveniersburgwal in Amsterdam, which stood next to Jan Six's residence at number 103.[4] Of course, portraits of identified sitters allow us at least to imagine where the works once hung, especially when the patron's address is known. A nice example in New York is Albert Cuyp's *Starting for the Hunt: Michiel (1638-1653) and Cornelis Pompe van Meerdervoort (1639-1680) with Their Tutor and Coachman*, a large canvas of about 1653 that between that date and 1680 was installed over a fireplace in the Meerdervoort country house near Zwijndrecht.[5]

Two genre pictures in the Museum's collection may be similarly placed. Johannes Vermeer's *A Maid Asleep* of about 1657 is generally regarded as one of the earliest paintings by the artist to have been acquired by his patron in Delft, Pieter van Ruijven.[6] And Gabriël Metsu's *The Visit to the Nursery* of 1661 (FIG. 1) was the subject of a poem published in 1662 with the prosaic title, 'On the Painting of a Lying-in Woman [*kraamvrouw*], in the salon of the H[onorable] Alderman Mr. Jan Jakobsen Hinloopen, painted by G. Metsu.' The author, Jan Vos (1610-1667), rarely missed an opportunity to celebrate the Hinlopens in print.[7] The picture may be described as a 'conversation piece' that came close to home for the Hinlopens, although it does not portray them, as does Metsu's family portrait of about 1662 in the Staatliche Museen, Berlin.[8] The setting in the New York painting is based upon the burgomasters' council chamber in the new Town Hall (now Royal Palace) of Amsterdam, which Hinlopen's father-in-law, the wealthy burgomaster Joan Huydecoper van Maarsseveen, considered in good part his own creation.[9] From 1656 onward the Hinlopens lived in a rented house on the Nieuwe Doelenstraat. It was built about 1633 in the manner of Hendrick de Keyser, but how the interior looked in the 1660s is not known.[10]

In the past Gerard de Lairesse has been counted among those painters present at the sunset of the Golden Age, but he also presided, like Apollo, at the dawn of a golden age in the history of interior decoration.[11] Jacob de Wit, discussed below, was the Apelles of that epoch's entire afternoon, at least with regard to the production of wall and ceiling paintings.[12] Both painters were inspired by the large-scale projects of Rubens and Jacob Jordaens, many of which they knew firsthand (De Lairesse trained in his native Liège, and De Wit in Antwerp after his apprenticeship with the Amsterdam muralist Albert van Spiers). And their patrons were inspired, in part, by the precedent set by Prince Frederick Hendrick, whose palaces near The Hague featured wall and ceiling paintings by a variety of

Dutch and Flemish artists (such as Jordaens, Gerrit van Honthorst, Jacob van Campen, Cesar van Everdingen, and Christiaen van Couwenbergh), and (at Honselaarsdijk) a chimney-piece, *The Crowing of Diana*, by Rubens and company (Bildergalerie Potsdam-Sanssouci).[13]

Motivated by a likely murder charge, De Lairesse left Liège in 1664, and in 1665 moved from Utrecht to Amsterdam. He found employment through Gerrit Uylenburgh (the son of Rembrandt's former dealer), and immortality through Rembrandt's portrait of about 1665-67 (Robert Lehman Collection, Metropolitan Museum).[14] His career as a decorator took off in the early 1670s, with works like the spectacular trio of ceiling paintings, *Allegory of the Peace of Münster*, which were executed in 1672 for burgomaster Andries de Graeff's house at 446 Herengracht, but now soar above Ferdinand Bol's four-meter high murals in the Vredespaleis, The Hague (part of an ensemble painted in the late 1650s for a house in Utrecht).[15]

A year or two earlier De Lairesse completed a set of eight relief-like canvases in grisaille, *The Triumph of Aemilius Paullus Macedonius*, which was almost certainly commissioned by the rapacious burgomaster Nicolas Pancras (1622-1678) for his new town house constructed in a monumental classicist style at 539 Herengracht.[16] 'Eight pieces, comprising a Roman Triumph or Victory, by Gerard Larisse, extraordinarily artfully painted', are listed as lot no. 1 in the sale of paintings from the estate of Pancras's son and heir, burgomaster Gerbrand Pancras (1658-1716), which was held in Amsterdam on April 7, 1716.[17] Lot no. 2 in the sale was 'Apollo and Aurora, being a chimney-piece, by the same.'[18]

The latter painting must be the large, nearly square *Apollo and Aurora*, dated 1671, in the Metropolitan Museum (FIG. 2). Gerbrand Pancras inherited 539 Herengracht upon his mother's death in 1709 and occupied the house until his own death seven years later. His children sold the residence to another frequent burgomaster, Gerrit Corver, who substantially modified the facade and the main rooms before moving in. These circumstances suggest that the *Apollo and Aurora*, like the paintings depicting the entry of a victorious consul into Republican Rome (also in a chariot drawn by four horses), was made expressly for Nicolas Pancras, whose house was completed in 1670. Apollo, dressed here optionally like a Roman general, was associated with codes of law, cultural pursuits (he is the central figure in De Wit's *Allegory of the Arts*; FIG. 4), and other interests that might be compared with those of Aemilius Paullus (not including the latter's rule over Hispania, a nice touch for a man of Pancras's generation). But there is no need to link De Lairesse's paintings for Pancras too closely together. Indeed, their designs seem intended for different rooms.[19]

Most of this information comes from a catalogue entry placed in the Museum's files by the present writer in 1997. Recently, my research assistant, Vanessa Schmid, was asked to read the argument and, if she could, to rip it apart. Not surprisingly, she agreed with my rejection of Roy's idea that the figure of Apollo is a portrait of Prince Willem III, but she doubted my conclusion that real

FIG. 2 – Gerard de Lairesse, *Apollo and Aurora*, 1671, canvas, 204.5 x 193.4 cm, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art

people are not portrayed. In fact, Apollo resembles the teen-aged Gerbrand Pancras, to judge from his portrait dated 1670 by Gerard ter Borch.[20] And the figure of Aurora bears a family resemblance to Gerbrand's older sister, Aletta Pancras (1649-1707), as seen in another portrait by Ter Borch dated 1670 (Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam).[21] Aurora looks much too young to be a portrait of Aletta, who was no longer living at home in 1671 (she married François de Vicq in 1667). But Aletta's sister, Maria (1662-1740), was nine or ten years old in 1671. Perhaps an independent portrait of Maria Pancras will come to light.[22]

Gerrit Corver's remodeling of 539 Herengracht in 1717-18 marked a changing of the guard among Amsterdam artists and architects. The facade was designed by Jean Coulon (1678-1760), who in Amsterdam often worked with the leading architect of the period, Daniel Marot (1661-1752). The interior was embellished with stuccowork by Ignatius van Logteren (1685-1732) and a ceiling painting by Giovanni Antonio Pellegrini (1675-1741); the latter also decorated the lower hall of the Mauritshuis in 1718 (both works are still *in situ*).[23] Pellegrini had worked earlier in England and Antwerp, where he was greatly influenced by Rubens's ceiling paintings. Rubens, Jordaens and Pellegrini were De Wit's main models when, in 1717-18, he painted a set of ceiling pictures representing the Gods on Olympus and Signs of the Zodiac for the salon of Jacob Cromhout's town house at 366 Herengracht (now the Bijbels Museum, where the paintings remain).[24]

De Wit's achievement as a decorator can only be appreciated today by viewing works still *in situ* (for example, in 168, 170-72, 366, 468, 474, 475, 476 and 479 Herengracht, and in 604 Keizersgracht); by imagining works that have been removed as back in their intended settings; and by identifying designs known from oil sketches with large canvases that have been lost.[25] A great number of his ceiling paintings, overdoors, chimney-pieces, and similar works were removed from their original locations during the past two centuries. Two of the three oil sketches by De Wit in the Metropolitan Museum record the compositions of ceiling paintings that do not survive. And in two cases, the buildings for which these works were created are identified here for the first time.

Flora and Zephyr (FIG. 3), dated 1743, is the *modello* for a ceiling painting that De Wit completed in the following year for the grand canal house of Gerrit Hooft Gerritsz (1708-1780) at 609-611 Herengracht.[26] The large canvas was sold with other contents of the house in 1928 and is now in the Huis te Manpad near Heemstede. Hooft, who frequently served as burgomaster between 1766 and 1779, purchased the property in 1741 and had two earlier houses completely rebuilt behind a single facade.[27] The *Flora and Zephyr* in the salon was surrounded by monochrome pictures ('*Witjes*') imitating stucco reliefs of putti working in a garden or displaying flowers. In the oil sketch, Flora is one of the least conspicuous figures, the woman in pink and white on a cloud in the bottom center of the composition. She gestures dramatically and looks up at Zephyr, who can barely be differentiated from his own cloud. Of course, De Wit would have explained

FIG. 3 – Jacob de Wit, *Flora and Zephyr*, 1743, canvas, 53 x 63.2 cm, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art

the subject to the patron. In so far as is known, the artist always kept the oil sketch for himself.

De Wit depicted the goddess of flowers in oil sketches for ceiling paintings dating from the early 1720s (when he decorated the Surmont van Vlooswijk house at 216 Amstel) until the year of his death.[28] In 1729 he painted a *Tribute to Flora* for Maria Luyken's house at 168 Herengracht, which was extensively enriched with stuccowork by De Wit's collaborator, Jan van Logteren (1709-1745; Ignatius's son), and in 1735 the painter placed a *Flora and Zephyr* in the house next door (no. 170) so that Nicolaas Hasselaer and his wife Anna Pancras could, so to speak, 'keep up with the Joneses' (the two houses are now home to the Theatermuseum).[29] Another *Flora and Zephyr*, dated 1746, and a *Bacchus and Ceres* of 1747 are still framed by beautiful stuccowork in Cornelis Munter's house at 468 Herengracht.[30] Later oil sketches devoted to Flora are also known, but it is unnecessary to cite them here or to explain why the theme was so popular in the Netherlands and elsewhere (for example, Tiepolo's *Triumph of Flora and Zephyr*, dating from 1734-35, in the Ca' Rezzonico, Venice). However, it is worth mentioning that the large garden behind Gerrit Hooft's house could be seen through tall windows at

FIG. 4 – Jacob de Wit, *Allegory of the Arts*, 1742, canvas, 47.9 x 59.1 cm, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art

the back of the salon, quite as a real fire could occasionally be seen beneath the marble *overmantel* (1745) representing Venus's visit to Vulcan's forge.[31]

There was an extraordinary demand for De Wit's work in the 1740s, with commissions coming from clients in a half-dozen Dutch cities as well as from prominent patrons in Amsterdam. The artist's annual income of about 4,000 guilders exceeded that of any contemporary painter.[32] In 1741 he and his wife, Cornelia Eleonora van Neck (who came from an old Catholic family of merchants and regents in Amsterdam), purchased two adjoining houses on the Keizersgracht; they lived in no. 385 (which had eighteen rooms) and rented out no. 383. De Wit set up a spacious studio facing the garden in back, and used one of the main rooms in the house to display part of his collection of paintings.[33] About two hundred pictures were in his estate, along with some eight hundred mostly Flemish and Italian drawings. The paintings included sixteen works by or attributed to Rubens, four each by Van Dyck and Jordaens, and a few works by living artists such as Jan van Huysum and Cornelis Troost.

In his survey of De Wit's art collection and well-appointed rooms (where fine furniture, silver, Oriental porcelain, mirrors, and other treasures were on

display), Van den Hout illustrates two drawings of *Poesia* and *Pictura* presented as statues standing in niches, which are each inscribed on the verso 'Painted in my Garden House.' *Poesia* is also dated 1742.[34] The paintings in the garden house at the back of De Wit's property would have been executed in grisaille, like *The Spirit of Holland ('The Holland Maid')* that was painted in 1738 as part of his extensive work in the Council Chamber of the Town Hall (now Royal Palace),[35] and like the statues of *Pictura* that he painted on the doors of collectors' cabinets.[36] Van den Hout suggests that the artist may have painted other decorations for his new house but no trace of them remains.

However, it seems likely that the *Allegory of the Arts* in the Metropolitan Museum (FIG. 4) is an oil sketch for a ceiling painting – probably never executed – in De Wit's own residence. No such work is listed in the painter's estate, and the most likely location for it, the *Sael* or salon, no longer survives. However, it was certainly suitable, since it measured about seven by eight meters, was about four and a half meters high, and had five tall windows.[37] The date on the sketch, as on the drawing of *Poesia*, is 1742. Of course, De Wit could have painted an allegory of the arts for some well-rounded (or pretentious) dilettante who happened to be decorating his house at the same time that the artist was decorating his. But that sort of project probably would have been completed and would have stood a good chance of surviving or remaining known.

The sketch would also appear to have been for De Wit's own salon on the grounds of style and iconography. To state the weaker of these two points in the simplest terms, most of De Wit's ceiling paintings of the 1740s (see FIG. 3) are more rococo than this one, with pastel colours, less substantial figures, and lots of open sky. In the *Allegory of the Arts*, by contrast, the stronger palette, firmer modelling, and pyramidal grouping of figures (so that they ascend like mountain peaks through clouds) are qualities reminiscent of De Wit's earlier work, and of his drawings (ca. 1712) recording Rubens's ceiling paintings in the Jesuit Church of Antwerp. Perhaps De Wit adjusted his style to harmonize with the most important works in his collection.

As for the subject, it is more complicated than usual, which suggests that the composition was intended for a place where the artist might admit his own erudition. Apollo presides in the centre, surrounded by other gods of whom Minerva (Pallas Athena) is the most obvious. Right below Apollo, Father Time and *Poesia* (who, like Apollo, holds a lyre) glance in different directions, the former at the maiden who clips his wing, the latter past Pictura (with a mask) to Architectura, who holds a miniature temple high above the oblivious Ceres's head. Next around the ceiling comes Sculptura hammering a statue, and a dusky shepherd with pan-pipes. He may refer to Drawing, as does the shepherd tracing with his staff in a *trompe-l'oeil* relief on one of De Wit's doors made for collectors' cabinets.[38] Finally, on the left, figures symbolizing music rise above a winged, muscular male who blows air into the viewer's space.

All of this makes sense if Apollo is recognized as ruler of the Seasons as well as of the Arts. As the Sun-God, he did indeed command the course of the year, divided into months (indicated by the zodiacal belt in De Lairesse's *Apollo and Aurora*; FIG. 2) or into seasons. The latter are shown as figures of different ages in De Wit's ceiling painting, *Apollo and the Four Seasons*, which he made in 1750 for the house of burgomaster Pieter van de Poll at 440 Herengracht.[39] The painter often combined themes and mixed traditional forms of interpretation, as if inviting his patrons (or visitors) to request elucidation. Thus, it would not be surprising if the two women bearing flowers and a vessel spilling water represent Spring, where a cornucopia also suggests abundance; Ceres, as usual, stands for Summer; the shepherd with pipes, recalling Bacchus, takes the place of Fall; and the winged male below *Musica* would be Boreas, the north wind, in the role of Winter. Juxtaposing Apollo with Father Time is to compare the eternal with the temporal. The theme of art transcending time is familiar from self-portraits by Dutch artists (especially Gerard Dou), which supports the idea that the *Allegory of the Arts* is about the painter himself.

Soon after De Wit worked in the Town Hall of Amsterdam he painted a large ceiling for the Aldermen's Hall (Schepenzaal) in the grand new wing designed by Daniel Marot (1733) as an addition to the Old Town Hall (Oude Stadhuis) of The Hague. Four corner pieces in grisaille, depicting *putti* in relief, are still *in situ*, as is an endearing overdoor which illustrates a principle of Roman law – '*Audi et alteram partem*' ('Listen also to the other side') – as a complaint lodged against an anxious dog by a sheep and its *putti* solicitors.[40] A description of the large canvas in the centre of the ceiling, which was lost in the nineteenth century, is appended to De Wit's invoice for 1291 guilders dated October 2, 1738. In his monograph Staring quoted the description and expressed the hope that the oil sketch for the ceiling would be found some day.[41] He was unaware that the *modello* had been given to the Metropolitan Museum by J. Pierpont Morgan in 1906, along with the two other oil sketches discussed above. The *Allegory of Government* in New York (FIG. 5) is the only known visual record of the final painting, which is described in the document as follows:

'Explanation of the Ceiling In the chamber of the Honorable Mssrs Aldermen of the Hague 1738 painted by Jacob de Wit, art painter in Amsterdam. The central piece represents, that through Wisdom virtue and vice will be divided, Wisdom [is] represented by Pallas, who casts Envy, Personal Gain, ignorance and Deceit out of Heaven, while friendship and Concord are being crowned with Roses and Laurel, In the view of Law who is accompanied by religion and contemplation [*aendaght*]. The Crest of the Hague is also shown there with the legend JUBET ET PROBAT. The figure of the law [is] shown [with] an open book in which [the words] stand – IN LEGIBUS SALUS – The four Corner pieces in grisaille are the following [depicted] emblematically as Freedom, industry, temperance & fortitude.'[42]

FIG. 5 – Jacob de Wit, *Allegory of Government*, 1738, canvas, 51.1 x 39.1 cm, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art

The Latin inscriptions, meaning 'to command and to approve' and 'prosperity under law,' occur in the centre of the oil sketch, on the shield seen below Law's upraised arm, and in her open book. A faint drawing of a stork, the bird familiar from crests of The Hague, is also found on the shield.[43] According to the 'Explanation', the four tumbling figures on the left should be Envy, Personal Gain, Ignorance, and Deceit. The topmost figure, just beneath the spear of Pallas Athena, must be the female figure of Envy, identified by snakes in her hands and hair; at least one of the three male figures also has snakes in his hair and is probably meant as Deceit.[44] Only the lowest male figure holds an attribute, namely a rake, which must signify graft, greed, or 'personal gain.' The remaining figure, in red, may be Ignorance. Below the fallen vices, De Wit has placed a mask (symbol of Deceit), a pole-like object probably meant as a whip (an attribute of Envy),[45] one or two seemingly metallic objects, and two tablets with rounded tops. (The latter, recalling Moses, could suggest laws being broken, but the meaning is unclear). 'Friendship and Concord' rest on clouds to the right. The wreaths held over their heads by a victory figure are composed of green leaves ('Laurel') with white and pink flowers ('Roses'). Concord is identified by a cluster of arrows, while a dog nestles in Friendship's arms.

The eighteenth-century decorations of the Oude Stadhuis and their relationship to wall and ceiling paintings in the older rooms deserve closer attention than they have received to date. De Wit's canvas, for example, may be compared with Theodoor van der Schuer's *Justitiae Oculum (Eye of Justice)*, which was painted in 1682 on the flat wooden ceiling of the Burgomasters' Chamber and addresses a similar theme with hovering putti, female virtues floating on clouds, and the expectable stork.[46] Between the Burgomasters' Chamber and the Aldermen's Hall, in the 'Burgomasters' Withdrawing Room' (*Burgemeesteren-vertrek*), Mattheus Terwesten painted an allegory of good government on the wooden ceiling, with groups of female figures seen *di sotto in sù*.[47] Terwesten's work was completed in 1736, during an extensive renovation of the Withdrawing Room. What remains to be considered is whether the old and new ceilings, overdoors, chimney-pieces and other decorations that were commissioned for or absorbed into Marot's project can be said to represent a coherent program, and, if so, who supplied the ideas.

NOTES

1 See Isabella H. van Eeghen et al., *Vier eeuwen Herengracht*, Amsterdam 1976, pp. 496-97.

2 See S.A.C. Dudok van Heel, 'Rembrandt van Rijn (1606-1669): A Changing Portrait of the Artist', in C. Brown, J. Kelch & P. van Thiel et.al., *Rembrandt: the Master & his Workshop (Paintings)*, Berlin (Gemäldegalerie SMPK at the Altes Museum), Amsterdam (Rijksmuseum) & London (The National Gallery) 1991 (exh. cat.), pp. 50-67, and in particular the street maps on pp. 58-59 and 62-63.

3 E. van de Wetering, *Rembrandt. The Painter at Work*, Amsterdam 1997, pp. 3-5, for the quotes in this paragraph.

4 On Ruffo and Rembrandt's *Aristotle*, see J. Giltaij, *Ruffo en Rembrandt. Over een Siciliaanse verzamelaar in de zeventiende eeuw die drie schilderijen bij Rembrandt bestelde*, Zutphen 1999, and W. Liedtke, 'The Meaning of Rembrandt's *Aristotle with a Bust of Homer*', in V. Manuth and A. Rüger (eds.), *Collected Opinions: Essays on Netherlandish Art in Honour of Alfred Bader*, London 2004, pp. 71-85. The essential literature on the portrait of Floris Soop is listed in W. Liedtke et al., *Rembrandt/Not Rembrandt in The Metropolitan Museum of Art: Aspects of Connoisseurship*, vol. II (*Paintings, Drawings, and Prints: Art-Historical Perspectives*), New York (The Metropolitan Museum of Art) 1995 (exh. cat.), p. 72 under no. 13.

5 See A. Chong in A.K. Wheelock, Jr. (ed.), *Aelbert Cuyp*, Washington (National Gallery of Art), London (National Gallery) and Amsterdam (Rijksmuseum) 2001 (exh. cat.), p. 150 under no. 29. The Metropolitan Museum recently acquired a drawing of Meerdervoort Castle by Roelant Roghman.

6 See W. Liedtke et al., *Vermeer and the Delft School*, New York (Metropolitan Museum of Art) 2001 (exh. cat.), no. 67, and pp. 12-14, 151, etc. (see index), on Van Ruijven.

7 See *Alle de Gedichten van den vermaarden Poëet Jan Vos*, I, Amsterdam 1662 (p. 654 for 'Op de Schildery van een Kraamvrouw, in de zaal van den E. Heer Scheepen *Jan Jakobsen Hinloopen*, door G. Moetsu geschildert'). The poem is discussed in G. J. M. Weber, *Der Lobtopos des 'lebenden' Bildes: Jan Vos und sein "Zeege der Schilderkunst" von 1654*, Hildesheim, Zurich & New York 1991, pp. 12 (n. 10), 173-74, 210.

8 See J. van Gent, 'Portretten van Jan Jacobsz Hinlopen en zijn familie door Gabriël Metsu en Bartholomeus van der Helst,' *Oud Holland* 112 (1998), pp. 127-38. *The Visit to the Nursery* and the paintings considered more fully in this article will be discussed at length in the present writer's forthcoming catalogue of Dutch paintings in the Metropolitan Museum.

9 As noted by G. Schwartz in J. Turner (ed.), *The Dictionary of Art*, London 1996, vol. 15, p. 40.

10 For an exterior view of the house see Dudok van Heel, 'Rembrandt van Rijn' (see note 2), p. 55, FIG. 70 (it stands just to the right of the large house with two chimneys).

11 See D.P. Snoep, 'Gérard Lairesse als plafond- en kamerschilder,' *Bulletin van het Rijksmuseum* 18 (1970), pp. 159-220.

12 See J. Boonstra and G. van den Hout, *In de wolken. Jacob de Wit als plafondschilder*, Amsterdam (Bijbels Museum) 2000 (exh. cat.).

13 See Liedtke et al., *Vermeer and the Delft School* (see note 6), pp. 10-12, 61-65, and sources cited.

14 W. Liedtke et al., *Rembrandt/Not Rembrandt* (see note 4), no. 19.

15 A. Roy, *Gérard de Lairesse, 1640-1711*, Paris 1992, no. P. 68. On De Graeff's house, see Van Eeghen et al., *Vier eeuwen Herengracht* (see note 1), pp. 551-53. Bol's murals in the Vredepaleis are catalogued in A. Blankert, *Ferdinand Bol (1616-1680), Rembrandt's Pupil*, Doornspijk 1982, as nos. 9, 10, 13, 18, pls. 20, 39, 55, 59, and are placed in their original context in A. Blankert, *Selected Writings On Dutch Painting*, Zwolle 2004, pp. 227-38 ('Ferdinand Bol Transforms a Utrecht Home into a Palace').

16 Roy, *Gérard de Lairesse* (see note 15), nos. P. 55-62. It is not certain whether the set of eight paintings (each 49 x 79 cm) in the Musée de l'Art Wallon, Liège, are De Lairesse's *modelli* for the project (as Roy suggests) or the finished works themselves (the latter is much more likely). On 539 Herengracht, see Van Eeghen et al., *Vier eeuwen Herengracht* (see note 1), pp. 351-52. On Pancras's reputation, see J.E. Elias, *De Vroedschap van Amsterdam 1578-1795*, Amsterdam 1963, vol. 2, p. cxiv.

17 Roy, *Gérard de Lairesse* (see note 15), p. 236, under nos. P. 55-62. The series is also mentioned as belonging to 'councillor Pancratius' in the 1683 Latin edition of Joachim von Sandrart's *Teutsche Academie* (A.R. Peltzer, *Joachim von Sandrarts Academie der Bau-, Bild- und Mahlerey-Künste von 1675*, *Munich* 1925, p. 365).

18 G. Hoet, *Catalogus of Naamlyst van Schilderyen [. . .]*, Den Haag 1752, vol. 1, p. 186 ('Apollo en Aurora, zynde een Schoorsteen-stuk, van dezelve').

19 However, in the forthcoming catalogue of Dutch paintings in the Metropolitan Museum, a few precedents may be considered, such as Van Campen's *Apollo and Aurora* and Jordaens's *Triumph of Frederick Hendrick* in the Oranjezaal of the Huis ten Bosch. Van Campen also intended a painting of *Apollo and Aurora* for the lunette at the eastern end of Burgerzaal in the Town Hall of Amsterdam (see J. Huisken et al., *Jacob van Campen: Het klassieke ideaal in de Gouden Eeuw*, Amsterdam 1995, pp. 142-43, FIGS. 112-113b). A marble mantelpiece in the Burgomaster's Chamber was carved with 'The Triumph of Fabius Maximus, Burgomaster of Rome', above which was a chimney-piece by Jan Lievens depicting another Roman consul, Suessa, who in honor of his own office instructs his father, Fabius Maximus, to dismount his horse (see K. Fremantle, *The Baroque Town Hall of Amsterdam*, Utrecht 1959, pp. 67-68). Presumably, Pancras would have known from reading Plutarch that Fabius Maximus, like Scipio Africanus, was Aemilius Paullus's son.

20 See A.M. Kettering, 'Gerard ter Borch's Portraits for the Deventer Elite', *Simiolus* 27 (1999), p. 66, FIG. 16. In a peculiar parallel to Roy's proposal, the painting by Ter Borch (Assheton Bennett Estate, Manchester City Art Gallery) was previously identified as a portrait of Willem III's cousin, Hendrick Casimir II, Prince of Nassau-Dietz. See S.J. Gudlaugsson, *Geraert ter Borch*, Den Haag 1959-60, no. 239. The proper identification was first proposed by S.A.C. Dudok van Heel, 'In Presentie van de Heer Gerard ter Borgh,' in *Essays in Northern European Art Presented to Egbert Haverkamp-Begemann on his Sixtieth Birthday*, Doornspijk 1983, pp. 66-67.

21 Gudlaugsson, *Geraert ter Borch* (see note 20), no. 241.

22 Vanessa Schmid, who is writing her doctoral dissertation on Amsterdam portraiture ca. 1650-75 at the Institute of Fine Arts, New York University, first pointed out the resemblance of Apollo and Aurora to Gerbrand and Aletta Pancras. Maria Pancras is mentioned in Elias, *De Vroedschap van Amsterdam* (see note 16), vol. 1, p. 468.

23 See B. Aikema and E. Mijnlieff, 'Giovanni Antonio Pellegrini: A Venetian Painter in the Low Countries, 1716-1718', *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 44 (1993), pp. 215-42, and B. Aikema's entry on Pelligrini in Turner, *Dictionary of Art* (see note 9), vol. 24, p. 341.

24 See A. Staring, *Jacob de Wit 1695-1754*, Amsterdam, 1958, pp. 89-91, FIG. 126 (the complete ensemble); Boonstra and Van den Hout, *In de wolken* (see note 12), pp. 8, 14, 20-35, 51-55. On 366 Herengracht, see Van Eeghen et al., *Vier eeuwen Herengracht* (see note 1), pp. 520-21.

25 For ceilings paintings by De Wit that remain *in situ* or that survive but have been moved, see Boonstra and Van den Hout, *In de wolken* (see note 12), pp. 62-71.

26 See Staring, *Jacob de Wit* (see note 24), p. 152, FIG. 75. Staring was unaware of the oil sketch.

27 See Van Eeghen et al., *Vier eeuwen Herengracht* (see note 1), pp. 380-81.

28 On the oil sketch (1623) for the lost ceiling painting from 216 Amstel, see R. Mandle, 'A Ceiling Sketch by Jacob de Wit', *Museum News* (The Toledo Museum of Art) 18 (1975), no. 1, pp. 7-9, FIG. 5.

29 See Boonstra and Van den Hout, *In de wolken* (see note 12), pp. 62-64.

30 Staring, *Jacob de Wit* (see note 24), pp. 79, 153, FIGS. 45-49; Boonstra and Van den

Hout, *In de wolken* (see note 12), p. 65, FIGS. 4, 5. In the same house De Wit also painted overdoors, a chimney-piece, and an illusionistic ceiling in the staircase.

31 This tall relief, carved by Bernardus and Mathijs de Wilde, is now in the Carnegie Museum of Art, Pittsburgh. See D. T. Owsley, 'Venus and Vulcan. A new Dutch marble relief sculpture at the Institute', *Carnegie Magazine*, no. 44 (1970), pp. 73-76.

32 See S.A.C. Dudok van Heel's list of artists' incomes in G. van den Hout and R. Schillemans (ed.), *Putti en Cherubijntjes. Het religieuze werk van Jacob de Wit (1695-1754)*, Amsterdam (Museum Amstelkring, "Ons' Lieve Heer op Solder") and Weert (Museum voor Religieuze Kunst Jacob van Horne), 1995-96 (exh. cat.), p. 27.

33 See ibid., pp. 23-24, FIG. 9, and pp. 115-16, FIG. 73b, on the houses and studio, respectively. De Wit's house and collection are also discussed in Boonstra and Van den Hout, *In de wolken* (see note 12), pp. 88-94.

34 Boonstra and Van den Hout, *In de wolken* (see note 12), p. 94, FIGS. 4-5b on pp. 92-93.

35 See J. Huisken and F. Lammertse, *Jacob de Wit, de Amsteltitiaan/Jacob de Wit, the Titian of the Amstel*, Amsterdam (Royal Palace), 1986 (exh. cat.), pp. 50-58, FIG. 42.

36 See S. Hautekeete in Boonstra and Van den Hout, *In de wolken* (see note 12), pp. 18-19, FIG. 8 (De Wit's *Pictura and Symbols of Painting*, 1750, made for Jan de Bosch; Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum); and Th.H. Lunsingh Scheurleer, 'Jacob de Wit beschildert kunstkasten,' in: *Album Amicorum J.G. van Gelder*, Den Haag 1973, pp. 227-29, FIGS. 3-7.

37 As recorded by Van den Hout in Boonstra and Van den Hout, *In de wolken* (see note 12), p. 91. The proportions of the painted frame in the oil sketch are about six to seven.

38 The Rijksmuseum example cited in note 36. The shepherd as draftsman (known from Vasari and Van Mander) is mentioned in Lunsingh Scheurleer, 'Jacob de Wit beschildert kunstkasten' (see note 36), p. 228.

39 Boonstra and Van den Hout, *In de wolken* (see note 12), pp. 36-40, FIG. 14 (now in the Bijbels Museum).

40 J.C. Herpel, *Het oude Raadhuis van 's-Gravenhage*, Den Haag 1975, vol. 1, pp. 409-13. FIGS. 382-83 (corner pieces and overdoor), and vol. 2, pp. 843-52, FIGS. 896-97 (views of the room). The room became the Trouwzaal (Marriage Hall) in 1854 and is also known as the Blauwe Kamer.

41 Staring, *Jacob de Wit* (see note 24), p. 82. This reference led J. Leistra in Turner, *Dictionary of Art* (see note 9), vol. 33, p. 261, to suggest that the *Allegory of Government* might be De Wit's *modello* for the ceiling painting formerly in The Hague. Her remark was missed in Boonstra and Van den Hout, *In de wolken* (see note 12), p. 57, FIG. 19, where the oil sketch is dated about 1735 and reproduced in color.

42 This 'Beduijtsel vant Blaffon', in what appears to be De Wit's own hand, is filed with his invoice dated October 2, 1738, in the Haags Gemeentearchief, inv. nr. 1865. I am grateful to Marieke Kroonen, Archivist, for supplying photocopies of all the relevant documents, and to Charles Dumas for invaluable help with several aspects of this research.

43 On The Hague's symbol, a stork with an eel in its beak, see R. van Lit, *On Its Tall Legs and Looking Down Its Nose. The History of The Hague's Stork*, Den Haag 2001. The motif occurs in various parts of the old building (1565) and of the new wing of the Oude Stadhuis.

44 See C. Ripa, *Iconologia [...]*, Padova 1611 (expanded version of the 1603 edition), pp. 186, 261-62.

45 In a print of 1549 by Heinrich Aldegrever a whip of the same kind (now called a lunge-whip) serves as an attribute of Invidia (Envy), who holds a snake in her other hand. See F.W.H. Hollstein, *Dutch and Flemish Etchings, Engravings and Woodcuts ca. 1450-1700*, Amsterdam 1949 ff., vol. 1, p. 57.

46 See Herpel, *Het oude Raadhuis* (see note 40), vol. 1, pp. 246-47, FIG. 222, and vol. 2, p. 825, FIG. 872 (color photo of the entire ceiling); also P. van der Ploeg, C. Vermeeren et al., *Princely Patrons: The Collection of Frederick Henry of Orange and Amalia van Solms in The Hague*, Den Haag (Mauritshuis) 1997 (exh. cat.), pp. 345-46 (ill.).

47 Herpel, *Het oude Raadhuis* (see note 40), vol. 2, pp. 833-39, FIGS. 882, 884-89.

HENK VAN OS

'The Painter he findes at his Easill at worke'

Ernst and I first met in spring 1965. In the woodlands of Friesland a 'Romantic Week' had been organised by way of farewell to Henk Schulte Nordholt from his admiring students. Their professor was leaving for Rome and found it important to recount once again his beloved stories about *Herzensergiessungen eines kunstliebenden Klosterbruders*. To tell about Novalis and Caspar David Friedrich, about Arnold Böcklin and Jakob Burckhardt. So in the daytime we attended lectures and went for walks. In the evening we would listen together to such delights as Janet Baker singing arias from Berlioz. At that time there was nowhere in the art-historical world of the Netherlands where you could find such topics on the romantic period being considered. This gave us the fine feeling of being the chosen few. Ernst and his girlfriend had contrived to be invited to join this exclusive company although they didn't know any of our circle. Why had these strangers from Amsterdam come tagging along? Henk explained somewhat awkwardly, 'They wanted to come so badly'. We soon realised how true this was. And to our great surprise it turned out that Ernst was extremely knowledgeable about the painters whom we had believed to be our sole prerogative; we thought we held the exclusive Dutch rights on them, but no. More importantly, Ernst spoke about German Romanticism with a passionate intensity, which immediately ensured him a place in the group.

Henk Schulte Nordholt seized the opportunity during those days in Friesland to recount yet once again the story of the painter and the landscape. Believe it or not, we listened hanging on his every word, although we were hearing it for the umpteenth time; could that man tell a story! In his *Letters from Italy*, which was published shortly before his death, we find the account once again.

'I'd like to tell you another story that you may well recall because I've often recounted it. This time the artist is anonymous; all we know is that he had a friend called Norgate, who some time in the seventeenth century made a trip through the Ardennes. The account is curious and incomplete. So, our traveller comes home from his wanderings, he tells us, full of enthusiasm. On his return journey he pays a visit to a friend of his who is a painter living in Flanders. Upon arrival in the painter's studio, he describes what he's seen on his travels. Quite likely he said something like, "I saw a river winding with splendid meanders into

the distance, I saw castle ruins perched on the overhanging edge of a sheer cliff, I saw the most wonderful fanning-out of colours, yellow and brown transforming into the blue distances. And a gentle film of mist lying across the mountain peaks on the horizon. Yes, jagged spikes, you can scarcely imagine how rugged."

That's about how this report of presumably disconnected memories might have appeared, I would think, if you consider the sequel to the story. While the traveller is recounting, the artist sits listening and working on his canvas. Now he asks, 'Was it something like this?' And he points to what he's been painting. The storyteller is almost speechless with admiration and stammers, 'Were you there too?' To which the painter laughingly replies, 'Why no, we create things like that from our imaginations, here in the studio'. A little later the visitor continues on his way, deeply impressed.[1]

When we heard the story in the Frisian village of Boornbergum we were also impressed. But who was this Norgate? Our professor greeted this question somewhat unhappily since he'd only jotted down a brief reference to the source of his story. He wasn't even sure of the first name of his seventeenth-century informant. When his letters were being published, both the author and his two addressees researched once again for this Norgate and his account about the painter and the landscape. In vain. But as chance would have it, I recently came across it. The story can be found in *Miniatura or the Art of Limning* by Edward Norgate, written between 1627 and 1628. The work has been handed down in manuscript form from the mid-seventeenth century. The only printed edition that Henk Schulte Nordholt could possibly have seen is that of Martin Hardie from 1919; or possibly he came across it somewhere else as a quotation. Whatever the case, in the meantime a much improved edition is available from Jeffrey Muller and Jim Murrell dating from 1997. Here is the original version of Henk Schulte Nordholt's as found in the new publication.

'A Gentleman of Antwerpe being a great *Liefhebber* returning from a long Journey, he had made about the Countrey of *Liege*, and *Forrest* of *Ardenna*, comes to visit his old friend, an ingenious Painter of that Citie, whose House and Company he useually frequented. The Painter he finds at his Easill at worke which he very diligently intends, while his newcome friend walking by, recountes the adventures of his long Journey, and with all, what Cities he saw, what Beautifull prospects he beheld in a Countrey of a strange Situation, full of *Alpine Rocks*, old Castles, and extraordinary buildings &c. With which relation (growing long) the prompt and ready Painter, was soe delighted, as (unregarded by his walking friend), he layes by his worke, and on a new Table, begins to paint, what the other spake, describing his description in a more legible and lasting Character, then the others words. In short, by that time the Gentleman had ended his long Discourse, the Painter had brought his worke to that perfection, as the Gentleman at parting by chance casting his eye that way, was astonisht with wonder, to see those places and that Countrey soe Lively exprest by the Painter as if hee had seene with his owne eyes, or bene his Companion in the Journey.'[2]

Norgate tells this story of the painter and the traveller in order to illustrate that the invention of landscape art is both a good and profitable invention ('Noveltie'). Schulte Nordholt goes a step further and concludes, 'For the past couple of centuries we have been sensitive to the beauties of nature. But our observation of things is pre-shaped by others, by the great artists. The visual impression that we take away with us is determined by others, the artists. The *vis superbae formae*, or, the power of splendid shapes, the tyranny of the perfect, in other words the preformed shape is almost unavoidable, in all the arts, in literature too.'[3]

Every art historian is familiar with 'the tyranny of a preformed shape' – think of those coach expeditions with colleagues, driving through a picturesque landscape. You hear someone exclaim delightedly, 'Just like a Corot' or 'It could almost be a Ruysdael'. On one occasion I heard a doctoral student standing upon a little Umbrian hill express how moved he was by the view over the distant landscape with the words, 'It's exactly like an early Pinturicchio'. But the artist as creator of matrix forms that enable us to enjoy aesthetic experiences is not only remarkably present in the conversation of art historians; this is also a concept that can prove extremely helpful in the analyses of cultural-historical processes which call for the experience of nature's beauty. Think, for instance, of the discovery of the Italian landscape, but also of the Romantic experience of the Alps, in which the mountains bear witness to the mighty power of nature vis-à-vis the insignificance of humankind. It begins with artists, who develop the matrices with this purpose, and it ends with the pictures on the brochures of travel agents.

The painters who belonged to the Groningen artists' association known as *De Ploeg* (The Plough) have had a great influence on my life and work. In the 1920s they discovered the countryside lying to the north of the city of Groningen as a theme for their art. They took the spaces of agrarian countryside and used them to convey an aesthetic experience.[4] In doing so, of course, they also developed matrix forms, that is, grid-like patterns. The most important of these is a canal sloping steeply downwards, or a road lined with trees misshapen by the wind. Thus the painters of De Ploeg began to understand the endless spaces of the Groningen countryside. When they started making paintings of this kind almost no one came to look at their work. When exhibitions were held showing the work of the major artists of the group there would be forty visitors in total. Today the paintings are unbelievably popular and consequently very pricey. In the wake, as it were, of the De Ploeg painters, nature lovers can now walk and cycle in large numbers along recently-constructed paths and lanes that criss-cross the plains of northern Groningen. Everywhere you look you see scenes depicting misshapen trees apparently determining the depth. The matrix form has become a cliché and this too can be demonstrated using paintings, as the choreographer William Forsythe has done (FIG. 1).

Once people have been made aware of underlying matrix structures they tend to discover that the patterns used to indicate the shapes of a natural scene are

FIG. 1 – William Forsythe, *Teken N – Oort van Lewenborg – Bakboordswal/Noorddijkerweg*, Private Collection

frequently completely inadequate. An example: A few years ago the Groninger Museum organized an exhibition of paintings illustrating the countryside of the province of Groningen. First you went round the museum looking at art and absorbing the matrix patterns you need in order to enjoy a full aesthetic experience and after that, still in the museum, you could rent a bike painted in cheery colours and cycle out to discover the beauties of the northern Dutch landscape. To complement these activities, there was a special picture on sale in the museum shop showing a wide open expanse of landscape (FIG. 2). But this photo bore absolutely no relation to the paintings on show in the exhibition. Evidently, the entrepreneur running the museum shop wasn't familiar with the Groningen countryside. Because there isn't a straight road or a straight tree to be found in the landscape De Ploeg painters depict. What had happened? The photographer Axel Terpstra had projected the basic design that you find in Meindert Hobbema's famous painting of the lane by Middelharnis onto the newly-reclaimed Dutch polder landscape somewhere in the middle of the country. This countryside looks totally different from that around Groningen and the shapes and structures of the landscape aren't at all similar.

The Amsterdam historian Boudewijn Bakker has argued most convincingly that Hobbema, in his painting of the lane of poplars, presents a valid system whereby artists created a 'painterly' composition.[5] Evidently, this system has lost none of its validity right up to now. I'll give you an example of what I mean.

FIG. 2 – Axel Terpstra, *Polder road*

FIG. 3 – *Ardennes Belges. Vers des belles vacances* (postcard)

FIG. 4 – Arnold Böcklin, *Die Toteninsel*, 1880, Basel, Öffentliche Kunstsammlung, Depositum der Eidg. Gottfried Keller-Stiftung

Recently, I was walking in the Ardennes, the world of Norgate's traveller. I was enjoying all the things that this traveller of Norgate's found so attractive three centuries ago. With my head full of splendid landscape views, not forgetting the underlying matrix forms, as evening fell I came upon a small general store. I was feeling pretty tired but very contented. The store had only one picture postcard for sale, which I might take home with me as a memento of my walk (FIG. 3). Imagine my astonishment when I saw that this, too, presented Hobbema's lane of poplars. There I was in the mountainous Ardennes landscape, confronted by a flat scene which was most certainly not a reflection of what I had just been looking at yet was nevertheless titled *Ardennes Belges. Vers de belles vacances*. So clearly, this was an example of people being offered the landscape in grid form, what I have called the matrix shapes, in order to enjoy an aesthetic experience. They were ideal landscapes that had nothing to do with what was actually there, reduced to a schematic shape. It shows how strong is the *vis superbae formae*, the power of majestic forms or splendid shapes.

Back to Ernst and the week studying the Romantics. We had long discussions about Arnold Böcklin's *Toteninsel*, a painting that evidently meant a great deal to Ernst (FIG. 4). This picture is very important for an understanding of the function of matrix forms. Research over Böcklin during the past few years has shown clearly that his island of the dead doesn't actually exist. In 1880 Frau Berna, later countess of Oriola, commissioned Böcklin to paint *ein Bild zum Träumen*, a picture

FIG. 5 – *Corfu* (postcard)

about dreams. Taking a variety of very different landscape motifs, Böcklin then composed his *Toteninsel*, or island of dreams. Today you can look at one of the four versions of this picture and dream about earthly transience, about the decline of western civilization, about the indestructibility of nature and about the loneliness of the artist of genius. As far as we now know, that was the intention. But we aren't allowed to want to know where exactly Böcklin's island may be found.

Yet perversely, that's exactly what people try to do, over and over again. One person claims that Böcklin has shown the castle of Alfonso of Aragon on the island of Ischia. Someone else insists that the *Toteninsel* is the island cemetery of St Jurai, lying south of Dubrovnik. Indeed, it is even suggested that Böcklin has taken the building of the Camposanto degli Svizzeri on Florence's Piazza Donatello and placed it in the sea; for that is where his daughter Beatrice lay buried, in her island of death. Meanwhile, I was utterly convinced that what Böcklin had in mind as he painted his *Toteninsel* was the island cemetery of Pontikonissi near Corfu (FIG. 5). In fact, his picture does not represent an existing landscape. Despite this, almost against your better judgement, you want to give a geographical location to Böcklin's *Toteninsel*.[6] An artist is a mighty magician and even the pictures made for your dreams can take hold of your reality.

Translated from Dutch by Wendie Shaffer. I thank Elly de Jong for deciphering and typing out my manuscript.

NOTES

1 H. Schulte Nordholt, *Brieven uit Italië (Letters from Italy)*, Groningen 1998, pp. 108-109.
2 E. Norgate, *Miniatura or the Art of Limning* (eds. J. Muller and J. Murrell), London & New Haven 1997, pp. 83-84.
3 Schulte Nordholt, *Brieven uit Italië* (see note 1), p. 110.
4 H.W. van Os, *De Ploeg in Bergen – de keuze van Henk van Os uit drie particuliere collecties*, Kranenburgh (Museum Kranenburgh) 1999 (exh. cat), notebook 7, p. 27.
5 B. Bakker, '"Schilderachtig" – discussions of a seventeenth-century term and concept', *Simiolus* 23 (1995), pp. 157-158, FIG. 5.
6 For an overview of suggested locations see: Z. Magyar, 'Die Toteninsel', *Das Münster* 29 (1976), pp. 204-207 and Cristina Nuzzi (ed.), *Arnold Böcklin e la cultura artistica in Toscana: Hans von Marées, Adolf von Hildebrand, Max Klinger, Karl Stauffer-Bern, Albert Welti*, Fiesole (Palazzina Mangani) 1980 (exh. cat.), no.17.

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