DIE KÜNSTLER DER *TEUTSCHEN ACADEMIE*

PAR SON TRES HVMBLE SERVITEVR R. COLLIN, M.DC.LXXIX.

Aus aller Herren Länder

Die Künstler der *Teutschen Academie* von Joachim von Sandrart

Herausgegeben von
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& Lucia Simonato

BREPOLS

Théorie de l'art 1400-1800 | Art Theory 1400–1800

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Selbstporträt, Detail aus *Friedensmahl*, 1650,
Nürnberg, Stadtmuseum Fembohaus

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Einleitung

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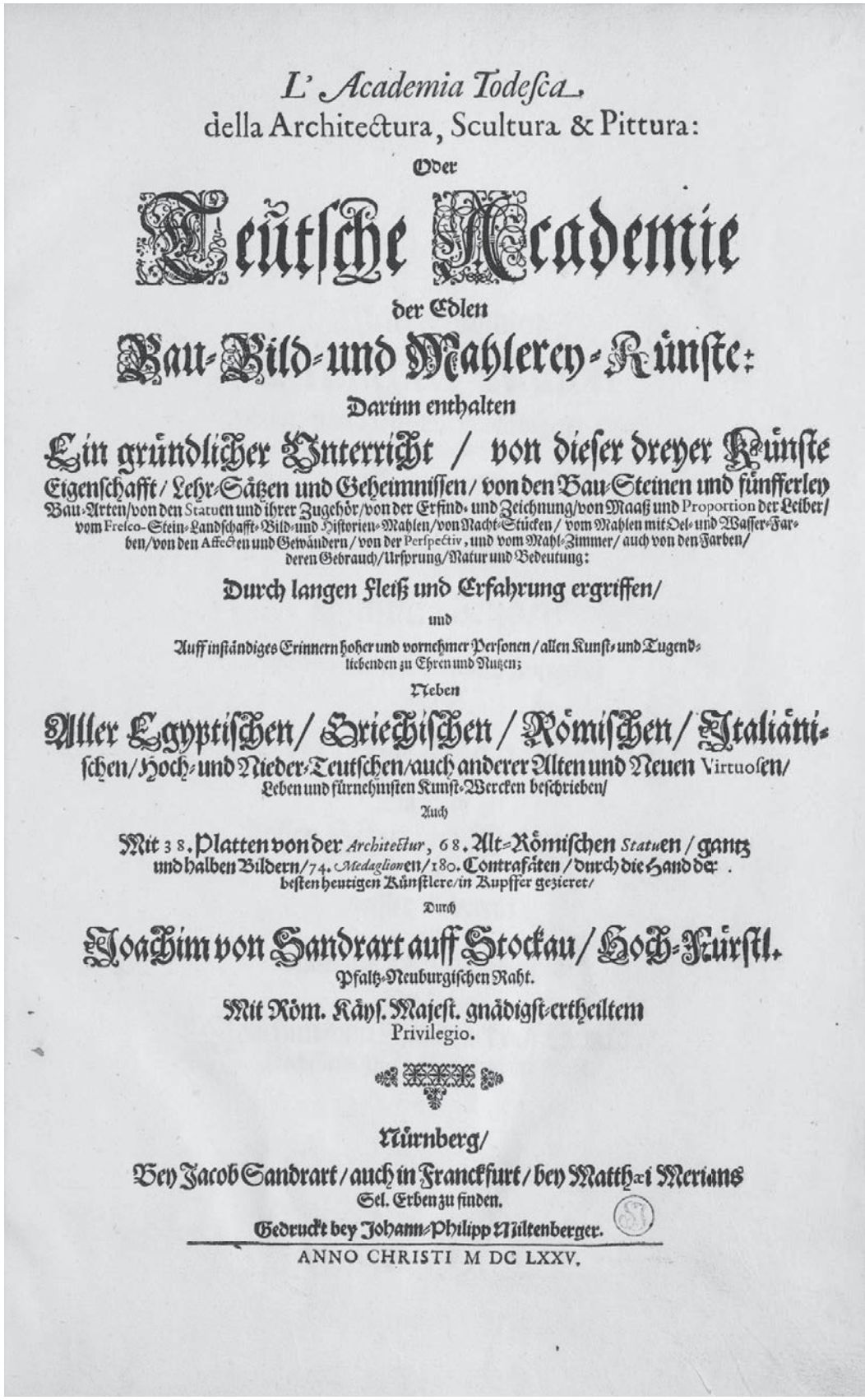
Julius von Schlosser lobte in seinem bis heute maßgeblichen Handbuch *Die Kunstliteratur* (Wien, 1924) die *Teutsche Academie* (Nürnberg, 1675-1680) des Malers Joachim von Sandrart als das « reichhaltigste und in manchem Betracht auch wertvollste Werk […], zugleich [das] umfänglichste und am prunkvollsten ausgestattete, das fast in der gesamten Kunstliteratur existiert ». Schlossers ebenfalls in dieser Passage erscheinende Charakterisierung der Sandrartschen *Academie* als « Denkmal deutschen Fleisses » vermerkt der heutige Leser jedoch mit zwiespältiger Reaktion. Es irritiert zum einen das auf eine (vermeintlich) nationale Tugend zugespitzte Urteil, zum anderen die mitschwingende Abwertung, es handele sich bei dem Text um eine kompilierte Fleißarbeit ohne wesentliche intellektuelle Eigenleistung ihres Autors.

Tatsächlich bündelt die opulente mehrbändige Publikation der *Teutschen Academie* das über Jahrhunderte hinweg entstandene kunstliterarische Wissen aus verschiedenen Ländern Europas für ein deutschsprachiges Publikum. Dabei folgte Sandrart, dem als Maler im Laufe des 17. Jahrhunderts großer Ruhm als « teutscher Apelles » zu Teil wurde, dem Vorbild des *Schilder-boeck* von Karel van Mander (Haarlem, 1604). Er untergliedert wie dieser seine Viten in drei große Gruppen: die antiken, die italienischen und die « jenseits der Alpen ansässigen » Künstler. Wie Giorgio Vasari, aber im Gegensatz zu Van Mander, bezieht Sandrart Maler, Bildhauer und Architekten mit ein. Er präsentiert Persönlichkeiten, die sich uns heute als rein literarische (also fiktive) Phänomene darstellen, aber auch Künstler, die er selbst kennengelernt hatte; zudem stellt er uns eine Vielzahl von Auftraggebern, Dichtern und Gelehrten vor. Während sich Sandrart zunächst in den zwischen 1675 und 1680 erschienenen Bänden auf ein deutsches Publikum beschränkte, wandte er sich mit den lateinischen Fassungen dezidiert an einen europäischen Leserkreis.

Der Zugriff auf dieses wort- und bildreiche Werk ist kein einfaches Unterfangen. Gerade die komplexe Editionsgeschichte der *Teutschen Academie*, die vor allem sichtbar wird im Umgang mit Texten und Abbildungen, kann uns Aufschlüsse über die Rezeption beider Buchkomponenten im Laufe der letzten 300 Jahre gewähren. So wurden in der ersten kompletten Neuedition der Werke Sandrarts, herausgegeben zwischen 1768 und 1775 durch Johann Jacob Volkmann, allein die Bilder wiederverwendet (eine Tatsache, die sicher nicht zuletzt in dem finanziellen Wert der in Volkmanns Besitz befindlichen Kupferstichplatten begründet war). Der Text wiederum war tiefgreifend verändert worden, da Sandrarts barocker Schreibstil nun « schwülstig » und « unausstehlich » – so Volkmann in seinem *Vorbericht des Herausgebers* zu Beginn des ersten Bandes – anmutete. Andererseits entschloss sich Rudolf Arthur Peltzer 1925, eine Version der *Teutschen Academie* zu publizieren, die allein auf einem Teil der Künstlerleben und deren korrespondierenden Porträts beruhte und somit in Text und Bild stark reduziert war. Das immense (in Volkmann noch vorhandene) Bildwerk, die antiken Statuen, die Paläste Roms, seine Gärten, Brunnen und Ruinen wurden ausgeblendet in diesem Versuch, Sandrart neu als « deutschen Vasari » zu stilisieren. Es handelt sich hier also um grundauf verschiedene Ansätze, begründet auf unterschiedlichen Motivationen.



L' Academia Todesca,
della Architectura, Scultura & Pittura:
Oder
Teutsche Academie
der Edlen
Bau- Bild- und Mahlerey-Künste:
Darinn enthalten
Ein gründlicher Unterricht / von dieser dreyer Künste Eigenschafft / Lehr-Sätzen und Geheimnissen / von den Bau-Steinen und fünfferley Bau-Arten / von den Statuen und ihrer Zugehör / von der Erfind- und Zeichnung / von Maaß und Proportion der Leiber / vom Freſco- Stein- Landschafft- Bild- und Hiſtorien-Mahlen / von Nacht-Stücken / vom Mahlen mit Oel- und Waſſer-Farben / von den Affecten und Gewändern / von der Perſpectiv, und vom Mahl-Zimmer / auch von den Farben / deren Gebrauch / Urſprung / Natur und Bedeutung:
Durch langen Fleiß und Erfahrung ergriffen /
und
Auff inſtändiges Erinnern hoher und vornehmer Perſonen / allen Kunſt- und Tugendliebenden zu Ehren und Nutzen;
Neben
Aller Egyptiſchen / Griechiſchen / Römiſchen / Italiäniſchen / Hoch- und Nieder-Teutſchen / auch anderer Alten und Neuen Virtuoſen / Leben und fürnehmſten Kunſt-Wercken beſchrieben /
Auch
Mit 38. Platten von der *Architectur*, 68. Alt-Römiſchen *Statuen* / gantz und halben Bildern / 74. *Medaglion*en / 180. Contrafäten / durch die Hand der beſten heutigen Künſtlere / in Kupffer gezieret /
Durch
Joachim von Sandrart auff Stockau / Hoch-Fürſtl. Pfaltz-Neuburgiſchen Raht.
Mit Röm. Käyſ. Majeſt. gnädigſt-ertheiltem Privilegio.

Nürnberg /
Bey Jacob Sandrart / auch in Franckfurt / bey Matthæi Merians Sel. Erben zu finden.
Gedruckt bey Johann-Philipp Miltenberger.
ANNO CHRISTI M DC LXXV.

Viel seltener jedoch wurde das Buch in seinen literarischen *Topoi* und mit Blick auf die gesamte Künstlerhistoriographie hin ausgewertet. Auf verschiedene Forschungstrends, wie die Profilierung positivistischer Kritik durch Sponsels Forschung zu den Quellen der *Teutschen Academie*, die die Grundlage für eine eng gesteckte Betrachtung der alleinig wertvoll betrachteten «Original-Passagen», also der von Sandrart selbst neu verfassten Viten legte, soll hier nicht weiter eingegangen werden. Diese Beobachtungen jedoch veranlassten die Herausgeberinnen des vorliegenden Bandes, einen neuen Blick auf ein breiteres Vitenspektrum anzuregen, das dem ehrgeizigen Projekt Sandrarts mit seinem über die Weite der Zeiten und die Ausdehnung Europas reichenden Anspruch versucht gerechter zu werden. Eine solche umfassende Betrachtung von Sandrarts Künstlerviten, die auf einer erneuten Lektüre der Gesamtheit aller Biographien (ob original oder nicht) beruht, soll der in den vergangenen Jahren intensivierten Neubewertung Sandrarts als Antiquar, angefangen mit den Forschungen zu den Dresdener Zeichnungen bis hin zu Studien zur Verbreitung seiner Kupferstiche, zur Seite gestellt werden.

Gerade weil die Künstlerpersönlichkeiten der *Teutschen Academie* – über Jahrhunderte und Ländergrenzen hinweg – so verschiedenartig sind, haben wir uns bei der Konzeption dieses Bandes entschlossen, Experten verschiedener Fachrichtungen (von der Archäologie bis hin zur Germanistik, von Graphikexperten bis zu Skulpturenforschern) einzubeziehen. Diese Tatsache begründet die große Unterschiedlichkeit der verschiedenen Beiträge in Methodik, inhaltlichen Zuspitzungen oder Materialbasis. Zudem bedeutete das ganze Unternehmen für alle Beteiligten eine besondere Herausforderung: Experten mit italienischer, englischer, holländischer oder französischer Muttersprache sahen sich mit einem barocken Quellentext konfrontiert, der selbst den deutschsprachigen Wissenschaftlern in manchen Passagen wie ein fremdsprachiges Konstrukt erscheinen will. Eine wesentliche Grundlage zum Gelingen dieses Projektes stellt in jedem Fall die jüngst fertiggestellte, wissenschaftlich kommentierte Online-Edition der *Teutschen Academie* (http://ta.sandrart.net/de/) dar, die Kommentare, Personen- und Ortsdatenbanken sowie eine katalogartige, wissenschaftliche Erfassung aller Kupferstiche wie auch aller von Sandrart beschriebenen Kunstwerke bereithält. Diese Edition bot den Ausgangspunkt für die Forschungsarbeiten in diesem Band.

Über die Online-Edition hinausgehend soll die Publikation jedoch zwei weitere Ergebnisse liefern. Zunächst betrifft dies Sandrart selbst. In mehreren Aufsätzen werden seine Ausführungen vor dem Hintergrund des kunstliterarischen Diskurses seiner Zeit betrachtet und innerhalb des Kontextes der jeweiligen Kunstszene (dem Venedig von Johann Liss und Nicolas Régnier, dem Rom der Barberini, dem Amsterdam Rembrandts und Joost van den Vondels, dem Nürnberg Sigmund von Birkens, etc.). Da die persönliche Erfahrung des Malers stets von zentraler Bedeutung für seine Künstlerviten war und genau auf diese Tatsache in vielen Beiträgen ein neues Licht geworfen wird, vermag unser Band daher auch als eine Hommage an Sandrart, eine Art «neuer Lebenslauf » unseres schreibenden Malers angesehen werden.

Ein zweites Ergebnis der Beiträge dieses Buchprojektes liegt darin, dass es – entlang einer Kette ausgewählter Künstler – gleichzeitig eine Art Kommentierung der gesamten *Teutschen Academie* bietet. Denn wir hoffen, dass dieser Band als ein neues kritisches Instrument dienen kann, mit dessen Hilfe im Idealfall bei der Lektüre aller Viten Sandrarts Aspekte von hervorragendem Interesse hervortreten und in das Blickfeld rücken.

Um diesem Ziel gerecht zu werden, haben wir die Struktur unseres Buches präzise nach der Gliederung Sandrarts in seinem deutschen Werk von 1675 und der lateinischen Ausgabe von 1683 organisiert, die Künstler erscheinen also in derselben Reihenfolge wie in der Sandrartschen Galerie. Die wenigen Vitenzugaben des zweiten Hauptteils der *Teutschen Academie* von 1679 sind hier zwar in Einzelbeiträgen erwähnt, doch nicht in einem eigenen Kapitel behandelt. Hinzugefügt haben wir – recht eigenwillig, doch damit auch Pläne des Autors aufgreifend – die *Omissa*, Abhandlungen also zu jenen Lebensläufen von Gelehrten und Dichtern, die Sandrart seinem Werk einfügen wollte, die allerdings aus ungeklärten Gründen in keiner Ausgabe vorhanden sind.

Wir entlassen Sie – liebe Leser – jetzt in die Lektüre der Beiträge. Ihre Vielsprachigkeit hätte bei Sandrart großes Gefallen gefunden, denn auch wenn er die erste Version seiner anspruchsvollen Schrift in Deutsch verfasste und seiner Publikation den Titel einer deutschen Akademie gab, wandte er sich doch selbst gegen jede Form der nationalen Einengung. Dies demonstriert der berühmte Passus im Vorwort zum Buch über die antiken Künstler (*Teutsche Academie*, 1675), der mit den Worten « Warum der Author Griechische und Welsche Künstlere auf diese Teutsche Academi bringe » überschrieben ist. Dem « unnützen Lästermaul », das sein Werk nicht eine « Teutsche; sondern Griechische, Romanische, oder Italienische Academie » zu nennen sucht, widerspricht Sandrart klar und entschieden:

> Deme geb ich aber zur Antwort, daß, gleichwie Ingolstadt, Leipzig, Franecker, darum keine Französische oder Welsche Academie würde genennet werden, weil darauf ein Welscher oder Französischer Doctor docirte, noch weniger darum, weil des Aristoteles oder Platons Bücher darauf gebrauchet werden, eben wie Orleanz, Paris, Bononien, wegen eines Teutschen Professoris, oder darauf üblichen Authoris, keine Teütsche Universität könte benamet werden: Also gehe auch meiner Teutschen Academi, und derselben titel nichts ab, wann ich Antiche ausländische Lehrer darinn aufführe, weilen dieselbe, und ihre Werke, aller modernen Mahlere, wie Aristoteles aller Philosophen, Lehrmeistere seyn, uns allen zur rühmlichen Nachfolge, daß wir, gleichwie sie, uns keinen Fleiß noch Müh dauren lassen, diese edle Künsten, je länger, je mehr, zur Vollkommenheit zu bringen.

Es ist ein sehr weiter Horizont, den Sandrart hier beweist und der uns vermuten lässt, dass der gleiche kosmopolitische *Esprit* dahintersteckt, den der von ihm so verehrte Philosoph Justus Lipsius in seinem Buch *De Constantia* (Antwerpen, 1584) mit der stoizistischen Betrachtung der ganzen Welt als Vaterland beschrieben hatte. So können wir in diesem Band Vertreter « aus aller Herren Länder » präsentieren, nicht nur aus verschiedenen Regionen Europas, sondern auch gerade zum Auftakt - mit einem Beitrag zu chinesischen Exportmalereien und dem mysteriösen « Indianer » Higiemonte - ein herausragendes Beispiel des Bewusstseins Sandrarts von nicht-westlicher Kunst.

Das Selbstporträt als Detail aus dem *Nürnberger Friedensbanquett* von 1650, wie es auf dem Buchtitel zu sehen ist, erscheint uns als passender Hinweis auf Sandrarts wachsamen Versuch, die verschiedenen Künstler in seiner *Teutschen Academie* in den Blick zu nehmen: Schon Johann Georg Keyssler bemerkte in seinen *Neuesten Reisen durch Deutschland, Böhmen, Ungarn, die Schweiz, Italien und Lothringen* (Hannover, 1740-1741) dazu treffend, der « berühmte Sandrart » habe « sich selbst auf der einen Seite in solcher Stellung gemalt, dass er alle Leute ansieht, man mag sich stellen, wohin man wil ».

Grundlegend für dieses Buch war eine Konferenz gleichen Titels, veranstaltet vom 9. bis 11. Dezember 2010 in Frankfurt a.M. Der Erfolg dieser Studientage war nicht zuletzt begründet durch die aktive und äußerst konstruktive Teilnahme einer großen Anzahl an Sandrartspezialisten, die der Einladung als Publikumsrespondenten gefolgt waren: Sybille Ebert-Schifferer, Doris Gerstl, Michèle-Caroline Heck, Julia Kleinbeck, Christian Klemm, Everhard Korthals Altes, Esther Meier, Carolin Ott, Christina Posselt-Kuhli, Saskia Schäfer-Arnold, Andreas Tacke und Michael Thimann. Wir danken diesen Kollegen ebenso herzlich wie all jenen hier folgenden Autoren, die bereits an der Frankfurter Konferenz teilgenommen haben, für die in den vergangenen fünf Jahren erwiesene Geduld und Vertrauen. Die Organisation der Konferenz wurde ermöglicht durch das Kunstgeschichtliche Institut der Goethe-Universität Frankfurt a.M. und das Kunsthistorische Institut in Florenz (Max-Planck Institut). Unser besonderer Dank gilt daher Thomas Kirchner und Alessandro Nova. Auch die zusätzliche finanzielle Unterstützung der Redaktionsarbeiten an diesem Band durch Alessandro Nova soll hier nicht unerwähnt bleiben. Die Übersetzung der einführenden Texte von Lucia Simonato vom Italienischen ins Deutsche, die Elmar Kossel anfertigte, wurde von der Scuola Normale Superiore in Pisa finanziert. Ausserdem bedanken wir uns für Rat und Hilfe bei Anna Anguissola, Costanza Caraffa, Angelika Eder, Elmar Kossel, Cecilia Mazzetti di Pietralata, Julia Selzer, Anne-Laure Tardy, Jennifer Trauschke und Arvi Wattel. Ein ehrendes Andenken gilt unserem Kollegen und Freund Andreas Thielemann, der die Vollendung des Bandes nicht mehr hat erleben dürfen.

Fig. 1 Rembrandt, *Christ and the Woman taken in Adultery*, 1644, London, National Gallery

An Admired Rival in Amsterdam

Joachim von Sandrart on Rembrandt

Eric Jan Sluijter

Until the 1950s Joachim von Sandrart was described by Dutch art historians as a 'foreign follower of fashion', or worse, as 'a pompous braggart from across the border' and even as a sly and vicious character who had set Holland's most celebrated poet, Joost van den Vondel, against her greatest painter, Rembrandt.[1] In the nationalistic times of the first half of the twentieth century, Sandrart was obviously seen as a negative foreign influence that had undermined the true character of Dutch art. Perhaps it is a remnant of this negative attitude that some of Sandrart's most important paintings in Dutch museums are still waiting to finally have their dirty, yellow varnish removed (Fig. 2).[2]

Even in the field of Rembrandt studies Sandrart's text was not seriously investigated until Seymour Slive's and Jan Emmens's work in the 1950s and 1960s.[3] By this time, however, Sandrart's views on Rembrandt were misinterpreted in a different fashion. Jan Emmens's hugely influential book *Rembrandt en de regels van de kunst* (*Rembrandt and the Rules of Art*) thus presented Sandrart's Rembrandt biography as nothing more than a series of art-theoretical platitudes based on French and Italian art theory of the later seventeenth century.[4] Maintaining that Sandrart had taken little notice of Rembrandt or his work during his stay in Amsterdam, Emmens believed that Sandrart only repeated popular clichés of the classicism developing in Italy and France. Emmens was convinced that Sandrart described Rembrandt according to the classicist image of the 'vulgar painter' – an image that Emmens saw as originating in such sources as Du Fresnoy and Bellori. In his view, Sandrart's 'anti-classicist' attitude would have been inconceivable during Sandrart's stay in the Netherlands from 1637 to 1645, as similar criticism only reached Holland after Rembrandt's death. Moreover, Emmens argued that Sandrart's praise of Rembrandt's colouring had been misunderstood as a positive judgment. According to Emmens, this praise did not mean that Sandrart acknowledged Rembrandt's genius. On the contrary, it only fitted the traditional classicist critique of the vulgar painter as a talented colourist and poor draughtsman.

Attitudes towards Sandrart thus remained negative and, in my view, entirely misguided. I will argue here that Sandrart's notions were not at all classicist in a late seventeenth-century sense; that his comments on Rembrandt reflect actual discussions and controversies current during Sandrart's Amsterdam sojourn; that Sandrart is not only positive, but remarkably elaborate and precise in his comments on Rembrandt's manner of painting; and most importantly, that we should consider Sandrart's opinions in the context of his own unusual position within Amsterdam's artistic community between 1637 and 1645. I am convinced that there were lively disputes about art at the time and that Sandrart must have played a catalytic role in them.[5] There is clear reference to such discussions in Sandrart's *Lebenslauf*,[6] where the reader is informed that Sandrart was much admired in Amsterdam:

> [Here] he had set up an artistic Parnassus of the noble art of painting and had straightaway gained great fame through his highly praised works, so that he was greatly esteemed, honoured, and praised by many not only for his cosmopolitan knowledge of the arts ['weltkundigen Kunst-Wissenschaft'], but also for his virtuous conduct, courteous behaviour and elegant conversation, which few artists had demonstrated previously.[7]

The passage reveals Sandrart's view of his own position in Amsterdam: he is portrayed as having introduced a comprehensive knowledge of art, as well as a type of courteous behaviour and discourse previously unknown amongst local painters. From his standpoint, it is entirely understandable that he should have considered some of the most successful history and portrait painters in Amsterdam, including Rembrandt, Jacob Backer, Bartholomeus van der Helst, and Govert Flinck, as rather provincial.[8]

Sandrart must have been acutely aware that his status and position differed from that of other artists in Amsterdam. In the account of his early career, he is presented as a versatile painter – a court artist in the making – trained in Europe's most important art centres. He is depicted as an 'eager honeybee' gathering knowledge about works of art by renowned artists in famous collections and at the courts that he visited.[9] As Gerard van Honthorst's star student in Utrecht, he had accompanied the celebrated Rubens around Holland for a fortnight,

Fig. 2 Joachim von Sandrart, *Odysseus and Nausicaa*, 1641, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum

relishing the awe-inspiring master's discourses on art.[10] He had travelled with Honthorst to the court of Charles I in London to assist with the painting of *Charles I and Henrietta Maria as Apollo and Diana receiving the Arts, presented to them by the Duke of Buckingham as Mercury* (Hampton Court), an enormous work, measuring 6.5 meters across. In London, he had studied the illustrious collections of Charles I, the Duke of Buckingham, and the Earl of Arundel. Afterwards, he had made the journey to Italy, where he had immersed himself in the art of Venice, Bologna, Florence, and finally Rome. He had met Guido Reni, Francesco Albani, and Domenichino; befriended Pietro da Cortona; been acquainted with the young Nicolas Poussin; and been close with Pietro Testa, Claude Lorrain, Pieter van Laer, and the sculptor François Duquesnoy. He had even been in the employ of the great connoisseur Vincenzo Giustiniani, for whom he produced drawings after his famous sculpture collection that were to serve as models for the *Galleria Giustiniana*, which afforded him the opportunity to gain intimate knowledge of the art of antiquity.[11] Better than any other young painter in Europe, Sandrart would thus have been informed about the latest developments and trends in Italy, or current debates on art. Finally, after his return to Frankfurt, he had further elevated his status by marrying a woman from a wealthy family with aristocratic pretensions.

No wonder then that after his arrival in Amsterdam in 1637, the city's social and intellectual elite fell in love with Sandrart. His *curriculum vitae* must have been a superb introduction. Moreover, he could not have wished for a better connection than his cousin Michel le Blon, who was twenty years' his senior and had been living in Amsterdam since 1612. Le Blon was established as a successful art dealer specialising in Italian art for an international audience, as well as a broker for the rich and powerful. He had dealt with Rubens, Sir Dudley Carleton, the Dukes of Buckingham and Arundel, and he was a friend of Anthony van Dyck's. He was also the Amsterdam agent for the Swedish court, gathering intelligence and news in exchange for a generous yearly income.[12] In Amsterdam Le Blon had befriended the city's most important poets and scholars. He was at the centre of an international network of artists, *literati*, art lovers, and well-connected figures. Le Blon bought a house on the Keizersgracht for his cousin Sandrart, and two years later he purchased another one for himself, only a few houses away, for no less than 15.000 guilders.[13] These houses were not situated in the neighbourhood where most artists were living (and where Rembrandt had bought a house in 1639),[14] but along one of the canals that had been built recently as part of a luxury development. This was the area in which all the famous collectors of Italian art and antique

sculpture in Amsterdam had settled. They were wealthy merchants, including Lucas van Uffel, Gerard Reynst, Nicolaes Sohier, and Balthasar Coymans, who had commercial establishments in Italy and had often lived there for some time.[15]

Le Blon introduced Sandrart to his acquaintances and procured commissions for him. The circles in which Le Blon moved seem to have been quite different from those of Hendrick Uylenburgh, the Amsterdam art dealer with whom Rembrandt was associated for several years.[16] There seems to have been no contact between Le Blon and Uylenburgh;[17] and even more remarkably there appears to have been very little contact between Le Blon and Amsterdam painters.[18] Le Blon knew the poets, humanists, print and book publishers, as well as the most internationally oriented collectors, but the community of Amsterdam painters seems to have inhabited a different world. Sandrart, too, became friends with the foremost local poets and humanists,[19] painting their portraits, which were subsequently engraved.[20] Comparisons between portraits of these figures and Sandrart's self-portrait – of which we only have a much later engraving[21] – show that Sandrart positioned himself within this learned elite. His portrait fits squarely into this series of learned men: he presents himself with an antique bust of Minerva as the patroness of art, while Caspar Barlaeus and Samuel Coster are respectively accompanied by busts of Demosthenes and Hippocrates. Sandrart wears the golden chain of the successful court artist, and he has the sword of the aristocrat at his side, just like the poet Pieter Cornelisz Hooft who belonged to the new, self-made Amsterdam upper-classes, who modelled themselves on aristocratic pretensions.

Indeed, no other Amsterdam painter seems to have had as many contacts with humanists and poets. Almost seventy poems were written about Sandrart's works, half of these were composed in Dutch by Joost van den Vondel and approximately twenty were penned in Latin by Caspar Barleaus.[22] When Sandrart left Amsterdam in 1645,[23] Vondel, who must have been a close friend, wrote a lengthy lament in which he deplored that the sister arts of Poetry and Painting would now be separated, as the Duke of Bavaria was cruelly snatching away this new Apelles from the loving arms of the river Amstel.[24]

Upon his arrival in Amsterdam in 1637, Sandrart had been confronted with an art market that was in the process of becoming the busiest and most competitive in Europe. Particularly in Sandrart's own specialisations of portrait and history painting, there was competition amongst a number of ambitious and talented young painters. This market was, however, undeniably dominated by Rembrandt, who had settled in Amsterdam in 1633 and had worked for an Amsterdam clientele since 1631. In a very short space of time Rembrandt had become unrivalled as the most successful portrait and history painter. After leaving Uylenburgh's studio in 1635, he had virtually stopped painting portraits, focusing instead on large and hugely ambitious history paintings.[25] His style had become the great fashion. Arnold Houbraken, who – as an apprentice of the Rembrandt pupil Samuel van Hoogstraten and as a friend of Govert Flinck's son – would have been well-informed writes in his biography of Govert Flinck that the latter came as a fully trained artist to Rembrandt, because 'at that time the manner of Rembrandt was so generally praised, that everything had to be based on his example if it was to please the world'. In the life of another pupil, Aert de Gelder, Houbraken adds that

> the art of Rembrandt met with general approval as something new in its day, so that the practitioners of art were forced (if they wanted their work to be accepted) to adopt that manner of painting, even if they had a much more commendable style themselves.[26]

As was his custom wherever he stayed, Sandrart would have carefully observed Rembrandt's work and *persona*. Undoubtedly he saw Rembrandt, who was exactly the same age, as his main competitor; all the more so since Rembrandt was an artist who could ask outrageous prices, the kind of prices, in fact, Sandrart could only dream of. Sandrart's fee for one important painting from this period is recorded: the overmantle for the reception room of one of the first Amsterdam town palaces in the 'Dutch classicizing' style, designed by Philip Vingboons and built for burgomaster Johan Huydecoper (Fig. 2). The 280 guilders paid for this very prestigious commission in 1641[27] was a considerable sum, as the average price for a history painting of this size would have been around 70 guilders. On the other hand, it is truly modest compared to the 600 guilders that Rembrandt had received in 1639 for each of the much smaller paintings of the *Passion* series (Fig. 3), for which Rembrandt had even dared to ask 1000 to 1200 guilders.[28] We also know that in 1647, Rembrandt sold his *Susanna and the Elders* (now in Berlin) for 500 guilders,[29] roughly the equivalent of the average salary a skilled craftsman could expect for an entire year. Moreover, the owner of Rembrandt's *Visitation* (Detroit, Institute of Arts) of 1640 probably paid about 800 guilders for it,[30] while the *Christ and the Woman taken in Adultery* of 1644 (London, National Gallery; Fig. 1) was valued at 1500 guilders in the inventory of the art dealer Johannes de Renialme in 1657.[31]

Fig. 3 Rembrandt, *Resurrection*, 1639, Munich, Alte Pinakothek

Sandrart's work must have been seen as a bargain compared to Rembrandt's. Although meant as a rather disparaging characterization, a note of envy can certainly be detected in Sandrart's report that Rembrandt earned a lot of money through his own hands ['seine eigene Handarbeit']. Yet in addition, Sandrart records, he also had innumerable pupils who paid around 100 guilders each a year, while Rembrandt earned an extra 2000–2500 guilders per year by selling their works.[32] Sandrart goes on to say that, had Rembrandt known how to handle patrons, he would have greatly enhanced his wealth, but, he continues, 'although he was not a squanderer, he did not know how to live up to his station and always moved in the company of lowborn people, which hampered him in his work'.[33] We do not know if Sandrart was aware of Rembrandt's bankruptcy many years later, or of the socially unacceptable relations with the women who were looking after his son.[34] Yet already during his stay in Amsterdam, Sandrart would have heard of Rembrandt's impudent and socially self-destructive behaviour, for example in relation to payment for the *Passion* series,[35] or about the lawsuit with one of the most powerful men in Amsterdam, Andries de Graeff, which was probably concerned with the exorbitant price Rembrandt had asked for De Graeff's portrait.[36] The scandal must have been the talk of the town and caused Amsterdam's ruling elite to turn away from Rembrandt.[37] Rembrandt's clientele never consisted of lower-class people, but of well-to-do connoisseurs – his clients had to be willing 'to beg and throw in money to boot', as Houbraken would write later.[38] Sandrart, however, moved within the circles of the ruling elite, which included the Bicker family and Johan Huydecoper. Sandrart, for whom the nobility of art was directly connected to the social position of artists, their patrons and collectors, found in Rembrandt an artist of diametrically opposed attitudes towards art and patrons, and he made the distinction between his own position in Amsterdam and that of Rembrandt as sharp as possible. Indeed, this may also explain why Sandrart does not mention knowing Rembrandt personally.[39] They must have met several times during his eight-year stay in Amsterdam, and it seems highly unlikely that Sandrart would not have visited the studio of the city's most successful master.[40] Yet, it is understandable that, in the *Teutsche Academie*, Sandrart did not wish to associate himself with someone whom he describes as not knowing how to live up to his station and associating with low-born people.

It must have been hard to swallow for Sandrart that a man who possessed none of the qualities so crucial to his own view of the position of artists had eclipsed everyone: Rembrandt did not have the learning, nor did he have wide first-hand knowledge of the international art scene; he was not favoured by the highest social and intellectual elite. And still, he was a painter who was immensely convinced of his own capabilities and status as an autonomous artist, as is evident from the nature of the conflicts with his patrons.[41] It therefore comes as no surprise that in his Rembrandt biography, Sandrart immediately emphasises the great divide between himself and his subject. He starts by saying that we should admire the fact that Rembrandt, who came from the countryside and was the son of miller, reached such artistic heights through great industriousness and innate inclination and aspiration. Rembrandt is thus introduced as a simple soul from the country in spite of the fact that he came from Leiden, the second largest city in the most heavily urbanized area of Europe, and from a rather prosperous family of millers. There seems to be an echo here of Caravaggio who, according to his first biographer Karel van Mander, had climbed up from poverty,[42] or of Vasari's statement that Titian came from an unknown village.[43] This already points to Sandrart's intended characterization of Rembrandt as an artist completely reliant on innate talent, ambition, and intense exercise, rather than on formal learning.

This opening thought is immediately followed by the information that Rembrandt was a pupil of Lastman, that

he practiced with unrelenting diligence, but did not visit Italy and other places where one could learn about the art of antiquity and art theory ['die Antichen und der Kunst Theorie'], and that Rembrandt could barely read Dutch ['nur schlecht Niederländisch'] so that books were of little use to him. He underlines the latter assertion by stating that Rembrandt mainly produced half-length figures, heads of old people and small paintings with simple subjects that he liked and that were '*schilderachtig*, as the Dutch call it',[44] but few mythological, allegorical or history pieces. Sandrart thus distances himself from Rembrandt as much as possible.

Rembrandt certainly studied Van Mander carefully, and he collected and studied prints of Italians as no other artist ever did. He attended Latin school until he was fourteen (though it seems that as an adult he was not able to read Latin),[45] and he knew antique sculpture from prints and from local Amsterdam collections. Moreover, he did paint a number of large history paintings, some of them even with mythological subjects. However, Rembrandt's half-figure compositions and *tronies*, produced in large numbers in his studio, would have been his best-known products, and Sandrart's neglect in mentioning these other types of paintings fits the image the author wished to create. Understandably, in Sandrart's eyes, Rembrandt's experience was nothing compared to his own international education.

Rembrandt's choice not to go to Italy had been a conscious, if not to say a defiant one. As Rembrandt and his friend Jan Lievens told Constantijn Huygens around 1629, they were convinced that they could see and learn enough about Italian art in their own country and therefore considered spending their best years in Italy a waste of time.[46] I find it entirely plausible that Rembrandt himself might have propagated the notion that natural talent and unremitting study of nature were all that was needed to reach the greatest artistic heights. Huygens, too, had already provided Rembrandt with a humble origins backstory for this very reason, arguing that no more forceful argument than Rembrandt's example could be put forward to refute the nobility of blood. Had he not had a master teaching him the art of painting, Huygens added, Rembrandt would still have reached the same heights.[47] This attitude was equally adopted by the poet Jan Vos, one of the most successful playwrights in Amsterdam. Vos contrasted himself with the learned Vondel, rejecting the authority of poets from classical antiquity and emphasizing – with defiant pride – firstly that natural genius 'honed by practice' alone was important, and secondly that Dutch was the only language he knew.[48] Nonetheless, the learned Barlaeus was a great supporter of Vos and called him the true successor of Sophocles and Aeschylus, adding that, even though Vos had never learned Greek or Latin and was a mere glassmaker by profession, he 'now deserves the highest praise as a poet, having shown the world what a tragedy is'.[49]

After having positioned Rembrandt as an artist who did not study antiquity and art theory and barely read Dutch, Sandrart goes on to say that Rembrandt

> stuck to his own manner of painting and did not hesitate to contest and flout our rules of art, such as those of anatomy and human proportions, or perspective and the usefulness of antique statues, or the drawings of Raphael and a prudent education, and also the academies so highly necessary to our profession. Instead, he claimed that one should imitate nature alone and not bind oneself to any other rules.[50]

The latter concept, an uncompromising imitation of nature must indeed have had wide currency among many artists in Holland.[51] In the first ever account of Caravaggio's art, written in 1603, Van Mander used similar terms when describing the ideas of this artist, maintaining that in Caravaggio's view 'all painting, no matter what or by whom, [was] a mere trifle, child's play or humbug, if it is not painted from life and that there can be nothing better than following nature. And that therefore he would not paint a single stroke without having life right before him to copy and paint'.[52] Sandrart repeated this sentence almost *verbatim* in his life of Caravaggio,[53] as did Arnold Houbraken in his biography of Rembrandt, before adding that Rembrandt was of the same opinion[54] – a statement that Rembrandt would without a doubt have subscribed to.

Yet even before Sandrart arrived in Amsterdam, these ideas came to be strongly contested in Holland, as is evident in a peculiar pamphlet of 1628 written by the little known Amsterdam artist Jacques de Ville.[55] De Ville fulminates against painters who rely only on a specific manner of painting ['handeling'] and spend all their lives developing a spectacular style. He asserts that they consider 'handeling' more important than drawing, and that their art is without any foundation ['sonder fundament'] – by which he means that they do not place their figures in a clearly constructed space, and lack any knowledge of correct perspective and proportions.[56] According to De Ville, such artists only paint 'two or three figures, grouped together and painted closely from life with stopped light, so that one sees a lot of brownish colour'.[57] De Ville is displeased to find this manner of painting everywhere, though it has come from Italy. He concedes that these painters do know how to 'handle colours in such a way

that no one could surpass them in manner of painting',[58] and that in the Netherlands some painters have brought good 'handeling' to the highest perfection.[59] What makes this especially grievous to De Ville is that art-lovers marvel only at 'handeling', for which they are willing to spend a lot, while turning a blind eye to 'true' art.[60]

Such arguments recall the disputes raging in Italy around the same time. One need only think of the comparable criticism levelled at Caravaggio by Giovanni Baglione.[61] In fact, Van Mander had already commented in 1603 on Caravaggio's statement that working directly from life, as propagated by the Italian, was not a bad way to achieve good results: 'for painting after a drawing (even one made closely from life) is not as sound as having a living model before one's eyes and imitating nature in all its diverse colours'. Yet, Van Mander qualified, 'one should first be thus far advanced in judgement as to be able to distinguish the most beautiful from the beautiful and be capable of selection'.[62] Such notions would remain at the basis of this kind of criticism. Sandrart, however, who rarely voiced negative criticism about any painter, repeated *verbatim* the positive, first part of this sentence in his life of Caravaggio, while omitting the critical second half.[63] Having trained with Honthorst and moved in the circle of Vincenzo Giustiniani, Sandrart was able to admire artists as different as Annibale Carracci, Caravaggio, Poussin, and Pietro da Cortona.[64] However, he did launch severe criticism at Rembrandt, whom he remembered as an uneducated, but highly successful, rival in whose work the suggestion that everything was uncompromisingly depicted from life went much further than in Caravaggio's oeuvre.[65]

It is in fact entirely conceivable that Rembrandt would have scoffed at people who were preoccupied with the rules of proportion, anatomy, and perspective, or indeed the kind of academy Sandrart claims to have attended in Utrecht.[66] This would have consisted of public instruction in life drawing outside of studio training, and is depicted in a print by Crispijn van de Passe the Younger, where Abraham Bloemaert and Paulus Moreelse are portrayed as instructors (Fig. 4).[67] Rembrandt's disparaging attitude, implied by Sandrart's words 'scheuete sich nicht wider zu straiten und demselben zu widersprechen', seems to parallel the way in which Constantijn Huygens derided people who, in matters of rhetoric, clung to the rules of antiquity and were convinced of the superiority of antique examples.[68] As Huygens concluded in the same text in which he, in a later section, described his boundless admiration for the lifelike repulsiveness through which Rembrandt had expressed the repentant Judas's violent emotion:[69] an effective result attained through innate talent was all that counted.

Rembrandt certainly observed examples of antiquity closely, and he was undoubtedly greatly interested in anatomy and proportions. He owned a copy of Dürer's book on proportions, he acquired plaster casts of antique sculpture, he collected as many Raphael prints as he could lay his hands on, and he studied their compositions closely.[70] For him, however, it was not the norms of antiquity that should be followed, but rather modern masters, like Titian and Rubens, who had far surpassed the ancients. Antiquity, Raphael, Titian, Rubens – these were the examples Rembrandt competed with on his own terms. He must have felt a fierce rivalry toward those masters, whom he intended to surpass by producing the most powerful suggestion of life and of emotion possible, 'the greatest and most natural motion and emotion', as he called it himself when delivering the last two paintings of the *Passion* series for the stadholder (Fig. 3).[71] This was to be achieved through close observation of life expressed in a highly characteristic style – 'una maniera [...] interamente sua', as Baldinucci would later write on the basis of information provided by the Danish painter Bernhard Keil, a former assistant in Rembrandt's studio.[72]

Yet Sandrart also very astutely recognised Rembrandt's strengths, while qualifying them on the basis of his initial criticism.[73] Following the passage about Rembrandt's flouting of the rules of art, Sandrart states that Rembrandt judged the required light, shadow and contours to be good when – in his own opinion – they enhanced the total effect, even if they did not correspond with correct perspective.[74] According to Sandrart, Rembrandt did not use clean outlines, but filled his contours with darkness (and thus prevented viewers from seeing them as incorrect), because he was focused only on 'maintaining overall harmony, in which he was outstanding'. He added that Rembrandt 'not only rendered the simplicity of nature impressively', but he embellished it 'with a natural power in colouring and let things forcefully come forward'.[75] And while Sandrart uses terms like 'Natürlichkeit', 'Kraft', 'Colorit', 'stark Erheben' and 'Harmonia' also for his discussions of Caravaggio, or the works of Valentin, Jordaens, and Ribera, he does so with greater care and precision in relation to Rembrandt, emphasizing the latter's mastery in maintaining general harmony and his enhancement of overall effects.

In a later paragraph, Sandrart elaborates on this point, suggesting that Rembrandt managed 'with great ingenuity and skill to break the colours in conformity with their own character, and knew how, with the help of this, to portray the true properties and lifelike simplicity of nature with the harmony of life itself'.[76] Sandrart also observed that Rembrandt

Fig. 4 Crispijn van de Passe the Younger, *Students Drawing after a Male Nude*, frontispiece to the second volume of Crispijn van de Passe the Younger, *'t Licht der Teken en Schilderkonst*, Utrecht, 1643–1644

> showed little light and highlighted only what he considered the most important part, around which he artfully bound together light and shadow, including well-measured reflected lights, so that the light in the shadows faded away with great judiciousness, the colouring being truly glowing – all of which he did with great insight.[77]

Sandrart described no other artist's style in such detail. He presented a wonderful description of elements that were doubtlessly of prime importance to Rembrandt and expressed in contemporary terminology what Rembrandt was striving to achieve, thereby granting a look at Rembrandt's paintings through seventeenth-century terms of appreciation.

In the first volume of the *Teutsche Academie*, Sandrart expands on this in his discussion of colour and the concept of 'houding' which denotes the gradation and interplay of colours and tones for creating the illusion of space. After asserting that the Dutch in particular have elevated the art of mixing and breaking colours and reducing its rawness to the highest level so that these colours equal their appearance in nature, Sandrart underlines Rembrandt's exceptional achievements in this field:

> One should observe the diminution [*i.e.* a reduction in tone] so that things fade away correctly and the colouring follows unhindered according to the rules of suggesting depth, in a clear way from one figure to another, all of them assuming their proper place, what we call in Dutch *houding*; this is a most necessary observation, but little understood. In this we have to learn from our amazing Bamboccio and others, in particular from the industrious and, in this respect, extremely intelligent Rembrandt, who performed miracles, as it were, and constantly observed true harmony without hindering any particular colour, according to the rules of light.[78]

Here we have unadulterated praise and a very precise description of what, for Rembrandt, must have been one of the most important qualities of his art, and one evident in all of his paintings. Sandrart certainly used many topoi in his characterisation of Rembrandt, applying terms appropriate for a painter who came in the wake of Titian and Caravaggio. Yet Sandrart employed them in an intelligent and precise way, so that the image he creates is very acute – and nowhere near as negative as Emmens's influential assessment of Sandrart's Rembrandt biography would suggest.[79]

Fig. 5 Joachim von Sandrart, *Bacchanal of Putti with a Goat, Nymphs and Flute Player*, c. 1642, Private Collection

Fig. 6 Joachim von Sandrart, *Minerva and Saturn Protecting the Arts against Envy and Mendacity*, 1644, Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum

In the paintings Sandrart made during his stay in Rome, he adhered mainly to a somewhat updated version of the style of his former master, Gerrit van Honthorst.[80] It might have been a sensible strategy to present himself in Rome as the new 'Gherardo delle Notti', as Honthorst would still have been remembered as a former protégé of Vincenzo Giustiniani and as the author of several important altarpieces.[81] Once in Amsterdam, however, Sandrart showed off his knowledge of recent Roman developments in his history paintings, and thereby attempted to distance himself as far as possible from Rembrandt. As of that time, the beloved honeybee metaphor became his guiding principle.[82] In one of his most successful paintings of this period, the *Bacchanal of Putti with a Goat, Nymphs and Flute Player* (Fig. 5),[83] Sandrart thus mixed Roman nectar gathered from different flowers. From Duquesnoy and Poussin he took the 'Greek' motif of the goat with the children; figures by Poussin inspired the woman in the foreground who is strictly in profile and parallel to the picture plane. Domenichino can be detected in the style of the landscape background, while the exceptionally bright colouring, with its extremely fair flesh tones that contrast with the draperies of blue, rose-red, and dark yellow have much in common with the recent art of Pietro da Cortona. Sandrart even included a Lastman-like figure in the sturdy shepherd at the left. With the focus on frolicking putti, the emphatic relief-like 'antique' composition and the extremely bright colouristic effects, he certainly did introduce something entirely new, something that could not have been any more different from Rembrandt's art.[84]

With his ideas, his behaviour, and his art, Sandrart must have had a considerable impact on younger Amsterdam painters, in particular Govert Flinck, who, as Houbraken tells us, cured himself with difficulty of Rembrandt's manner and changed his style 'when the true connoisseurs opened the eyes of the world for the Italian manner of painting, and the bright painting style came to be favoured again'.[85] Houbraken's admiring account of Flinck's close relations with Amsterdam's ruling elite – his visits to their collections and his pleasant conversations[86] – also describes the type of artist for whom Sandrart might have been a great example and a role model.

Joachim von Sandrart, a foreigner who had quickly turned into the darling of the Amsterdam literary and social elite, would undoubtedly have aroused envy in this competitive arena. Perhaps we may interpret Sandrart's *Minerva and Saturn Protecting the Arts* of 1644[87] as a defensive statement by an artist who considers himself in possession of all the qualities that a painter should possess: not only naturalness, the art of colouring well and lifelikeness, but also knowledge of classical antiquity, learnedness, the art of drawing, and grace (Fig. 6).[88] This art, based on practice and learning (symbolized by the drawing and book in Minerva's lap), is threatened by Envy and Mendacity, but rescued by Minerva and Saturn. In contrast to the fashionable style of those who steal the show with a spectacular and lifelike manner based on 'good colouring' only, his style will earn eternal fame, as Time will reveal in the end.

That very year Rembrandt drew his *Satire on Art Criticism* (Fig. 7). Here, a connoisseur sprouts ass's ears as he judges two paintings of half-length figures, while the artist (like Apelles hiding behind his painting to hear comments from the public) wipes his behind with the pages of a book – as in Sandrart's painting, a symbol of learning.[89] Rembrandt's artist literally 'doesn't give a shit' about those who consider themselves connoisseurs of the arts and qualified to speak elegantly on rules of proportion and perspective, while lacking true knowledge of art. Rembrandt considered himself the greatest artist in Amsterdam, 'someone with knowledge of the art of painting' ['persona intelligente di pittura'],[90] as he had told Italian agents: he was convinced of the true value of his art. In the end, he was proved right.

Fig. 7 Rembrandt, *Satire on Art Criticism*, 1644, New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art (Robert Lehman Collection)

[1] See K. PORTEMAN, *De maanden van het jaar. Joachim von Sandrart, Joost van den Vondel, Caspar Barlaeus*, Wommelgem, 1987, p. 15, for examples and further references (the first two characterizations were uttered by Gerard Brom, the last one by Frederik Schmidt-Degener). For the Rembrandt biography, see J. VON SANDRART, *Teutsche Academie der Edlen Bau-, Bild- und Mahlerey-Künste*, Nuremberg, 1675, II, p. 326 (hereafter TA 1675 and quoted from the critical online edition. Here: http://ta.sandrart.net/552, 28.07.2011).

[2] For example Sandrart's *Odysseus and Nausicaa* and the important portraits of *Hendrik Bicker* and *Eva Geelvinck* in the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam. *The Civic Guard Company of Captain Cornelis Bicker* in the same museum has recently been cleaned and restored. For the paintings, see CH. KLEMM, *Joachim von Sandrart. Kunstwerke und Lebenslauf*, Berlin, 1986, p. 50 and p. 74f.

[3] S. SLIVE, *Rembrandt and his Critics, 1630–1730*, The Hague, 1953. J.A. EMMENS, *Rembrandt en de regels van de kunst*, Amsterdam, 1979 (Verzameld Werk, 2). This is the most frequently cited edition. The text was first printed as a dissertation in 1964 and as a book (with extensive English summary and indices) in 1967.

[4] EMMENS, *op. cit.* (note 3), pp. 80–86, and pp. 269–270 for an English summary. Slive first presented an extensive discussion of Sandrart's Rembrandt biography, categorizing it as an early 'classicistic critique', but within a much less rigid framework than the one described by Emmens for late seventeenth-century art theory; see SLIVE, *op. cit.* (note 3), pp. 84–94.

[5] For contemporary 'art theoretical' discussions in Amsterdam, see E.J. SLUIJTER, *Rembrandt and the Female Nude*, Amsterdam, 2006, pp. 195–219, on Sandrart, esp. pp. 212–218.

[6] See E. MEIER, 'Joachim von Sandrarts *Lebenslauf*: Dichtung oder Wahrheit?', *Marburger Jahrbuch für Kunstwissenschaft*, 31, 2004, pp. 205–239.

[7] TA 1675, *Lebenslauf*, pp. 12–13 (http://ta.sandrart.net/630–631, 28.07.2011): 'Daselbst hat er einen kunst-vollen Parnass der edlen Mahlerey aufgerichtet, und gleich anfangs durch hochgepriesene Werke sich in so großen Ruhm gebracht, daß er von männiglich nicht allein wegen seiner weltkundigen Kunst-Wissenschaft, sondern auch wegen tugendlichen Wandels, höflichen Comportements und zierlichen Conversationen, dergleichen alda vorher wenig Künstlere von sich scheinen lassen, hochgeschätzet, geehrt und gepriesen worden'.

[8] For an extensive discussion of Sandrart's strategies to acquire a position within a network of the ruling elite in Amsterdam, see E. KOK, *Culturele ondernemers in de Gouden Eeuw. De artistieke en sociaal-economische strategieën van Jacob Backer, Govert Flinck, Ferdinand Bol en Joachim von Sandrart*, PhD Dissertation, University of Amsterdam, 2013, esp. Chapter 4. For Sandrart's comments on other local artists, see E. KORTHALS ALTES, 'The Biographies of Seventeenth-century Dutch Artists in Sandrart's *Teutsche Academie* and their Influence on Collecting in Germany around 1700', in N. BÜTTNER & E. MEIER (eds.), *Grenzüberschreitungen: Deutsch-Niederländischer Kunst- und Künstleraustausch im 17. Jahrhundert*, Marburg, 2011, pp. 165–187, pp. 167–169.

[9] TA 1675, *Lebenslauf*, pp. 5–13 (http://ta.sandrart.net/623, 03.12.2011).

[10] For Sandrart's travels in the company of Rubens, see TA 1675, II, p. 291 (http://ta.sandrart.net/514, 28.07.2011): 'allwo er [Rubens] inner 14. Tagen alles, was löblich darinnen durchsehen, worbey [ich] ihme, als einem Künstler, der in meiner Profession mir mit reden, rahten, Worten und Werken, zu großer Wißenschaft Anlaß geben konte, willig aufgewartet, und bis in die Brabandische Gränzen begleitet'.

[11] Sandrart exaggerated his share in this undertaking. He probably designed around 30 drawings for the *Galleria Giustiniana*; see S. EBERT-SCHIFFERER, 'Natürlichkeit und 'antiche Manier': Joachim von Sandrart als Antikenzeichner', in S. DANESI SQUARZINA (ed.), *Caravaggio in Preussen. Die Sammlung Giustiniani und die Berliner Gemäldegalerie* (exh. cat. Rome / Berlin), Milan, 2001, pp. 57–63. Cf. the essay by Jaco Rutgers in this volume.

[12] Cf. H. DE LA FONTAINE VERWEY, *Michel le Blon: graveur, kunsthandelaar, diplomaat*, in ID, *Uit de wereld van het boek*, 4 vols, Amsterdam / Houten, 1975–1977, II, pp. 103–129. See also B. NOLDUS, 'Royalty and Betrayal. Artist-agents Michel le Blon and Pieter Isaacsz, and Chancellor Axel Oxenstierna', in H. COOLS, M. KEBLUSEK, B. NOLDUS (eds.), *Your Humble Servant. Agents in Early Modern Europe*, Hilversum, 2006, pp. 51–64 and M. KEBLUSEK, 'The Business of News. Michel le Blon and the Transmission of Political Information to Sweden in the 1630s', *Scandinavian Journal of History*, 28, 2003, pp. 205–213.

[13] FONTAINE VERWEY, *op. cit.* (note 12), p. 116. According to De la Fontaine Verwey, their houses were at the present numbers of Keizersgracht 236 and 226. For records of Sandrart's stay in Amsterdam, see KLEMM, *op. cit.* (note 2), pp. 338–339.

[14] This was the neighbourhood around the St. Anthonisbreestraat, near the wealthiest part of Amsterdam in the early seventeenth century. By the time Rembrandt bought his expensive house (which would have been far above his means), however, the rich and powerful were already moving to the newly built canals in the west of the city. Artists, first Le Blon and Sandrart, later Govert Flinck and many others, were to follow. For the clustering of artists in these two neighbourhoods, see the maps in S.A.C. DUDOK VAN HEEL, *De jonge Rembrandt onder tijdgenoten. Godsdienst en schilderkunst in Leiden en Amsterdam*, Nijmegen, 2006, pp. 74–75 and pp. 216–217.

[15] On collectors of Italian art, see B.W. MEIJER, 'Italian Paintings in 17th Century Holland. Art Market, Art Works and Art Collections', in M. SEIDEL, B. BRENK (eds.), *L'Europa e l'arte italiana. Per i cento anni dalla fondazione del Kunsthistorisches Institut in Florenz* (conference proceedings Florence, 1997), Venice, 2000, pp. 377–417; and E.H. VAN DEN BERGHE, 'Italiaanse schilderijen in Amsterdam in de zeventiende eeuw', *Jaarboek Amstelodamum*, 84, 1992, pp. 21–41. On these wealthy collectors and Sandrart's and Rembrandt's roles at the famous Van Uffelen sale, see also S.S. DICKEY, *Rembrandt. Portraits in Print*, Amsterdam / Philadelphia, 2004, pp. 89–106.

[16] F. LAMMERTSE & J. VAN DER VEEN, *Uylenburgh & Zoon. Kunst en commercie van Rembrandt tot de Lairesse, 1625–1675*, Zwolle / Amsterdam, 2006, esp. pp. 125–160 on Hendrick Uylenburgh's collaboration with Rembrandt.

[17] It is telling that no mention of Le Blon is made in LAMMERTSE & VAN DER VEEN, *op. cit.* (note 16), although the publication is rich in archival research.

[18] Le Blon's only known relations with painters are his contact with Adriaen van Nieulandt in 1615 regarding a house (see A. BREDIUS, *Künstlerinventare*, 7 vols., The Hague, 1915–1922, I p. 178), and his participation in raffles with Isaac Isaacsz, Jacques de Ville and Pieter Quast (see N. DE ROEVER, 'Rijfelarijen', *Oud Holland*, 4, 1886, pp. 190–197). Finally, both Le Blon and Adriaen van Nieulandt wrote entries for the *Album amicorum* of the fencing master Gerard Thibault (FONTAINE VERWEY, *op. cit.* [note 12], II, pp. 106–107 and III, p. 145).

[19] PORTEMAN, *op. cit.* (note 1), p. 23.

[20] N.E. MIDDELKOOP, 'New Light on Sandrart's Dutch Scholars' Portraits', in S. EBERT-SCHIFFERER & C. MAZZETTI DI PIETRALATA (eds.), *Joachim von Sandrart. Ein europäischer Künstler und Theoretiker zwischen Italien und Deutschland* (conference proceedings Rome, 2006), Munich, 2009, pp. 97–107.

[21] KLEMM, *op. cit.* (note 2), cat. 58, pp. 141f.

[22] PORTEMAN, *op. cit.* (note 1), pp. 20–34. See also Porteman's contribution to this volume.

[23] Both Jaap van der Veen (LAMMERTSE & VAN DER VEEN, *op. cit.* [note 16], p. 50) and Sebastiaan Dudok van Heel ('The *Night Watch* and the Entry of Marie de' Medici. A New Interpretation of the Original Place and Significance of the Painting', *Bulletin van het Rijksmuseum*, 57, 2009, pp. 5–41, p. 24) maintain that Sandrart must have left already in 1642, as he ceases to appear in documents that year. There is, however, no reason to believe that Sandrart departed before 1645, when he appeared in Nuremberg. Vondel had certainly seen Sandrart's paintings of the *Twelve Months of the Year* (finished in December 1643) in person when he wrote his poems, and in 1644 Sandrart signed and dated the frontispiece to Vondel's *Verscheide Gedichten* (engraved by Cornelis van Dalen) 'J. Sandrart Inv 1644'. In 1644 Vondel wrote a poem on Sandrart's *St. Sebastian*, which must have been painted in Amsterdam (although the commission was intended for a Jesuit church in Landshut). In 1645 the inscription 'Joachimus Sandrart pinxit et excudit Amstel.' was added to the prints after the *January* and *December* panels from Sandrart's series of the *Months*. Moreover, Sandrart's pupil Georg Waldau, who had entered his studio in 1641, stayed with Sandrart until his departure, yet a letter discussing Waldau's placement with Jordaens, which Le Blon deemed too risky, was only written in August 1645; see KLEMM, *op. cit.* (note 2), p. 55, note 256. Sandrart himself informs us that he went back to Germany after the death of his father-in-law in 1644 (*ibid.*, p. 339), because he inherited the Stockau estate. Finally, Sandrart's *Cimon and Pero* (*ibid.*, cat. 59, pp. 143f.) of 1645 was sold in Amsterdam on 26 June 1772 (Sale P. de la Court van der Voort and others, no. 105). It seems unlikely that this painting would have turned up at an Amsterdam sale at that time had it been painted in Nuremberg.

[24] PORTEMAN, *op. cit.* (note 1), pp. 24–26.

[25] It concerns *Abraham's Sacrifice of Isaac* (1635), *Samson Threatening His Father-in-Law* (1635), *The Rape of Ganymede* (1635), *The Feast of Belshazzar* (c. 1635), *The Blinding of Samson* (1636), and *Danaë* (1637); see J. BRUYN et al., *A Corpus of Rembrandt Paintings*. III: *1635–1642*, The Hague, 1989, cat. A108, 109, 110, 113, 116, 119. I am convinced that this sudden production of very large paintings is related to the fact that from the early 1630s, Amsterdam collectors like Sohier, Reynst, Coymans, Lopez and Van Uffel owned large collections of important Italian paintings. Suddenly, there were large Venetian paintings to measure up to and – just as importantly – collectors who appreciated such rivalry. Rembrandt stopped producing such large-scale paintings just as abruptly after 1637 – probably because the market for such large and very expensive works would have been limited.

[26] A. HOUBRAKEN, *De groote schoubugh der Nederlantsche Konstschilders en schilderessen*, 3 vols., Amsterdam, 1719–1721, II, pp. 20–21, and III, p. 206.

[27] K. OTTENHEYM, *Philips Vingboons (1607–1678), Architect*, Zutphen, 1989, p. 274, note 97. Huydecoper paid 3000 guilders for the tapestries in this room and 280 for Sandrart's chimneypiece. On the house (destroyed in 1943), see *ibid.*, pp. 37–42. The chimney with Sandrart's painting entered the Rijksmuseum in the late nineteenth century, see KLEMM, *op. cit.* (note 2), cat. 50, pp. 127–129; cf. SLUIJTER, *op. cit.* (note 5), pp. 217–218.

[28] On the remarkable way in which Rembrandt dealt with payment for the *Passion* series, see E.J. SLUIJTER, 'Determining Value on the Art Market in the Golden Age: An Introduction', in A. TUMMERS & K. JONCKHEERE (eds.), *Art Market and Connoisseurship. A Closer Look at Paintings by Rembrandt, Rubens and their Contemporaries*, Amsterdam, 2008, pp. 7–28, esp. pp. 13–16.

[29] W.L. STRAUSS & M. VAN DER MEULEN, *The Rembrandt Documents*, New York, 1979, p. 446, n. 1659/17.

[30] The painting was valued by the owner himself at 800 guilders (probably sometime in the late 1650s). The sum is an indication of what he may have paid for the painting. See H. UIL, 'Het huis De Oliphant te Goes', *Historisch Jaarboek voor Zuid- en Noord-Beveland*, 4, 1978, pp. 95–116, p. 113.

[31] BREDIUS, *op. cit.* (note 18), I, pp. 229–239, esp. p. 230. Rembrandt's painting was by far the most expensive item amongst De Renialme's very costly stock.

[32] TA 1675, II, p. 326 (http://ta.sandrart.net/552, 28.07.2011): 'dannenhero ihme das Glück große baare Mittel zugetheilt und seine Behausung in Amsterdam mit fast unzahlbaren fürnehmen Kindern zur Instruction und Lehre erfüllet, deren jeder ihme jährlich in die 100. Gulden bezahlt, ohne den Nutzen, welchen er aus dieser seiner Lehrlinge Mahlwerken und Kupferstucken erhalten, der sich auch in die 2 bis 2500 Gulden baares Gelds belauffen, samt dem, was er durch seine eigne Hand-Arbeit erworben'. This passage has been translated in different ways. Susanne Meurer informs me that Sandrart uses the word 'samt' elsewhere in the text not as 'included in', but in the sense of 'in addition to'. Income from the works of pupils of between 2000 and 2500 guilders would have been an incredible sum. News of such profits must have spread like wildfire in Amsterdam (where prints sold for a few *stivers*, and copies after Rembrandt or other paintings by his pupils would not sell for much more than 10 guilders). Evidence of Rembrandt's practice can be found on the verso of a drawing where he notes selling works by Ferdinand Bol, Leendert van Beyeren and another pupil for 5, 15, and 4 guilders, and 6 *stivers* respectively; STRAUSS & VAN DER MEULEN, *op. cit.* (note 29), p. 594; see B. BROOS, 'Fame Shared is Fame Doubled', in A. BLANKERT et al. (eds.), *The Impact of a Genius*, Amsterdam, 1983, pp. 35–58, p. 40.

[33] TA 1675, II, p. 326 (http://ta.sandrart.net/552, 28.07.2011): 'Dann ob er schon kein Verschwender gewesen, hat er doch seinen Stand gar nicht wißen zu beobachten und sich jederzeit nur zu niedrigen Leuten gesellet, dannenhero er auch in seiner Arbeit verhindert gewesen'.

[34] DUDOK VAN HEEL, *op. cit.* (note 14), pp. 210–213. The nursemaid Geertje Dircks must have been in the house from 1642, the year Saskia van Uylenburgh died. We do not know, however, if people had been gossiping about their relationship before Rembrandt's troubles with her began in 1649.

[35] SLUIJTER, *op. cit.* (note 5), pp. 13–14. For instance, in a letter of 1639, Rembrandt wrote: 'if His Highness cannot in all decency be moved to a higher price, though [the paintings] are obviously worth this, he shall pay me less according to his own pleasure'. See H. GERSON, *Seven Letters by Rembrandt*, The Hague, 1961, p. 46.

[36] For a discussion of the possible reasons for this dispute, see P. CRENSHAW, *Rembrandt's Bankruptcy. The Artist, his Patrons, and the Art Market in Seventeenth-Century Netherlands*, Cambridge, 2006, pp. 111–120. The portrait was valued by arbiters at no less than 500 guilders.

[37] DUDOK VAN HEEL, *op. cit.* (note 14), pp. 341–342.

[38] HOUBRAKEN, *op. cit.* (note 26), I, p. 269.

[39] This was already proposed by SLIVE, *op. cit.* (note 3), p. 93, who suggested this as the origin of 'the lengthy legend of Rembrandt the Slob'.

[40] Though not conclusive proof, it is nevertheless interesting to note that many years later Sandrart had such vivid memories of Rembrandt's collection and of the numerous pupils in his house.

[41] See CRENSHAW, *op. cit.* (note 36), *passim*, and SLUIJTER, *op. cit.* (note 28), pp. 13–16. Rembrandt's unaccommodating attitude towards patrons and clients and his obvious contempt for those who disagreed with him about the value of his art must have been rooted in his strong sense of artistic autonomy and his exceptional conviction of his status as a great artist.

[42] Cf. *Het leven der moderne, of dees-tijtsche doorluchtighe Italiaensche schilders* (1603), in K. VAN MANDER, *Het Schilder-boeck*, Haarlem, 1604, fol. 191*r*.

[43] *Ibid.*, fol 174*v*.

[44] TA 1675, II, p. 326 (http://ta.sandrart.net/552, 27.07.2011): 'für nemlich in halben Bildern oder alten Köpfen, ja auch in kleinen Stucken, zierlichen Kleidungen und andern Artigkeiten', and TA 1675, II, p. 327 (http://ta.sandrart.net/553, 27.07.2011): 'Er hat aber wenig antiche Poetische Gedichte, alludien oder seltsame Historien, sondern meistens einfältige und nicht in sonderbares Nachsinnen lauffende, ihme wolgefällige und schilderachtige (wie sie die Niederländer nennen) Sachen gemahlet'. On the concept of 'schilderachtig' (meaning both 'painterly' and 'painter-like', with a powerful overtone of 'from life'), see B. BAKKER, '*Schilderachtig*: Discussions of a Seventeenth-Century Term and Concept', *Simiolus*, 23, 1995, pp. 147–162.

[45] His knowledge of Latin seems to have faded quickly. The way in which he mangles the transcription of Latin names of allegorical figures on his drawn copy of Mantegna's *Calumny of Apelles* is, in any case, remarkable. For the drawing, see M. ROYALTON-KISCH, *Drawings by Rembrandt and his Circle*, London, 1992, pp. 124–125.

[46] C. HUYGENS, *Mijn jeugd*, translated from the Latin and with commentary by C.L. Heesakkers, Amsterdam, 1987, p. 89.

[47] *Ibid.*, pp. 84–85. Huygens says this of both Rembrandt and Lievens. In fact, Lievens was of lower birth than Rembrandt (his father was an immigrant embroiderer) and he had not attended Latin school, but was apprenticed to become a painter at a very early age. In great contrast to Rembrandt, however, Lievens developed into a painter who zealously pursued the rich and powerful throughout his life.

[48] See the dedication to his play *Medea*, Amsterdam, 1667, pp. 6–8.

[49] 'Op het hooghdravend Treurspel van Ian de Vos'. These last lines of a poem by Caspar Barlaeus quoted in the preliminary pages of Vos's tragedy *Aran en Titus* (Amsterdam, 1642), *the* box office hit in seventeenth-century Amsterdam.

[50] TA 1675, II, p. 326 (http://ta.sandrart.net/552, 28.07.2011): 'Demnach bliebe er beständig bey seinem angenommenen Brauch und scheuete sich nicht, wider unsere Kunst-Reglen, als die Anatomia und Maas der menschlichen Gliedmaßen, wider die Perspectiva und den Nutzen der antichen Statuen, wider Raphaels Zeichenkunst und vernünftige Ausbildungen, auch wider die unserer Profession höchst-nöhtigen Academien zu streiten und denenselben zu widersprechen, vorgebend, daß man sich einig und allein an die Natur und keine andere Reglen binden solle'. Cf. the marginal title: 'Ersinnet sich eigene Mahl-Reglen'.

[51] See the extensive discussion in SLUIJTER, *op. cit.* (note 5), Chapter 7.

[52] VAN MANDER, *op. cit.* (note 42), fol. 191*r*.

[53] TA 1675, II, p. 189 (http://ta.sandrart.net/403, 28.07.2011): 'Es ware dieser Caravaggio unter allen Italienern der erste, welcher seine Studien von denen angewöhnten alten Manieren ab-, und auf die einfältige Ausbildung der Natur, nach dem Leben zoge: Dannenhero beflisse er sich, keinen Strich anderst als nach dem Leben zu thun [...]. So verachtete er nun alles, was nicht nach dem Leben gemacht war, nannte es Bagatell, Kinder- und Bossen-Werk, weil nichts bässers seyn könte, als was der Natur am ähnlichsten'.

[54] HOUBRAKEN, *op. cit.* (note 26), I, pp. 262–263. Having quoted Van Mander, he adds: 'This opinion was shared by our great master Rembrandt, whose fundamental principle was only to imitate nature, and everything done otherwise he found suspect'. Cf. SLUIJTER, *op. cit.* (note 5), pp. 195–196.

[55] J. DE VILLE, *T'samen-spreeckinghe, Betreffende de Architecture, ende schilder-konst*, Gouda, 1628. The pamphlet contains a dialogue between an architect-painter, a carpenter and a 'bad painter'. It advocates primarily that a good painter must also be an architect and a painter of correct architectural perspectives. However, the vehement remarks on painters who are considered unfit (but successful) makes it particularly interesting for our argument. No paintings by Jacques de Ville are known, but he is recorded as having participated in raffles with Michel le Blon and Isaac Isaacsz. between 1625 and 1630. See DE ROEVER, *op. cit.* (note 18), pp. 190–197. He must therefore have known Le Blon quite well when he wrote the pamphlet.

[56] This is a summary of the dialogue on pp. 7–13. For a more extensive discussion, see SLUIJTER, *op. cit.* (note 5), pp. 209–210.

[57] DE VILLE, *op. cit.* (note 55), p. 7. The phrase 'gestopt licht' appears to refer to the suggestion of three-dimensional space by spotlighting figures against a dark background.

[58] *Ibid.*, p. 12.

[59] *Ibid.*, p. 9.

[60] *Ibid.*, pp. 3 and 14. This warning is even present in the long title of the pamphlet: *Dialogue concerning Architecture and the Art of Painting; in order to warn all craftsmen and all lovers of the art, not to gape at the manner of painting* ['handeling'] *alone, but to look further*.

[61] For Baglione's text on Caravaggio (in *Le vite de' pittori, scultori ed architetti*, begun in 1620, but published in 1642) with an English translation, see W. FRIEDLÄNDER, *Caravaggio Studies*, Princeton, 1955 (ed. 1974), pp. 231–236.

[62] VAN MANDER, *op. cit.* (note 42), fol. 191*r*.

[63] TA 1675, II, p. 189 (http://ta.sandrart.net/403, 28.07.2011): 'Und zwar ist auch solches kein übler Weg zur Vollkommenheit zu gelangen, weilen nach den Zeichnungen und Gemälde niemals so gut als die Natur selbst seyn können, sie seyen auch so schön, als sie immer wollen'.

[64] Most salient is the case in which he describes the disputes over Poussin's and Valentin's altarpieces for St. Peter's, asserting that they both have great merits, one exceeding in affects and invention, the other in naturalness, strong relief ['starke Erhebung'], colour, and harmony (TA 1675, II, p. 368; http://ta.sandrart.net/598, 28.07.2011). For a thorough discussion of Sandrart's theory of art, which is remarkably comprehensive and distinct from classicists like Bellori, see M.-C. HECK, *Théorie et pratique de la peinture. Sandrart et la Teutsche Academie*, Paris, 2006, esp. pp. 319–333.

[65] In Sandrart's opinion, painters only rarely go too far in depicting the diversity of nature: Sandrart is truly negative about Hendrick ter Brugghen, of whom he writes that he 'followed nature and its uncharitable imperfections aptly, but unpleasantly in his work' ['die Natur und derselben unfreundliche Mängel sehr wol; aber unangenehm gefolgt'], TA 1675, II, p. 308 (http://ta.sandrart.net/534, 28.07.2011); see KORTHALS ALTES, *op. cit.* (note 8), p. 170.

[66] He mentions this academy in the life of Jan Gerritsz. van Bronchorst, whom he had known as a student in Utrecht, see TA 1675, II, p. 317 (http://ta.sandrart.net/543, 28.07.2011).

[67] Crispijn van de Passe the Younger, *Students Drawing after a Male Nude Model*, engraved frontispiece for the second volume of C. VAN DE PASSE THE YOUNGER, *'t Licht der Teken en Schilderkonst* (1643–44), facs. ed. with introduction by J. Bolten, Doornspijk, 1973. For the Utrecht academy, and the identification of the instructors in this print as Abraham Bloemaert and Paulus Moreelse, see M. J. BOK, '"Nulla dies sine linea". De opleiding van schilders in Utrecht in de eerste helft van de zeventiende eeuw', *De Zeventiende Eeuw*, 6, 1990, pp. 58–68.

[68] See A. VAN STRIEN, *Constantijn Huygens Mengelingh*, Amsterdam, 1990, pp. 134–167. Apart from the autobiography, Huygens extensively discusses this much later in 'Aen sommighe predikers', from *Mengelingh* (1666) and earlier in *La secretaraire* (1628); cf. SLUIJTER, *op. cit.* (note 5), pp. 101–102.

[69] For Huygens on rhetoric, see HUYGENS, *op. cit.* (note 46), pp. 57–67, esp. pp. 64–65; on Rembrandt's *Judas*, *ibid.*, p. 86. See also the extensive discussion in SLUIJTER, *op. cit*. (note 5), pp. 100–103.

[70] On Rembrandt's collection, see B. VAN DEN BOOGERT (ed.), *Rembrandts schatkamer*, Zwolle / Amsterdam, 1999, esp. pp. 147–152. The inventory records four books with prints after Raphael (n. 196, 205, 206, 214) and ''t Proportie boeck van Albert Durer, houtsnee' (n. 273). For Emmens, this demonstrated that Sandrart did not know much about Rembrandt, see EMMENS, *op. cit.* (note 3), p. 81.

[71] 'die meeste, ende die natuereelste beweechgelickheijt', see the letter of 1638 to Constantijn Huygens upon delivery of the last two paintings of the *Passion* series in SLIVE, *op. cit.* (note 3), pp. 34–38. The word 'beweechgelickheijt' means simultaneously movement (motion) and passion (emotion) depicted through movements of the body and limbs. Rembrandt writes that in these paintings, he had 'observed the greatest and most natural motions and emotions'. He uses this as an excuse to explain the long delay: it is thus presented as having been caused by intense intellectual, rather than slow manual labour.

[72] 'una maniera, che si può dire, che fose interamente sua, senza dintorno sì bene, o circonscrizione di linee interiori, né esteriori, tutta fatta dei colpi strapazzati, e replicati con gran forza di scuri a suo modo, ma senza scuro profondo'. Quoted from SLIVE, *op. cit*. (note 3), pp. 104–115, here p. 109. Cf. J. RUTGERS, *Rembrandt in Italië. Receptie en verzamelgeschiedenis*, PhD dissertation, Utrecht, 2008, pp. 135–143, p. 138.

[73] HECK, *op. cit.* (note 64), pp. 26, 131, 181–182, maintains that Sandrart is not at all negative about Rembrandt. I disagree. As I have argued, the first part of the biography is certainly meant to give negative criticism; it contrasts with Sandrart's own convictions of what makes a respectable artist. From his exceptionally sharp tone (for example: 'die unserer Profession höchstnöthigen Academien zu straiten und denenselben zu widersprechen'), it is clear that Sandrart disapproves of many aspects of Rembrandt's behaviour *and* of some aspects of his art, though he is still able to greatly admire his particular manner of painting.

[74] TA 1675, II, p. 326 (http://ta.sandrart.net/552, 28.07.2011) : 'das Liecht oder Schatten, und die Umzüge aller Dingen, ob sie schon dem Horizont zuwider, wann sie nur seiner Meinung nach wol und der Sachen geholffen, gut geheißen'.

[75] *Ibid.*: 'weil die saubere Umzüge sich an ihrem Ort correct solten erfinden, füllte er die Gefahr zu vermeiden denselben mit Finsterschwarz dergestalt aus, daß er von solchen nichts anders als die Zusammenhaltung der universal-Harmonia verlanget, in welcher letzten er fürteflich gewesen und der Natur Einfalt nicht allein stattlich auszubilden, sondern auch mit natürlichen Kräften in Coloriten und starken Erheben zu zieren gewust'.

[76] *Ibid.*: 'daß er die Farben sehr vernünftig und künstlich von ihrer eignen Art zu brechen und nachmalen, darmit auf der Tafel der Natur warhafte und lebhafte Einfältigkeit mit guter Harmonie des Lebens auszubilden gewust'. Van de Wetering refers to this passage in relation to the concept of *houding* in his discussion of colour and tone in Rembrandt's work. See E. VAN DE WETERING, *Rembrandt. The Painter at Work*, Amsterdam, 1997, pp. 255–257. Van de Wetering remarked on the importance of Sandrart's praise, although he initially situated it within Emmens's notion of the classicist critique (*ibid.*, pp. 169–271) before later revising this point, cf. note 79 below.

[77] TA 1675, II, p. 327 (http://ta.sandrart.net/553, 28.07.2011): 'In seinen Werken ließe unser Künstler wenig Liecht sehen, außer an dem fürnehmsten Ort seines Intents, um welches er Liecht und Schatten künstlich beysammen hielte, samt einer wolgemeßenen reflexion, also daß das Liecht in den Schatten mit großem Urtheil wieche, die Colorit ware ganz glüend und in allem eine hohe Vernunft'.

[78] TA 1675, I, p. 85 (http://ta.sandrart.net/172, 28.07.2011): 'ist zu beobachten die disminuirung: daß man nach und nach, in gerechter Maße, sich verliere und die Colorit ungehintert, nach der Perspectiv Regeln, von einem Bild zum andern netto folge und ihr Ort bekomme: welches wir auf Niederländisch Hauding nennen. Diß ist eine sehr nötige Observanz, wird aber wenig erkennet. Und hierinn haben wir zu lernen von unserm verwunderbaren Bambots, auch von andern, insonderheit von dem laboriosen und dißfalls hochvernünftigen Rembrand: welche, wie in deren Leben zu ersehen, gleichsam Wunder gethan, und die wahre Harmonie, ohn Hinternis einiger besondern Farbe, nach den Regeln des Liechts, durchgehends wol beobachtet'. For a discussion of this passage, see P. TAYLOR, 'The Concept of *houding* in Dutch Art Theory', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 55, 1992, pp. 210–232. See also VAN DE WETERING, *op. cit.* (note 76), p. 150 and pp. 255–257.

[79] Van de Wetering realized how well Sandrart described Rembrandt's manner, cf. note 76 above. This point was elaborated upon in M. VAN EIKEMA HOMMES & E. VAN DE WETERING, 'Light and Colour in Caravaggio and Rembrandt, as seen through the Eyes of their Contemporaries', in D. BULL (ed.), *Rembrandt-Caravaggio*, Amsterdam, 2006, pp. 164–179, which appeared in the same year as my book in which I argued extensively for the importance of Sandrart's text to the understanding of Rembrandt's manner in contemporary terms; see SLUIJTER, *op. cit*. (note 5), pp. 214–219. Cf. E. VAN DE WETERING, *A Corpus of Rembrandt Paintings*, V: *Small-scale History Paintings*, The Hague, 2011, pp. 103–112.

[80] For Sandrart's Roman paintings, see KLEMM, *op. cit*. (note 2), pp. 16–17. For literature on Sandrart's Roman period, see A. SCHREURS, 'Der "teutsche Apelles" malt die Götter Minerva und Saturn. Joachim von Sandrarts ikonographische Spielereien', in EBERT-SCHIFFERER & MAZZETTI DI PIETRALATA, *op. cit.* (note 20), pp. 51–67, p. 53, note 12.

[81] On Honthorst in Rome, see J.R. JUDSON & R.E.O. EKKART, *Gerrit van Honthorst*, Doornspijk, 1999, pp. 6–14.

[82] See SCHREURS, *op. cit.* (note 80), pp. 51–53. On the metaphor in general, see K. IRLE, *Der Ruhm der Bienen. Das Nachahmungsprinzip der italienischen Malerei van Raffael bis Rubens*, Münster, 1997.

[83] The painting was published in C. MAZZETTI DI PIETRALATA, '"Manch schönes Gedächtnis seiner Kunst". Materiali per il catalogo dei disegni, i modelli di Du Quesnoy, e un nuovo dipinto', in EBERT-SCHIFFERER & MAZZETTI DI PIETRALATA, *op. cit.* (note 20), pp. 69–84, pp. 81–82.

[84] For other examples of how Sandrart seems to have positioned his manner in contrast to Rembrandt's, see SLUIJTER, *op. cit.* (note 5), pp. 217–219. In some of the works in the *Twelve Months*, however, Sandrart displays his ability to work in a manner in which depth is created through *houding* and *chiaroscuro*.

[85] HOUBRAKEN, *op. cit.* (note 26), II, p. 21.

[86] *Ibid.*, p. 23.

[87] SCHREURS, *op. cit.* (note 80), *passim*. I agree with her interpretation that Saturn represents Time rescuing True Art for Eternity, and would stretch the reading further to Sandrart's situation in Amsterdam. Remarkably, in the *Lebenslauf*, we are told that in Rome Sandrart was resented for his success and criticized for his art. TA 1675, *Lebenslauf*, p. 12 (http://ta.sandrart.net/630, 28.07.2011). Thus, we should not be surprised if such issues were on his mind in Amsterdam.

[88] For example: 'seine Bilder [...] ohne Fehler gewesen, und die Natürlichkeit mit der Antichen Manier darinnen concertiret. Sie waren auch voll sinnreichen Verstands, wol-geurtheilter Zeichnung und perfecter Colorirung'. TA 1675, *Lebenslauf*, p. 11 (http://ta.sandrart.net/629, 28.07.2011).

[89] For a discussion of this still rather enigmatic drawing, see in particular E. VAN DE WETERING, 'Rembrandt's Satire on Art Criticism Reconsidered', in C.P. SCHNEIDER, W.W. ROBINSON, A.I. DAVIES (eds.), *Shop Talk. Studies in Honor of Seymour Slive*, Cambridge (Mass.), 1995, pp. 264–275. Van de Wetering suggests that the book might refer to Franciscus Junius's *The Painting of the Ancients*, which was first published in Dutch in 1641 (following a Latin edition of 1637 and an English edition in 1638). Junius was the brother-in-law of Gerard Vossius, whose portrait Sandrart had painted. Sandrart and Junius may therefore have met.

[90] On the recent discovery of fascinating documents about a commission for *modelli* by a Genovese nobleman, see L. MAGNANI, '1666. Een onbekende opdracht uit Genua voor Rembrandt', *Kroniek van het Rembrandthuis*, 16, 2007, pp. 3–16, p. 5: 'Pretende molto denaro però si rimesso in persona intelligente di pittura per stare a suo giudizio'. See also SLUIJTER, *op. cit.* (note 28), pp. 15–16. Compare Rembrandt's indignant comment when Antonio Ruffo refused to pay the (exceptionally high) sum: 'there must be few connoisseurs in Messina', quoted in CRENSHAW, *op. cit.* (note 36), pp. 125–133.