Seductress of Sight:

Studies in Dutch Art of the Golden Age

Eric Jan Sluijter

This book consists of a collection of six studies that originally appeared in Dutch. They shed new light on intriguing aspects of Dutch art of the 17th century, focussing on paintings and prints representing subjects which assume a conspicuous position in the art of that period and deal with beauty and seduction, love and desire, chastity and unchastity. Contemporary thoughts about enticement of the eye through a desirable "semblance without being" are indissolubly linked with the depiction of these subjects. In highly divergent ways, Hendrick Goltzius and Gerrit Dou, the two artists who take center stage in these studies, developed a breathtaking virtuosity in the service of such themes, producing works that were exceptionally valued by collectors and art lovers.

Questions focal to these studies are: why were certain subjects selected, why were they so attractive to represent and to look at, and which thoughts and associations did these visual delights evoke? To this purpose Sluijter examines the patterns of selection, and the way in which artists treated pictorial traditions and iconographic conventions in themes and motifs. The author offers striking insights into the meaning which these images had for the artist and his audience.

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Eric Jan Sluijter teaches the history of Netherlandish art in early modern times at Leiden University. He has published many articles and several books on Dutch painting in the 17th and 18th century.

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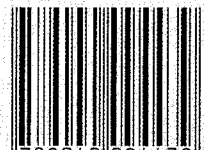

Studies in Netherlandish Art and Cultural History

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Voor Nicolette

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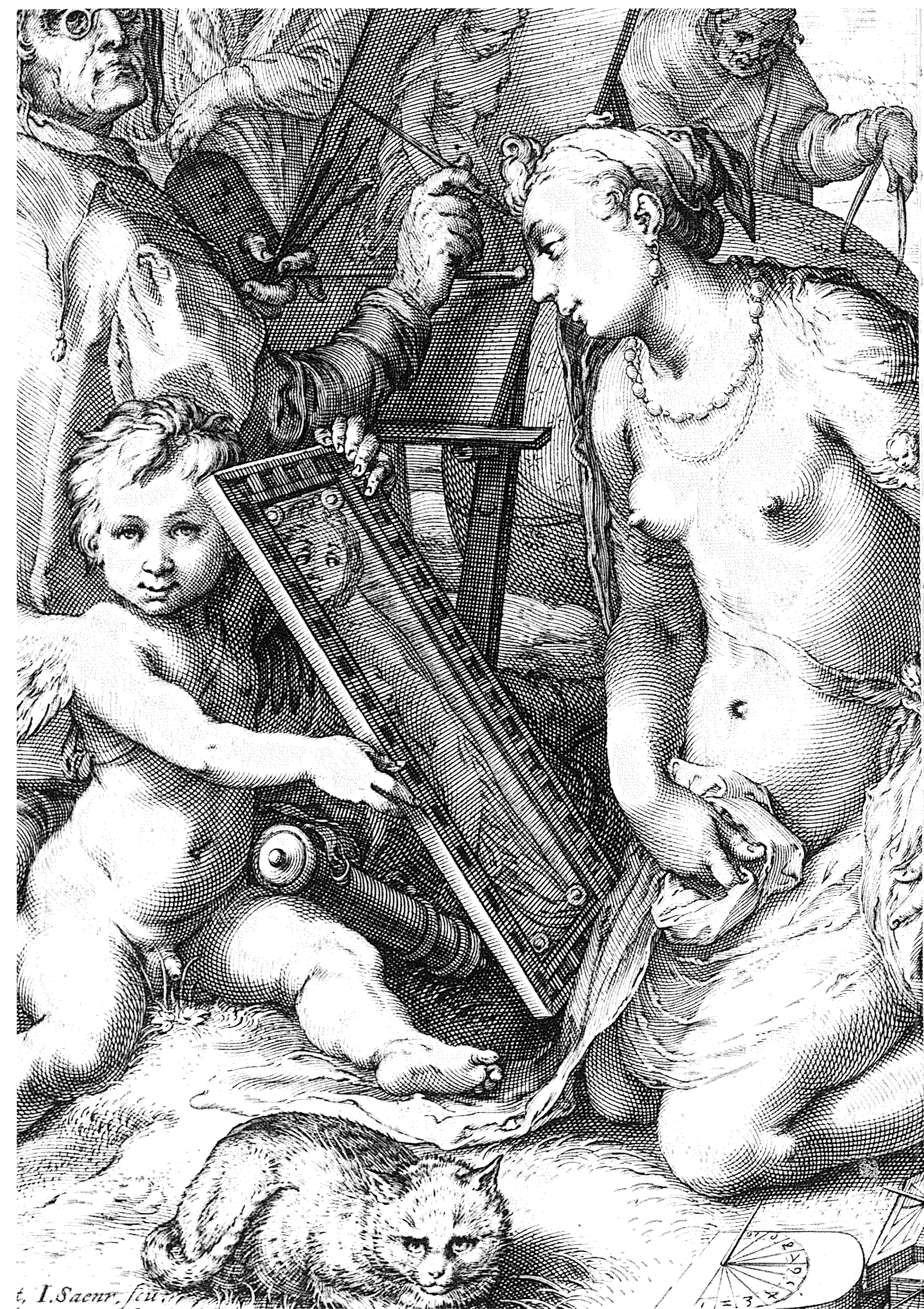


Detail of fig. 66

Acknowledgments

The studies in this volume were originally published in Dutch between 1991 and 1993, and have been translated into English with virtually no modification. Apart from minor, but necessary, corrections, only a few additions were made to the notes, mostly references to literature that has since been published and which has direct bearing on the material examined. The number of illustrations accompanying the essay "On *Fijnschilders* and 'Meaning'" has been increased substantially. The translation has been made possible by the financial support of the Netherlands Organization for Scientific Research (NWO).

I should like to express my gratitude to Katy Kist and Jennifer Kilian, charged with the English translation, for an exceptionally enjoyable collaborative endeavour. In the final phase prior to the printing of this book, I benefitted substantially from Marlies Enklaar's keen editorial eye. I am also greatly indebted to all of the people who contributed in one way or another to the genesis of the articles, or encouraged me to produce this book. In particular, I should like to thank Ronni Baer, Albert Blankert, Anton Boschloo, Christopher Brown, Celeste Brusati, Reindert Falkenburg, David Freedberg, Egbert Haverkamp Begemann, Chris Heesakkers, Julius Held, Elizabeth Honig, Alison Kettering, Huigen Leeflang, Juliette Roding, Janno van Tatenhove, Ernst van de Wetering and finally, and most especially: Nicolette Sluijter-Seijffert and our unfailingly inspirational feline companions.

I

Detail of fig. 203

Introduction: "With the Power of the Seemingly Real We Must Conquer and Capture the Eyes of Art Lovers"

In his *Lof der Schilder-konst* of 1642 – the published version of a lecture delivered to the Leiden painters' community on St Luke's Day in 1641 – Philips Angel made it perfectly clear that he understood painting's primary function as being to please the art lover's eye. Discussing the faculties and skills required of a painter, he expressed in no uncertain terms the need to court the favor of art lovers in search of visual delight. Moreover, he added – repeatedly – in so doing the painter would be better able to sell his paintings. Using the most lifelike palette, for example, would ensure artists that their art would "gratify the eyes of those who fancy the arts," while the ability to invent and depict a wealth of details would "kindle a rousing affection in the art lovers' minds."[1] Hence, paintings would "enrapture the art lovers' eyes and fill them with desire and...through this the painter will find ready buyers for his paintings."[2] Angel notes that the meticulous observation and rendering of optical phenomena "must be no less pleasant than natural in the minds of art lovers, and must also arouse a greater craving for art."[3] Finally, he aptly compares the ability to marshall areas of light and shadow with commanding an army, whose victory depends on remaining in formation rather than dispersing; in this way the painter achieves "the power of the seemingly real" with which to "...conquer and capture the eyes of art lovers."[4]

This wonderful metaphor serves as the motto for this volume of collected studies, whose recurring motif is the notion of conquering the eye, with all of the implications this may have had for both the maker of the work of art and its intended viewer. The consequences of this conquest dominate these discussions. After all, Angel made it clear that captivating the eye arouses "desire" (begeer-lust) and "craving" (wensch-begeerte); naturally, this desire was generated not only by *how* a subject is depicted, but also by *what* is depicted. As these studies demonstrate, this desire was believed to apply to the actual painting, as well as to what was represented. This was in keeping with the notion that of all the senses, sight most powerfully affected the

mind: "See what the eye can do; the eye has strange powers/ Over both our deeds and our thoughts," to quote but one of Cats' many pronouncements on this matter.[5]

It was well understood that the goal of pleasing the eye involved more than offering purely visual pleasure. Quintilian had stated (here cited in the words of Junius) that "Picture [is] a silent worke, and constantly keeping the same forme, doth so insinuate it selfe into our most inward affections, that it seemeth now and then to be of a greater force then Eloquence it selfe."[6] Junius is referring here to concepts that had long existed, but which just in this very period were being regularly and vigorously promulgated. They were sharply and most negatively formulated by Dirck Raphaelsz Camphuyzen (paraphrasing a Latin poem by his friend Johannes Evertsz Geesteranus):

What the eyes behold gives the senses sweet satisfaction
And the idle image will reign over the feeble mind.
In this way (while the eyes are deceived,
And the heart astonished by the beautiful lies of painting),
One wants to do and to have
Everything that one beholds in a painting.[7]

The two artists most discussed in these essays, Hendrick Goltzius and Gerrit Dou, were exceptionally successful in their bid to gain the attention of art lovers and to "delight [their] eyes and fill them with desire." To that end they each cultivated a breathtaking virtuosity, though in the service of totally different subject matter. The studies in this volume were foremost prompted by the question of why certain themes and motifs were selected, why they were considered appealing to depict and to observe, and which thoughts and associations were linked to these visual delights.

The explosive growth in the production of paintings and prints in Dutch cities beginning in the late sixteenth century bespeaks an incredible eagerness to own and enjoy images. The number of artworks listed in estate inventories of collectors ranging from affluent artisans to the wealthy elite is frequently astonishing.

The proud realization that something unusual was afoot in the visual arts in the Netherlands was noted as early as about 1629. The great connoisseur Constantijn Huygens wrote that in his view, his compatriots had surpassed all others (including the artists of classical antiquity) "in the art of swiftly rendering with fresh and lively lines all sorts of shapes and poses of people and animals, as well as the appearance of trees, rivers, mountains and such things as one sees in a landscape."[8] The way in which he writes about contemporary history, portrait and landscape painters – regarding the latter, for example, he says that the crop was so prodigious that their names alone would fill a book – attests to an awareness that quantitatively and qualitatively something quite exceptional was transpiring in Dutch painting. In many city descriptions it is apparent that painting was a source of civic pride. Painters are specifically and frequently presented as illustrious 'sons' who contribute to the city's renown. At times these descriptions are highly detailed and in a few cases even seem to be vying with each other in emphasizing the fame of their respective local art production.

Not everyone was equally pleased with the enormous popularity of the visual arts. The despair of the extremely devout Camphuyzen, for example, is almost comical. A poem in his *Stichtelycke Rijmen*, first published in 1624, lavishes praise on the aforementioned Johannes Evertsz Geesteranus for his attack on the art of painting, entitled "Idolelenchus" and written in Latin (Camphuyzen himself later translated Geesteranus' long poem into Dutch verse). Camphuyzen's poem underscores the courage necessary to voice criticism of such an all-pervasive and widely appealing phenomenon:

Painting! ah, who can denounce it without [inciting] general rebellion?
Painting is the mother of all foolish vanities.
Show me art or craftsmanship in these wasteful times
(How simple [it was] in former times) that can endure without painting!
Cast your eye upon houses, household effects, clothing, and all that is around you:
The whole world depends on engraving, drawing, painting.
Since that frivolous vexation has landed on the chair of necessity
One considers the art of painting as the accomplisher of almost all that the hand produces.
Painting is the common bait for the uneasy heart overwhelmed by choice,
That (in spite of having to meet essential needs) charms the money out of one's purse:
Painting seems to be the sauce for all that sprouts from the human mind:
Painting is the wag in this world's foolish farce:
Painting bred from the dalliances of the fickle brain,
Is an ever-flowing fountain for the foolish desire of the eye,
Painting, related to disguising, fits the world. And why?
The farcical proverb will tell us: *All the world is a mask.*[9]

The ubiquitous presence of the visual arts is also underscored in Geesteranus' poem as translated by Camphuyzen:

In houses both large and small (experience tells us), there are often more portrayed than living people.
The wall is frequently more lavishly adorned than its lean lord,
What does it offer in return? Nothing more than something to feast one's eyes on.
[...]
This infernal evil of the eye is widespread among the noble and ignoble;
Both in the honest household and the filthy brothel:
Both in church and in the tavern:.... [10]

Camphuyzen and Geesteranus' fervent hatred of painting illuminates what were understood as the most striking qualities of this art: qualities they perceived as negative, but which held positive associations for countless art lovers. Several of the vehement, actually quite magnificent, terms of abuse which Camphuyzen hurled at the art of painting are very telling in this respect: "Seductress of sight, spellbound by all that is transient" (Verleyt-Ster van 't gezicht dat zich verstaart op 't sterffelijk); "eye temptation" (oog-verleyding); "the food of evil lust and villainous idiocy" (voetsel van qua'e lust en fieltsche sotternij); "venom for the eye" (schoubaer oogh fenijn); "monkey and shadow show" (simm' en schimmen-werck); "art of deception" (bedriegkonst); and "an enticing deceit of the eye openly showing us the real disposition of those who make and possess them" (Een vleyend' oog bedroch, 't welck naeckt t'aanschouwen geeft/ Hoe dat hy is in't hart die 't maaeckt en die het heeft).[11] Allusions to seduction, inducement of desire, appearance and deception constantly take center stage. And precisely because sight was considered the most powerful of the five senses and images were thus credited with having an exceptional effect on the mind (a subject discussed in depth in the essay "Venus, Visus and Pictura"), this seduction could be viewed in either extremely negative or positive terms.

Camphuyzen's negative approach could be contrasted with the elegant verse of the poet and painter, Adriaen van de Venne, praising the image of his beloved. The reasons for Camphuyzen's passionate dismissal of art – that it is but a mirage seducing the eye and arousing (sensual) desire – are the very ones that inspire Van de Venne's paean:

The art of painting awakens a joy in me,
Who is able to speak and sing about the merit and fame
Of such a sweet art, full of benefit and delight,
That creates out of nothing a beloved sweetheart.
Through skilful strokes, to be sure I see ('tis true) my love,
But speech is missing;

I am nevertheless satisfied, my eyes have will and wish,
The eyes desire and man longs;
The longing dwells within me all the more for this reason,
Because I see before me an image that has neither body nor speech,
Nor movement or feeling, a semblance all the same,
As though it would turn its face toward mine.[12]

Van de Venne concluded this passage with "The eye is never satisfied, desire is never sated,/ as long as one courts art and love" (De oog is noyt vervult, 't gewens is noyt versaet,/ Soo lang men met de cunst en min-sucht omme-gaet), and added the following lines in the margin of this section: "The art of painting gladdens the people" (Schilder-const maect de mensche verblijdt); "the art of painting is mute" (Schilder-const is stom); "art induces longing" (Const doet verlanghen); and "the eyes [are] a sweet enticement" (De ooghen een soeten aen-lockers).

According to Van de Venne, painting aroused an intense longing precisely because the image seems almost real, yet is nothing more than a semblance created out of nothing – presenting our eyes with enticements that do not really exist. Hence, great importance was placed on convincing "visual deception" (oogbedrog), a "semblance without being" (schijn sonder sijn): "... for to gape at things that do not exist as though they actually do exist, and to be influenced by them to such an extent that we – of our own accord – harmlessly make believe they exist; how can that not give us pleasure? Certainly it gives great joy when one is deceived by a false likeness of things," to quote an oft-cited passage by Johan de Brune the Younger.[13]

The stronger the attempt to achieve a lifelike effect ("als 't leven") in that which is rendered, and the more closely this corresponds with the viewer's experienced or imagined world, the more he will be convinced by the image and thus become involved in it. Incidentally, to speak here of 'realism' is only confusing; this nineteenth-century term, which today primarily evokes the idea of photographic realism, has long clouded the discussion of this art.[14] We should approach seventeenth-century images as an artificial and extremely selective "semblance without being" which, because of the use of certain pictorial conventions, made that which was depicted seem "as good as real"; in conforming to or departing from those conventions, these images elicited thoughts and associations that were evidently appealing and interesting to both the maker and his public.[15]

Although the tremendous wealth and diversity of subject matter and motifs in the visual arts give the impression that literally anything and everything was depicted, we see time and again just how selective artists were, and how limited their repertoire. This applies equally to

depictions of biblical and mythological themes, scenes alluding to contemporary life, still lifes and landscapes. Certain subjects were repeated endlessly in certain periods or by certain groups of artists, while others are virtually never encountered. That in history and genre painting, subjects dealing with feminine pulchritude and seduction, love and desire, chastity and lasciviousness – themes frequently encountered in the following essays – assume such a conspicuous position should hardly come as a surprise given the moral ambivalence *vis-à-vis* the visual enjoyment. Precisely because it involves an art attuned to a "false likeness of things" (valsche gelikenis der dingen), and to "deception" and "seduction" of the eye with transient lures seemingly captured for eternity, it is not surprising that preoccupations with the positive and the negative aspects of fleeting earthly delights were often indissolubly linked by means of the chosen subjects and painting style.[16]

The tension thus created may account for the popularity of certain subjects. In other words, while a particular 'moral' was definitely incorporated in such images, they were not intended to convey a moralizing message. In many instances, the moralizations to be formulated were close at hand and could be activated in a specific context, or as justification for certain images.[17]

It is well worth bearing in mind Camphuyzen's words on the subject:

> Yet it still has its use (you say). One can explain [the image],
> One can reveal in words all of life, name and deed,
> But (oh!) what explanation and what praise can safely withstand
> The things displayed, which by their very nature shame the mind?[18]

Although expressed from an extremely negative standpoint, Camphuyzen's opinion that moralizing 'explications' are merely verbal additions since images communicate differently than texts, should serve as a warning to every iconologist. Iconologists (among whom I would count myself) will always try to comprehend images from the past within a historical context, usually one constructed on the basis of contemporary texts. Within this context they then interpret these images, or rather, their descriptions of these images, by means of words. However, this should not tempt us to locate meaning entirely outside of the image and in these contemporary texts. In its most reductive form, this kind of reasoning is frequently seen in catalogue entries. I mean the kind of art-historical writings in which the title of a picture or a print would appear to suffice for an interpretation of its meaning: a painting of Susanna and the Elders admonishes the viewer

to chastity because in contemporary texts Susanna always functions as the biblical exempla of chastity; and a merry company warns against sinful behavior because this is stated in a caption to a print of such a scene, and so forth. How the image gives expression to such ideas seems of no concern. The separation of form and content, always a crucial problem in iconology, is then complete.

Naturally, research into the use of identical and related themes and motifs in all sorts of contemporary texts is crucial for constructing the ideological environment in which a certain kind of pictorial theme originated and was depicted. However, should we wish to understand the images' significance for the maker and the informed viewer, we must begin to study the pictorial form itself, within the thematic groups to which the image belongs and in relation to its underlying pictorial traditions and iconographic conventions.

In order to analyze form and content in an integrated manner, and avoid an insular interpretation of works of art, the investigation of developments within relevant traditions and conventions is necessarily an essential part of the studies contained in this volume. This emphasis stems from the premise that these traditions and conventions were the primary frame of reference for the artist and his public, within which the image articulated and communicated meaning. Existing representational traditions and conventions were, after all, the starting point for the artist when depicting an image, and they determined the expectations of the public whom the artist addressed. The conventions themselves, the changes inherent in them and the deviations from them, all convey meaning.

Only when works are studied within this framework can one establish what was current, divergent, and/or exceptional, and thus further determine the significant aspects of both individual works and groups of works of art. To introduce a division between the intention of the maker and the works' reception by the intended public is, in my view, not only impossible but also ineffective. When making a work of art, the artist – himself also a viewer – had a notion of the culturally determined values, knowledge, wishes and expectations of a particular type of audience; the beholder could, in turn, further specify certain ideas and associations based on his own background.[19]

As more ambitious artists had to distinguish themselves from their competitors in order to corner a place in the free art market, an increasingly more subtle branching out of subjects, motifs and styles took place. However, precisely in the free market – with production directed toward a relatively anonymous and differentiated public – artists could not afford to stray much from the known and the familiar repertoire, as is testified by the underlying selectivity. The patterns of

this selectivity and the developments therein often reveal a great deal about why certain subjects were so popular among artists and the public. Gaining insight into these patterns and developments is an important objective of my research.

All of the essays contained in this book, which are presented in English for the first time, were written and published within a relatively short time, between 1990 and 1993. Their roots, however, reach back to the research I conducted for my dissertation, *De 'heydensche fabulen' in de Noordnederlandse schilderkunst, ca. 1590-1670* (1986), and for the catalogue accompanying the exhibition *Leidse fijnschilders* (1988).[20]

Two of the articles – "'Metamorphoses' in Prints by Hendrick Goltzius and his Circle" and "*Vertumnus and Pomona* by Hendrick Goltzius (1613) and Jan Tengnagel (1617): Constants and Contrasts in Form and Content" – expand on passages from *De 'heydensche fabulen' in de Noordnederlandse schilderkunst*. The latter study endeavoured to present a complete overview of developments in the depiction of narrative mythological subjects in seventeenth-century Northern Netherlandish painting and, on this basis, interpret the pictorial traditions of five of the most popular subjects in classical mythology in connection with the use of the same themes in literary texts.

The dissertation focused on paintings of mythological scenes: the prints from Goltzius' splendid illustrations of the *Metamorphoses* were dealt with only indirectly, and not discussed as an independent series. Nor did I examine subjects that were specifically popular in prints. In the first article, an investigation of Goltzius' inventions for his *Metamorphoses* series – which, as is demonstrated, should have consisted of 300 prints (only 52 of which were ever completed) – gave insight into some aspects determining his choice of narrative mythological themes and into the overriding importance of the pictorial schemes established in the earlier *Metamorphoses* illustrations.

In the same article, I examined two very popular subjects in the graphic arts of this period – Andromeda Chained to a Rock while Perseus is Battling the Monster and The Discovery of Callisto's Pregnancy – in order to understand why these subjects were of such great interest to Goltzius and his circle, and to determine the extent to which contemporary texts can inform us about the ideas and associations evoked by such scenes. It became evident that the relationship between certain mythological subjects and the writings associated with them can differ radically from one subject to the next. The article also briefly summarizes my conclusions on the place and function of Karel van Mander's *Wtlegghingh op den Metamorphosis* (a commentary on the *Metamorphoses* often used – whether or not it is germane – by art historians to "explain" mythological scenes).

The second article in this volume centres on two paintings of *Vertumnus and Pomona* by Hendrick Goltzius and Jan Tengnagel, respectively, both in the Rijksmuseum. It was written for a special issue of the *Bulletin van het Rijksmuseum*, published on the occasion of Pieter van Thiel's retirement as director of the Rijksmuseum's department of paintings. The essay gave me the opportunity to present a condensed interpretation of this type of painting, based on two highly divergent representations of the same subject, which originated around the same time and relied on identical pictorial models. Starting from a description of the altogether different ways in which these two painters followed or deviated from the pictorial mode that had developed in illustrations and other prints, I demonstrated how both the conventional and exceptional elements in their representational methods indicate the contours of certain aspects of meaning. Subsequently, with the aid of related subject matter drawn from contemporary texts, I specified the similarities and differences in meaning that these paintings may have contained for both the maker and their intended public. These issues are especially intriguing with respect to a subject that was to become the favorite mythological theme in the seventeenth century.

Motifs crucial to the theme of Vertumnus and Pomona, such as the juxtaposition of a seductive young woman and an ugly old woman (who simultaneously represents the stereotype of the procuress), are also an important element in the traditional representation of Bathsheba Observed by David while Bathing. I investigated the various pictorial possibilities and resulting consequences of this subject (culminating with Rembrandt's painting of 1654) in an article that appeared in English in 1998 entitled "Rembrandt's *Bathsheba* and the Conventions of a Seductive Theme".[21] Bathsheba is one of those subjects whose narrative particulars deal with the arousal of desire through the observation of nude female beauty. This is exactly what the viewer of a painting of this subject does; the action of looking is identical to that of the male 'voyeur' *in* the story whose desire, much to his shame, is aroused by this sight. I had already explored this theme in a few other subjects in which it is central, namely Diana Observed by Actaeon While Bathing, the Judgement of Paris, and Susanna and the Elders, all so popular in the seventeenth century.[22] Several of the articles published here also address the erotic tension generated by this subject matter.

In the first two essays, it appeared that Goltzius' paintings exhibit a marked preference for themes involving supremely beautiful women

whose appearance kindles passionate love in men, such as Andromeda and Perseus and Vertumnus and Pomona, and I suggested that references to Goltzius' identity as an artist are embedded in the depiction of these two subjects. The effect of the representation of nude female pulchritude on the observer, and Goltzius' involvement in and reflection on an art that perceives such representation as one of its highest goals, is the subject of the third essay: "Venus, Visus and Pictura". This essay takes as its point of departure Goltzius' highly complex invention of *Visus* (Sight), engraved by Jan Saenredam, which shows an artist in the act of painting the nude Venus observing herself in a mirror. Goltzius' invention is interpreted in the context of iconographical conventions found in a variety of related themes and motifs, brought together by the artist in this ingenious image. More or less independent sections of the essay are devoted to individual themes relevant to this print, ones that also play a significant role elsewhere in the work of Goltzius and his circle. These themes must have been important to these artists and their public, and are mostly linked to conceptions of depicting nude female beauty, seduction through the sense of sight, and the special power of the art of painting.

The essay concludes with a discussion of several paintings of life-size nudes by Goltzius, including his remarkable *Danaë* of 1603.[23] It is argued that in much of his (particularly later) work, Goltzius consciously associated his skills and his identity as an artist with the combined power of "Venus, Visus and Pictura", which he inventively visualized as a theme in the *Visus* print mentioned earlier.

An invention by Goltzius again plays an important role in the fourth essay on the introduction of the amorous shepherd's idyll into Northern Netherlandish art, which was originally one of the introductory essays in the catalogue of an exhibition of Dutch pastoral painting, *Het gedroomde land* (1993). The standard work on pastoral scenes in the Netherlands, Alison McNeil Kettering's excellent book *The Dutch Arcadia*, served as an important point of departure.[24] Kettering rightly focused attention on the Utrecht tradition of depicting shepherds and shepherdesses that developed around 1620, and on the narrative scenes (from *Il Pastor Fido* and *Granida*) that originated at about the same time. She paid less attention to the few prints and paintings of pastoral idylls of a different nature produced prior to this period.

Goltzius' invention of Coridon and Silvia – at the time, the depiction of an amorous shepherd couple as the main theme was a novelty – inspired an investigation into the motifs from existing mythological and biblical scenes that were merged in this this new subject. As for the book illustrations that appeared shortly after the

print and the four exceptional paintings of amorous shepherds by Pieter Lastman, an examination of the parallels with familiar pictorial motifs and the connection with literary conventions furnished insight into the origins of this type of scene, which became a new and non-narrative vehicle for the depiction of an amorous idyll.

The preparation of an exhibition catalogue on the Leiden *fijnschilders*, an enterprise I undertook with students in 1987, stimulated research into the nature of the art of Gerrit Dou and his immediate circle. In the introduction to this catalogue I discussed how Dou and his Leiden followers were perceived and written about in contemporary sources, and included relevant information on their social status and their patrons.[25] Philips Angel's *Lof der Schilder-konst* (1642) proved to be an important source, offering a glimpse of how artists must have thought about their profession.

Shortly thereafter, I incorporated elements from Angel's treatise in an article intended to contribute to the methodological discussion of the interpretation of seventeenth-century Dutch painting. It was published in Dutch in 1988, and subsequently in English in 1991, as "Didactic and Disguised Meanings? Several Seventeenth-Century Texts on Painting and the Iconological Approach to Dutch Paintings of this Period".[26] In this study, I argued that little justification can be found for two views that play a crucial role in the iconological approach to genre painting successfully launched by Eddy de Jongh and prevalent in the 1970s and 1980s, namely that moralizing lessons are a primary function of many seventeenth-century genre scenes; and that concealing deeper meanings under a realistic appearance was an essential principle of this art.

I elaborated on the relationship between Angel's notions and Dou's art for a book in the series *Zeven Provinciën*, published in 1993 and here included in its entirety. This study allowed me to use Angel's views not only for the somewhat negative purpose of undermining a current art-historical view, as I had done earlier, but also to demonstrate how various aspects of Angel's encomium to the art of painting facilitate a better understanding of the objectives of a painter like Dou and the products he spawned.

Angel's discourse allows us to approach Dou's work using contemporary terms and categories of appreciation. Delivered to his colleagues on St Luke's day, this lecture undoubtedly confirmed commonly-held ideas, but formulated them in somewhat ceremonious terms suited to the occasion. Angel's views on painting – on creating illusions, on the *paragone* of painting, sculpture and poetry, on financial profit and the skills necessary for someone desirous of being

worthy of calling himself a painter – must have been similar to Dou's in many respects. However, Dou represented comparable notions in his art in a much wittier fashion. Like Goltzius, However, Dou was an artist who from time to time in his work consciously expressed ideas about his special position as a virtuoso producer of seductive – and costly! – illusions. What emerges clearly is not only that Dou's conception of his own art and his artistry deviated greatly from those of his teacher Rembrandt, but that he profiled himself differently from the very beginning.

Acknowledging that works by Dou and other *fijnschilders* were chiefly intended as virtuoso displays affording visual delight to the viewer is not to say that the sole purpose of the chosen subjects and motifs was to serve as an appropriate vehicle for a *fijnschilder* technique, as Peter Hecht has posited. Hecht's approach to Dou and other *fijnschilders* in the exhibition catalogue *De Hollandse fijnschilders* (1989),[27] prompted the essay "On *Fijnschilders* and 'Meaning'" included here. In it, I argue that Hecht's approach represents the other side of Eddy de Jongh's coin – which Hecht dismisses out of hand – because he bases himself on the same concept of meaning: Hecht, too, is mired in the question of whether a painting is merely an image conveying no more than "the literal meaning of that which is represented," or whether such an image contains a deeper, symbolical meaning hidden under a realistic veneer.

Taking several genre scenes that were included in Hecht's exhibition as examples I demonstrated that this line of reasoning is incorrect. By studying the specific use of pictorial conventions and the representation of prevailing stereotypes, one should attempt to identify which thoughts and associations might have been linked to representations of particular subjects and motifs, and why these were considered so interesting and appealing for the artist to paint, and for his audience to look at and to own.

I noted at the beginning of this introduction that the goal of overwhelming and conquering the eye of the beholder carried many implications, because ".... my eyes have will and wish/ The eyes desire and man longs," to again quote Van de Venne. It is my hope that the following studies shed some light on a few of these implications.

II

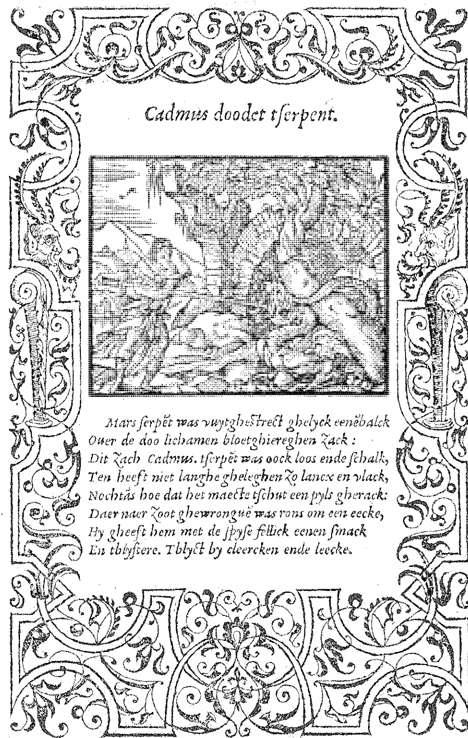
'Metamorphoses' in Prints by Hendrick Goltzius and his Circle

Detail of fig. 51

Goltzius' *Metamorphoses* Series

The fairly sudden popularization of mythological subject matter in the Northern Netherlands at the end of the sixteenth century had different consequences for literature and the visual arts.[1] Moreover, within the visual arts the interest in mythological subjects also manifested itself in various ways, with striking differences between painting and the graphic arts. This essay explores images in prints – the medium in which this interest was first expressed on a grand scale in the Netherlands in countless scenes that were never represented in painting. Crucial to this development were Hendrick Goltzius and artists from his immediate circle, who focused particularly on Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, that is, with respect to narrative subjects from classical mythology. To highlight several notable aspects, I will first consider Goltzius' 52 inventions for illustrations of the *Metamorphoses*, while the second half of this essay examines two of the most frequently engraved episodes from the *Metamorphoses* by Goltzius and his circle: namely, prints of Andromeda Chained to a Rock and of The Discovery of Callisto's Pregnancy.

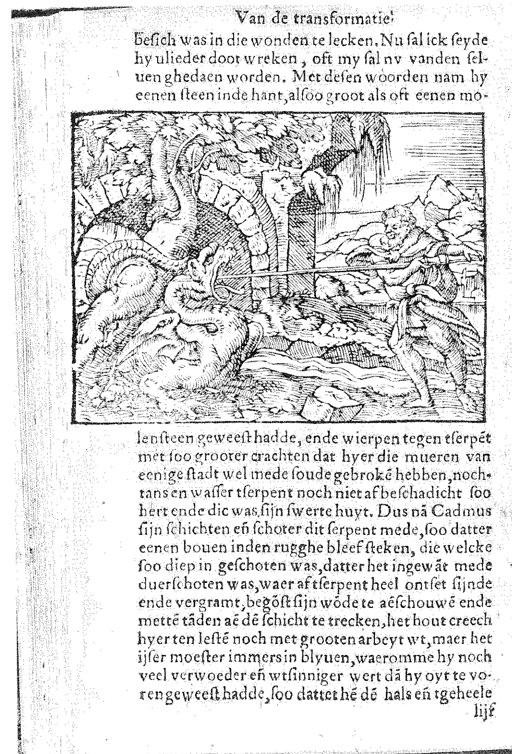
When Goltzius began producing a series of illustrations for Ovid's *Metamorphoses* in 1588, this poetic adaptation of countless mythological stories was already widely known both in word and image. Its broad public did not have to be versed in Latin or even highly educated: as of the middle of the sixteenth century, various editions of these stories were published with translations or paraphrases in the vernacular and, moreover, were abundantly illustrated.[2] Key in this development was a small edition printed in Lyon in 1557 in a French and a Dutch version with lively woodcuts by Bernard Salomon (fig. 1).[3] In it, were illustrated 178 episodes from the 15 books of the *Metamorphoses*, each with a poem offering a concise summary of the fable concerned. This little book resembled the type of



Cadmus doodet tſerpent.

Mars ſerpēt was vuytghestrect ghelyck eenēbalck
Ouer de doo lichamen bloetghiereghen Zack:
Dit Zach Cadmus. tſerpēt was oock loos ende ſchalk,
Ten heeft niet langhe gheleghen Zo lancx en vlack,
Nochtās hoe dat het maecte tſchut een pyls gherack:
Daer naer Zoot ghewronguē was rons om een eecke,
Hy gheeft hem met de ſpyſe fellick eenen ſmack
En tblyſtere. Tblyct by cleercken ende leecke.

1 Bernard Salomon, *Cadmus Slaying the Serpent*, 1557, woodcut



Van de transformatie.

beſich was in die wonden te lecken, Nu ſal ick ſeyde hy ulieder door wreken, oft my ſal nv vanden ſel-uen ghedaen worden. Met deſen woorden nam hy eenen ſteen inde hant, alſoo groot als oft eenen mo-

lenſteen geweeſt hadde, ende wierpen tegen tſerpēt met ſoo grooter crachten dat hyer die mueren van eenige ſtadt wel mede ſoude gebrokē hebben, noch-tans en waſſer tſerpent noch niet afbeſchadicht ſoo hert ende dic was ſijn ſwerte huyt. Dus nā Cadmus ſijn ſchichten eñ ſchoter dit ſerpent mede, ſoo datter eenen bouen inden rugghe bleef ſteken, die welcke ſoo diep in geſchoten was, datter het ingewāt mede duerſchoten was, waer af tſerpent heel ontſet ſijnde ende vergramt, begōſt ſijn wōde te aēſchouwē ende mettē tāden aē dē ſchicht te trecken, het hout creech hyer ten leſtē noch met grooten arbeyt wt, maer het ijſer moeſter immers in blyuen, waeromme hy noch veel verwoeder eñ wtſinniger wert dā hy oyt te vo-ren geweeſt hadde, ſoo dattet hē dē hals eñ tgeheele lijf

3 Anonymous after Virgil Solis, *Cadmus Slaying the Serpent*, 1566, woodcut

Cadmus vt ad fontem venit, comitesq; necatos,
Exitij autorem mox dat & ipſe neci.

Rex ille Draco, Cadmus quem Marte peremit,
Ipſius & regni ſceptra ſuperba tulit.

Cadmus erlegt die Schlang mit macht/
Die jm ſein Knecht hett vor vmbbracht:

Die Schlang geweſen iſt Draco
Der Kōng/erſchlagen von Cadmo.

2 Virgil Solis, *Cadmus Slaying the Serpent*, 1563, woodcut

emblem book that became popular at this time with an *inscriptio* (in this case, a 'title' of the episode depicted), a *pictura* and a *subscriptio*.[4] Here, however, the *subscriptio* consists of a short narrative in verse without any form of allegorizing or moralizing, as is the case in true emblem books.

The illustrations by Salomon were freely copied by Virgil Solis in a new series of 178 woodcuts for two German editions, both published in Frankfurt in 1563 (fig. 2).[5] In the most famous of the two, the book by Posthius, each print is accompanied by four lines of verse summarizing the story in Latin and four lines of verse in German. The other edition contains German paraphrases with short moralizing explanations of the stories.[6]

The first Dutch translation by Johannes Florianus had appeared somewhat earlier, in 1552.[7] For its time, it was a fairly accurate translation, albeit in rather pedestrian prose. It became exceptionally popular and was reprinted a number of times well into the mid-seventeenth century, particularly between 1580 and 1620.[8] In the second edition of 1566, Florianus' translation was first published with exact copies of the 178 illustrations by Virgil Solis (fig. 3). From then on, it would consistently be reprinted with either all 178 prints, or a selection of 15 prints; in the latter case one for each book.[9]

Three other series should be mentioned before turning to Goltzius. First, in 1591, the 178 etchings by Pieter van der Borcht – free

4 Pieter van der Borcht, *Cadmus Slaying the Serpent*, 1591, etching

5 Crispijn de Passe, *Cadmus Slaying the Serpent*, 1602, engraving

adaptations of Solis' woodcuts – were published in book form with short paraphrases in Latin (fig. 4). And, in 1602, the 132 engravings by Crispijn de Passe appeared, which were subsequently published in book form in 1607 (fig. 5.)[10] Finally, an Italian series of illustrations should be noted as it became very well-known in the Netherlands: namely, the 150 etchings by Antonio Tempesta with one-line inscriptions, in fact little more than a kind of title (fig. 6). Just when the Tempesta etchings were first printed is unclear; in any case, they were collectively published as a book by Pieter de Jode in 1606.[11] As shown below, though, they must have appeared much earlier as an independent series – probably even as early as the second half of the 1580s. These, too, are a 'modern' adaptation of the illustrations by Salomon and Solis. The seven illustrations of the Cadmus story included here as an example (figs. 1-6, see also fig. 31), give a good idea of the stylistic changes in the course of time, while the basic composition remained the same.

As a result of its numerous editions, the *Metamorphoses* became an attractive picture book that was easy to use and served as a small compendium of classical mythology; the fables are recounted in short paraphrases or in full (prose) translation, while the depiction of a particular episode was allotted an equally – and in some cases an even more important – place than the text. The title page or foreword in these publications were provided with recommendations to poets, painters, silversmiths and art lovers.[12] They clearly catered to a demand on the part of a broad reading public and must have been avidly used by the aforementioned groups. As a result, many lettered burghers became familiar with mythological stories as related by Ovid. This is

6 Antonio Tempesta, *Cadmus Slaying the Serpent*, etching

evidenced by, for example, the fact that in various sorts of literature in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century, such as the typical Dutch songbooks and books with love emblems (both became popular particularly in this period), the readers were assumed to be familiar with the crux of the *Metamorphoses* stories.[13] At the same time, the representations of certain episodes as depicted by Salomon and Solis must have been planted in the collective memory of this public, including artists, as *the* image belonging to a specific story. And so, these illustrations became crucial in the depiction of stories from the *Metamorphoses* in prints and paintings, and if not always with respect to the composition, at least to the moment selected from a given fable.[14]

Goltzius produced his designs for a series of *Metamorphoses* illustrations between 1588 and 1590; of them, the first 20 engravings were published in 1589, a second set of 20 in 1590, and the last 12 as late as 1615.[15] The last series was probably engraved by Robert de Baudous, and the first two by an anonymous engraver from Goltzius' circle;[16] they are all accompanied by a four-line inscription in Latin. Thus, Goltzius produced a total of 52 designs for these illustrations and got no further than the beginning of Book IV. Making a nume-

7 Virgil Solis, *Apollo Chasing Daphne*, 1563, woodcut

8 Virgil Solis, *Apollo Chasing Daphne who is Changing into a Laurel*, 1563, woodcut

rical comparison with the illustrations in the series of Salomon and Solis, one first notices that from the Creation to the stories of Salmacis and Hermaphrodite (where the Goltzius series abruptly stops), the number is identical, namely 52. So, at first sight, this series also seems to have been intended to comprise 178 prints. However, upon closer scrutiny, it soon becomes apparent that Goltzius was planning to make no fewer than 300 prints for the 15 books of the *Metamorphoses*, namely 20 per book, which he did in fact do for Books I and II. In the Salomon/Solis series, the number of prints per book is highly irregular. The first book with 19 prints has the greatest number of illustrations; the second book was illustrated with 17 woodcuts; the third with 10; while for the remaining 12 books the number of illustrations ranges between 5 and 15.

For his illustrations to Book I, Goltzius followed the subjects of the Salomon/Solis series fairly closely; he only needed to add one scene, which he based on the last sentences of Book I.[17] However, he also omitted three scenes which he may have considered too repetitious. Book I of the Salomon/Solis series included two illustrations of the Deluge and three scenes of pursuit in immediate succession (two of Apollo and Daphne and one of Jupiter and Io; figs. 7-9).[18] Goltzius retained one Deluge and one Apollo and Daphne scene (fig. 10): the one in which Daphne's transformation into a laurel becomes apparent.[19] In compensation, Goltzius split the illustration combining the Bronze and Iron Ages into two scenes – an obvious solution – and added two scenes of the assembled gods: Neptune who has called the river gods together (fig. 11) – a scene preceding the Deluge; and Peneus being visited by other river gods (fig. 12), a scene following the Apollo and Daphne fable.[20] In both – rather kindred – representations he could vary the poses of the classic river-god type leaning on a vase spewing water. The choice of these two scenes is understandable, given that such static tableaus with partly reclining and sitting gods were among the most favorite mythological images in this period. Goltzius' own engraving after Spranger's enormous assembly of the gods in honor of Cupid and Psyche's wedding (1587) was, after all, a virtually inexhaustible source of inspiration for many mythological depictions by himself and his colleagues.[21] The Peneus scene in particular can only be explained by this preference as it is an utterly insignificant episode which in the *Metamorphoses* functions as a transition between the fables of Apollo and Daphne and Jupiter and Io.[22] Goltzius also introduced a handful of changes in the precise moment shown in the Salomon/Solis illustrations, and in a few instances supplemented a scene with an additional episode. For instance, as noted above he omitted Jupiter's pursuit of Io, but included the moment when the god

9 Virgil Solis, *Jupiter Chasing Io*, 1563, woodcut

10 Anonymous after Hendrick Goltzius, *Apollo Chasing Diana who is Changing into a Laurel*, 1589, engraving

11 Anonymous after Hendrick Goltzius, *Neptune and the River Gods*, 1589, engraving

12 Anonymous after Hendrick Goltzius, *Peneus and the River Gods*, 1589, engraving

seizes the fearful Io in the foreground of the more usual scene in which Jupiter is shown with Io, who has just been transformed into a heifer (fig. 13),[23] thereby introducing a strongly erotically tinged scene.

In Book II, Goltzius likewise followed the subjects of the Salomon/Solis series, although he had to devise three scenes to bring his series to 20. Two of these are, once again, scenes with a strong erotic character; namely, Coronis Making Love to a Thessalonian Youth Espied by a Raven (fig. 14), and The Discovery of Callisto's

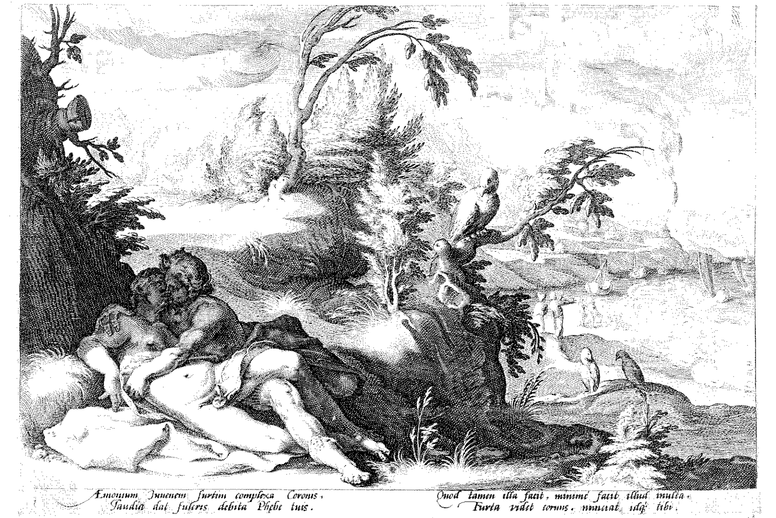
13 Anonymous after Hendrick Goltzius, *Jupiter and Io, and Jupiter and Io Changed into a Cow*, 1589, engraving

Pregnancy (fig. 49).[24] The former, which Ovid does not actually describe (he only mentions that the raven discovered Coronis' unfaithfulness),[25] is reminiscent of the four scenes of gods making love that Goltzius produced in the same period.[26] The latter subject – Diana's Discovery of Callisto's Pregnancy – by that time had become well known because of Titian's famous composition, which will be discussed extensively below.

Furthermore, Goltzius shifted the traditional scene of Mercury transforming the jealous Aglauros into stone to the background to make room for an erotically charged scene of Mercury approaching the bed of the nude Herse, who awaits his arrival (fig. 15); a procedure reminiscent of what he had done in the Jupiter and Io illustration (fig. 13) mentioned above. Again, this is an episode not described by Ovid; in this case, Goltzius may have been inspired by an even more emphatically erotic print by Giacomo Caraglio (see fig. 125).[27] The third entirely new image presents Juno complaining to Ocean and Thetis (fig. 16). Goltzius freely emulated the main motif in Raimondi's famous *Quos Ego* print after Raphael, while Thetis, the nude female figure leaning on one arm, is a type that occurs many times in his work with slight variations. In the series, for example, this figure is also found in the new scenes of Herse sitting on her bed (fig. 15) and of Diana discovering Callisto's pregnancy (fig. 49).[28]

For the illustrations to Book III, Goltzius had to add ten new episodes, as Salomon/Solis had only made ten. However, he completed only eight of the total twenty that he intended to design. Of

14 Anonymous after Hendrick Goltzius, *The Love-making of Coronis and a Thessalonian Youth Discovered by a Raven*, 1590, engraving



15 Anonymous after Hendrick Goltzius, *Mercury Approaching Herse's Bed and Mercury Changing Aglauros into Stone*, 1590, engraving

these eight, four were entirely new, while illustrations of well-known scenes such as Diana and Acteon,[29] Jupiter and Semele and Narcissus at the Pool are missing. This time, the new additions can be characterized primarily as scenes of quiet conversation. One of them is of Juno disguised as the aged nurse Beroë talking to Semele (fig. 17), an image strongly reminiscent of Vertumnus in the guise of an old woman with Pomona – the most popular mythological subject in the following century, also in paintings by Goltzius himself (see fig. 59).[30]

16 Anonymous after Hendrick Goltzius, *Juno with Oceanus and Thetis*, 1590, engraving

17 Anonymous after Hendrick Goltzius, *Juno Disguised as Beroë Talking to Semele*, 1615, engraving

18 Anonymous after Hendrick Goltzius, *A Discussion between Jupiter and Juno*, 1615, engraving

19 Anonymous after Hendrick Goltzius, *Juno and Jupiter with Tiresias*, 1615, engraving

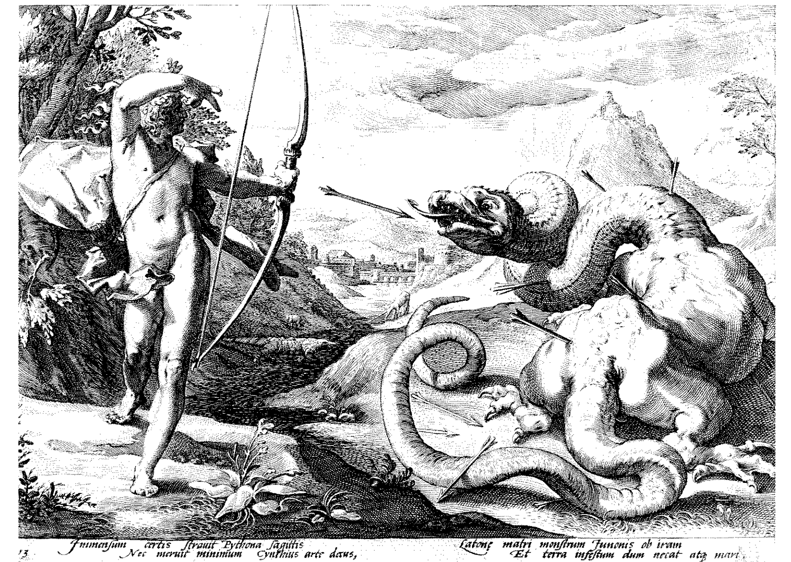
Two subsequent – likewise new – illustrations show Jupiter and Juno discussing matters of love (fig. 18), followed by the episode in which the divine couple seek Tiresias' council because of their different views on the matter (fig. 19).[31] These scenes and the novel image of Tiresias beating two copulating snakes – thus a total of four new illustrations – distinguish themselves from the other inventions and clearly exhibit a later style. Because of the absence of the Sprangerian proportions and stylization, so emphatically present in the other prints, they must have been produced after Goltzius' return from Italy.[32] In particular, the figure types of Jupiter and Juno point to a date of origin in the late 1590s.[33]

Goltzius seems to have begun with the three traditional subjects for the Cadmus story with which Book III opens (and to which he added a new one), subsequently producing four equally traditional scenes taken from the beginning of Book IV.[34] At this point, the project must have been interrupted by the artist's journey to Italy.

He resumed work on the series upon his return, beginning with the four entirely new, consecutive scenes for Book III mentioned above, which must have presented more of a challenge than the traditional episodes he had yet to make. For some reason, though, he must have reached an impasse at this stage. Perhaps Goltzius lost interest in the *Metamorphoses* series because it became too time-consuming, for as of Book III he had to conceive numerous new images of episodes that had never before been depicted. That the completed 12 inventions were engraved and printed much later (1615) is not so surprising, as the illustrations that he had designed for Books III and IV – he was far from being finished with either book – represent, after all, a fairly random selection and lack a number of well-known episodes. Ultimately, Goltzius did not, in fact, add all that much to the visual repertoire of the *Metamorphoses* (a total of 12 new scenes),[35] even though initially one of his most important goals must have been to expand the 178 traditional illustrations to an ambitious 300.

Comparing Goltzius' designs with the older series, one has the impression that his primary aim was to raise the level, and thereby the status, of these illustrations to the important and worthy position that, for example, his friend Karel van Mander had envisaged for the *Metamorphoses*. The Sprangerian stylization of proportions, gestures and movements elevates the figures far above earthly and everyday existence, while the corresponding virtuosity in draftmanship makes them true works of art. Moreover, Goltzius drew them with a decorum of costume and setting that he must have considered as the only appropriate way of depicting gods from classical mythology; in all these respects, his inventions distinguish themselves substantially from the illustrations in the traditional series.

In doing this, Goltzius clearly delighted in presenting his gods, goddesses and nymphs in a state of classical nudity. Take, for example, the illustration in which Apollo – stripped of his tunic and other clothing (items still included by Salomon/Solis and Tempesta; figs. 21-22) – combats the serpent Python in all of his divine nudity (fig. 20), or the scene in which Pan and the still intact nude Syrinx (fig. 23; compare fig. 24), to which incidentally he once again added a few reclining river gods as spectators of the main scene. Clearly, Goltzius wanted to disturb the beauty of the nude body as little as possible. In the Salomon/Solis illustration of Neptune pursuing Corone (fig. 25), the latter is clothed, her legs have already changed into very unattractive raven's legs and claws, and large wings have sprouted from her back, while other parts of her body are covered with feathers. In Goltzius' illustration, Corone is only partly nude, probably because



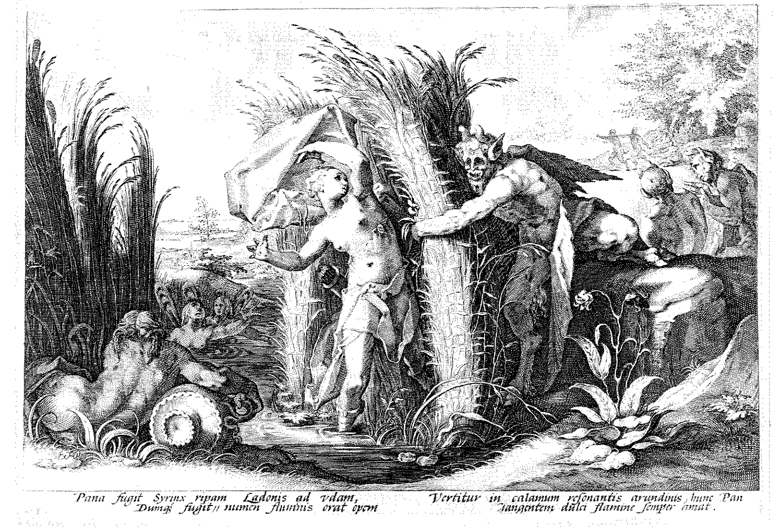
20 Anonymous after Hendrick Goltzius, *Apollo Slaying the Python*, 1589, engraving

21 Virgil Solis, *Apollo and the Slain Python*, 1563, woodcut

22 Antonio Tempesta, *Apollo Slaying the Python*, etching

Ovid mentions a cloak. However, her diaphanous drapery in no way conceals her body, which is still virtually intact with the exception of one arm already transformed into a wing (fig. 26). This latter aspect conforms entirely with Ovid's account: the first sign of her transformation was that her arms sprouted feathers and then changed into wings.[36] Looking at Tempesta's illustration (fig. 27), it is striking that just as in the Salomon/ Solis illustration, Corone has both arms and wings, while here too her body is still unflawed; Tempesta, however, depicted Corone in decent attire – and Neptune as well for that matter. Incidentally, this particular illustration undermines Reznicek's denial that Goltzius could have been familiar with Tempesta's compositions.[37] Some of the ways in which both deviate from the Salomon/Solis illustration – the seahorses off to the side in the background, Neptune's pose, the way in which he holds his trident, and finally the beach-like elevation on which both figures are placed – display too many similarities to be coincidental.

Possibly the then recent series by the Italian Tempesta, who adhered more closely to the unpretentious older illustrations in conception, costume and setting, served as an extra incentive to improve it and to provide artists and art lovers with worthier and more artful examples of what episodes from fables about the ancient gods



23 Anonymous after Hendrick Goltzius, *Pan Chasing Syrinx*, 1589, engraving

24 Virgil Solis, *Pan Chasing Syrinx*, 1563, woodcut

ought to look like. Tempesta produced a mere ten scenes per book (thus also a fixed number, unlike the older series), which meant that he did not have to invent new scenes for the first books and that he could, moreover, skip a substantial number of scenes. The few times that Tempesta deviated somewhat from the episodes illustrated in the Salomon/Solis series, Goltzius not only followed him but also successfully emulated him.[38] Moreover, in his illustrations Goltzius followed Ovid's text more closely as evidenced by the scene of Neptune and Corone mentioned above.

In his scene of the death of Argus, unlike the traditional image of Mercury holding up Argus' severed head (fig. 28), Tempesta illustrated the climax of the story, the moment when Mercury slays Argus (fig. 29). Goltzius followed suit, but depicted a moment of greater tension – that is when Mercury actually attacks Argus (fig. 30). Furthermore, he did not depict the god in his Mercurian garb, as Tempesta did and Salomon/ Solis before him, but – in accordance with Ovid's text – without his winged sandals and hat.

Ultimately, however, Tempesta's

compositions do not seem to have inspired Goltzius all that much for he tended to follow the basic compositions of the woodcuts by Salomon/Solis.[39] For example, if we compare the scene of Cadmus slaying the serpent (fig. 31), we see that aside from the astonishingly novel idiom, Goltzius adheres to the Salomon/Solis composition with respect to Cadmus' energetic pose (who throws his full weight into the thrust of the lance), as well as the serpent which has wound itself around a tree (figs. 1-3). However, like Tempesta (fig. 6), he has depicted Cadmus in a lion's skin, just as Ovid describes.[40]

From the above it should be clear that Goltzius did his utmost to accurately translate the text pictorially. The following is yet another example of this: in an early depiction of Mercury lulling Argus to sleep with his flute (fig. 32; from 1583 – one of his earliest mythological prints), Goltzius followed the Salomon composition fairly faithfully (fig. 33). In the design for the *Metamorphoses* series (fig. 34), though, he made substantial changes, whereby the illustration correlated better with the actual story. Earlier (and for that matter later as well), Argus was depicted as though he had fallen into a deep sleep while Mercury plays for him. However, Ovid recounts that he merely became drowsy and only actually fell asleep during the evidently soporific story of Pan and Syrinx which Mercury told after playing the flute. Ovid further reports that Mercury had disguised himself as a shepherd, as we indeed see in Goltzius' illustration. To avoid disturbing the image of the human body, he de-emphasized Argus' many eyes. In fact, at first glance he merely appears to have a somewhat pocked face. In virtually all the subsequently produced paintings the numerous eyes were entirely omitted.[41]

The accompanying lines of verse, written in very complicated and contrived Latin by Franco Esthius for the first 40 prints (and by Rijckius for the last 12), consist of paraphrases of Ovid's text. They do not provide moralizations or explanations and should certainly not be interpreted as explications of the image. They are to be considered as an artful, learned game on the part of the literator who placed his eloquence – written in the literary tradition of emulating Ovid –

25 Virgil Solis, *Neptune Chasing Corone*, 1563, woodcut

26 Anonymous after Hendrick Goltzius, *Neptune Chasing Corone*, 1590, engraving

27 Antonio Tempesta, *Neptune Chasing Corone*, etching

28 Virgil Solis, *Mercury and the Slain Argus*, 1563, woodcut

alongside the eloquence of the visual artist.[42] Incidentally, Goltzius himself could not read Latin,[43] and one wonders how well his learned friend Van Mander knew Latin: the latter appears to have relied on Italian and French sources for his *Wtleggingh op den Metamorphosis*. Van Mander may already have had plans for writing a complete *Metamorphoses* commentary in the 1580s, just when Goltzius embarked on his equally ambitious *Metamorphoses* venture. This begs the question of whether there is any connection. The anonymous author responsible for the biography of Van Mander, added to the latter's *Schilder-Boeck* in 1618, even noted a direct relationship between Van Mander's knowledge and the genesis of Goltzius' Ovid series.[44] It is, indeed, entirely conceivable that Van Mander served as a stimulus, yet this does not necessarily mean that Goltzius' inventions are directly linked to the text of the *Wtlegghingh*. With respect to Van Mander's *Wtlegghingh* it should first be pointed out that it is a traditional *Metamorphoses* commentary, the first in Dutch. Van Mander's lengthy *Voorrede* (Foreword) as well as the explanations themselves are firmly rooted in a long and purely literary tradition.[45] Because Van Mander is the author and his explanations were published together with his *Schilder-Boeck*, it is usually assumed that he intended to provide allegorical explanations for images. However, a traditional commentary

29 Antonio Tempesta, *Mercury Slaying Argus*, etching

30 Anonymous after Hendrick Goltzius, *Mercury Slaying Argus*, 1589, engraving

31 Anonymous after Hendrick Goltzius, *Cadmus Slaying the Serpent*, 1615, engraving

32 Hendrick Goltzius, *Mercury and Argus*, 1583, engraving

33 Virgil Solis, *Mercury and Argus*, 1563, woodcut

34 Anonymous after Hendrick Goltzius, *Mercury and Argus*, 1589, engraving

such as the *Wtlegghingh*, for which Van Mander followed various older Italian and French sources fairly faithfully, explains texts. In itself, Van Mander's *Wtlegghingh* has nothing to do with images. He nowhere makes the impression of having images in mind, nor does he ever refer to them. Furthermore, he devotes no special attention to frequently depicted episodes from the *Metamorphoses*. It is, therefore, incorrect and misleading to posit that Van Mander applied an iconological procedure in this book,[46] as he most certainly did in the *Wtbeeldinge der Figueren*.

It seems to me quite plausible that Van Mander did not initially intend to publish the *Wtlegghingh* together with the *Schilder-Boeck*, as I have argued elsewhere.[47] The *Wtlegghingh* has its own title page with a specially designed title print, which is preceded by a series of no less than 12 introductory encomiums by other poets and a separate dedication. Van Mander's prime objective must have been to write the first Ovid commentary in Dutch in order to present this respectable tradition to a Dutch public and to demonstrate that the fables from antiquity were not merely frivolous and superficial stories, but rather sources of great wisdom.[48] After all, from the outset the stories from classical mythology were subjected to severe criticism, not the least in Van Mander's own time when the *Metamorphoses* had even become popular reading. With this publication Van Mander gave poets, painters and lovers of art and literature a book that 'proved' the worthiness of these stories, could justify their use and represented a perpetuation of this old – incidentally, for true humanists already antiquated – tradition of defending and explaining the fables.

Van Mander's *Wtlegghingh* supplements Goltzius' enterprise, as it were, in the sense that his aim was to elevate Ovid's *Metamorphoses* to a respectable status for a Dutch public; the one did this in images, the other in texts. Should Van Mander have advised Goltzius when the latter designed his series, he certainly did not do this with explanations in mind.[49] It is noteworthy that none of the episodes to which Goltzius added new illustrations are ever mentioned by Van Mander in his *Wtlegghingh*. Hence, Goltzius' inventions should be considered as genuine illustrations to a narrative text. Naturally, representations of certain episodes could sometimes be used as allegories in a specific context, but it is incorrect to assume that representations of mythological stories were intended as allegories, as Miedema contended, and to classify them as such, as Reznicek did some time ago in his catalogue of Goltzius' drawings.[50] The reason why certain subjects from the *Metamorphoses* became favorites in prints and/or paintings (subjects depicting a specific moment in a story and having their own pictorial traditions), had little to do with edifying explications

of such a story in its entirety, like those provided by Van Mander, which had their own literary traditions. This is not to imply that they were never related. However, I do believe that the illustrations themselves – and as far as literature is concerned, especially song-books, wedding poems and love emblems, in which fables are usually used in a light-hearted context – have more to tell us about the general associations that such representations evoked than Van Mander's ponderous commentary.

Certainly in paintings and prints of the most popular subjects we should not look for learned meanings and allegories somehow concealed below the surface of the image, but rather for associations that the image itself could easily evoke for someone who knew what was depicted and was familiar with the essence of the story in question.[51]

To illustrate this, I will now examine two especially popular subjects frequently depicted in prints by Goltzius and his circle. Surveying the prints by these artists that present particular episodes from the *Metamorphoses*, it is striking that only a handful of the many subjects found in the series of the Metamorphoses illustrations were also depicted independently, and of those only a few were depicted repeatedly. Moreover, the subjects favoured in prints are not always the same as those that became popular in painting. Six scenes all presenting amorous themes in an idyllic setting gained currency fairly suddenly in painting after 1600.[52] Some of them, for instance Vertumnus and Pomona – which incidentally became the most popular subject in Dutch painting and was a particularly Dutch predilection – had not even been depicted in prints by Goltzius and his circle prior to that year.

I am limiting myself here to narrative subjects from the *Metamorphoses*, excluding the mythological subjects that, in fact, occur most frequently in prints – unlike in paintings – namely the many representations of individual gods. Often these individual gods were produced in small series, such as Venus, Juno, Minerva or Venus, Ceres and Bacchus, or series of personifications of the planets, etc. Considering narrative subjects of which only one or two prints are known, it is difficult to discern any clear line in their choice. However, this is easier when we study those themes that were repeatedly depicted in prints. Accordingly, two subjects of which five or six prints are known are examined more closely here: Andromeda Chained to a Rock and The Discovery of Callisto's Pregnancy. The latter also became a popular subject in Northern Netherlandish painting, the first much less.

35 Hendrick Goltzius, *Andromeda*, 1583, engraving

Andromeda Chained to a Rock

Goltzius produced four different compositions of Andromeda chained to a rock while Perseus, seated on Pegasus, the flying horse, battles the monster threatening her. The first, dated 1583, was engraved by Goltzius himself (fig. 35); the second was made by an anonymous artist after a design by Goltzius (fig. 36), yet published by Goltzius. Subsequently, in 1597, Jacob Matham engraved an Andromeda after Goltzius (fig. 37); and finally, in 1601, Jan Saenredam made a print of the fourth composition (fig. 38).[53] In addition, we have a composition by Karel van Mander engraved by Jacques de Gheyn II (fig. 39), an invention by De Gheyn himself (probably engraved by Andries Stock), and a print by Willem Swanenburgh after Jan Saenredam (fig. 40).[54] As mentioned above, the subject, curiously, never became truly popular in Northern Netherlandish painting.

36 Anonymous after Hendrick Goltzius, *Andromeda*, engraving

37 Jacob Matham after Hendrick Goltzius, *Andromeda*, 1597, engraving

Aside from the radical change in style so vividly exemplified in Goltzius' successive Andromeda inventions, it may be generally stated that they are all brilliant elaborations of the Salomon/Solis illustration (fig. 41). In the first composition of 1583, he closely followed the basic scheme. He may also have been inspired by a composition by Anthonie Blocklandt (fig. 42), given certain aspects of Andromeda's pose (in reverse) and the rock closing off one side of the picture plane.[55] In principle, the subsequent Andromeda scenes are variations on the same scheme, except for the 1597 print in which – faithful to the text – Goltzius included the lamenting parents and other onlookers around the main scene, which he shifted somewhat further to the back.[56]

Goltzius followed the traditional manner of depicting this episode by showing Perseus sitting on Pegasus. This is a pictorial convention codified in the many series of *Metamorphoses* illustrations that deviates totally from Ovid's rendition and is also not based on any other classical text.[57] In Ovid's story, Perseus flies on his own aided by Mercury's winged sandals. The customary depiction is derived from an old tradition encountered early on in medieval miniatures and caused

by a confusion with the story of Bellerophon who, indeed, rode the winged Pegasus. Some artists in Goltzius' time did follow Ovid accurately, as we see in the drawing by Blocklandt (fig. 42) and in an anonymous painting (fig. 43), the only painting of this subject from this period known to me. In both, in accordance with the story, Perseus makes a nose-dive. An accurate illustration of the text occurs also in the print by Swanenburgh after Saenredam (fig. 40), in which Perseus' position on an overhanging rock corresponds exactly with the

38 Jan Saenredam after Hendrick Goltzius, *Andromeda*, 1601, engraving

39 Jacques de Gheyn II after Karel van Mander, *Andromeda*, engraving

final stage of the story about his struggle with the monster.[58] It is difficult to say whether Goltzius unconsciously followed this pictorial tradition, or did so conciously, for example because Perseus' struggle seated on Pegasus was a far more interesting pictorial motif, or for some reason that had to do with the meaning of the scene.

Incidentally in his *Wtlegghingh*, Van Mander is rather unclear about Pegasus' role in this story. He makes no mention of the winged horse in his explanation of the Perseus and Andromeda fable, but directly thereafter offers an exposé on Pegasus in a commentary referring to Bellerophon, mentioning in passing: "This flying horse, in addition to the service it rendered onto Perseus...," and then continues with another story.[59]

In considering why this subject appealed to Goltzius, it may be noted that this scene is eminently suitable for displaying virtuosity in portraying the anatomy and proportions of the female nude. In the course of 20 years, Goltzius recorded his changing ideals with respect to the depiction of female anatomy and proportions on four occasions

in his Andromeda inventions. Moreover, the image of a helpless, nude young woman in a perilous situation has an evident erotic appeal;[60] it became a well-loved motif in the late sixteenth and seventeenth century (for example, one need only think of the subject of Susanna and the Elders, which was frequently depicted at the time in both prints and paintings).[61]

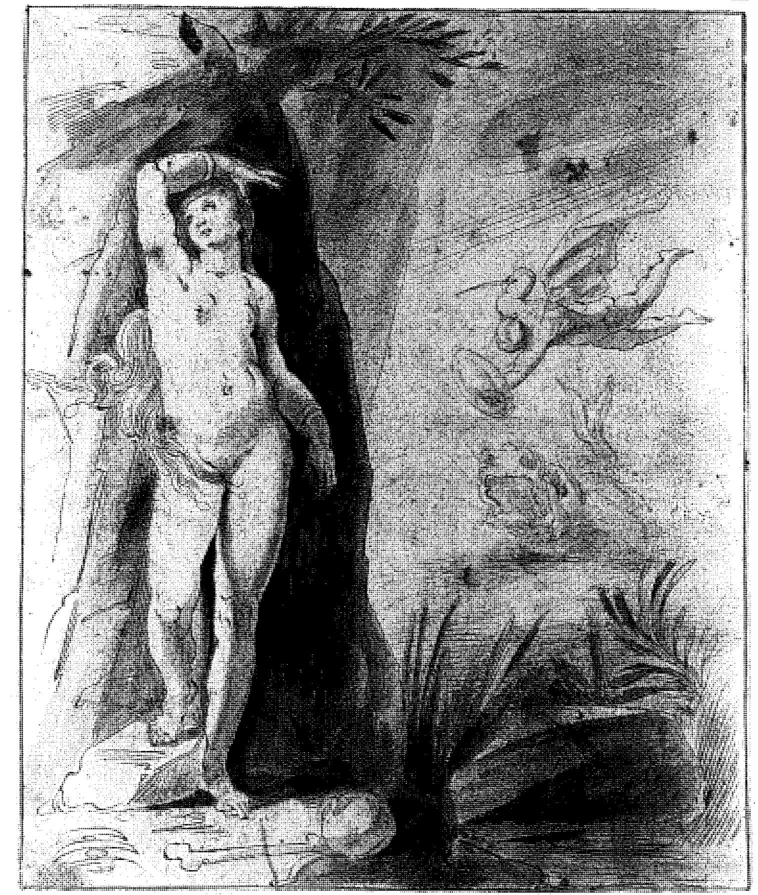
Van Mander's explanation of the Andromeda fable mentions that it demonstrates that: "through the merciful intervention of God, the pious, frequently being in extreme distress, are unexpectedly saved."[62] This explanation, which Van Mander took from Natale Conti and

40 Willem Swanenburgh after Jan Saenredam, *Andromeda*, engraving

which is found already in various older sources, is of no particular help in interpreting the scene. Such a thought could be considered as a verbal addition to the representation – should one have felt the need for it. In no way does the representation itself seem to have the capacity to evoke such associations; no one will have expected the artist to express such a meaning or have judged his skill in this regard. Curiously, in the most authoritative study on Rembrandt this explanation is given as the possible meaning of Rembrandt's *Andromeda*, a work to which it is totally unapplicable; it is, however, typical of how Van Mander's *Wtlegghingh* is often used by art historians.[63]

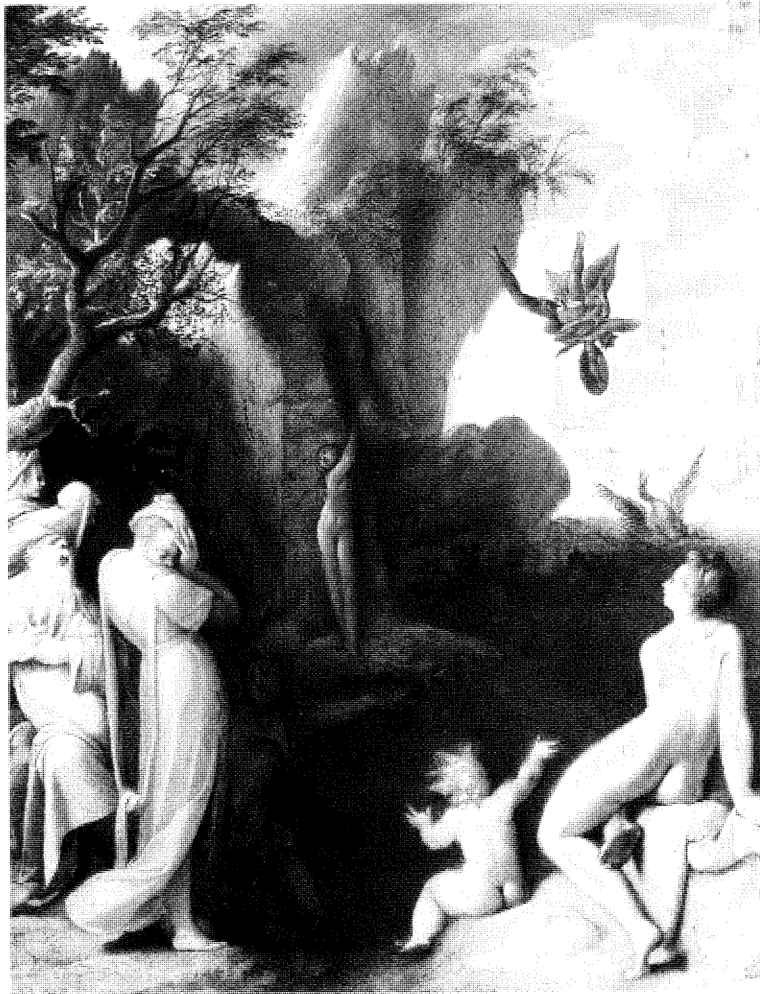
In Dutch literature, the Andromeda theme figured quite regularly in political allegories. In such instances, Andromeda stands for the threatened country, the Netherlands, and Perseus for the noble hero who frees it from tyranny. In this time, a reference to William of Orange and the Hapsburgers would have been natural; this comparison was made, for example, in a play by Jacob Duym published in 1606 entitled *Nassausche Perseus, verlosser van Andromeda ofte de Nederlantsche Maeght* (The Nassau Perseus, the liberator of Andromeda or the Dutch maiden).[64] A representation of Andromeda could also be used as an emphatically allegorical representation, for instance in a print after Chrispijn van den Broeck (fig. 44) in which a group of

41 Virgil Solis, *Andromeda*, 1563, woodcut



42 Anthonie Blocklandt, *Andromeda*, drawing, Brussels, Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts (Collection De Grez)

women with the arms of the Netherlandish provinces are seated around the main scene, while the marine monster carries the arms of Spain and of the Duke of Alva, and Perseus those of William of Orange.[65] Yet the familiar Andromeda representation – that of the illustrations – could also accompany a description of the 'joyous entry' of the Prince of Orange in Brussels (1579).[66] After all, the image of Andromeda lent itself well to the traditional personification of a country as a virgin, and the sea lapping at her feet makes the comparison to the Netherlands even more appropriate; in this context, the helmeted and armed Perseus as the image of a princely hero battling the enemy is equally fitting. Hence, the prevailing representation of Andromeda could be used without adjustments for this obviously familiar comparison with the liberation of the Netherlands by William I. Therefore, the production of various prints with this

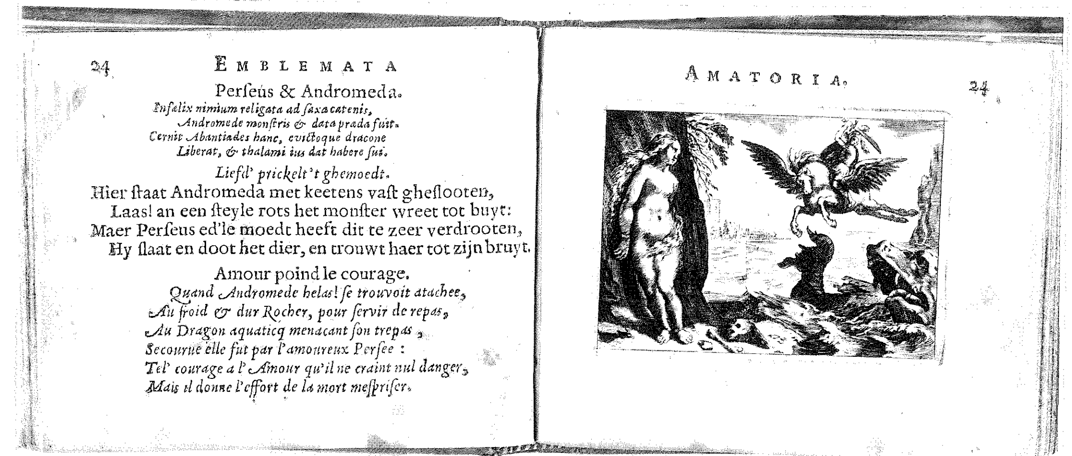


43 Anonymous, *Andromeda*, panel, 40.5 x 33 cm, Present whereabouts unknown

subject precisely in the late sixteenth century can be related to this political allegory. Such an allegorical reading, however, is in no way binding: specific references were not incorporated, and Perseus, in this case actually the leading figure, is not allotted a more conspicuous place.

The Latin verses below the prints prove to be nothing more than paraphrases of the story by Ovid, albeit in different variants. They report that the ill-fated Andromeda, who had fallen prey to the monster, was saved by the virtuous Perseus, who loved her and took her as his wife. Although such lines of verse usually do not impede a metaphorical interpretation – such as William of Orange's liberation

44 Anonymous after Chrispijn van den Broeck, *Andromeda* (the Netherlands) *Threatened by the Monster* (Alva) *and Liberated by Perseus* (William of Orange), engraving



24 EMBLEMATA

Perſeus & Andromeda.

Infælix nimium religata ad ſaxa catenis,
Andromede monſtris & data præda fuit.
Cernit Abantiades hanc, evictoque dracone
Liberat, & thalami ius dat habere ſui.

Liefd' prickelt 't ghemoedt.

Hier ſtaat Andromeda met keetens vaſt gheſlooten,
Laas! an een ſteyle rots het monſter wreet tot buyt:
Maer Perſeus ed'le moedt heeft dit te zeer verdrooten,
Hy ſlaat en doot het dier, en trouwt haer tot zijn bruyt.

Amour poind le courage.

Quand Andromede helas! ſe trouvoit atachee,
Au froid & dur Rocher, pour ſervir de repas,
Au Dragon aquaticq menacant ſon trepas,
Secourue elle fut par l'amoureux Perſee :
Tel' courage a l'Amour qu'il ne craint nul danger,
Mais il donne l'effort de la mort meſpriſer.

AMATORIA. 24

45 Anonymous, *Andromeda*, etching in: *Thronus Cupidinis*, 1618

of the Netherlands being understood as a marriage – the central theme is virtuous love.[67] In a popular book with amorous emblems, *Thronus Cupidinis* (1618), the image of Andromeda and Perseus under the motto, "Love arouses the spirit" (Liefd' prickelt't ghemoedt) stands for the concept that the power of love conquers all difficulties and that true love instills courage and is impervious to danger (fig. 45);[68] in Rodenburgh's words: "He who loves sincerely does not fear death."[69] In this emblem book, which incorporates quite a few fables from the *Metamorphoses*, the Petrarchan ideal of love is consistently present.[70] In this time, countless love poems embroider on the Petrarchan mode in which love is perceived as an omnipotent and compelling power that makes great demands on the tormented and suffering lover; he must fight with unwavering tenacity to conquer his beloved. It is the central motif in amorous lyric poetry and in Dutch love emblems of the time.[71] With its embedded eroticism, the Andromeda theme fits well into this popular amorous, playfully erotic context. For the contemporary beholder who was familiar with the story, this, to me, seems to be the most obvious association that the image could evoke.

Nevertheless, there are more aspects to this subject. For artists in particular, it could have been interesting because of the fact that Pliny mentions a painting by Nicias in which Andromeda is liberated by Perseus. This was cited by Van Mander in his *Leven der oude antijcke schilders*: "the nude Andromeda who was freed by Perseus." His source, a French translation by Pliny, incidentally makes no mention of nudity, yet in this short description Van Mander includes as a given the traditional imagery.[72] In addition to this text, which might have inspired artists to emulate a patently famous painting from antiquity, the subject may have held another meaning special to artists. After all, Perseus received his accoutrements from Mercury and Minerva, the patrons of the arts. A scene of Perseus being outfitted was depicted by Spranger in an invention engraved by Jan Muller.[73] Interest in these two gods as protectors of the arts is evidenced by the so-called Hermathena motif, which was depicted a few times by Goltzius and is patently explicit in his late paintings of Mercury (fig. 114) and Minerva.[74] In this context, the inclusion of Pegasus, creator of the Hippocrene spring on Mount Helicon dedicated to the Muses, is highly appropriate.[75] Perhaps the idea that the artist armed by Minerva and Mercury 'liberates' beauty from the claws of ignorance and poor judgement could be effortlessly projected onto the image. Striking in this respect is Balthasar Gerbier's *Eer ende Clachtdight*, which was prompted by Goltzius' death. It described how Rubens, the artist presented in the poem as the first to mourn Goltzius' death, paints an

"Emblem full of meaning" (Emblema vol sins),[76] including the musical competition between Apollo and Pan, a subject that refers to the victory of true art over poor judgement,[77] and "the evil rock where Andromeda lamented" (d'onheyl'ghe rots daer Andromeda claechden). Accordingly, in this instance the Andromeda theme functions in a pictorial context with a direct bearing on the status of Goltzius' art.

What this all adds up to is that the popularity of the Andromeda theme in the work of Goltzius and his circle would have had various reasons in this period. It may have to do with the suitability of the subject for a virtuoso display of skill in the depiction of female nudity and with the erotic appeal inherent to the image, as well as with the possibilities afforded by the subject to function in a more specific manner in various contexts interesting for the artist and his contemporaries.

Just why the subject did not, as was the case with several other Ovidian scenes, catch on in painting in general and rarely occurs in paintings by masters such as Cornelis Cornelisz, Abraham Bloemaert or Goltzius himself, is difficult to say. Perhaps the traditional scheme of a frontally exposed nude, serving as the sole cynosure in the image, was considered as less than appropriate adornment for the walls of a home and certainly unfitting as a political allegory in a public building. Although far more titillating subjects than this were frequently painted, the female nude in such scenes is usually presented in poses which leaves more to the imagination, or the action and the number of figures de-emphasizes the explicitness of the nude body more than in the case of Andromeda. It is probably telling in this context that in a painting by Bloemaert, known only from a description by Van Mander, Andromeda was depicted as a small figure in the background: "a work with several Indian trumpet shells and other shells in the foreground, where several sea gods and goddesses rest or lie, and in the distance the sea, and a miniature Andromeda being saved by Perseus."[78] This description, incidentally, is strongly reminiscent of Van Mander's own representation of the subject that was engraved by Jacques de Gheyn II (fig. 39). A painting by Cornelis Cornelisz, mentioned in an eighteenth-century sale, must have had a similar composition.[79] The same is true of the aforementioned anonymous painting (fig. 43), of a later work by Bloemaert and of various later works from the school of Van Poelenburch.[80] The only exceptions prior to Rembrandt's *Andromeda* are two virtually identical paintings by Joachim Wtewael (from around 1611), a painter who, with respect to erotic scenes, was frequently the most daring of his generation.[81]

Finally, it is worth noting that the Andromeda theme lacks several aspects conspicuously present in all subjects with nudity and eroticism

46 Anonymous, *Jupiter as Diana with Callisto and the Discovery of Callisto's Pregnancy*, woodcut in: B. Annulus, *Picta Poesis Ovidiana*, 1552

47 Virgil Solis, *Jupiter as Diana with Callisto*, 1563, woodcut

that were particularly popular in painting at the time. First, these subjects are consistently situated in a very pleasant, if not idyllic setting. Moreover, it is striking that both in popular mythological subjects (The Judgement of Paris, Venus and Adonis, Diana and Acteon, Diana and Callisto, Vertumnus and Pomona) and in many 'erotic' biblical subjects (such as Bathsheba and Susanna) preoccupations with unchastity – whether or not in relation to chastity – play an important role, and related moralizing thoughts are always close at hand.[82] In contrast, the kind of contexts within which the Andromeda theme could function – all more or less emblematic – are rarely encountered in the subjects favored in painting.

The Discovery of Callisto's Pregnancy

A subject often depicted in prints by Goltzius and his circle and one that also became popular in painting is The Discovery of Callisto's Pregnancy. In this scene, too, sensuality is an important factor, yet its implications prove to have a different character. As mentioned earlier, it is one of the representations that Goltzius added to his 20 illustrations to Book II of the *Metamorphoses* (fig. 50). Only in the early illustration for the Venetian *Ovidio Vulgare* (1497) and in the print inspired by it for an emblem book by Barthlémy Aneau (Anulus) of 1552 (fig. 46) is the discovery of the pregnancy included as a background scene, while the rape of Callisto by Jupiter in the guise of Diana is presented in the foreground.[83] In the series of illustrations by Salomon, Solis (fig. 47), Van der Borcht and Tempesta, only 'Diana's' aggressive advances are shown. Goltzius' inclusion of the discovery of the pregnancy as an individual illustration must surely have been inspired by Titian's composition of this scene, which was well-known through Cornelis Cort's print (fig. 48).[84] It allowed Goltzius to emulate both an invention by this famous master and the print by a famous engraver, an opportunity he seems to have eagerly seized.

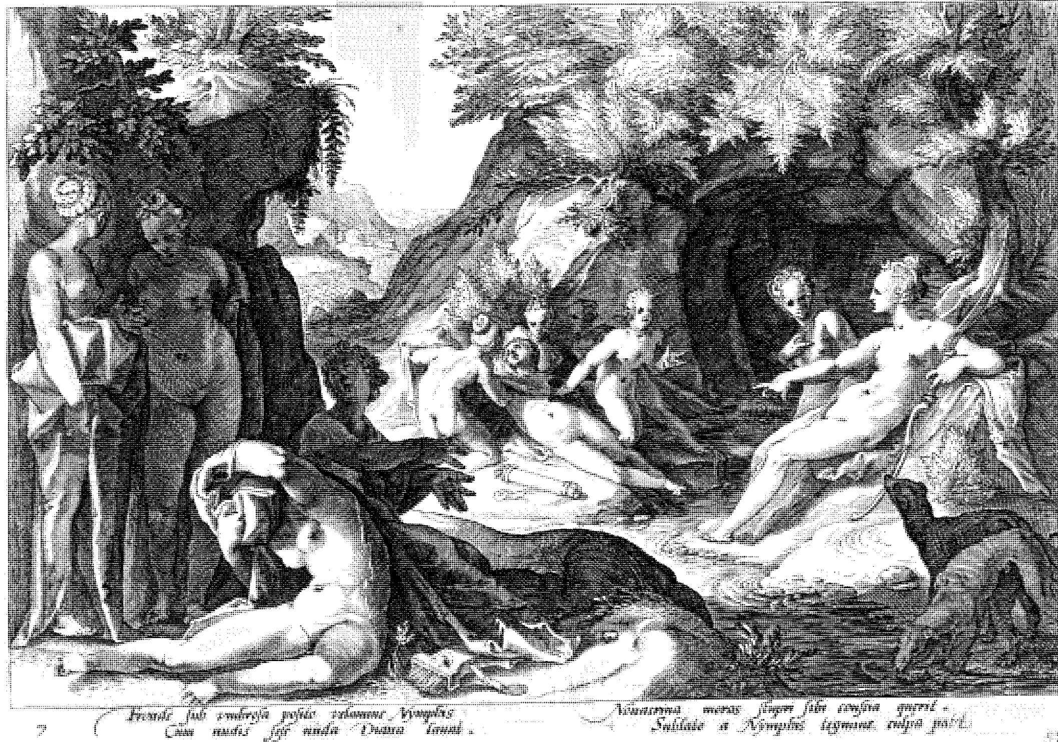
Several years prior to his *Metamorphoses* series, Goltzius had already experimented with the possibilities of this composition in an invention known only from an anonymous, somewhat clumsy print (fig. 49).[85] Goltzius followed Titian's composition fairly closely in many respects, though he altered it to a horizontal format and set the Callisto group in reverse to Diana's; Callisto's body now faces Diana. However, in his design of a few years later for the series of illustrations he introduced more radical changes in keeping with his new idiom (fig. 50). The main scene was shifted to the back, while a separate group of nymphs was added on the other side in the foreground. The

48 Cornelis Cort after Titian, *The Discovery of Callisto's Pregnancy*, 1566, engraving

49 Anonymous after Hendrick Goltzius, *The Discovery of Callisto's Pregnancy*, engraving

artificial fountain, which in the previous print had already been reduced to a base with a small river god on it, is entirely omitted, probably because Ovid speaks only of a shaded wood with a babbling brook.[86] On the other hand, Goltzius added an arched cave which Ovid did not mention in the Callisto story, but rather in the other popular story in which Diana and her nymphs bathe in a similar idyllic setting where they are accidentally surprised by the hunter Actaeon.[87]

Goltzius' third invention, engraved by Saenredam in 1599, is quieter qua composition (fig. 51).[88] Here, too, he relied on Titian's composition – especially for the Diana group – but replaced the desperate Callisto being attacked by nymphs with a group in which the disgraced Callisto is presented to Diana.[89] In fact, this is more in keeping with Ovid's text; the rough undressing and struggle with a resisting Callisto as depicted by Titian is not literally recounted by Ovid. Titian probably wanted to emphasize the undesired revelation of Callisto's pregnancy, thereby enhancing the scene's titillating appeal.[90] Ovid describes, and Florianus translated this relatively faithfully: "... and while the others disrobed, she stood there alone dejected and sighing, so that the others came and undressed her, and once they had



50 Anonymous after Hendrick Goltzius, *The Discovery of Callisto's Pregnancy*, 1590, engraving

done so, they saw her state. Thus stood poor Callisto ashamed among her companions, and wished she could have covered her stomach with her hands. But Diana, observing the situation, said to her: Begone, you will not pollute our pool with your impure body, see to it that as of this day I never again find you in my company."[91] Hence, it is the somewhat later episode when Callisto, humiliated and wishing she could cover her stomach, stands before Diana that Goltzius accurately depicted. The logic of the moment thus became clearer because it coincides with Diana's chastisement of Callisto, made obvious by her gesture (a traditional motif since Titian).[92]

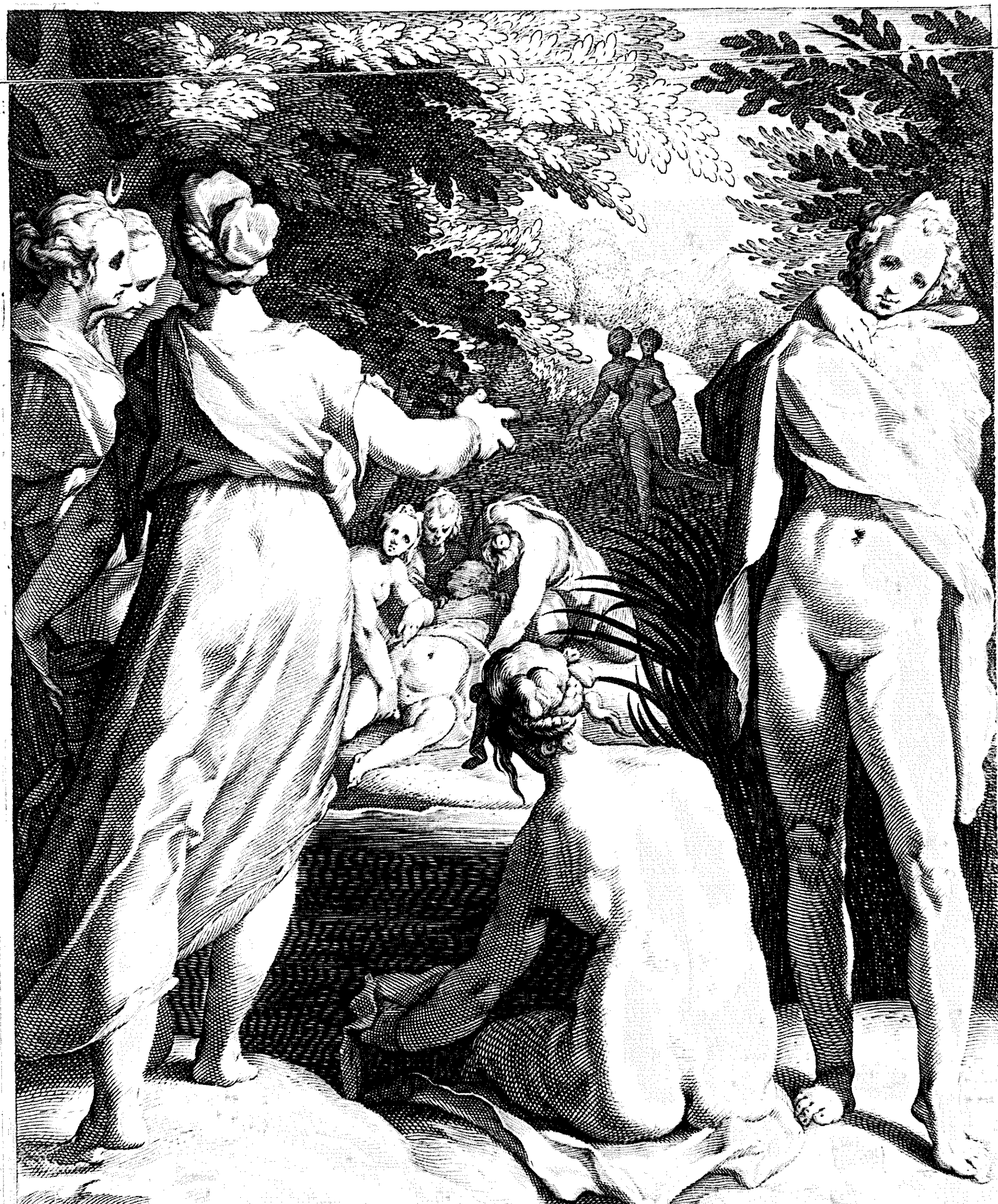
Cornelis Cornelisz devised the most original solution in an invention that was engraved by Matham in 1599 (fig. 52).[93] Unlike Goltzius, he actually elaborated the harsh disrobing of Callisto and presented the Callisto group more frontally and facing the viewer, thus heightening the erotic charge. Simultaneously, he shifted this now somewhat scabrous group further into the background, more or less concealing it behind large-figured nymphs shown in various stages of

undress. With some effort Diana can be identifed at the left in this group, which is an elaboration of the group of nymphs in the foreground of Goltzius' invention for the *Metamorphoses* series. In Cornelis' composition, the story is less clearly told and Diana's admonishment is not visualized. This invention appears to have had no influence whatsoever on other artists, and Cornelis himself also followed the by then traditional scheme by Titian more closely in his later paintings of the subject.

Paulus Moreelse seems to have taken the two famous compositions by Goltzius as his point of departure in a beautiful invention that was engraved by Saenredam in 1606 (fig. 53).[94] He merged both the titillating act of the disrobement and the image of the remorseful, meek Callisto.[95] Finally, Crispijn de Passe followed Titian's invention more closely than the others, and in two different compositions (fig. 54); he even reinstated the artificial fountain.[96]

Various paintings of this subject by Cornelis Cornelisz are known, as well as a few by Wtewael and Adriaan van Nieulant; later it became

51 Jan Saenredam after Hendrick Goltzius, *The Discovery of Callisto's Pregnancy*, 1599, engraving



52 Jacob Matham after Cornelis Cornelisz van Haarlem, *The Discovery of Callisto's Pregnancy*, 1599, engraving

popular with Cornelis van Poelenburch and his school and with other 'nude specialists', such as Jacob van Loo.[97] Artists continued to elaborate on Titian's composition throughout the entire seventeenth century, though Goltzius' prints also frequently served as the point of departure. The subject's appeal is partly due to the possibility it afforded for depicting various nude female figures in a variety of poses and actions. It is an image of virginal nymphs disporting themselves in an idyllic setting, as is the case in the other scene that was so frequently depicted: that is, Actaeon Spying on Diana and her Nymphs while Bathing.[98] In both stories Diana functions as the implacable guardian of virginal chastity. The erotic appeal of the image is obvious. It shows the viewer something that no mortal should be allowed to see, namely the nude virginal goddess and her nymphs – the same act for which Actaeon was so cruelly punished – and the revelation, so shocking for Diana, of the consequences of a sexual act.

The Callisto story was rarely used in literature, its popularity was almost entirely limited to pictorial representations. Considering explanations in commentaries of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, they cannot be linked to representations of the discovery of Callisto's pregnancy. Van Mander merely provides a highly complicated 'historic' explanation of the Callisto story as a whole, while a number of other commentaries interpreted the story in a moralizing fashion, stating that women who do not obey the laws of chastity turn into beasts.[99] This explanation refers to Callisto's transformation into a she-bear, and has little to do with what is shown in the image. However, what is clear from this often occurring explanation is that the Callisto story was perceived as an exemplum of justly punished unchastity. Ovid's view that Callisto was an innocent virgin felled by her unhappy fate is systematically ignored in the commentaries.

The Latin verses below the various prints all prove to be variations on Ovid's four lines that are represented in the prints and paintings.[100] In fact – and this is quite exceptional – these lines (and their variations by Schonaeus and others) provide a perfect description of the image.[101] At the same time, isolating these lines from the story's context, a simple moralization is implied by the sentence referring to the disclosure of Callisto's shame, which she had attempted to hide, and Diana's subsequent chastisement. Generalizing, one could say that acts of unchastity will always be discovered and severely punished. The same can be read from the images. And to my mind, this contributes to their appeal: the viewer witnesses the idyll of the nude nymphs near the brook and the titillating act of Callisto's forced disrobement, while at the same time, the fact that Callisto has lost her virginity which she tries to conceal, and for which she is being punished, is also shown.

53 Jan Saenredam after Paulus Moreelse, *The Discovery of Callisto's Pregnancy*, 1606, engraving

54 Crispijn de Passe, *The Discovery of Callisto's Pregnancy*, 1602, engraving

Hence, it is an image with a strong idyllic and erotic appeal, yet a simple moral is within reach and can be evoked by the image itself.[102]

Erotic an moralizing preoccupations are thus united in an indissoluble interrelationship – an ambiguity which, as noted earlier, is encountered in other mythological subjects popular in Northern Netherlandish painting. These representations will have been first and foremost intended to delight the eye of the beholder, who enjoyed subjects that would allow him to display his knowledge of stories from classical antiquity. Such representations could simultaneously evoke sensual as well as fairly obvious moralizing associations with respect to chastity and unchastity, and they allowed the beholder to project a more explicit verbal moralization into them, should he so desire.[103]

What comes to the fore in the discussion of these two subjects, so popular in prints by Goltzius and his circle, is that the way in which prints, paintings and texts are linked to each other can differ considerably and that this interrelationship must be examined anew for each subject. Each medium imposed its own demands and afforded various options depending on the traditions and contexts in which they functioned; this had manifold consequences for the choice of subject matter, for how a subject was applied and for how the applications in the various media are related.

Detail of fig. 62

III

Vertumnus and Pomona by Hendrick Goltzius (1613) and Jan Tengnagel (1617): Constants and Contrasts in Form and Content

The Rijksmuseum owns two paintings with scenes of Vertumnus disguised as an old woman conversing with the beautiful Pomona: a large canvas by Hendrick Goltzius of 1613 (fig. 59), and a small work on copper by Jan Tengnagel of 1617 (fig. 62). The museum acquired the painting by Goltzius in 1906, and was given the Tengnagel in 1977.[1] That this is the only narrative mythological subject of which the Rijksmuseum has more than one seventeenth-century Northern Netherlandish painting, in fact reflects historical proportions. This episode from the Roman myth about the amorous adventures of Vertumnus and Pomona – recounted by Ovid in the *Metamorphoses* – was the most frequently depicted mythological subject in the Northern Netherlands and, moreover, it was only in this country that it was so popular.[2]

Although the paintings by Goltzius and Tengnagel depict the same moment and were made just four years apart, they could hardly be more different. By considering these paintings in conjunction with a number of prints, a complete picture of the theme's early development is gained, and various aspects can be singled out that explain its great popularity. The prints in question are the *Metamorphoses* illustrations by Virgil Solis, Antonio Tempesta and Crispijn de Passe (figs. 55, 60 and 63), the engravings by Jan Saenredam after Abraham Bloemaert, and by Jan Saenredam of his own design, both of 1605 (figs. 57 and 58).

Unlike other popular mythological subjects such as The Judgement of Paris, Venus and Adonis and Diana and Acteon, there was no tradition in Italian or Northern sixteenth-century painting for the representation of Vertumnus Disguised as an Old Woman in the Company of Pomona.[3] The source of no other popular subject is so deeply imbedded in illustrations of the *Metamorphoses*. A small print in Bernard Salomon's renowned 1557 series of 178 woodcuts was seminal for its genesis. Virgil Solis made free copies of this series in 1563, which were incorporated in numerous editions of Florianus' Dutch

55 Virgil Solis, *Vertumnus and Pomona*, 1563, woodcut

translation of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* from 1566 on (fig. 55).[4]

With the exception of those subjects already firmly ensconced in the pictorial tradition, most of the episodes from the fables in the *Metamorphoses* depicted in these illustrations were never, or only very rarely, represented in paintings. The theme of Vertumnus and Pomona, on the other hand, went on to lead a life of its own, and thus must have been particularly appealing to seventeenth-century painters and their public.

Not only the episode depicted, but also the basic composition in the Salomon/Solis illustrations was a determining factor for the seventeenth-century Dutch representations (fig. 55). Pomona is shown at an angle seated against a tree and leaning on one arm, while the old woman seen from the side is seated on a lower level and turns to Pomona while making a speaking gesture. This is the moment when Vertumnus (god of all changes in nature) soliloquises in the confidence-inspiring guise of an old woman, who has gained entrance to the sequestered garden of Pomona (the goddess of orchards and fruit). In this final transformation – he had previously appeared to her as a fisherman, fruit picker, haymaker and herdsman – Vertumnus tries to convince the beautiful Pomona, who rebuffs all male advances, that she should return a man's love, particularly that of Vertumnus.

The earliest-known Northern Netherlandish painting of this subject is by Abraham Bloemaert (fig. 56), who also provided the

design for the first independent print of this scene (fig. 57).[5] In the painting, the disposition of the figures is very close to that in Solis' woodcut, however recast in Bloemaert's characteristic idiom of the 1590s. In comparison with the illustrations by Salomon and Solis, Bloemaert represented certain elements from Ovid's text with greater precision. He further elaborated these in his splendid print of 1605, which was engraved by Jan Saenredam (fig. 58). Various details in the earlier Salomon/Solis woodcuts (fig. 55) already faithfully reflected Ovid's text. For example, the well-tended garden and orchard where Pomona retreated to keep members of the opposite sex at bay are clearly indicated.[6] Furthermore, the old woman is shown wearing a cap, holding a cane and sitting on the ground: "Finally he covered his head with a coif, and leaning on a cane and in the guise of an old woman entered the garden...," and a little further, "...and sat down beside her in the grass," so we read in Florianus' version.[7] Bloemaert, however, successively added a number of elements in keeping with the text. Both in the painting and in the print of 1605 (figs. 56 and 58) Pomona holds a sickle which, as Ovid writes, she used to prune and graft to her heart's content.[8] Moreover, in the engraving Pomona is seated against a large forked tree that dominates the scene and in

56 Abraham Bloemaert, *Vertumnus and Pomona*, canvas, 99 x 86 cm, USA, Private Collection

which is twined a grapevine with heavy bunches of grapes. Thus is visually presented the "...Elm tree...in whose branches grew a grapevine laden with grapes." By extension, the exemplum of the elm and the grapevine is emphatically implied, one that the old woman confronts Pomona with by exhorting her to overcome her reluctance to engage in a relationship with a man. In the words of Florianus: "Behold what an apt conjunction; if this elm tree were not decorated with the grapevine, then one could pluck nothing but leaves from it, and if the grapevine could not grow against the elm tree, it would lie flat on the ground serving no purpose."[9] Furthermore, at the upper left is a branch with apples, an element mentioned only in Florianus' translation: "there they saw trees laden with apples."[10]

In addition to the bunches of grapes, Bloemaert included a plethora of vegetables and fruit, which occupy an important place in the story: cabbages, pumpkins and gourds in the foreground, and next to Pomona a basket with grapes, apples pears and a pumpkin. Ovid recounts that the old woman admired Pomona's fruit, and assured the young woman that the love-sick Vertumnus equally shared Pomona's interest in the bounties of the earth. The fruits are even more emphatically cited as a metaphor when the old woman counsels Pomona to return Vertumnus' love, so that "neither rain, wind nor thunder will harm your fruits."[11] Bloemaert also set two pots with staked carnations (not mentioned in Ovid's text) next to Pomona: an image of flowering by means of support – with the conjugal flower *par excellence* – which reiterates the concept of the fruitfulness of the vine enhanced through the support of the tree.[12]

The old woman points to herself, making it visually clear that she is, in fact, recommending herself – Vertumnus – when she passionately pleads with the detached and dismissive Pomona to accept the sincere and steadfast love of Vertumnus, whom she claims to know better than herself. She then recounts the frightening tale of the cold-hearted Anaxarete who turned to stone after having allowed her lover, Iphis, to die of unrequited love.

In Bloemaert's earlier painting, in spite of Pomona's bared bosom, vestiges of the clothing that cover her body in the illustrations can still be discerned, however in the engraving she is nude and thus explicitly characterized as a goddess of classical antiquity.[13] Bloemaert indicated Pomona's chastity and aversion through her down-cast eyes and by turning her body away from Vertumnus. In the background at the left can be distinguished a gate in the hedged garden through which the old woman penetrates Pomona's sanctuary. And, in the background at the right is a nude couple making love, harbinger of the story's happy denouement. Having failed in his goal, Vertumnus finally changes

57 Jan Saenredam, *Vertumnus and Pomona*, 1605, engraving

back into his true self and is about to take Pomona by force, when – overcome by his ravishing beauty – she relents. Ovid left the ensuing event, here depicted, to the reader's imagination.[14]

The lengthy Latin inscription in which Theodorus Schrevelius partially restates passages from Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (with the appropriate addition of a short paraphrase from Virgil's *Georgics*), has an unmistakably erotic charge. Like Bloemaert in his representation, Schrevelius emphasizes the (metaphorical) image of the fertile garden tended by Pomona busy with seeds and fruit, binding vines to elms, grafting and pruning so that her apples will become strong, and "watering the toiling garden, where the curved cucumber and the gourd with its swollen belly lie languidly and the cabbage leans with its trailing stem."[15] Schrevelius briefly summarizes the story, concluding that in the end Pomona requited Vertumnus' love for her with equally fiery passion.

The only known example of the small engraving by Jan Saenredam after his own invention made in the same year that he engraved Bloemaert's composition (fig. 57) was purchased by the Rijksprentenkabinet in 1988.[16] In this print, many elements have been omitted. Unlike Bloemaert, Saenredam does not appear to have consulted the text (or perhaps was simply not interested in the faithful depiction of the story); nor did he use Solis' illustration as a source of inspiration. All traces of the garden – so crucial to the story – are gone (now it looks more like a forest), as are the elm and the vine. Also missing are the 'attributes' of both figures: Pomona's sickle and the old woman's cane. Only a few apples, the fruit most directly associated with Pomona's name,[17] have been retained and lie scattered in the foreground. Saenredam has zoomed in, as it were, on the figure of Pomona. She now dominates the image, her foot appearing to extend out of the picture plane, and her body clad in a highly revealing drapery. Neither her pose, nor glance suggest aloofness and chastity: she leans forward attentively while the old woman, pushed to the limits of the picture plane, speaks to her. The viewer joins Vertumnus in observing Pomona, an act accentuated by the old woman's speaking gesture, which is aimed at the young woman's lower body. Pomona's arm resting in the axil of the tree branch is reminiscent of the motif in the upper part of Bloemaert's composition: the tree trunk mysteriously balancing in the fork of a branch.[18] Pomona makes the impression of understanding what Vertumnus wants, thus, seemingly projecting the outcome of the story. Saenredam also included the nude couple's tryst in the background (at the upper left).

Hendrick Goltzius, on the other hand, was well-acquainted with the story when he made his first painting of this subject in 1613

58 Jan Saenredam after Abraham Bloemaert, *Vertumnus and Pomona*, 1605, engraving

(fig. 59), which was followed by a variant in 1615.[19] Furthermore, it is clear that the print after Bloemaert and an etching from the series of illustrations by Antonio Tempesta (fig. 60) – another free treatment of Salomon's design – were sources of inspiration.[20] However, here the figures of Vertumnus and Pomona have been incorporated into a format typical for Goltzius with narrowly framed (nude) figures close to the picture plane.[21] Bloemaert's slender Pomona was transformed into a voluptuous nude highly reminiscent of the reclining Venus type that had already enjoyed a long and rich tradition in Italy as well as in the North, one in which Goltzius had acquired the necessary experience in earlier paintings.[22] Representing the fertility goddess Pomona, whom Ovid compared to Venus' mortal alter ego Helena in terms of beauty and seductiveness, as a Venus type must have been an obvious choice for Goltzius. While Saenredam had preceded him in showing Pomona as a nude figure occupying virtually the entire picture plane, Goltzius cast her within the prestigious, originally Italian tradition (alluding to the art of classical antiquity) of the reclining (mythological) female nude.[23]

Plum-laden branches behind the fruit goddess, Pomona, wreath her head. Goltzius filled the right foreground with four large apples, a pear, and enormous bunches of grapes. Pomona's ripe fruit seems to lie there also for the beholder's taking. Like Tempesta (fig. 60), Goltzius closed off the background directly behind Vertumnus and Pomona with a fence running parallel to the picture plane, thereby accentuating the relief-like effect of the figures filling the space. By subsequently placing the old woman behind Pomona, showing her bending over close to her, resting her hand on Pomona's arm, and gazing intently into her eyes, not only are the old woman's somewhat unnatural advances inflected, but the illusion that the nude Pomona – somewhat backing away from this obtrusive overture and turning slightly to the viewer – is being pushed out of the frame is reinforced.[24] The suggestion that the viewer almost makes physical contact with her nude body is strongly emphasized.

59 Hendrick Goltzius, *Vertumnus and Pomona*, 1613, canvas 83.5 x 146.5 cm, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum

By means of the cane's conspicuous position, Goltzius reveals that the old woman is really an enamoured man, while Pomona's gesture in the center of the painting pointing her sickle at the cane underscores her animosity toward men. Intentionally or not, this visual pun recalls the spine-chilling print by Léon Davent after Primaticcio in which a nymph cuts off the phallus of a fettered satyr using an identical sickle (fig. 61).[25]

Goltzius specified the moment depicted by having the old woman grab a branch of the vine (from which hangs a bunch of grapes) with her pointing hand. The viewer is literally referred to the image of the vine growing against a tree which, independent of Ovid's text, had enjoyed an autonomous tradition in word and image since the sixteenth century and would, thus, have been a familiar metaphor of love, friendship and marriage. This motif also echoed a famous biblical image from the Song of Solomon – "Your wife is like a fertile grapevine" – which was paraphrased variously throughout the seventeenth century.[26]

The notion of transience that plays such a crucial role in the story is inherently expressed in the scene by the contrast between the beautiful young woman and the ugly old hag. Goltzius further emphasized this by placing the women close together and resting the old woman's dry hand on Pomona's fair skin. He had introduced this juxtaposition in an earlier work in which the grinning procuress grabs Danaë's shoulder when Jupiter makes love to her in the form of golden rain (that is, a shower of money) (see fig. 121).[27]

No references to the story's origin in classical mythology are found in Jan Tengnagel's painting of *Vertumnus and Pomona* (fig. 62). Pomona in no way resembles a classical goddess, being instead a robust lass dressed in a somewhat free variant of peasant garb with a straw hat on her head.[28] She is surrounded by all sorts of garden tools, including a wheelbarrow, a shovel, a rake, a sieve, and a watering can that allude to her diligent work in the secluded garden protected by high walls. Her foot resting on a stone – presumably indicating her steadfastly guarded virginity – Pomona assumes a pensive pose as she listens attentively to the animatedly gesticulating woman.

Physical advances are out of the question here. The artist has abandoned any of the erotic possibilities which, within the respectable context of this classic story, had been increasingly exploited by Bloemaert and Goltzius, among others. Only the dolphin, a well-known attribute of Venus found on fountains in numerous amorous scenes (for example, in a large number of prints and paintings of Susanna and the Elders), alerts the viewer that love is in the air. And, Juno's peacock makes it clear that this kind of love serves the marital state.

Representing his Pomona as a clad, chaste young lady, Tengnagel restored a meaningful feature in the tradition of the illustrations. His inspiration derives in part from a print in a series by Crispijn de Passe (fig. 63).[29] By means of the attire and the setting, Tengnagel brought the story even closer to the viewers' realm of experience. He placed exceptional emphasis on the act of speaking – Vertumnus' impassioned attempt to persuade Pomona – while

60 Antonio Tempesta, *Vertumnus and Pomona*, etching in: *Metamorphoseon sive transformationum Ovidii libri XV*, Antwerp 1606, no. 142

61 Léon Davent after Primaticcio, *Nymph Emasculating a Bound Satyr*, engraving

maintaining the reference to the precise moment in the monologue also depicted by Goltzius, namely when the old woman points to the vine with bunches of grapes in the tree. However, her raised finger now simultaneously expresses a warning, underscoring that the scene contains a moral, namely the necessity of entering into a union that will bear fruit. Finally, several astrological signs are visible on the hem of Pomona's skirt. As far as I know, this remarkable detail is found only in this painting.[30] These are the symbols for Aries, Taurus, Gemini, Cancer, Leo and Virgo, precisely the signs of Spring and Summer, the seasons of fertility and flowering.[31]

The static and simple compositional scheme with a pretty young woman and an old woman seated in idyllic surroundings, afforded opportunities for very different solutions. Throughout the seventeenth century it was adapted like no other subject to suit pictorial types popular among certain groups of painters. For example, in Bloemaert's later depictions of Pomona, she resembles a contemplative shepherdess figure as we know her from other late works by the artist, while Moreelse transformed her into his favorite type of shepherdess, shown

62 Jan Tengnagel, *Vertumnus and Pomona*, 1617, copper 21.5 x 29.5 cm, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum

63 Crispijn de Passe the Elder, *Vertumnus and Pomona*, engraving in: *P. Ovid. Nasonis XV Metamorphoseon Librorum*, Arnhem 1607, p. 124

half-length and fixing her arch, not to say provocative, gaze on the viewer (fig. 64). Painters of the school of Rembrandt focused on the tension-filled contrast between the actively speaking old woman and the passively listening young woman, eliminating all detail with the exception of some fruit. The classicists, on the other hand, returned to the nude goddess replete with all of the elements that allude to the actual story. In works by Caspar Netscher and other late seventeenth-century painters, the subject can hardly be distinguished from genre scenes with an old procuress and a fashionable, lightly clad young woman, or for that matter, a Bathsheba, whom they depicted in a virtually identical manner.[32]

The representation of Vertumnus and Pomona first and foremost constitutes a pictorially intriguing contrast between a young beauty and an ugly hag. As of the sixteenth century, this juxtaposition was avidly incorporated into other subjects as well: the ravishing seductresses Danaë (fig. 121), Salome, Delilah and Bathsheba are usually accompanied by an old woman who strictly speaking is not part of the stories concerned. Compositionally, Bathsheba scenes in particular are often close to Vertumnus and Pomona (fig. 65).[33] This combination also became very popular in genre painting: for instance, in scenes of old women selling vegetable, fruit, fish or game to young women; of old women serving as procuresses in brothels; and of old women holding up mirrors for, combing the hair of, or admonishing young beauties, and so forth.[34] (see figs. 190, 224, 236 and 237). All of

64 Paulus Moreelse, *Vertumnus and Pomona*, canvas 130 x 114 cm, Rotterdam, Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen

these images literally present the transience of the ultimate in desirable mortal beauty and enticement.[35] Furthermore, the sight of an old woman in the company of a young woman automatically evoked the association of a procuress.[36] And, in fact, the old woman in scenes of Vertumnus and Pomona is also a procuress, albeit in the service of Vertumnus, that is 'herself'. In representations of Pomona, moreover, the secluded garden could also serve as an allusion to the young woman's virginity, while the ripe fruit emphasizes her fertility. They are all pictorial motifs – including the tree with the grapevine – fairly regularly or even frequently found in scenes of different subjects, and which in the case of Vertumnus and Pomona derive directly from the story.

In literature, too, familiar motifs are encountered that can in part explain the popularity of the subject and clarify the ideas evoked by the images. For example, many passages in Jacob Cats' *Houwelyck* indicate how obvious it was to compare young maidens with an enclosed

garden as well as with all manner of ripe fruit, which should be presented to a man at the right time and be 'consumed' by the proper suitor.[37] The notion that young women should not allow their beauty and fertility to go to waste, for otherwise these assets would be useless, occurs not only in Cats' unreservedly moralizing writings, but is omnipresent in the typically Dutch, early seventeenth-century amorous emblem and song books. This idea is voiced in some prologues to these books, and particularly in countless amorous complaints about the icy hostility on the part of the object of desire, who doggedly rejects the suitor's advances. Such beloved women are warned (frequently in very harsh wording), that their beauty will fade and no one will be interested in them when they are old and ugly (withered, wilted, decayed).[38] Of course, this is the cardinal theme of the Pomona fable, as was acknowledged in one of these songs, which includes the following lines: "Therefore do not waste sweet time/ As many an attractive lover/ Will each be the most desirous of you.../ When the golden hair turns gray/ You will no longer look like a [beautiful] Pomona,/ And Vertumnus will have lost his interest/ And flee in fear of the old hag."[39]

This mythological story also incorporates the concept of the lover who, through his unremitting perseverance, ultimately wins the affection of his intransigent, beautiful paramour, who in turn realises that he is her true love, a theme blending Petrarchan and didactic motifs that was very popular in the Dutch amorous emblems. However, the names of Vertumnus and Pomona are only sporadically encountered in this type of poetry. In this context only Theodoor Rodenburgh used the Vertumnus and Pomona concept for the emblem with the Latin motto "Vincit amor astu" and the Dutch "Liefde zoekt list", or "Love seeks cunning": "When pleading and praying fail,/ When tears, weeping, sighing, gnawing and complaining,/ Cannot move the nymph's heart to pity/ And the favors rendered are considered too small,/ Love gives cunning counsel to those whose love is faithful,/ Just as [it did] the sweetheart in order to win Pomona."[40] In the pictorial arts, on the other hand, Vertumnus and Pomona became the theme *par excellence* for representing these familiar ideas with regard to the proper course of love. Even without full knowledge of the story the scene offers an image of the transience of feminine pulchritude and fertility along with a familiar symbol of love and marital fidelity. *With* full knowledge of the story, one knows that it is about a chaste woman who resists love and all male advances by closing off her 'garden', only to finally surrender her 'fruits' after endless perseverance on the part of the faithful lover.[41]

Alongside these general elements, the core of Tengnagel's

representation is the persuasion and admonition of the attentively listening young girl. It also emphatically alludes to the seclusion of her garden and rather more discretely to its being a garden of love. This kind of painting, in which any potentially offensive detail has been omitted and the respectable exemplum emphasized, was produced for a public other than that for Goltzius' large work. It would appear that as in other mythological scenes (*Circe Changing Odysseus' Party into Swine* of 1612 and *Atalante and Hippomenes* of 1610), Jan Tengnagel attempted to make representations of 'pagan fables', which were particularly susceptible to fierce censure from religious quarters, acceptable for a public ill-versed in the international poetic and pictorial conventions associated with the use of classical mythology.[42] Hence, in these scenes Tengnagel adhered closely to the compositional schemes found in illustrations in translations of the *Metamorphoses*, which was undoubtedly popular reading among a relatively broad public.[43] Could this *Vertumnus and Pomona* have been meant as a gift for a young marriageable daughter?

Such a purpose would be unthinkable for Goltzius' large canvas. In this picture, as in other of his mythological scenes (for example, *Danaë* [fig. 121], *Antiope Spied upon by Jupiter* [fig. 124], *Venus Spied upon by a Satyr*, and *Venus and Adonis*), Goltzius exploited the erotic potential to the full. The prestige associated with stories from classical antiquity, depicted in accordance with the (for the connoisseur) respectable international pictorial tradition of the (reclining) mythological nude and supported by the familiar moralization regarding the proper course of love, combined to make the scene acceptable to the educated art lover as an object of visual, erotic enjoyment.[44] As mentioned earlier, Goltzius produced another, equally monumental variant two years later (1615). The fact that he twice depicted this subject on this scale – at a point in time when it had rarely been the subject of a painting – makes it plausible that it held special meaning for him. This calls to mind a comparison of Goltzius to Vertumnus by Schonaeus (as early as 1594) and subsequently by Van Mander as a "rare Proteus or Vertumnus in art": just as this god assumed various guises, so did Goltzius constantly change his appearance as a versatile artist.[45] Federico Zuccaro had also stated that the painter should be as versatile and inventive as Pomona's lover.[46] Would it be too far-fetched to assume that Goltzius, who frequently expressed a personal ideology in his art (he is even literally present in a few of his most ambitious works),[47] intended to allude to himself as an artist? If so, the scene could also be read as a metaphor of the artist who in constantly changing guises and "in different shapes of all possible styles," attempted to "to follow beauty, that is the various forms of Nature," and who in his last metamorphosis as a painter in the most up-to-date 'Italian' style goes to considerable lengths to conquer his stubborn beloved, or rather to attain great heights in the rendering of beauty.[48] This would require a specific allegorical reading, one not so much evoked by the image itself but rather projected into it, and which may have contributed to Goltzius choice of subject matter.[49]

65 Willem Buytewech, *Bathsheba Receiving David's Message*, 1615, etching

IV

Venus, Visus and Pictura

Detail of fig. 118

An allegorical invention by Hendrick Goltzius, which is exceptional in many respects, features a painter portraying a nude model looking at herself in a mirror (fig. 66). It was engraved by Jan Saenredam and published by Robert de Baudous in 1616.[1] However, the print must have originated much earlier, most likely around 1600 or 1601, since Saenredam (d. 1607) probably no longer engraved designs by Goltzius after 1601 and the style of the invention corresponds with other (print) designs by Goltzius of around 1600.[2]

The scene's cynosure is the nude, kneeling woman who can be identified as Venus. She looks in a mirror that reflects her image.[3] The mirror is held by Cupid, who is turned to the beholder, while a painter seated before an easel observes Venus through his spectacles and captures her beauty on panel. Behind the painter and his easel are a man holding an astrolabe, a doctor examining a urinal, and a scholar measuring a globe with a compass. Above their heads is a radiant sun and an eagle soaring up into the sky. To the right of Venus is an armillary sphere, with a view beyond of an inlet with ships and a coastline with several figures. In the foreground at the right are three different sundials and two table clocks, and in the middle lies a cat which, like Cupid, looks out at the beholder. Finally, striking details include the bird's head crowning the easel (a phoenix's head, as will be shown),[4] and the band around Venus' left arm with a cherub's head. While virtually all of the motifs in the scene can be related to existing images, the specific combination is unique.

There is no doubt that this is an image about the depiction of female beauty, about the art of painting, and about the faculty to which this art owes its very existence – the sense of sight. In this complex invention, Goltzius appears to have very consciously visualized certain preoccupations; not only had he been absorbed by the representation of Visus for decades but, like no other artist of his time, Goltzius had also immersed himself in the rendering of female nudity. Moreover, the

66 Jan Saenredam after Hendrick Goltzius, *Allegory of Visus and the Art of Painting*, c. 1598-1601, engraving

allegory gains significance from the fact that he began his career as a painter around this time.

To date, the image has been studied most comprehensively by Justus Müller Hofstede and Hans-Joachim Raupp. The former did so in an extensive article on Rubens and Jan Brueghel's *Allegory of Sight* of 1617 (Madrid), the latter in his book on artists' portraits and images of artists.[5] Both perceived the print as an explicitly didactic-moralizing discourse on Sight and the art of painting, with Müller Hofstede construing the image more strictly "in malo".[6] This interpretation of the image – whose meaning presents few problems in his opinion – boils down to Goltzius having drawn "das moralisierende, warnende Bild eines die Ziele der Kunst verfehlenden Mahlers," with the underlying thought that art's true goal is to provide "sittliche und heilsgeschichtliche Belehrung." Müller Hofstede believes that Goltzius depicted Visus here as "nur ein sinnliches Wahrnehmungsorgan, das offensichtlich überwiegend in die Irre Führt," and that the painter stands "offenbar für den ideenlosen, erfindungsarmen in aüsserlichen Erscheinungsbild der Gegenstände befangene Künstler."[7] According to Müller Hofstede, a severe moralizing judgment of the Sense of Sight is presented and a reprehensible type of painter shown who produces "leere Hülsen ohne tieferen Sinngehalt." All of the motifs – from the cat, Venus, the mirror, the stool with the dolphin's head and the cushion on which the painter is seated, his age and his spectacles, to the scholars standing behind the painter – are interpreted in a negative sense: all refer to earthly bedazzlement and serve lust, pride and folly. Together they form a contrast to the only positive element in the scene, namely the eagle flying toward the sun. As reinforcement for this interpretation he even sees Icarus plunging into the sea in the background (the fall of human pride) – a motif that even with all the best intentions, however, cannot be discerned in the print.[8]

I believe that such an interpretation in no way does justice to the image and offers a reductive view of its meaning. It seems highly unlikely that Goltzius would have wanted to present an utterly negative idea of the kind of art that he himself practised, in such a meticulously conceived and original invention. After all, Venus and other nude beauties ranked among his favorite subjects and as a painter he also demonstrated a marked predilection for large-figured nudes – virtually all of whom can be characterized as attractive 'seductresses' – in scenes with an explicit erotic charge. That Goltzius also intended the elements referring to the sciences surrounding the painter to be negative is improbable when one considers that, according to Van Mander, he was "... as a natural philosopher, not inexperienced in knowledge of nature,"[9] while Theodoor Schrevelius recounted that "I have heard this

man [Goltzius] discourse on all sciences, except music, in which even he had to admit that he was unversed. And this should not strike us as being odd, as none of us are capable of everything."[10] Moreover, in 1595 he became related by marriage to Cornelis Drebbel, one of the most famous and colorful natural scientists of his time, with whom he maintained a close relationship.[11] Goltzius' circle of friends probably included a number of the leading mathematicians, astronomers and inventors of his day.[12] One could argue that the representation under discussion should not be seen as a personal 'statement' by the maker; however, as will become evident later on I am convinced that there is, indeed, reason for doing so.

The many representations that can somehow be connected to the scene in this print – in particular those by or after Goltzius and by artists in his circle – are studied below in order to recover the specific characteristics of this invention and interpret it within the complete framework of artistic conventions in which it should be situated. I also intend to provide more or less independent expositions of a number of themes and motifs that have been combined in this print and which also play a remarkable role elsewhere in the work of Goltzius and his contemporaries and moreover, to which these artists and their audience clearly attached great importance. In the end no unequivocal clarification is offered for the meaning of this complex invention. The focus is primarily on the complicated and ambivalent attitude to the Sense of Sight, the Art of Painting and on observing and representing (nude) female beauty – the tension between pleasant sensual (erotic) stimulation and 'dangerous' seduction – which in my view underly many contemporary scenes and which is given such sophisticated expression in this print. This ambivalence is also succinctly expressed in the inscription: "I know from experience that this harms and delights the viewers (or: those who see this)."[13]

Visus

Nowhere can one find so many allegorical representations of the Five Senses as in Dutch prints of the last four decades of the sixteenth century. As the most elevated of the senses Visus is consistently the first in these series.[14] In order to trace both the conventional and the unusual aspects of the *Allegory of Visus* serving as this article's point of departure (fig. 66), I will summarize the pictorial motifs that had developed for Visus scenes.

Representations of the senses had been introduced in Southern Netherlandish prints in 1561 with an engraved series by Cornelis Cort after Frans Floris. This was soon followed by numerous other series (including five by Maarten de Vos), all decisively influenced by the Cort/Floris series.[15] The Visus scenes in these series show the seated woman looking at herself in a hand mirror and the eagle (figs. 67-70). In a few instances the blazing sun is present (figs. 67, 68) and sometimes a cat is added (fig. 69), though these are not standard attributes. A print by Raphael Sadeler after Maarten de Vos is the first to include ships on the water (fig. 68).[16] In a series of engravings by Peter Cool after Maarten de Vos in which the allegorical figures are set in a triumphal chariot, bespectacled old men's heads appear as masks on Visus' eagle-drawn coach.[17]

The earliest-known representation of an entirely nude woman observing herself in a mirror, again accompanied by an eagle, is by Jacob de Backer (fig. 70). Because of her reclining position, she evokes unmistakable associations with the Venetian Venus type, while at the same time a reference to the Art of Painting seems to have been incorporated. Appropriate scenes from Ovid's *Metamorphoses* are found in the background of De Backer's *Five Senses*: in *Sight* this is Narcissus looking at himself in a pool. Aside from the fact that the traditional mirror motif in Visus is thus given a narrative echo and the connotations alluding to vanity and transience are emphasized, the depiction of Narcissus – sometimes presented as the 'father' of the art of painting – probably implies an allusion to this art and to the seductive power of the image.[18] Confirmation of this interpretation is found in the representation of *Touch* which includes the sculptor Pygmalion and in *Hearing* with Mercury playing music for Argus; these background scenes bear upon the seductive power of the two other arts, sculpture and music.

Hendrick Goltzius must be credited with introducing the representation of the Five Senses in the Northern Netherlands in 1578. Moreover, he was the first to combine all five in a single image (1588) and subsequently transform them into contemporary amorous couples (*c.* 1596). Goltzius' fascination with the subject clearly surpassed that of any other artist. Goltzius' earliest series, published by Philips Galle in 1578, presents clothed personifications, of whom Visus is the most lavishly adorned (fig. 71). Just as in all of the preceding images of Visus, she looks into a mirror and is accompanied by the (by now) traditional eagle, while the cat is included for the first time since the prints by Abraham de Bruyn. In the background, the sun rises above the water. In a subsequent print from a series designed around 1586 but engraved only in 1596 by Nicolaes Clock and Cornelis Drebbel,

67 Cornelis Cort after Frans Floris, *Visus*, engraving

68 Raphael Saedeler I after Maarten de Vos, *Visus*, engraving

69 Abraham de Bruyn, *Visus*, 1569, engraving

70 Jacob de Backer, *Visus*, engraving

Goltzius displays Visus in a rather elementary form: the highly stylized, now partially unclothed female figure looks in a hand mirror and is accompanied by only the eagle and the blazing sun (fig. 72).[19] A special feature is that her breast is adorned with the sun, moon and stars, moreover she is the only one of the Five Senses to wear a belt just below her bosom, an attribute of Venus found in numerous representations of this goddess by Goltzius and his circle, but not in depictions of female personifications.

The number of attributes is reduced even further in a print after Goltzius (1588), in which all five personifications are grouped together

71 Hendrick Goltzius, *Visus*, *c.* 1578, engraving

72 Nicolaes Clock after Hendrick Goltzius, *Visus*, 1596, engraving

while the highest sense, Visus, admiring herself in the mirror, is literally enthroned above the others (fig. 73). Like Goltzius, Adam van Noort combined the senses in a single scene, however with the addition of a man (mankind) who is surrounded by the female personifications whereby the rhetorical monologue is transformed into a dialogue.[20] Subsequently, around 1596, Goltzius made the decisive step of depicting an actual dialogue in very recognizable human

73 Workshop of Hendrick Goltzius after Hendrick Goltzius, *The Five Senses*, 1588, engraving

situations relating directly to one's own experiences of the world.[21] The amorous implications, already present in Van Noort's invention, are now exploited to the utmost by presenting the senses as five amorous couples in more or less contemporary, though with respect to the women rather scanty, clothing.[22] In *Sight* (fig. 74), a voluptuous young lady with a seductive smile looks into a hand mirror held up by a young man who fondles her breast while observing her with a lasciv-ious gleam in his eyes. Of the traditional attributes, in addition to the

mirror the cat rather than the eagle has been retained, and the sea with the rising sun is visible in the background.

Finally, a far more traditional Visus invention – and one with the fewest attributes – is found in a drawing by Goltzius datable to around 1600, which may have been intended as a part of a series that was never published in printed form (fig. 75).[23] The mirror and the eagle, still just visible at the right, are the only attributes of the nude woman, this time seated; her pose resembles that of Venus in the *Allegory of Visus* (fig. 66) – the print serving as our point of departure.

From the above it is clear that given the tradition of Visus representations, the conventional motifs in the *Allegory of Visus* (fig. 66) consist of the ever-present woman observing herself in a mirror, the almost never absent eagle, the frequently included sun, the regular addition of the sea, and the somewhat less often occurring cat which Goltzius, however, included twice earlier in this context. Only once before are ships in the background encountered (Sadeler/De Vos) (fig. 68), and also only once the heads of old, bespectacled men, though as masks (Cool/De Vos). Incidentally, spectacles are found in the hand of a personification of Visus by Jost Amman (a small woodcut), as well as in an as yet unmentioned print by Crispijn de Passe the Elder, where the spectacles lie on the ground next to the woman looking at her reflection.[24] The latter, remarkable Visus invention has been omitted from the above considerations as it is undoubtedly of a later date.

Even with these conventional motifs something unusual is afoot in the *Allegory of Visus* (fig. 66). The woman does not hold the traditional convex hand mirror, but looks instead into a large flat mirror in which she is partially reflected. The mirror is held by Cupid – recognizable by his quiver – who had not previously occurred in this context. Moreover, the woman not only personifies Visus, but given the addition of Cupid also represents Venus. This is confirmed by her belt with a clasp in the shape of a dove's head, which can be identified as such by comparing it with the many doves in scenes of Venus by Goltzius.[25] As befitting Venus, she is lavishly adorned with pearls. In addition to the role of Venus and the personification of Visus, she is presented as a model posing for a painter and her 'reflection' is shown again on the painted panel. Furthermore, the eagle is not, as was always the case previously, set next to the female figure but rather flies up toward the sun, and the cat has been allotted a prominent place in the foreground. Finally, the spectacles are now perched on the painter's nose.

In addition to Cupid, the painting artist and the transformation of the female figure into Venus, the three scholars and the scientific instruments are also entirely new additions (only in the later print by

74 Jan Saenredam after Hendrick Goltzius, *Visus*, *c.* 1596, engraving

75 Hendrick Goltzius, *Visus*, *c.* 1600, drawing 31.7 x 20.3 cm, London, Collection Sir Bruce Ingram

De Passe mentioned above is one of these instruments, the armillary sphere, depicted). Both the special application of conventional motifs and the new additions must have been based on conscious choices.

All of these motifs, beginning with the scholars and their instruments and ending with Venus and the painter, will be considered further here in connection with images containing related elements, particularly in Goltzius' own oeuvre.

The Scholars

I pointed out previously the unlikelihood of Goltzius intending the scholars to be foolish and blind, accumulators of vain and senseless knowledge, as Müller Hofstede and Raupp contended. In fact, this notion finds absolutely no confirmation in the work of Goltzius and his circle, where such figures and/or attributes appear exclusively in a positive context. Müller Hofstede automatically cast the left figure in a negative light by calling him an astrologer or a stargazer, thus the epitomy of pseudo-scholarship and foolishness.[26] Aside from the fact that the occult sciences certainly need not have had a negative reputation in Goltzius' circle,[27] it may be stated that in other works by Goltzius this man's only attribute, the astrolabe, definitely does not allude to the foolishness of astrology. For example, the same instrument is also encountered in *Geometria* in a series of the *Seven Liberal Arts* engraved by Cornelis Drebbel after Goltzius (fig. 77), and in portraits of respectable scholars, such as Goltzius' two engravings of the mathematician and the astronomer Nicolaus Petri van Deventer (of 1583 and 1595 respectively) (fig. 76).[28] Moreover, both portraits of Van Deventer show the act of measuring with a compass on a globe and include the armillary sphere. These, too, are motifs which always accompany Geometry and Astronomy respectively in scenes of the Liberal Arts, for example in the series engraved by Drebbel mentioned above (figs. 77, 78).[29] The armillary sphere, which was primarily used for educational purposes apparently could also function as an attribute of Intelligence (see the personification in a print by Frans Menton after Frans Floris), or could stand for scientific knowledge in general.[30] It functions as a symbol of learning, for example, in a portrait by Goltzius of the famous scholar Scaliger shown flanked by a woman with a compass and an armillary sphere on one side and Mercury on the other (fig. 79). Remarkably, in Goltzius' large painting in Basel of a not yet satisfactorily interpreted allegory, Goltzius portrays himself – half hidden behind the laurelled figure with a caduceus – holding up an armillary sphere (fig. 80).[31]

As mentioned above, the figure taking measurements on a globe performs an activity found in scenes of the Liberal Arts (Geometry) as well as in portraits of scholars, and thus by no means need allude to foolishness. In Goltzius' series the *Astrological Children* of 1596 this globe-measuring figure – again accompanied by an armillary sphere – as one of the 'children' of Jupiter even occupies the most prominent place among the sciences over which the highest of gods resides (fig. 81).[32] Above his head are the spread wings of Jupiter's bird, the eagle.

76 Hendrick Goltzius, *Portrait of Nicolaus Petri van Deventer*, 1595, engraving

Perhaps it is no coincidence that in the *Allegory of Visus* (fig. 66) – made a few years later – the mathematician/astronomer is likewise literally placed under the eagle's wings.

Naturally, in the sixteenth century moralizing scenes of astronomers/astrologers/mathematicians were produced with the express aim of pointing out the foolishness and pride of such knowledge, however they almost always incorporate some reference denoting this intention.[33] More importantly, in Goltzius' oeuvre a figure measuring a globe and motifs such as the armillary sphere and the astrolabe are encountered only in a respectable context. Moreover, the ships on the water in the *Allegory of Visus* seem to indicate the importance – certainly for Holland – of knowledge of the movements of the sun and the stars. The three sundials and two clocks in the foreground likewise belong to the realm of these scholars;[34] and, they are all instruments for measuring time and indicators of the passage of time. The notion of the transience of all earthly matters is thus incorporated without implying that the scholars, also the inventors of these useful devices, have been cast in a negative light. While Goltzius included not only the sun but also the moon and stars as emblems on the chest of the personification in an earlier Visus scene (fig. 72),[35] in the *Allegory of Visus* he further elaborated this aspect by depicting the individuals who devote themselves to studying these celestial bodies.

In iconographical readings, the doctor studying a urinal also tends to be perceived as a charlatan. However, in this case references to "piskijkers" (someone who inspects urine) in genre scenes of the second half of the seventeenth century are of little use.[36] The urinal is a common attribute of medical science, such as is seen in Frans Floris' and Goltzius' allegories (fig. 82).[37] Examination of a urinal is a pictorial convention for identifying the physician. This applies to the doctor in Heemskerck's *Children of Mercury*,[38] to the by no means negatively perceived doctor in Amman's *Ständebuch* of 1568 (fig. 177) (the doctor immediately follows the emperor, the king, the prince and the nobleman; and in turn is followed by the apothecary, the astronomer,

77 Cornelis Drebbel after Hendrick Goltzius, *Geometria*, c. 1598, engraving

78 Cornelis Drebbel after Hendrick Goltzius, *Astronomia*, c. 1598, engraving

the painter, the sculptor, the merchant and subsequently the lower occupations),[39] to the physician in Goltzius' print series of a doctor's fate,[40] and the figure of a doctor symbolizing the sciences who, in an emblem by Otto van Veen of 1607, is positioned behind a painter and a poet (fig. 83).[41] That it was considered a respectable attribute is also evidenced by a portrait by Saenredam after Van Mander of the poet and doctor Peter Hogerbeets van Horne placed in an engraved frame incorporating a urinal.[42] Even in Adriaen van de Venne's 1626 scene of three respectable doctors – of theology, law and medicine – the attribute near the doctor is a small basket with a urinal.[43]

In short, the three figures behind the painter are dignified, learned investigators and experts on nature who demonstrate that Sight is the servant of their science. Drebbel's attitude – one of his assistant recounted that Drebbel was interested only in his own observations and held that truth and perfection in science could not be found in books but only in nature – was one with which Goltzius would have agreed.[44] While trust and distrust of the sense of sight certainly existed side by side at the time, the former surely prevailed in Goltzius' own circle. The scholars and their instruments in the foreground surround the other explorer of nature who relies on his eyes: the painter. Two of the scholars refer to the liberal arts – astronomy and geometry (here in

79 Hendrick Goltzius, *Portrait of Joseph Justus Scaliger*, c. 1592, engraving

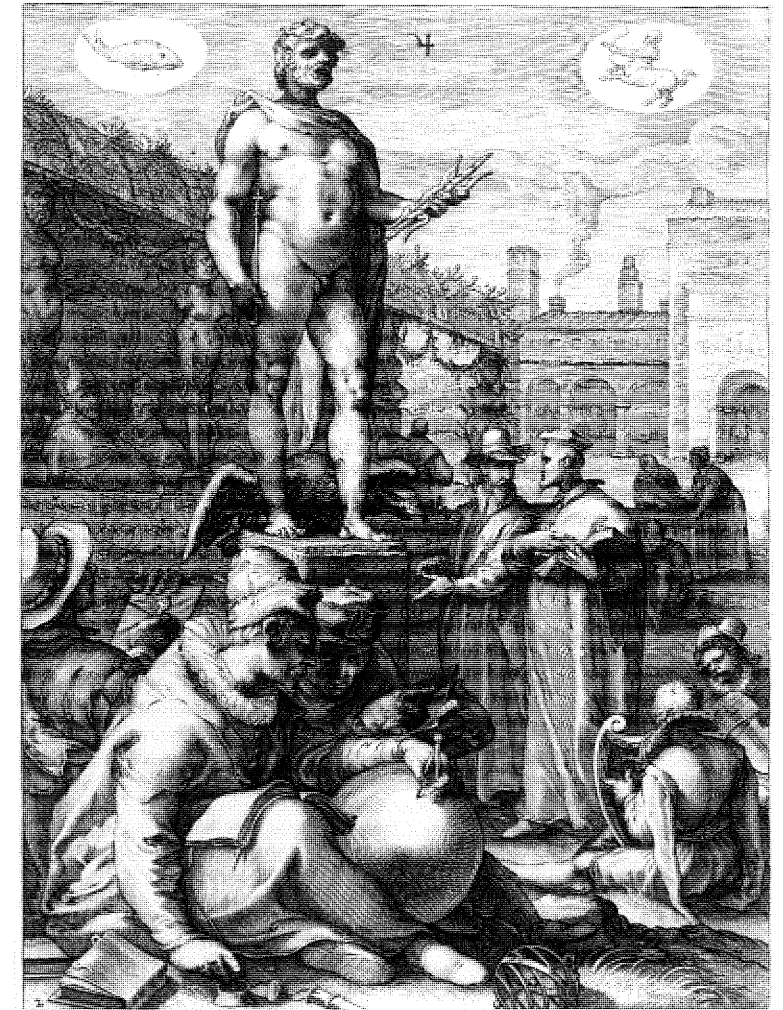
the service of astronomy) – which, like the art of painting, owe their very existence to this sense.[45] In the image, the third scholar, the physician, is placed most directly in relation to the painter and like him emphatically displays the act of looking. The idea of positioning him, in the company of the practitioners of the liberal arts and right next to the painter could in part be related to the fact that the doctor and painter were often grouped together in representations. After all, they share the same patron saint, St Luke, as is illustrated for example by Maarten van Heemskerck in his *St Luke Painting the Virgin* of around 1553, where St Luke is characterized both as a painter and a

80 Hendrick Goltzius, *Allegory*, 1611, canvas 180 x 256 cm, Basel, Öffentliche Kunstsammlung, Kunstmuseum

doctor (with two urinals, among other things).[46] Furthermore, the practitioners of both professions were 'children of Mercury': in Goltzius' invention of this subject a doctor can be seen in the distance between the painter and his easel (fig. 117).[47] Earlier images of the Astrological Children also counted the astronomers and mathematicians among the children of Mercury,[48] the god of, among others "... the reason and light, which leads to the knowledge of things."[49]

In the *Allegory of Visus* (fig. 66), they are all illuminated by the radiant sun, nature's source of light which makes sight possible and, moreover, the symbol of "genuine truth."[50] Incidentally, in Goltzius' oeuvre, the same rendering of the sun (with the exaggerated rays) recurs in his personal device, "Eer boven Golt," or Honour above Gold (fig. 84),[51] in which a cherub's head – the same head found in this print on Venus' upper arm – is turned toward the sun.

Goltzius depicted the eagle flying toward the sun such that its legendary capacity to withstand its rays is literally demonstrated. By placing these two traditional symbols of Sight above the figures



81 Jan Saenredam after Hendrick Goltzius, *Jupiter and his Children*, c. 1596, engraving

gathered below, it becomes clear that the representatives of this sense are driven by the desire to acquire knowledge of nature and truth and perform their work under the eagle's wings. Notions of the eagle as the attribute of the highest of gods (in Goltzius' invention with the children of Jupiter, in addition to the astronomers/mathematicians mentioned above, we see a draughtsman seated in the foreground) and as a metaphor of "a sharp and quick mind" would also have been obvious.[52]

The striking bird's head crowning the easel must be interpreted as

that of the mythical phoenix. Placed in the rays of the sun, this bird's head distinguishes itself from the way in which Goltzius drew eagle's heads and, with its prominent crest and hooked beak, resembles representations of phoenix found, for example, in the emblematic illustrations by Roemer Visscher and Pers of a few years later (fig. 85).[53] Aside from the fact that a phoenix could be an appropriate crowning element for a painter's easel – Van Mander cites this legendary bird as an example of rich coloration[54] – like the eagle it is directly associated with the sun. In the words of Van Mander: "one also compares this bird to the sun."[55] In the emblematic prints mentioned above – just as in the *Allegory of Visus* (fig. 66) – it is depicted against a background of sunbeams. For this reason it is certainly applicable in an allegory of Visus. Furthermore, in both Van Mander's writings and in Visscher and Pers' emblems, the phoenix stands for "excellence" (d'uytnementheyt) particularly in "scholarship or art" (Gheleertheyt oft Conste).[56] Its position in the image, among the scholars and as the 'guardian' of the artist's work, probably denotes this meaning. Moreover, this motif undoubtedly held personal significance for Goltzius. In his *Grondt*, Van Mander compares Goltzius with a phoenix and, in connection with this, the sun: "..., and [his nature] has made him known as a phoenix with golden pens/ And

82 Hendrick Goltzius, *Panacea*, *c.* 1576-78, drawing 50.6 x 34.9 cm, Haarlem, Teylers Museum

83 Anonymous after Otto Vaenius, emblem in: Otto Vaenius, *Q. Horati Flacci, Emblemata*, Antwerp 1607

84 Hendrick Goltzius, *Goltzius' Device*, 1600, drawing 18.4 x 12.4 cm, Vienna, Albertina

85 Anonymous, *'Ane weergaey'*, emblem XXXVI in: Roemer Visscher, *Sinnepoppen*, Amsterdam 1614

86 Jacob Matham after Hendrick Goltzius, *Portrait of Hendrick Goltzius*, after 1617, engraving

what metal would not yield to unique gold,/ Or what light equal the only sun,/ to which he, the only one [Goltzius = phoenix] who is suitable for this, is devoted, he who bears the name of the tree of victory."[57] Gerbier and Ampzing also called him "our painter-phoenix," while the same phoenix's head is found in an escutcheon below a portrait of Goltzius probably engraved by Jacob Matham (fig. 86).[58] One may reasonably assume that Goltzius himself created the personal affinity with the image of the phoenix, or that it may even have been related to an older 'family emblem': the engraved portrait that Hendrick made of his father Jan Goltz in 1578 included a small escutcheon with the head of a phoenix.[59]

The Painter and His Model

The question raised is how does this all relate to the central scene of the painter and his model. Before delving into this let us examine both figures, first the painter and then the model, more closely.

It was mentioned above that Jacob de Backer may have incorporated a clever reference to the art of painting in an allegory of Visus in the form of a scene of Narcissus gazing at his reflection in a pool (fig. 70).[60] The print incorporates two ways of observing one's mirror image. In Goltzius' invention, however, in addition to the mirror, a painting has been included as an attribute of Visus. Many years later Rubens and Brueghel linked an allegory of sight with the art of painting in a completely different manner by setting the scene in an art gallery.[61] Goltzius' idea of including a painter at work in an allegory of Visus, and having his painting reflect the same subject as the mirror was utterly novel and remained unique.

An anonymous painter depicting a model – a subject regularly encountered in the seventeenth century – was not yet common around 1600. We do know of images of St Luke Painting the Virgin and of Apelles Depicting Campaspe, as well as self-portraits of painters 'at work' (but without a model),[62] and finally scenes of Pictura personified by a woman and in the act of painting (sometimes with a specific model) from the sixteenth century. Even disregarding the fact that to include an anonymous painter shown studying and depicting a model in an allegory of Visus was new, this later much more frequently rendered subject was at that time exceptional.

There can be little doubt that upon seeing this painter – especially because of his aged, bespectacled face and the cap on his head – a Haarlem contemporary/connoisseur would have been reminded of a painting that for Haarlemmers was unquestionably the most famous representation of a painter, namely Maarten van Heemskerck's *St Luke Painting the Virgin* of 1532 (fig. 87).[63] The phoenix head atop the easel in Goltzius' print seems to be a reference to the monumental head of a herm crowning the easel in Van Heemskerck's painting. Samuel Ampzing (1628) reported that Goltzius greatly admired this painting and that he "climbed up a ladder to see [it] many times during his life, testifying to the fact that his desire to behold it was insatiable."[64]

The pose of Goltzius' painter, shown in three-quarters from the back and looking over his shoulder, however, differs entirely from that in Van Heemskerck's painting and corresponds with a convention first encountered in Frans Floris' depiction of *Pictura*, which was part of an allegory on the front of his house and known from a print published in 1576.[65] This pose recurs later, for example, in Otto van Veen's self-portraits, in a few scenes of Apelles Painting Campaspe, and in an invention by Goltzius himself (a print engraved by Matham) of *St Luke Painting the Virgin* in which the model, the Virgin, has been left out (fig. 88).[66] In contrast to the aforementioned works, the disposition of the figures, with the painter peering over his shoulder, finds a logical explanation in Goltzius' Visus invention, because the model has been placed in the foreground.[67] While the nude woman (Venus?) in the panel by Floris' *Pictura* may refer to the numerous written comparisons of Floris with Apelles, the reference to Apelles is even more emphatically present in Goltzius' work: for connoisseurs, the image of an artist painting a nude Venus will instantly have conjured up the legendary Greek artist. And, the presence of Cupid further reinforces thoughts of scenes of Apelles (for example fig. 115).[68] Hence, it can be concluded that references to representations of St Luke and Apelles (and perhaps also the personification of Pictura) are united in this painter through his attributes, pose, appearance and his model. St Luke and Apelles, the most venerable representatives of the art of painting from the Bible and classical antiquity respectively, were both portrayers of female beauty and grace *par excellence*, sacred as well as profane, so that the allusion to *the* exemplary painters can also convey that the depiction of female beauty is an exemplary theme for the art of painting.

It is not appropriate to consider the painter's spectacles as an attribute with negative connotations here;[69] after all, spectacles are a fairly obvious attribute of Visus (and, as we have seen, were used as such before),[70] and were also already conspicuously present on the nose of Van Heemskerck's *St Luke*. The same applies to the painter's age, which should be more readily interpreted in a positive sense.[71] Quite apart from the fact that St Luke was always represented as an

87 Maarten van Heemskerck, *St Luke Painting the Virgin*, 1532, panel 168 x 235 cm, Haarlem, Frans Hals Museum

older man, Van Mander's account in Apelles' biography may be significant. At the time of his death, Apelles was painting his most beautiful Venus yet. Thus, he was at his best in his old age – precisely in painting the same subject also depicted by Goltzius' aged painter.[72] A role might have been played here by the thought, voiced several times later, that a personification of art can best be represented as being old because of the wisdom and experience that comes with age.[73] Goltzius himself was already an experienced, middle-aged artist when he started painting, and he undoubtedly hoped to become an elderly Apelles.

This artist is painting a model, who is also simultaneously Venus and the personification of Visus (as a woman looking into a mirror). That the painter is working merely "after life" and therefore represents an inferior form of painting, as Müller Hofstede contended,[74] is undermined by the subject itself. After all, he is painting Venus, the highest ideal of female beauty and grace – and by extension the visualization of a poetically imagined figure (poëetsche verciering). And, also in the image itself, the 'model' whom the painter observes is an invention that has already been transformed from a model into an

ideal. Moreover, it may be stated that Goltzius even ensured that the painter in the image is not literally depicting this already idealized 'model' on his panel as he sees her. He observes her in full profile, even slightly at an angle from the back, yet he portrays her at an angle from the front and has altered her pose somewhat. This is in contrast to the mirror facing her which, indeed, gives a 'literal' – albeit reverse image and thus a 'false' – reflection of her.[75] The fragmentary image of her that we see in the mirror underscores the 'fortuity' of the mirror's reflection vis-à-vis the carefully constructed image shown in the painting.[76] Parenthetically, Van Hoogstraten's assumption that in this

88 Jacob Matham after Hendrick Goltzius, *St Luke Painting the Virgin*, c. 1613, engraving

image Goltzius was entering into the *paragone* debate is not very likely.[77] Had he so intended, he would surely have portrayed the nude woman on the panel at an angle from behind – thus together with the two other views, from all sides – and given a less fragmentary mirror image.

By replacing the traditional convex mirror with a flat one, the similarity between the mirror and the painting as 'attributes' of Visus is emphasized. Both display a "semblance of being" (schijn van het zijn),[78] which can only be observed with the eyes and exist through the grace of sight. Yet the painting transcends the fleeting and literal reflection of the mirror image. Moreover, it seems as if by placing the mirror and the painting in such close proximity the artist meant to indicate that the traditional connotations of the combination mirror/seductive woman – in addition to Visus, in the first place also Superbia and Vanitas – may be associated with the painting that conveys such beauty.[79]

89 Gillis Coignet, *Venus before the Mirror*, 1579, canvas 139 x 96 cm, Kassel, Gemäldegalerie

Because this Venus/Visus observes herself in a large flat mirror held up by Cupid, she calls to mind Titian's famous composition of Venus also shown almost *en profil* before a mirror, which reflects a part of her face, shoulder and arm. There were many versions of this invention and it was copied, for example, by Gillis Coignet in 1579 (fig. 89) and later by Van Dyck and Rubens.[80] In Coignet's painting, Cupid looks at the beholder: while this differs from the other versions, the same is seen in Goltzius' print. This suggests that Goltzius knew either the work by Coignet, a version of Titian's composition on which it was based, or another copy. In the same period Goltzius also used elements of his Venus/Visus pose for a representation of Mary Magdalene of 1602 which, moreover, shares other aspects of Titian's composition (fig. 90).[81] In the Mary Magdalene, greater emphasis has been placed on the "Venus pudica" pose as depicted by Titian, however the turning of her upper body with her slanted head and her kneeling

90 Jacob Matham after Hendrick Goltzius, *Mary Magdalene*, c. 1602, engraving

position are very comparable to the Venus in Goltzius' *Allegory of Visus* (fig. 66). Although Mary Magdalene and Venus' profile are virtually identical, the slight differences would seem to indicate that Goltzius used a still known study after life of a woman's head for his *Allegory of Visus*.[82] The hanging arm of Venus/Visus, who presses a wad of drapery against her thigh and who – in contrast to the pudica type – reveals her upper body, is a motif that also recurs in a drawn *Venus* of 1598 (fig. 91). A similar position of the upper body and arm respectively is found in a previously mentioned personification of *Visus* (fig.

75), in other representations of Venus (for example, a drawing of 1597; fig. 92), and in a painting of *Helen* of 1615 (fig. 93).[83] Venus/Visus thus assumes a pose consisting of features that Goltzius also used for Mary Magdalene and for the most celebrated mythological beauties, but who particularly because of Cupid and the flat mirror is strongly reminiscent of a famous *Venus* by Titian.

While the inclusion of a painter in an *Allegory of Visus* was an entirely novel idea, links between Venus and the art of painting and between Venus and the Five Senses – particularly Visus – had already been made earlier. The link between Venus and Visus will first be examined more thoroughly, together with sixteenth- and seventeenth-century ideas about the 'dangers' of sight and about the image that Venus represented. The subsequent section will deal with the relationships between Venus and Pictura.

91 Hendrick Goltzius, *Venus Holding the Apple*, *c.* 1598, drawing 16 x 7.5 cm, Haarlem, Teylers Museum

92 Hendrick Goltzius, *Venus and Cupid*, 1597, drawing 18.6 x 14.3 cm, Berlin, Staatlichen Museen, Kupferstichkabinett

93 Hendrick Goltzius, *Helen*, 1615, canvas 115 x 83 cm, Montreal, Collection David G. Carter

Venus and Visus

It was pointed out earlier that at the end of the sixteenth century the senses and sensual love were connected in scenes of the Five Senses – in its most direct and pregnant form in Goltzius' series of amorous couples of about 1596 (fig. 74). The logical step of depicting Venus, the goddess of love, as mistress of the senses can be seen in a drawing attributed to Johann Rottenhammer (fig. 94).[84] In it, Venus is enthroned in the clouds and looks down on the personifications of the senses (including a woman with a mirror), while Cupid points his arrows at them. Venus and Visus are clearly linked in a painting by Louis de Caullery combining the Five Senses and the theme of Venus, Ceres and Bacchus, which was so popular at the time. The representation of the sensual delights of drink and food as Venus' helpers, and of the senses as the driving force of love, are incorporated in an amorous

company gathered around a table in a garden of love: seated next to Venus is a woman observing herself in a mirror.[85]

Given the relationship between the senses and sensual love, it seems equally obvious to superimpose, as it were, the traditional personification of Visus, the young woman with a mirror, on Venus before a mirror, an image that had existed since antiquity but which was popularized in Venice in the sixteenth century. As indicated above, elements evoking associations with Venus appear to have already been incorporated in the Visus figure in Jacob de Backer's print (fig. 70) and in Goltzius' personification designed around 1586 and engraved by Clock in 1596 (fig. 72). Some time later we see a complete merging of Venus and Visus in the lovely frontispiece by Chrispijn de Passe the Younger for the amorous songbook *Nieuwen ieucht-spieghel* of 1617 (fig. 95).[86] Here she is joined by amorous couples representing the other senses and together they have been integrated into what had become a traditional motif for title prints of amorous emblem books and songbooks, that of lovers gathered around an altar of Venus.[87] Cupid holds up a mirror to Venus while she, as the embodiment of Sight and simultaneously the mistress of love presiding over the other senses, looks down on the couples personifying Hearing, Taste and Touch (a little dog sniffing flowers stands for Smell). Thus, this almost self-evident link was laid here as well. However, Goltzius' merging of Visus with Venus before a mirror had more far-reaching consequences. To gain better insight into this, I will discuss in greater depth a number of possible connotations associated with the depiction of Venus (with and without a mirror) – Venus was undoubtedly the most popular deity in the pictorial arts of the time[88] – as well as ideas about *observing* such images.

In the Netherlands, Jan Gossaert was the first to incorporate allusions to Venus in an image of a nude woman looking in a mirror.[89] Notions of Superbia and Vanitas, which in the sixteenth century were so frequently represented by a woman with a mirror, are here reinforced by other elements. In addition to the mirror and Venus' tempting appearance, the vase with flowers refers to vanity and the transience of beauty, and Cupid's bow and arrows as well as Mars' helmet allude to the sensual desire this beauty aroused. In the late sixteenth century, the image of Venus with a mirror, for example by Jacob de Backer and Pieter Isaacsz (1600), was once again emphatically united with Vanitas.[90] This fusion was subsequently further elaborated by painters such as Paulus Moreelse and Jan van Bijlert, whereby the boundaries between Venus and a 'contemporary' seductress became steadily vaguer.[91] Sixteenth-century Venetian paintings of Venus admiring herself in a mirror more readily

represent the notion frequently expressed in Petrarchan love poems of the mirror as a metaphor for feminine beauty and love.[92] However, for a northerner the Superbia/Vanitas connotations embedded in the motif of the mirror will always have been inherent to the content, as clearly comes to the fore in the *Vanitas* by Isaacsz mentioned above, which is an adaptation of a distinctly 'Venetian' Venus type.

A remarkable variant of Venus mirroring herself is found in a print by Jacob Matham (fig. 96), in which the reclining goddess looks into a mirror held up by Cupid while being spied upon by a satyr. Here, Venus as the kindler of sensual desire – a desire here emphatically aroused by beholding female beauty – and the image of beauty as merely transient and vain outward appearance seem to have been visualized together. In this depiction of Venus everything revolves around observing female beauty (by Venus herself, by the satyr and by

94 Johann Rottenhammer, *Venus and the Five Senses*, drawing 39.5 x 34.1 cm, Amsterdam, Collection Van Eeghen

95 Crispijn de Passe II, frontispiece from: *Nieuwen Jeucht Spieghel* (1617)

the beholder) and the implications thereof; such a print could also probably be interpreted as a representation of Visus – but then as the sense that most directly affects sensual desire.

Very often expressed in the Northern Netherlands, particularly in the last decades of the sixteenth and first decades of the seventeenth century, was the view (stemming from antiquity) that all that the eyes behold has the greatest impact on the mind, and especially that sight is the source of seduction, arousing desire and lust, and inciting sinful thoughts and deeds:[93] "One found the eyes to be the seat of lust," as Van Mander so succinctly stated.[94]

Notions regarding the 'perils' of sight are also emphatically included in the inscriptions in Dutch prints of Visus. While the inscriptions referring to the characteristics of sight in Flemish print series prior to Goltzius were initially phrased in neutral or positive terms,[95] the text below the first print of *Visus* by Goltzius (1578; fig. 71) states that the eyes must be bridled with the reins of chastity to prevent

man from being deceived by the shining semblance of things.[96] The inscription in a print of *Visus* engraved by Clock after Goltzius in 1596 (fig. 72) further elaborates on this concept by alluding to Actaeon, who perished as a result of the power of sight: "Actaeon, not in his right mind, had observed Diana, whether this was his fate, or whether the power of vision harbors the sin of seduction (how many has it not cast into moral decay!) so long as caution does not keep a tight rein on it."[97] In the print of the amorous couple in the series engraved by Saenredam (around 1596: fig. 74), an important aspect of this idea – sensual seduction through sight – has also been incorporated in the depiction

96 Jacob Matham, *Venus with Cupid and a Satyr*, c. 1600, engraving

by way of the young man visually devouring the beautiful seductress dressed as a courtesan and gazing into a mirror: "When all too flirtatious eyes are poorly reined in, foolish youth tumbles headlong into evil."[98] These inscriptions make clear that it is primarily the sight of female beauty – especially nude beauty – that disorders the mind and arouses wanton desire, a notion also evident elsewhere in countless shades and variations.[99]

The fascination with this thought found expression in the pictorial arts in subjects that were particularly popular precisely in this period, namely The Judgement of Paris, Diana and Actaeon, Bathsheba Bathing, and Susanna and the Elders, all subjects related to *seeing* female nudity – with fateful consequences. These scenes of disrobed beauties actually represent the act of looking at nude women, in which the beholder is in the same position as the 'voyeurs' *in* the picture whose desire is kindled to their shame and detriment.[100]

The ambiguous tension inherent in such paintings becomes all the more clear when one remembers that a long tradition existed – which seems to have reached a climax in the last decades of the sixteenth and first decades of the seventeenth century – in which ideas about seduction through sight was transposed to the art of painting in general ("food of evil lust and villanous foolishness," and "seductress of sight," to cite but a few of Dirck Raphaelsz Camphuyzen's rather vehement comments, whose fear of the power of the eyes as well as the power of the image reached fever pitch) and to representations of female, especially nude, beauty in particular.[101] Erasmus had already expressed serious doubts concerning the painter's genuine intentions with respect to the depiction of women in biblical scenes, emphasizing that because of its more powerful effect, the danger of the image was greater than that of the written word.[102] A century later this view was given extreme expression by the strictly religious Camphuyzen and Johannes Evertsz Geesteranus, both of whom abhorred images: "One has a nude woman bathing amidst lovers/ As a cancer of good morals and venom for the eyes/ And that is supposed to be Susanna, a chaste woman," or: "and to please the eyes with salacious diversion/ You present men and women stark naked."[103]

Van Mander contends (without placing any emphasis on the negative implications) that it is because of paint and color that the art of painting exerts such a powerful influence on the senses, which is particularly evident in scenes of young women who cause countless hearts to swim "in a sea of lust" and "which makes the power of colors evident." In the same breath he mentions the destructive potency of beautiful women for whom many a war has been fought and for whom heroes have perished (undoubtedly alluding primarily to Paris), thus

implicitly referring to the powerful effects of depictions of just these women.[104] Jacob Cats added to this thought, though in a moralizing context, that the better a painter is, the more 'dangerous' his paintings are. Following his warning against "geyle beelden," or lascivious images, which only instil lustful thoughts in the mind of the beholder,[105] he writes: "And do not allow art in any way here to move you,/ For evil lurks even in art;/ The higher the painter flies in this case/ The deeper he can wound, and the harder his pinches;/ The closer he comes in his suggestion of life/ The more he can arouse all passions/ Until heaven knows what, precisely the best of minds/ Can breed the worst evil and cause the greatest harm."[106] Images of biblical beauties were given the greatest blame, Bathsheba, Susanna and Lot's Daughters – at the time unquestionably ranking among the most popular biblical subjects – but also those of Lucretia or the amorous escapades of the gods. And, naturally, of old, the representation of Venus – beauty and seduction incarnate – could serve as the generator of lust *par excellence*.

The most famous story from antiquity in which the image of Venus plays a role in this context is an anecdote stemming from Pliny and repeated by Desiderius Erasmus and Johannes Molanus about the *Cnidian Aphrodite* upon whom a young man left the traces of his uncontrolled lust. Molanus also cites Clemens of Alexandria, who posited that the eyes commit adultery by looking at paintings of Venus and of other indecent scenes.[107]

Anna Bijns was not the only person in the sixteenth century to lash out: "To hang Venus, Cupid and such riffraff,/ Nude in the rooms..."; "The display in their rooms of Cupid with his arrows,/ Lucretia, Venus or one of her nieces stark naked,/ Will easily lead to indecencies."[108] Goltzius' own teacher, Dirck Volckertsz Coornhert, wrote: "The mill of thought turns incessantly. Throw in the chaff of paintings with the nude Venus, [for] what else will it grind but fiery unchasteness, burning desire and feverish love," and again elsewhere: "Imagine a beautiful nude Venus/ What will it make churn in one's mind but an unchaste fire?/ Douse this spark before you go up in flames!/ Swiftly extinguish this fiery image,/ Abide firmly by your reason,/ Such that it turns your eyes away from lust,/ Because the sight of lust breeds evil desire."[109] In both of these quotes, Coornhert wittily uses the verb "malen", which can mean to grind, to rave, or be a lunatic, and to paint.

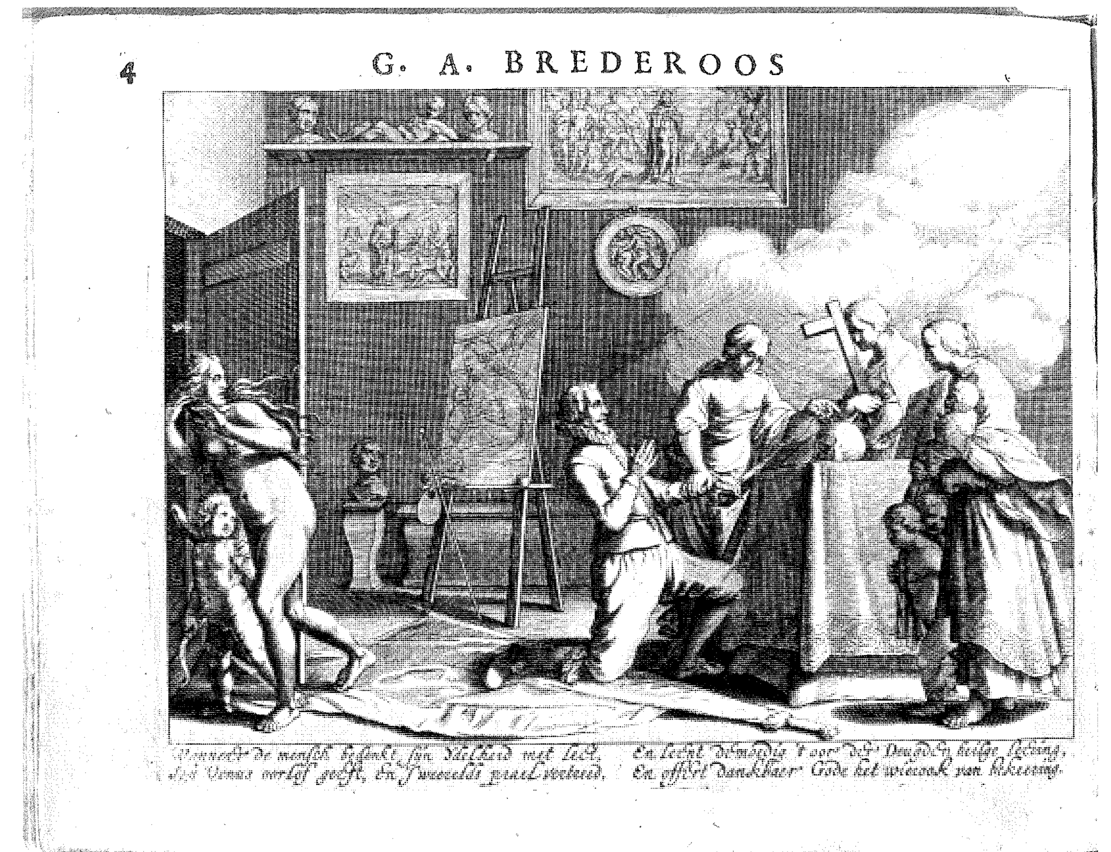
Several decades later, in his 1628 tribute to the city of Haarlem, the Haarlem pastor and city historian Samuel Ampzing severely condemned the representation of nudity. In a passage following his extensive encomium on the artists of Haarlem, he suddenly launches a

vehement attack on those artists who consider painting nudity the highest aim of art, while in fact they are merely shaming art: "... why do you paint those parts of the body/ Which reason and nature command us to conceal,/ And feed an unchaste fire in the hearts of youths?/ For you, most art lies in [the depiction] of nudes./ But why is your heart no longer inclined toward God?" [110] Many of his readers will have understood that he was cursing a large part of the oeuvre of Haarlem history painters, including that of Goltzius, on whom he had just bestowed the highest praise in previous pages, carefully avoiding mention of any subject including nudity.

Expressions of this kind came from very diverse cultural milieus and make clear that such paintings were experienced as highly titillating and considered effective in this respect.[111] In texts this fascination with the sensual stimulation elicited by nude scenes is especially evidenced by the many negative comments, but they can also be found in a comical context, such as a passage in Gerbrandt Adriaensz Bredero's *Moortje* (based on Terence's *Eunuchus*), in which a rapist's lust is aroused by "many nude figures": "t' vrolijck hof van weelden" (or merry garden of lasciviousness), Mars and Venus and the rape of Lucretia are mentioned.[112] In a lengthy erotic poem in *Nova Poemata*, a 'pornographic' booklet with emblems and poems, the poet visits a courtesan and sleeps with her after having become "impassioned ...by fiery love" (ontsteecken...in de vieriger minnen) by looking at pictures of Mars and Venus, Jupiter and Leda, Mercury and Herse and the nude Helen.[113] Many playful (non-moralizing) variations on this theme are found later in the seventeenth century in poems by Joost van den Vondel and Jan Vos – in various instances specifically triggered by paintings of Venus, but also of Danaë, the sleeping Ephigenia, Susanna and Potiphar's wife.[114] Such poems clearly imply that the erotic arousal generated by these images means that it is sight which "brings to life" in the mind that which is represented.[115]

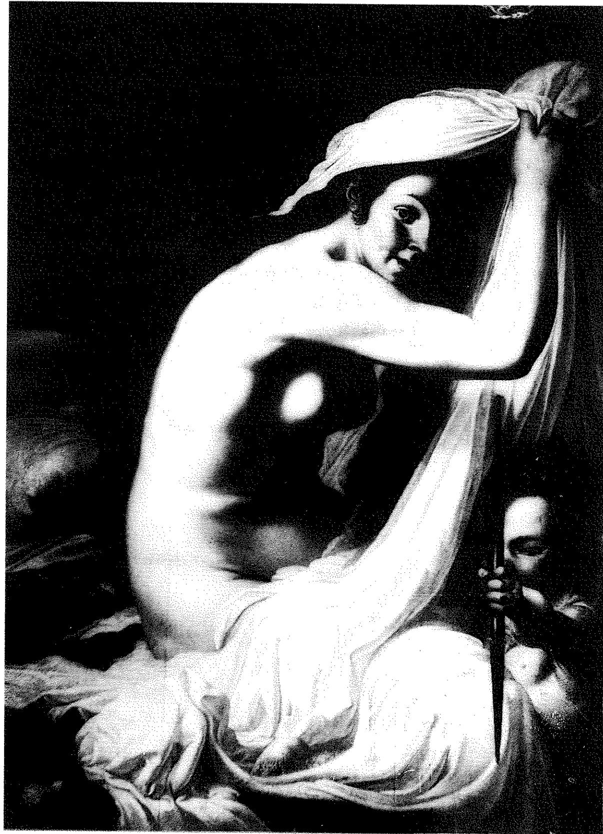
Pieter Serwouters' title print for Bredero's *Aendachtigh liedt-boeck* (fig. 97) can be considered as a pictorial pendant of the moralizing criticism mentioned above. The poet turns to Faith, Hope and Love and away from the Art of Painting (on the easel is a painting of a nude woman with a skull as a paragon of Vanitas), while his model – Venus – accompanied by Cupid takes flight.[116] In contrast, in a painting of *Venus* (around 1612) Werner van den Valckert depicted the power of "the nude Venus" to arouse the senses in a playful and very direct way by having Cupid aim his arrow straight at the beholder (fig. 98).[117]

Art historians in particular have largely tended to evade or even deny the erotic charge of paintings with nude scenes. That this is an essential aspect of the content and was probably experienced by contemporaries as being the most fundamental part – openly by



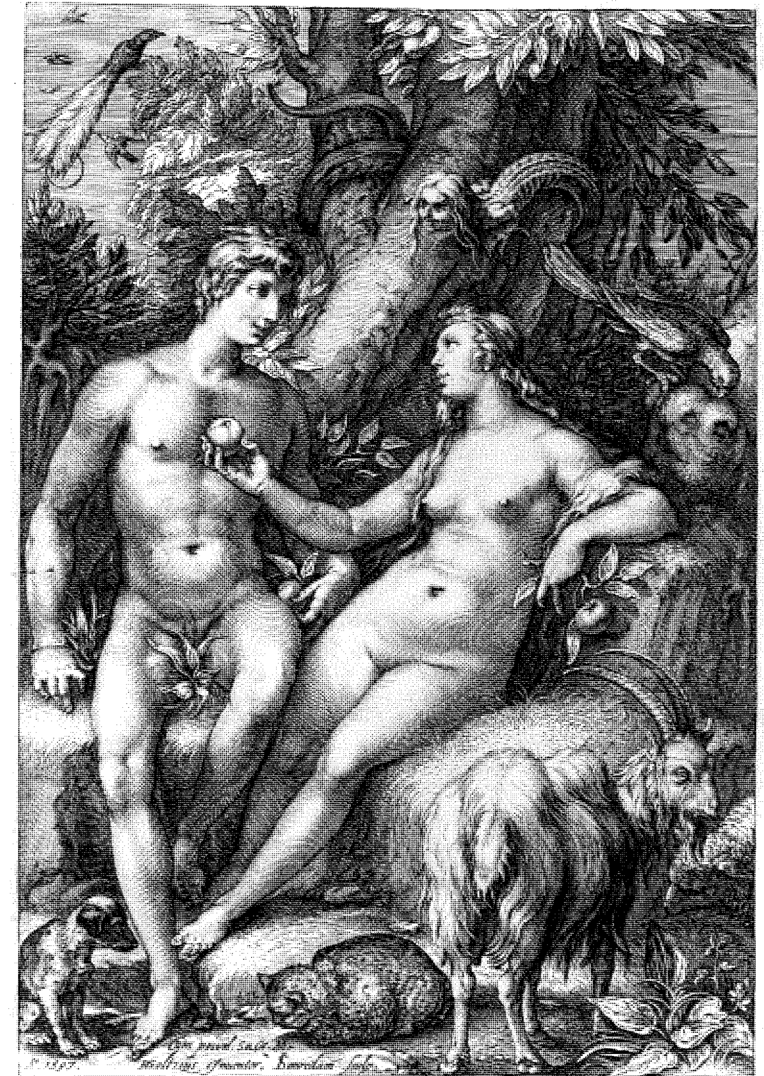
97 Pieter Serwouters, frontispiece from *Aendachtig liedt-boeck* in: Adriaen Bredero, *Boertigh, amoreus en aendachtigh groot lied-boeck*, Amsterdam 1622

opponents and probably as self-evident by the buyers of such painters – needs to be emphatically stated.[118] Precisely the repeatedly formulated acknowledgement that images are capable of arousing desire and the constant manifestation of an obsession with eyes as the most puissant 'seducers', something that could even be perceived as a physiological reality,[119] will have made it impossible for the contemporary beholder not to be conscious of the erotic effect. As both the demand for (erotic) nude scenes and disapproval of them must have been substantial in this period, it should come as no surprise that with respect to such scenes there was a preference for subjects with a built-in moralization. As mentioned before, in favorite scenes of nudity such as Bathsheba, Susanna, Diana and Actaeon and the Judgement of Paris the inherent dangers in *seeing* nude figures were even the core of the subject. Elements could also be added making moralization possible, for example allusions to Vanitas/Superbia in scenes of Venus.



98 Werner van den Valckert, *Venus and Cupid*, c. 1612, panel 103 x 76.5 cm, Private Collection

The painter in Goltzius' *Allegory of Visus* (fig. 66) – interpreted above as a highly respectable artist – is thus painting the nude Venus, that is "the image of lust" (lusts aanzien). Has this painter after all been presented as a reprehensible artist, or should we see the Venus in this allegory as the chaste, heavenly Venus, as the representation of an abstract idea, whereby – at least verbally – her appearance can be rendered harmless? The fact that she is presented with "Cupid and his arrows", that the inclusion of the mirror incorporates associations with Superbia and Vanitas, and that (according to the inscriptions in Goltzius' Visus prints) she also represents the sense invariably alluding to the carnal arousal of desire, rules out the latter interpretation. The prominent presence of the cat lying before Venus and Cupid in the foreground, moreover, confirms the allusion to sensual temptation and lust; earlier we noted the presence of the cat as Visus' only animal attribute in precisely Goltzius' most explicit amorous representation of *Visus* (fig. 74). Noteworthy is that various inventions



In mortem primi quondam cecidere parentes,
Dum vetita dulces decerpunt arbore fructus. Cornelius Schonaeus.

99 Jan Saenredam after Hendrick Goltzius, *The Fall of Man*, 1597, engraving

of the *Fall of Man* by Goltzius have a cat in the foreground as the "attribute" of the first seductress.[120] An engraving by Saenredam of 1597 (fig. 99) shows the creature in the same way, with one difference, namely that in the *Allegory of Visus* (fig. 66) it stares out pointedly at the viewer, just like the more hidden cat in Goltzius' *Visus/Amorous Couple* (fig. 74).

100 Workshop of Hendrick Goltzius after Hendrick Goltzius, *Venus and Cupid*, c. 1587, engraving

101 Hendrick Goltzius (?) after Hendrick Goltzius, *Venus and Cupid*, c. 1596, engraving

In general, it also seems improbable that at the time representations of Venus elicited thoughts of a 'heavenly' or a non-sensual Venus. For instance, in the many Venus prints by Goltzius and his circle she is never depicted as the goddess who tries to stop or punish Cupid; on the contrary, she embraces him lovingly or looks approvingly at him while he – often – is wielding and arrow dangerously.[121] In these prints she is frequently presented as the Venus of the Judgement of Paris (thus as the epitome of beauty but also as the dangerous seductress), either because she is depicted in a series with Juno and Minerva (figs. 100-102), or because she holds an apple (fig. 103).[122] Furthermore, she appears a number of times in series with Bacchus and Ceres (fig. 104), or with attributes alluding to the support provided by Bacchus and Ceres (fig. 105), thus once again as the sensual Venus.[123] In so far as this might not be clear in such a context (fig. 106), the inscriptions in prints of Venus (always accompanied by Cupid and his arrows) reveal that she is the "Cyprian" Venus, who was by no means perceived as the representative of heavenly, chaste love, but rather of sensual love or – in a more poetic and playful variation – as the consumate power governing all of the gods and mortals whom she constantly

102 Jan Saenredam after Hendrick Goltzius, *Venus and Cupid*, c. 1595, engraving

103 Jacob Matham after Hendrick Goltzius, *Venus and Cupid*, 1612, engraving

104 Hendrick Goltzius (?) after Hendrick Goltzius, *Venus and Cupid*, c. 1595, engraving

105 Hendrick Goltzius, *Venus and Cupid*, c. 1590, engraving

torments.[124] The latter is a widely known motif dominating the love poetry of the time and was beautifully visualized by Goltzius in an invention engraved by Saenredam with a group of sumptuously dressed amorous youths kneeling before Venus (fig. 107).[125]

It may be significant that when writing about the *image* of Venus in his *Wtbeeldinge der Figueren* (The Representation of Allegorical Figures), Van Mander speaks exclusively about the Venus of physical beauty and sensuality, who, for example, is nude because "those serving Venus in unchastity, will be stripped of riches and honor."[126] To be sure, in the *Wtleggbing op den Metamorphosis* (Explanation of the Metamorphoses) the Venus of heavenly, pure and chaste love is juxtaposed with the carnal and sensual one, but even here the most common image is that of the "Cyprian" Venus.[127] The many associations with Venus in literary linguistic usage ("Venus-brandt" [Venus fire], "Venus-treecken" [Venus pranks], "Venus-tochten" [Venus passions], "Venus-spel" [Venus play], "Venus-werck" [Venus work],

"Venus-dienaren" [Venus servants], "Venus-wichten" [Venus girls], "Venus-brok" [Venus piece], "Venus-goet" [Venus bit], "Venus-dierkens" [Venus animals], "Venus-scholierkens" [Venus pupils], and so forth), once again show that the most common associations with Venus had to do with inciting lust.[128] Also in the countless citations of Venus and Cupid in amorous poetry, in love emblems, and epithalamia – which present many variations of Venus and Cupid in a more sophisticated manner – reference is seldom made to the chaste Platonic Venus, but primarily and playfully to the omnipotent goddess of love who torments youthful lovers, or to the Venus who guarantees reproduction.

106 Jan Saenredam after Hendrick Goltzius, *Venus and Cupid*, c. 1595, engraving

107 Jan Saenredam after Hendrick Goltzius, *Venus and her Children*, c. 1596, engraving

Thus, like the beholder, the painter in Goltzius' *Allegory of Visus* (fig. 66) is looking at the personification of the sense with the greatest power to stir human desire, who simultaneously represents the epitomy of beauty and grace as well as the seductress of the eyes and kindler of sensuality through the dominion of the senses (while connotations of Superbia and Vanitas are also indicated).[129] The painter portrays her in an image that likewise has the power to seduce the eyes and arouse desire. That Goltzius himself was an artist devoted to the depiction of "Venus en haer nichte" (Venus and her cousins), that is her counterparts, is evidenced by countless prints in which

Venus plays a leading role and by his later paintings of Venus and Adonis, Venus Spied Upon by a Satyr, and her "cousins" Danaë (fig. 121), Antiope (fig. 124), Helen (fig. 93), Pomona (fig. 119), Lot's Daughters and Susanna (fig. 120), usually represented as large nudes occupying most of the picture plane. To be sure, while not all unchaste beauties, they all aroused sexual desire in men.

From the above it has become evident that the fusion of the personification of Visus and the seductress Venus in the 'model' depicted by the painter had many implications of which Goltzius would have been fully aware. A more precise answer to the question of what exactly he wanted to express about the art that he practised may be found by first examining further the relationship that was established between Venus and the Art of Painting.

Venus and Pictura

As stated before, like the relationship between Venus and Visus, the connection between Venus and Pictura occurs with some frequency. This bond could assume many forms: a complete merging of Pictura and Venus, scenes of Pictura painting Venus, and specific depictions of the painter with Venus are all encountered in both images and words.

In the art literature, the 'erotic' relationship between the painter and his art is described in fairly respectful terms. Van Mander used the concept of love for Pictura on various occasions, comparing her with a beautiful and seductive woman.[130] This metaphor found its most explicit form in Van Mander's biography of Batholomeus Spranger in which the associative link between Pictura and Venus is clearly articulated. For example, he writes that Pictura had smiled benevolently upon Spranger already in his youth and ultimately married him, her dowry consisting of the graces, and adds that she is still Spranger's spouse while his works are like children who will guarantee his eternal fame.[131] Van Mander formulates the connection between Venus and Pictura even more distinctly when he discusses the qualities of Spranger's work and states that his "Venus-like Pictura" (Venussche Pictura) cannot be surpassed and "is so faultless that not even arguments about slippers are possible" (aan t'minste Toffel-craken niet te berispen), referring to a cobbler's criticism of a Venus by Apelles.[132] This is the result of his "Apellian grace" (Apellische gratie), present in all of his works "accompanied by the daughter of Mars and Venus, Harmonia".[133]

In a print from the Rudolphine circle uniting Venus and Pictura

into a single person, an allusion is certainly made to the seductive powers of the art of painting (fig. 108). Dated 1591, it is an engraving by Raphael Sadeler I after Hans von Aachen: Venus literally takes Pictura's place and, holding a palette and paint brushes, turns to a cupid who embraces her, while a second putto hovers above her clutching a mask, the familiar attribute of Pictura and a symbol of visual semblance. Next to Venus is a lute and a viola. The inscription on this print refers to Cupid's risky temptations, which though outwardly attractive conceal poison within.[134] Hence, explicit reference is made here to the seductive, erotic power of the art of painting (together with music) as a favorite 'medium' of Venus and Cupid; palette and brushes and musical instruments being their 'weapons' of choice. Whether Von Aachen himself actually intended to give the severe moralizing warning expressed in the inscription on the print, however, is highly questionable.[135] Incidentally, a drawing by an artist from the same circle shows Venus and Cupid being approached by Mercury armed with a palette and maulstick.[136] In this circle, Mercury was exceptionally popular as the patron of the arts, and was fairly frequently presented in relation to the art of painting in his capacity as the representative of eloquence and wit.[137] The drawing presumably conveys that it is precisely the art of painting that is capable of joining the powers of both deities – namely Mercury's persuasive eloquence and Venus' beauty and seductiveness; that it was Cupid who was born from the union between Mercury and Venus may lend additional weight to the relationship between the art of painting and eroticism.[138]

Remarkably, the two Northern Netherlandish representations known to me in which Venus and Pictoria are fused have to do with Goltzius. In 1604 Johannes de Witt Stevenszoon had a plan to publish a print with "Venus Pictoria", as we know from a letter he wrote to Aernout van Buchell.[139] He wanted to dedicate this print to no one less than Goltzius, with the inscription: "To Venus Pictoria, most dazzling of goddesses and her great initiate Sir Hendrick Goltzius, very famous painter and engraver, presented by Johannes Stephanus de Witt, of Utrecht and a knight, an extremely devoted admirer of the same goddess, inventor of this print." De Witt pictured Venus sitting on a throne and leaning on a block of marble bearing the text: "sharpness of wit, honor and wealth, and pure pleasure do I bestow upon my worshippers." He wrote that the graces gathered round must serve her and that Cupid flies toward her to hand her paint brushes; little hovering cupids scatter flowers and Fame holds aside the draperies of the throne to let in the day and the light. Evidently, De Witt in no way wished to create the impression that a sophisticated connoisseur like himself had any intention of alluding to painting's power to arouse lust, as he hastened to add that this Venus is naturally not the good-for-nothing, lascivious Cyprian Venus, but the pure one of the art of painting. Nevertheless, it is Cupid who hands her brushes, the tools which her "initiates" avail themselves of to represent beauty and thus provide her "devoted admirers" and "worshippers" with pleasure. This pleasure can be "pure" with the help of "sharpness of wit, honor and wealth," characteristics that are second nature to the true connoisseur. The acknowledgement that art representing beauty and grace, the "Venus Pictoria", is a sensual medium, seems clearly present in this pictorial invention. However, this can only be properly enjoyed by true art lovers.

A vision of "Venus Pictoria" differing completely from that envisaged by De Witt was painted somewhat later by "her great initiate" Goltzius in an unusual format (fig. 109). It is a diamond shaped painting showing a nude woman to her waist gazing at the viewer, and holding a brush in one hand and a shell in the other. That she must be Venus is indicated by the rose between her breasts (her attribute according to Van Mander, because "the rose that quickly fades, signifies the passion of love, that rapidly perishes" and by the shell: "She [Venus] is shown with a mother-of-pearl shell in her hand").[140] The nautilus shell with its beautiful mother-of-pearl sheen, an eagerly coveted and costly object for *Kunstkammer*, here – along with the embodiment of female beauty – undoubtedly signifies the art of nature. The art of painting is capable of depicting and eternalizing this in all its perfection, so that the beholder/buyer may 'possess' and enjoy these beauties that arouse desire. The composition is so unusual and curious – given the way in which the frontally posed and narrowly framed half-length figure holds up the shell and handles the brush – that one wonders whether the artist intended suggesting that this Venus/Pictura is looking into a mirror while painting her own reflection, so that the mirror metaphor, with all of the implications of Visus, Superbia and Vanitas is simultaneously incorporated into this image of coveted beauty.

A scene in which Pictura (as a nude woman in the act of painting) is depicting Venus – thus more closely approximating the *Allegory of Visus* (fig. 66) because Venus serves as the model – is found in a picture by Johann Rottenhammer (fig. 110). Seated on a throne embellished with roses and in the company of two little doves, Venus is being wreathed by Cupid and portrayed by Pictura. Seated around Pictura and absorbed in their own activities are women personifying Architecture, Poetry and Music (Minerva has been allotted a modest place in the background as patroness). These arts are dominated by the goddess of beauty, love and seduction, the figure on which the entire composition is centered, yet their position is subordinate to that of Pictura who literally displays the goddess and thus most directly

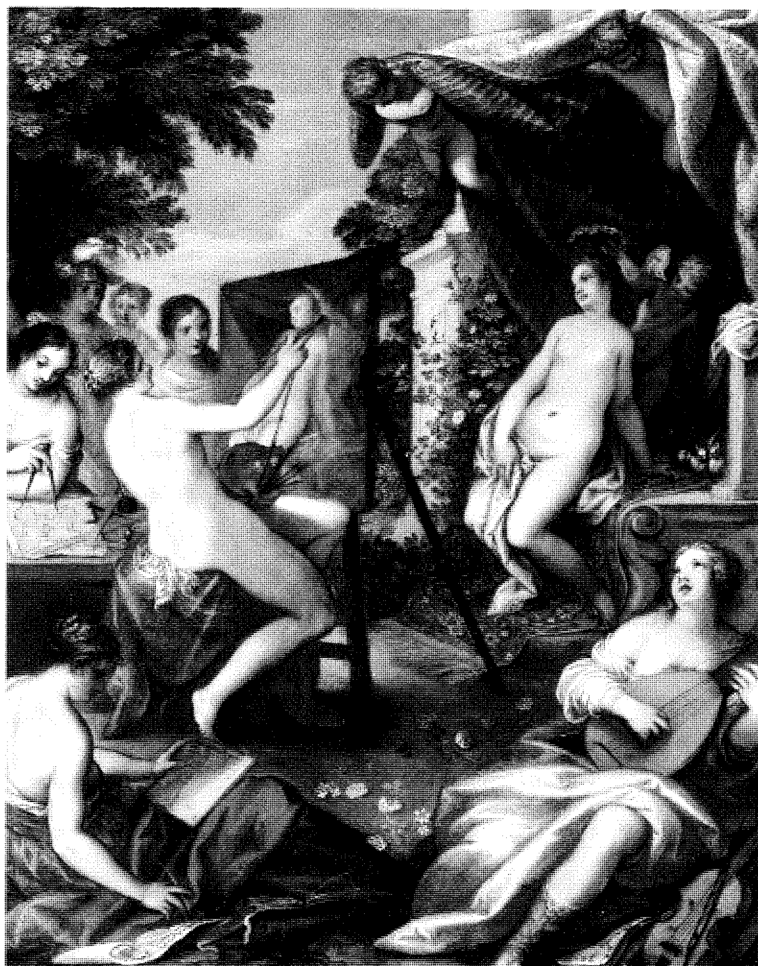
conveys her might with the help of the most powerful of the five senses.

Somewhat later in the Northern Netherlands, a Venus being painted by Pictura – in a specific context – appears in the frontispiece of Pieter Cornelisz Hooft's *Emblemata Amatoria*, published in 1611 (fig. 111).[141] As part of the decorative framing of the title, Pictura stands at the right giving the finishing touch to the figure of Venus who, with a burning heart in her hand and from her elevated position above the title, looks down upon amorous couples gathered around her altar (just as in the above-mentioned frontispiece of the *Nieuwen ieucht-spieghel* (fig. 95), where she also personifies *Visus*). Venus is shown once again with a burning heart on Pictura's base. Poetry stands on the other side holding a caduceus and depicted on her base are Apollo and Daphne, who is being transformed into a laurel. Pictura and Poesia are here united to serve and entertain enamored youth, each in their own way. Also incorporated here is the implication that as Venus' 'accomplice' and seductress of the eyes, Pictura primarily arouses sensual feelings while the Apollonian Poesia engages the minds of those in love.[142]

108 Raphael Sadeler after Hans von Aachen, *Venus and Cupid*, 1591, engraving

Finally, a special form of the Pictura allegory in which Venus plays a role is found in a print by Cornelis Galle after Aegidius Sadeler (fig. 112).[143] While the nude, paint-grinding woman before the easel evokes associations with Venus – particularly as she also serves as the model for two drawing cupids – on the easel itself is a painting of the Judgement of Paris. Here, thus, the subject of Paris' judgement represents the ideal of Pictura who, like Paris, judges beauty and chooses the most beautiful of all, namely Venus.[144] It is a subject that can stand for the highest demands made on the capacities of the art of painting in the choice and depiction of the most beautiful imaginable female nude (seen from three different sides – that is, from all around). Simultaneously, however, it is a highly suitable subject for visualizing seduction by *beholding* female beauty. It is the paragon of a scene that entices the eyes of the viewer by presenting him the same sight to which Paris – the beholder *in* the scene – succumbed.[145] In a later painting by Willem van Haecht – a representation of a picture gallery functioning as a Pictura allegory in which Apelles is shown painting Campaspe – the Judgement of Paris is, as it were, juxtaposed with Apelles absorbed in his work by means of a drawing of this scene held by one of Campaspe's servants (fig. 113). What Apelles/the painter does and experiences – seeing perfect nude pulchritude which sparks

109 Hendrick Goltzius, *Venus/Pictura*, panel 69 x 70 cm, Germany, Private Collection



110 Johann Rottenhammer, *Allegory of Painting*, copper 28 x 21 cm, Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Gemäldegalerie

love in him while he paints Campaspe as Venus – thus finds an echo in Paris' act of beholding and electing Venus.

In my view, Goltzius also incorporates the Judgement of Paris in an allegory referring to the art of painting with Mercury as a painter (fig. 114). Mercury holds a palette and brushes in one hand and in the other – as though it were a maulstick – a caduceus, the symbol of eloquence and persuasion which is also an important element in Goltzius' personal device.[146] Mercury, armed with a palette, brushes and a maulstick and making a painting with Venus as its subject, was depicted by a certain Josias Rozlau in a drawing of 1598.[147] Goltzius, on the other hand (who, incidentally, must also have made a painting of *Mercury and Venus*),[148] placed a partially rolled-up drawing before

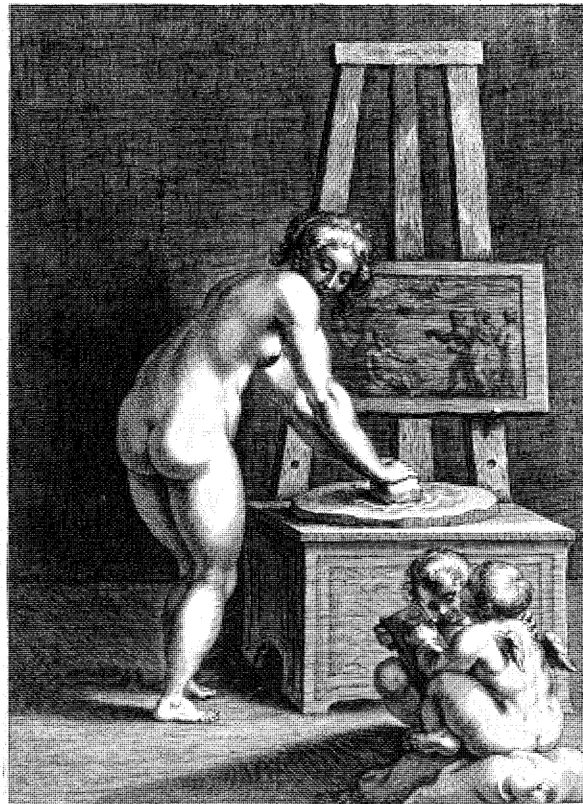
111 Attributed to Hessel Gerritsz, frontispiece from: P.C. Hooft, *Emblemata Amatoria* (Amsterdam 1611), etching

the feet of Mercury which – though no longer fully legible – in my opinion represents Venus (and behind her the indignant Juno) on the point of receiving the apple from Paris seated at the left, whose outstretched hand is all we see.[149] Again, it seems to be indicated that under the guidance of Mercury, patron of painters (who, as a matter of fact, was the one who chose Paris to judge beauty and who as the 'director' of Paris' judgement stands watch behind him in virtually all of the depictions of this subject), the selection of the *summum* of female beauty is a task of the art of painting – with all of the consequences ensuing from the nature of the sense with which beauty is perceived.

Obviously, the implicit comparison in such scenes of the painter with Paris who observes and chooses Venus could also assume a negative meaning. We find this in Van Mander's moralizing admonition addressed at pupils of the art of painting, whom he advises to resist Cupid's enticements, unlike Paris and Actaeon who died as a result. He emphasizes that painters in particular can be victimized by

this, adding: "They [the painters] usually judge foolishly like Paris/ a painter's marriage is often of that kind,/ Because their senses are particularly attracted by beauty."[150] Precisely painters – those judges of beauty relying on their all-important yet treacherous eyes – are prey to the power that beauty wields over sight.

The painter's specific qualities as an expert in female beauty are conveyed in the famous stories about Zeuxis, who painted Venus' mortal alter ego, Helen, by selecting the prettiest of the Crotonian virgins; about Apelles' quarrel with the cobbler concerning a painting of Venus; and especially about Apelles painting Campaspe as Venus. These stories confirm and sanction the depiction of perfect female beauty as one of the painter's primary goals. Apelles, the prince of painters, surpassed all others precisely in the depiction of the grace and beauty of female nudity in particular.[151] The story of Apelles and Campaspe best encompasses the image of the painter as an expert judge and perfect portrayer of beauty, as well as the 'victim' thereof.



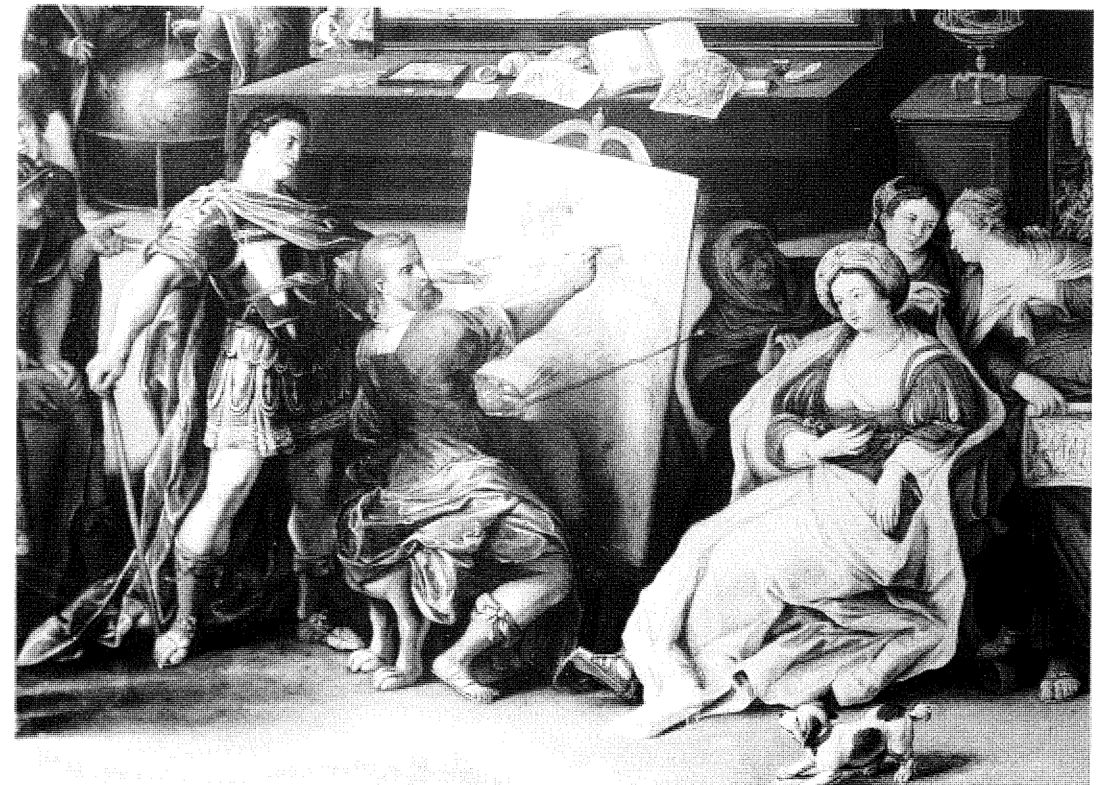
112 Cornelis Galle I after Aegidius Sadeler, *Pictura*, engraving

Van Mander's way of telling the story further underscores these elements: "Because Apelles had more knowledge than Alexander about the perfect beauty of the human body and the appearance of a beautiful woman, so too was he more powerfully confronted with and overcome by unchaste love due to the constant observation of her when he was painting" (this digression is nowhere found in Van Mander's source, the French translation of Pliny, only the matter-of-fact remark: "Alexander, seeing that Apelles was struck by the same arrow as he was, gave her to him.").[152] Van Mander emphasizes that precisely because Apelles is a connoisseur of female pulchritude and scrutinizes his subject so intensely, he is exposed all the more intensely to sensual arousal. In depictions of this story – incidentally not very numerous and mostly stemming from the late sixteenth and

early seventeenth century – we see Cupid ready to attack Apelles or actually pierce his heart with his arrow.[153] The latter occurs, for example, in a drawing attributed to Werner van den Valckert in which Apelles seated before his easel is undoubtedly a self-portrait of the painter, who looks out at the viewer with amusement (fig. 115).[154]

References to Apelles will always have played a role in representations of Pictura with a painted Venus (compare the allegory by Frans Floris), or of Pictura painting Venus (for example, by Rottenhammer). And, this will have been the case to an even greater extent in scenes which combine 'normal' painters with Venus. In an engraved portrait of Floris we see him holding a panel with the figure of Venus (fig. 116).[155] In the course of the seventeenth century, a painting of Venus was incorporated in various portraits of painters.[156] However, more importantly, aside from the *Allegory of Visus* (fig. 66), we also see a picture of Venus (with Cupid) on the easel near the painter who occupies a prominent place in Goltzius' *Mercury and his Children* (fig. 117).[157] Quite probably, in all of these cases the reference to Apelles as the prince of painters constitutes the most significant connotation.

113 Willem van Haecht, *Collector's Cabinet with Apelles Painting Campaspe* (detail), *c.*1630, panel 104.9 x 148.7, The Hague, Royal Cabinet of Paintings Mauritshuis



In addition to ideas about the depiction of perfect nude beauty as one of the highest goals of art, the erotic implications – powerfully expressed in both Van Mander's version of the story and, for example, in the drawn self-portrait mentioned above (fig. 115) – are unavoidably included. If one accepts Apelles as the greatest painter and as the exemplum of what the art of painting is capable of (as Van Mander most emphatically does in his biography of Apelles) – then one has little choice but to accept Venus/beauty/grace as a paradigmatic subject of this art as well as the possible consequences thereof.

Entirely within the context of eroticism and seduction – though in a distinctly negative sense – we see Venus as a painter's model in the earlier mentioned frontispiece by Pieter Serwouters for Bredero's *Aendachtigh Liedt-boeck* published in 1622 (fig. 97).[158] Here the poet renounces the amorous dalliances represented by the 'Apellian' art. He has turned away from an easel with painter's implements and a picture of a nude woman, characterized as Vanitas, while at the left his startled 'models', Venus and Cupid, bolt. He now kneels before a table behind which are Faith, Hope and Love. The inscription reads: "Contemplating one's vanity with grief,/ And humbly lending an ear to the holy teachings of Virtue/ One dismisses Venus, and treads under foot the world's splendor/ and gratefully offers God the incense of conversion."[159] In this specific context a particular kind of painting is thus all the more clearly aligned with Venus, earthly seduction and vanity because of the distinctly negative moralizing framework; here she is presented as "the universal foolish mother of vanities," whereby the 'dangers' of this art to the moral salvation of the beholder as well as of the painter are explicitly visually expressed.[160]

114 Hendrick Goltzius, *Mercury with a Palette*, 1611, canvas 211.5 x 117.5 cm, Haarlem, Frans Hals Museum (on loan from Royal Cabinet of Paintings Mauritshuis, The Hague)

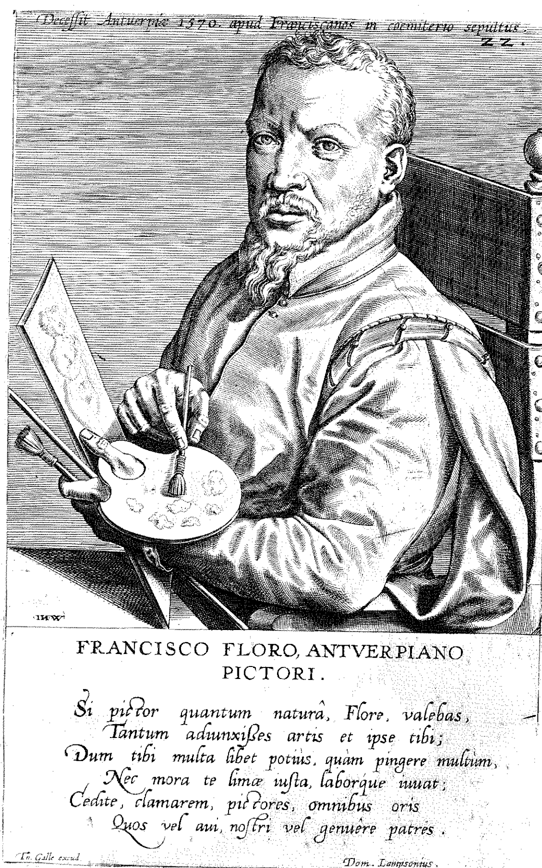
115 Werner van den Valckert (?), *Apelles Painting Campaspe*, drawing 44 x 35.5 cm, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, Rijksprentenkabinet

Yet another motif linked to the Apelles story is encountered in the art literature, namely that of the painter incited by love for his model. This is splendidly elaborated upon by Van Mander in his life of Hugo van der Goes (based on older texts by Lucas d'Heere and Marcus van Vaernewijck). While painting from life a girl with whom he was in love, Van der Goes' brush was guided by Cupid and his mother, yielding a beautiful and exceptionally life-like result.[161] Lucas d'Heere was the first to introduce the motif of the enamored painter in Netherlandish literature with a few short poems, in which he plays with the concept that the beauty of the model with whom the painter is in love actually surpasses the capacities of his art.[162] In one of these poems he portrays his sweetheart as Venus, hoping that his reward would be that he might dally with her as Mars. Here, love for the

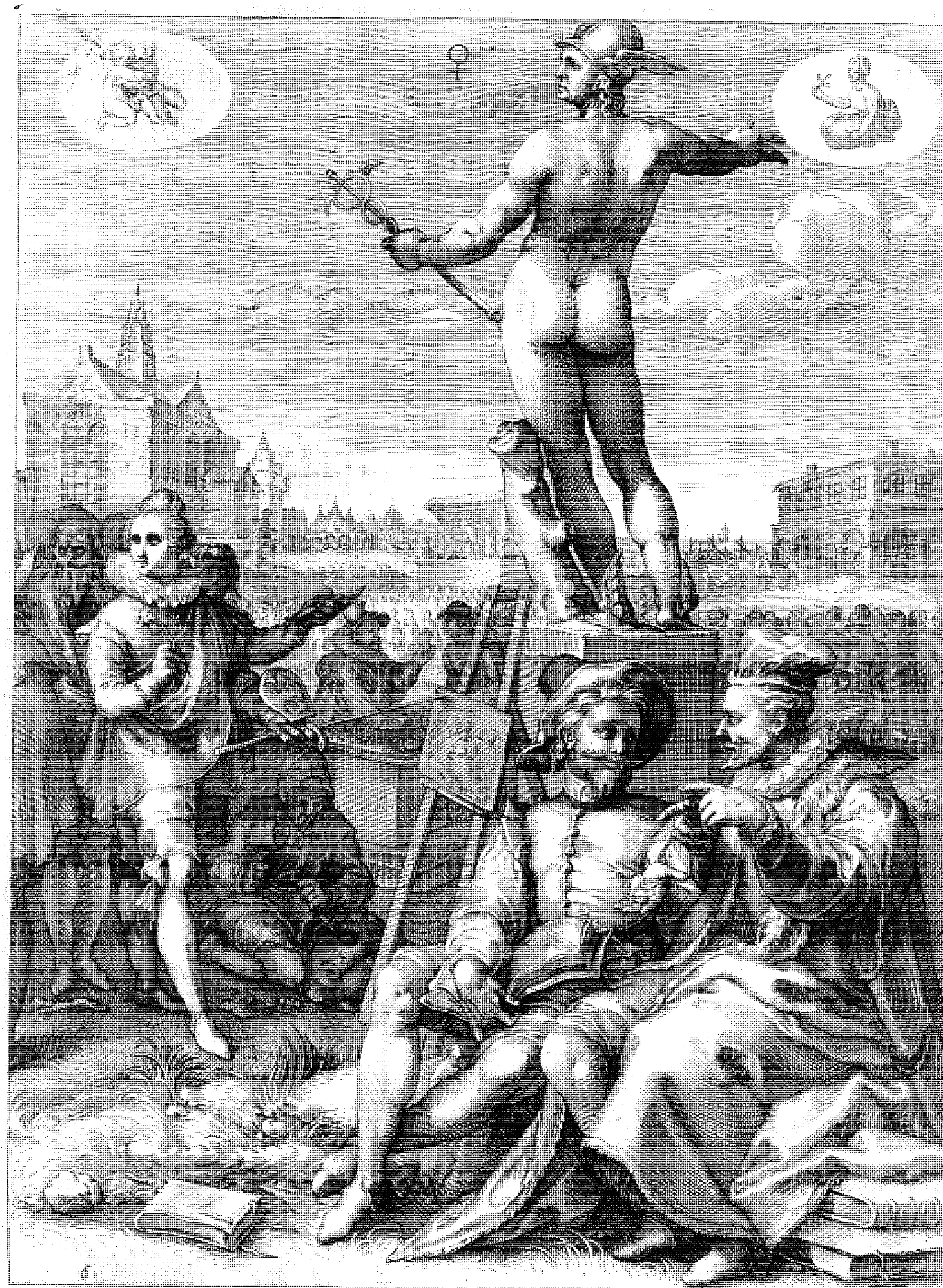
model is thus also transposed with a playful metaphor onto the "as good as real" quality of the painting with the girl as Venus. Decades later Van de Venne poignantly formulated the relationship between the erotic inspiration generated by the beloved and the image's power to arouse desire in some verses devoted to the likeness of his sweetheart in the *Zeeusche Mey-clacht* (1623), ending with: "The eye is never satisfied, desire never sated,/ As long as one courts art and love."[163]

Finally, two other curious texts should be mentioned in which the motif of the painter who falls prey to Venus' power through the nature of his activities is carried to extreme. The motif of the depiction of Venus is (intentionally) comically portrayed in a poem entitled "Cupid's list" (Cupid's ruse) in the above-mentioned 'pornographic' volume *Nova Poemata* (the third – and only now known – edition appeared in 1624). In it, Cupid brings the painter a letter from Venus commissioning him to paint her and containing some instructions as to how this should be done, to which Cupid himself adds several titillating remarks: "Thus her bosom (should be) smooth and white/ With two small breasts slightly erect./ And then the rest of her body and limbs/ About her navel's sweet button/ About her virgin's flower bud/ I have reason for keeping silent here."[164] In grateful recognition of the painter's art, Cupid gives him an arrow and then leaves him behind "filled with love's poison." Here, thus, it is implied that the painter is inflamed not so much by his model, but by what he has painted.

Apparently, the image of the painter as someone erotically stimulated by his work could even go so far that in an explicitly dirty poem (in the same *Nova Poemata*) revolving around a voluptuous young lady who has had a painter render her "likeness" (conterfeyten), this "conterfeyten" serves as a metaphor for copulating. The reader will understand what his brush, for instance, stands for, with which he could "rub" so well and which he could handle "so softly and nicely."[165] Here, in a comico-erotic context, the fact that a stereotype existed of



116 Johannes Wierix, *Portrait of Frans Floris*, c. 1570, engraving in: J. Lampsonius, *Pictorum Aliquot...Effigies* (1st ed. Antwerp 1572, 4th ed. Th. Galle, Antwerp)



117 Jan Saenredam after Hendrick Goltzius, *Mercury and his Children*, c. 1596, engraving

the painter as a person driven by his libido is all too clear, as is the moralizing image of the art of painting outlined above as 'dangerous' seductress of the eyes, "food of evil lust and villainous foolishness," and of representations of nudity as "... salacious images/ Painted for the people in the service of licentiousness." The dour Camphuyzen censoriously summarized both opinions with the remark: "A coaxing deception of the eye, which plainly reveals/ The heart of he who made and he who owns it."[166] Incidentally, in the seventeenth century a certain fascination with the painter and his 'immoral' nude model also comes to the fore in other ways.[167]

Thus, in many variants a connection appears to have been made between Venus and the Art of Painting and between Venus and the artist, whereby the nature of the 'Apellian' art and of the sense that observes this, could give rise to strict moralizing condemnation as well as to acceptance through embedment in a respectable art-ideological context. It could also lead to an elaboration in a playfully amorous or even explicitly erotic sense. Especially the respectable context and the playful version are frequently in line with each other, the first making the second possible.

Venus, Visus and Pictura and Goltzius' work

The time has come to summarize what light the preceding discussion has shed both on the print serving as the point of departure for this essay and on several aspects of Goltzius' art.

In my view, the print expresses the following: the painter is characterized as a worthy investigator of nature and a connoisseur of beauty *par excellence* joining other explorers of nature, namely the representatives of astronomy/mathematics and medicine, all of whom are dependent on the noblest and loftiest sense. They, too, are presented as advocates of this sense, which they employ at the highest possible level. And, they are the practitioners of the sciences with which Goltzius himself must have felt deeply involved, and who of old were counted among the children of Mercury. Like them, the painter aims to excel in his art, as is underscored by the eagle flying toward the sun under whose protective wings they all work, as well as by the phoenix's head on the painter's easel placed before the sun which, as a symbol of excellence and knowledge of art, also 'watches over' the achievements of the artist at work. Because of the way in which the painter is depicted, he personifies the Art of Painting and his person unites *the* representatives of this art, St Luke and Apelles. That they are the exemplary painters, moreover, implies that the depiction of the

summum of female beauty and grace is paradigmatic for this art. With the St Luke type, reference is being made to a greatly admired painting by one of Goltzius' most renowned Haarlem predecessor (thus placing the painter in an illustrious Haarlem tradition), as well as to a long-standing Christian tradition in the depiction of the loveliest imaginable female beauty. With the image of Apelles superimposed on this, the paramount importance of the 'Apellian' art of antiquity and of contemporary times for an artist such as Goltzius is indicated: that is, the representation of perfect nude beauty.

By simultaneously depicting the 'live' model, her reflection in a mirror and her portrayal on the panel on the easel, Goltzius demonstrates art's ability to display various layers of visual illusionism. In placing the painting next to the mirror, both of which reflect the same subject, he indicates the affinity between the painting and the traditional attribute of *Visus*, whereby both can only be consumed with the eyes and both are but 'semblance'. Also denoted is that the painting transcends the fleeting mirror reflection. The model that the painter beholds and portrays is not just any 'live' model, but Venus, a poetic invention and the ideal of beauty and grace. The painter's model has thus already undergone a transformation into an invented ideal in the figure of Venus; on her own she a paragon of what *Visus* and Pictura (and Goltzius) together can achieve in the rendering of consummate beauty. Moreover, unlike the image of the mirror, the painting on the easel also proves to be a transformation of that which the painter 'sees'.

While Venus already stands for ultimate female beauty and grace, the fact that she is an emulation of Titian's depiction of Venus observing herself in a mirror may underscore all the more the perfect image thereof that she represents. Titian's depiction of Venus was probably perceived as a 'canon' for the contemporary portrayal of beauty and grace, while of it self the theme of Venus before a mirror that he popularized can be interpreted as a poetic allegory of beauty. However, Goltzius' Venus is also the seductress *par excellence*, the kindler of amorous lust incorporating references to vanity and the transience of beauty and sensual desire.

The painter's task in this print is the same as Apelles', namely the depiction of consummate nude beauty and grace in the form of 'Venus', a task also assumed by a painter before his easel in another work by Goltzius (his *Astrological Children of Mercury*; fig. 117). He displays his awareness not only of the consequence that he is thereby creating mere vain earthly 'semblance', which because of the nature of the faculty of sight stirs the senses, he even goes a step further. By merging the image of Venus, the paragon of beauty and the seductress

of the senses, and that of the personification of *Visus* as a woman with a mirror, and making them converge in that which the painter beholds and captures in his painting, he demonstrates that the kind of art pursuing such 'Apellian' beauty generates a pleasure that is chiefly sensual in nature. It is a pleasure that can awaken lust and desire precisely because sight is the most powerful and, with respect to sensual enticement, the 'most dangerous' of the senses (as is stressed in the inscriptions to Goltzius' other representations of *Visus*). The one is inevitably the result of the other. That Cupid (the executor of "Venus' pranks") and the cat (as an attribute of *Visus* and representative of sensual seduction) draw the viewer's gaze reinforces these implications.

Goltzius must have been fully aware of the general preoccupation with the 'dangers' of the eyes, of observing female beauty and particularly the depiction thereof – as well as the concomitant fiercely moralizing criticism of nude scenes (vented by his own teacher Coornhert, among others). He would have taken for granted the close ties between Venus and *Visus* and between Venus and Pictura outlined above; variations with related implications can be found in his own works, most explicitly in his painting of *Venus/Pictura* (fig. 109). Goltzius portrayed these correspondences in their most refined form in his invention of the *Allegory of Visus* (fig. 66). He presents the artist who – like Goltzius, first as an inventor of engravings and subsequently as a painter – pursued with conviction that which the pictorial arts, and particularly painting are preeminently suited to do, namely seducing the eyes and affording sensual pleasure through the depiction of beauty.

The sensual power of this art is accepted and presented as its most potent effect, one that is unavoidable should the representation of beauty be considered as the goal of this art. Goltzius will have been cognisant of the fact that this could be interpreted as dangerous and harmful, an awareness that is underscored by the Vanitas and Superbia implications. However, a true connoisseur like himself and the art lovers who purchased his work, the "initiates", "devoted admirers" and "worshippers" of Venus Pictoria, could enjoy this art in the right way. The inscription, undoubtedly only conceived when the print was being published, states: "I know from experience that this affords the beholder both harm and pleasure" (Haec memini nocuisse atque oblectasse videntes).[168] What is probably being implied here is that it affords pleasure only to the connoisseurs; others could suffer damage or be disturbed by its harmful effects. This art is not meant for those who see only the whore speaking to man's base lust, the aspect of Venus symbolized by the cat fixing its gaze on the beholder.

Precisely the contradictory attitudes towards (nude) beauty, sight and the image – that is Venus, Visus and Pictura – as sources of gratifying pleasure and 'danger' will have lent scenes of "Venus and her cousins" an appealing tension for those with no moral misgivings in this respect and who, furthermore, could justify this both to themselves and their surroundings on the basis of pictorial and poetic traditions hailing back to antiquity and, when necessary, with the help of rather obvious moralizations.

It is an art that can provide pleasure and amusement when the painter has placed himself "in the service" of Venus and Cupid, just like the many poets of amorous verse who professed to be their servant or accomplice.[169] That the painter in our print presents himself as their assistant, while 'erotic' inspiration plays a role, was given additional and even light-hearted emphasis in the form of the dolphin – an attribute of Venus encountered in a number of Goltzius' erotic scenes – embellishing the stool on which the artist is seated.[170]

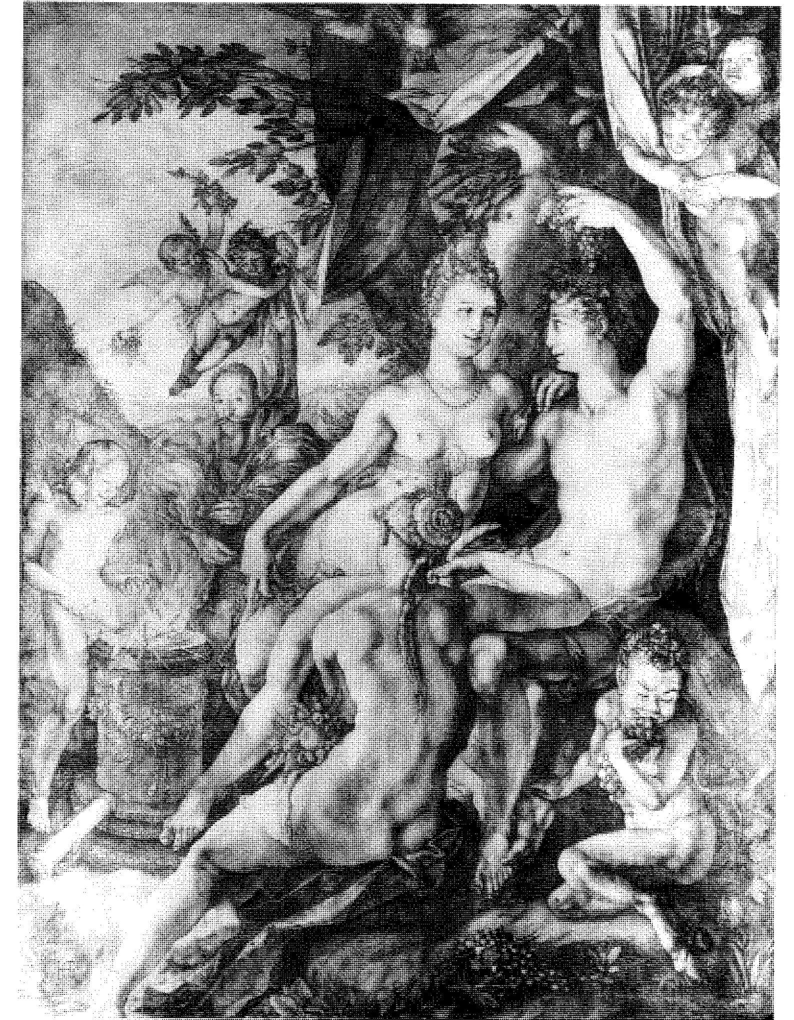
One could suppose that with this scene Goltzius was cleverly rebutting moralists, like his teacher Coornhert, regarding notions about the eye as a source of knowledge and pleasure and especially with respect to the representation of "the nude Venus" and her peers, which had overwhelmingly dominated his art ever since he had freed himself from Coornhert's immediate influence.[171] The print demonstrates that Apellian art, "the lovely feast for the eyes, the beautiful Pictura," is sensual in nature, and that its right to exist is equal to that of the art which Coornhert used so emphatically as a discursive medium. In a certain sense, such an attitude toward moralists could then be understood as coinciding with the way in which Hooft in the foreword to his *Emblemata Amatoria* of 1611,[172] playfully lashes out at poets (possibly especially Hendrik Laurensz Spiegel) who reviled Venus and Cupid, that is amorous amusement in poetry.

That the subject of this print pertains to the art of Goltzius himself, on the threshold of his career as a painter, receives confirmation from the references to him it contains. With the cherub's head, part of Goltzius' own emblem and here adorning the upper arm of Venus, Goltzius may have wanted to link his virtue, honor and fame with the representation of 'Venus';[173] the phoenix head, placed before the sun, certainly refers to Goltzius. After all, Van Mander lauded Goltzius' extraordinary artistry with metaphors derived from the phoenix and the sun, and this mythological bird – referred to so often in connection with Goltzius – presumably was either an already extant family 'emblem' or one that he created.

In many other inventions, Goltzius himself is 'present'. By incorporating self-portraits in several of his most ambitious works he stressed that they were also 'statements'. These include the best-known of his *Meisterstiche* of 1594 (the *Circumcision* in the Manner of Dürer), his most virtuoso "pen work" of *Venus, Ceres and Bacchus* of 1604 in St Petersburg (fig. 118), and the large *Allegory* dated 1611 in Basel (fig. 80). In his more than two-meter high 'pen painting' of 1604, which "was to surpass all of his earlier pen works,"[174] he does not present himself as a moralist – a wise man who practices moderation as opposed to those who arouse pleasure and lust[175] – as several authors have contended, but as the "accomplice" of Venus and Cupid. He places his skills in the service of Venus, just like "the inventor of wine, generous, kindler of lust and dispeller of worries" (Bacchus), "Abundance" (Ceres) and "lust fanning the fire" (Cupid).[176] Standing near the the fire in which Cupid is tempering an arrowhead, Goltzius, the proud maker of this masterpiece, looks out at the viewer, and is armed with burins, his own arrows (tempered in Cupid's fire?).[177]

A number of his later 'erotic' paintings also seem to evince a personal involvement. Elsewhere I suggested that Goltzius' two large paintings of *Vertumnus and Pomona* (fig. 119)[178] might refer to the artist's reputation as a Proteus or Vertumnus of the arts (as emphasized by Van Mander), a 'title of honor' given earlier in the dedication to the *Meisterstiche* (1594). There is stated that just as Proteus assumed various guises in pursuing Pomona, so too could Goltzius change his appearance.[179] This alludes to the idea that Goltzius could take on "different shapes of all possible styles."[180] Incidentally, this notion of the artist as Vertumnus was also expressed by Federico Zuccaro, who wrote that a painter had to be as versatile and ingenious as Pomona's lover.[181] That this 'honorary name' played a role in his representations of Vertumnus and Pomona – in two monumental works that Goltzius produced at a time when paintings of this theme were still rare – is unavoidable.[182] In these paintings, where the erotic implications of the story are stressed rather more substantially than was previously common, Vertumnus in his last transformation attempts to win the love of the virtually unattainable beauty.[183] This seems to refer to Goltzius himself, the artist, who by assuming various guises throughout his life "strives to follow beauty, that is the various forms of Nature," and who in his last transformation into a painter (whose sensual medium, as Van Mander posited, was at its strongest particularly in the depiction of young women), went to great lengths to achieve the ultimate in the depiction of beauty that awakens love.[184]

In a painting preeminently exemplifying the arousal of passion through the sight of female beauty, *Susanna and the Elders* (fig. 120),



118 Hendrick Goltzius, *'Sine Cerere et Baccho friget Venus'*, drawing on canvas, 228 x 170 cm, St Petersburg, Hermitage

Goltzius did not incorporate his own likeness but that of his friend the art lover Jan Govertsen, the beaming older man at the right and perhaps the actual 'owner' of this *Susanna*.[185] One is reminded of a piquant quip by the aged Sir Dudley Carleton, who light-heartedly expressed a voyeuristic identification in writing about a Susanna that Rubens was working on (and which the latter referred to in a letter to Carleton as a *galanteria*); he wished that the beauty of this Susanna would be such that she could inflame even old men.[186] One is also reminded of Goltzius' own words in a letter to Jan van Weely of 1605 – the only written reference to his work – in which he asks for

suggestions for subjects: "Would you look for cheerful histories which appear pleasant in painting." With "cheerful histories," Goltzius will have meant approximately the same thing as Rubens' *galanteria*: that is, subjects affording playful erotic amusement for the connoisseur.[187] Incidentally, the high incidence of women who arouse the passions of older men in paintings by Goltzius is definitely worth noting. In addition to his aforementioned *Susanna* (fig. 120) can be cited his impressive portrayal of Lot's daughters seducing their blissfully lounging father, and his voyeuristic paintings of a grinning satyr spying on Venus and of Jupiter as a horny satyr besetting the slumbering Antiope (fig. 124).[188] Even today, particularly the latter work still has the power to shock, an effect that is strengthened by Goltzius' increasingly less stylized ideal of beauty in this period. The distance between the idealized nude and the viewer's own realm of experience thus decreases, whereby the possibility of an erotic effect increases.[189]

Goltzius' *Danaë* of 1603 (fig. 121), his first painting with a large nude (whose "as-good-as-real" effect Van Mander pointed out: "life-like, this nude is wonderfully fleshily and plastically painted") also seems to contain personal references to Goltzius and his art.[190] Highly exceptional is that apart from the sleeping Danaë all of the figures laugh and grin, an unequivocal indication that the painting is meant to

119 Hendrick Goltzius, *Vertumnus and Pomona*, 1613, canvas 83.5 x 146.5 cm, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum

120 Hendrick Goltzius, *Susanna and the Elders*, 1607, panel 67 x 94 cm, Douai, Musée de la Chartreuse

be comical. Furthermore, it is the only time that Mercury, who in fact has no business here, is included in a scene with Danaë.[191] That Mercury held special meaning for Goltzius as the patron of his art has already been noted and is evidenced in a number of his inventions.[192] In the *Danaë,* the laughing Mercury – who as well as being the patron of the arts and the representative of eloquence is also the god of commerce and profit – emphatically holds up his caduceus.[193] With this attribute, which is also the central motif of Goltzius' own device (fig. 84), he points to the eagle, symbol of both Jupiter and Sight (figs. 66-72). Scattered in the foreground is an abundance of gold and money, also familiar from Goltzius' device and referring to his name, while his signature – and this is the only time that he signed his name in full on a painting – is prominently displayed on the chest overflowing with gold coins.[194] The prevailing explanation of the story of Danaë – that one can achieve everything with money and gold, to which nothing is impervious – has been ingeniously and wittily incorporated into the painting.[195] It should be quite obvious that this scene is about seduction, money and eroticism as is made explicit by the cupid

121 Hendrick Goltzius, *Danaë*, 1603, canvas 173.3 x 200 cm, Los Angeles, Los Angeles County Museum of Art

carrying a large wooden-handled money-bag; aside from financial transactions, this item unmistakably connotes male excitement inflamed by the sight of Danaë.[196]

The grinning 'actors' – Mercury, the old maidservant/procuress[197] and the *amorini* – are clearly poking fun. I believe that a comical game is being played with all of the notions about the power of erotic paintings to incite lust *and* with Goltzius' own device "Honour above Gold" (Eer boven Golt).[198] The patron of painters, Mercury ("a cunning Mercury," as Van Mander calls him, undoubtedly tongue-in-cheek, in his description of this painting), indicates that Sight (the eagle) is seduced through his eloquence and (pictorial) persuasiveness. Consequently, he who allows himself to be seduced then showers his golden rain on Danaë; and, naturally, this is the buyer/owner who, like Jupiter, lured by this beauty, showers money on her. Vondel later

cleverly formulated this idea in poems on paintings of *Danaë* and *Venus* respectively.[199]

The cupid mentioned above displays the combination of desire and money that this beauty unleashes, and the money chest with Goltzius' conspicuous signature shows just who benefits financially. That Danaë remains asleep (exceptional in scenes of Danaë) indicates that like this Danaë, the object of desire – the painting – is a non-responsive, sleeping beauty. "What can a gold key not unlock!/ The philanderer fears not the vigilant guard,/.../But finds nothing but paint and canvas".[200] The witticism in the painting is all the more apt when one considers that the first owner, the connoisseur and amateur painter Bartholomeus Ferreris (called by Van Mander "Painter, lover of painting, my very good friend"),[201] was a wealthy "tafelhouder" in daily life, or a financier (as pawnbroker, money changer, money lender and deposit holder).[202] Ferreris and his guests would have undoubtedly found this painting highly entertaining.

Already in antiquity a representation of Jupiter and Danaë was noted as a scene having a powerful carnal effect on the beholder, and from Correggio and Titian on it was a favorite subject for overtly erotic paintings.[203] In this sense, representations of this subject could perhaps even be seen as emulations of this classic 'example'. Incidentally, that the subject was most often a source of jest is clear from Van Mander's suggestively comical account of a *Danaë* by Ketel. Van Mander has a peasant looking at the painting of Danaë, "who lies on a beautiful, elegant bedstead with her legs spread open" remark to Ketel's wife: "Dear lady, are you able to do that? Then you will do well for yourself." In this "farce" as Van Mander calls it, the ignoramus with his "crude mind" speaks; unaware of the prestige of pictorial and poetic traditions, this life-sized Danaë is considered merely as an expression of the immorality of the painter and his model.[204]

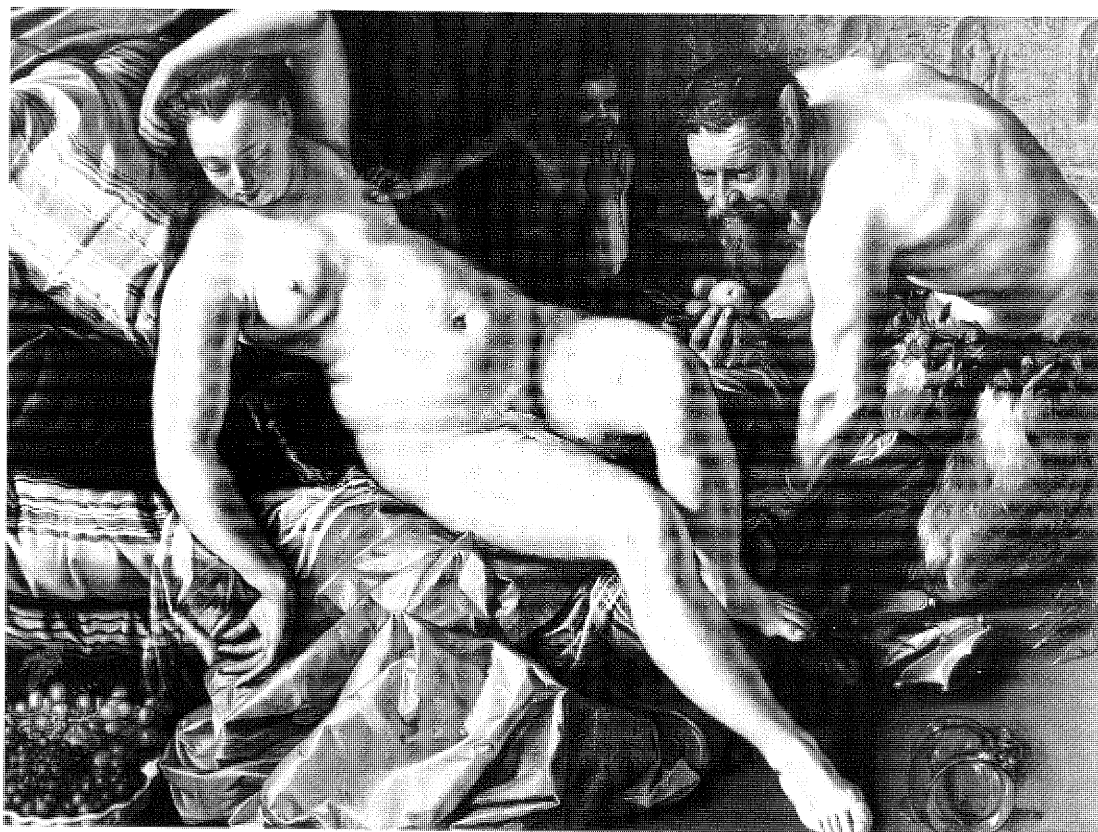
In many drawings, prints (produced by himself or after his inventions) and paintings, Goltzius manifests himself as an artist inspired by female beauty who strove to render this in such a way that the beholder could not remain unmoved. This is testified to in the countless prints and drawings of Venus, the many inventions of the *Sine Cerere...* theme – here not further discussed – and with beauties such as Andromeda and Callisto,[205] and the paintings with scenes of Venus, Danaë, Pomona, Antiope, Susanna and Lot's daughters. As mentioned above it was an art for the delectation of art lovers, but also one viewed with animosity by those who considered it dangerous.[206] The inscription below a drawing by Werner van der Valckert reads "Art has its haters" (Cunst heeft haters),[207] and traditionally this hate was

122 Werner van den Valckert, *'Cunst heeft haters'*, 1618, drawing 18.2 x 15.5 cm, Berlin, Staatlichen Museen, Kupferstichkabinett

levelled primarily at its sensual effect (fig. 122).[208] As artists in this period became increasingly engrossed in the illusionistic rendering of nude beauty,[209] the problem of the sensual stimulation this engendered also became steadily more acute and, as we have seen, elicited many reactions. Van der Valckert's drawing may well indicate that these art haters are people whose crass lust (embodied by a satyr) is transformed by their equally crass ignorance into aversion, which they then take out on the source of their discomfort, namely art representing beauty, here in the form of a young nude woman with a palette about to be raped by a satyr.

Could it be that the allusions to gossip and slander in letters by Goltzius and in Balthasar Gerbier's *Eer ende clacht-dicht* (Eulogy and lament) partially or even pointedly refer to moralizing "art haters" who perceived his work, and thus the painter, as immoral?[210] I have

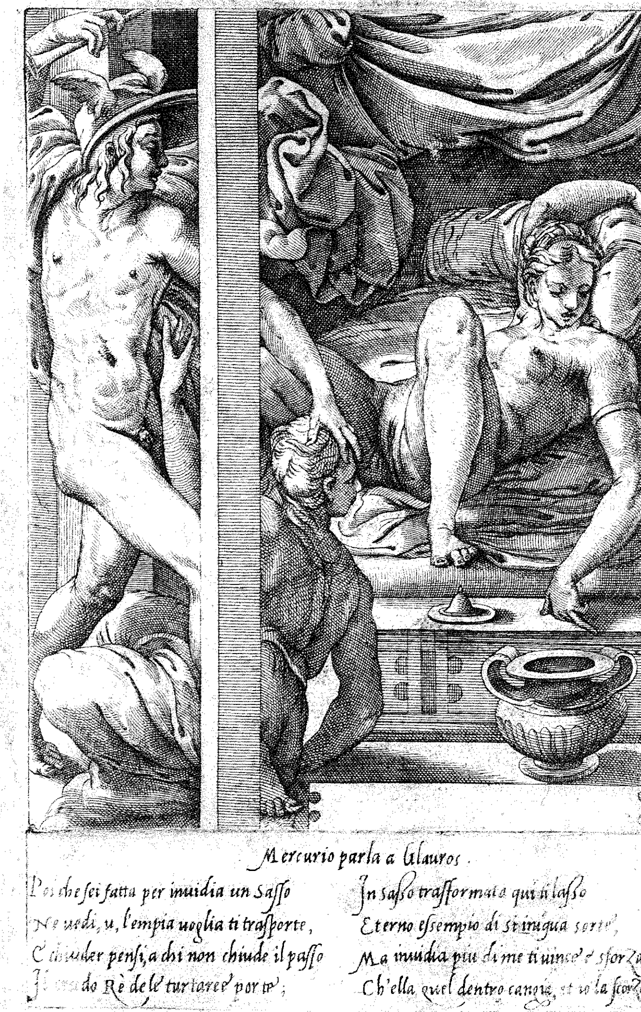
123 Hendrick Goltzius, *Reclining Nude*, 1594, drawing 25.8 x 30.2 cm, Private Collection



124 Hendrick Goltzius, *Jupiter and Antiope*, 1612, canvas 122 x 178 cm, Haarlem, Frans Hals Museum (on loan from the Netherlands Institute for Cultural Heritage, Rijswijk/The Hague)

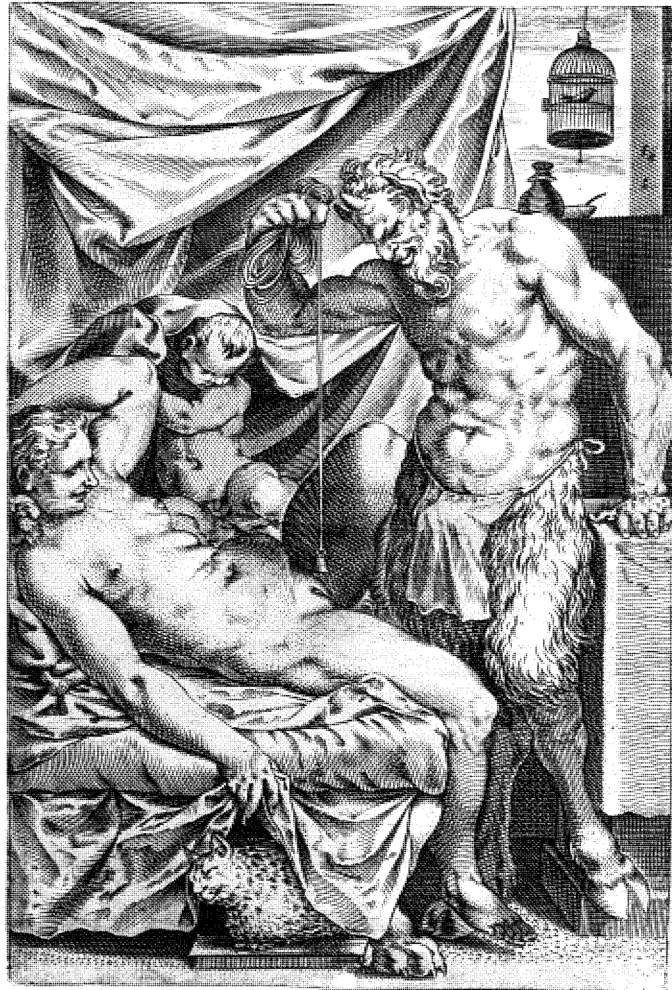
indicated above just how vehement reactions to paintings with nudes could be, and how the relationship between Pictura and Venus, and between the painter and his model in its crudest form could lead to the stereotype of the painter as a lecher. Quite apart from his 'erotic' paintings, the fact that Goltzius expressly began working after live nude models may have put him at risk in this regard.[211] That we know of records in which he was falsely accused of having had sexual intercourse with a maidservant indicates that people who wished to put Goltzius in a bad light and who had incited a maidservant to accuse him of such an act,[212] had thus resorted to filing a charge which many would probably have found quite credible.

The above will have undoubtedly yielded an image of Goltzius other than that of the artist who, when drawing a nude, solely wanted to depict "the personification of a pure abstraction, a Platonic idea, slumbering and latent so long as she is not provided with earthly



125 Gian Giacomo Caraglio after Perino del Vaga, *Mercury and Herse*, engraving

attributes."[213] That the young sleeping nude woman in the drawing referred to in this quote is shown in a familiar classic sleeping position (fig. 123), thereby fitting into a respectable iconographic tradition (though in this case, the beholder is afforded a rather exceptional full view of her genitals), does not necessarily mean that only lofty objectives are served. However, this emphasis on the link with a prestigious pictorial tradition of the nude does turn her into an acceptable subject for admiration on the part of the art lover; it fits into a 'canonized' category.[214]



126 Agostino Carracci, *Nymph and Satyr (Le Satyr 'Maçon')*, engraving

Moreover, the position of this sleeping woman resting on pillows (one arm wrapped around her head and one leg pulled up) was the pose of choice for decades in Italy (in particular Venice) for erotic-voyeuristic scenes in which the incitement of love and lust through sight plays a role, and will have held such associations in the connoisseur.[215] Aside from the fact that voyeuristic implications are inherent in an image of a sleeping female nude, this pose is used with some variation in, for example Matham's two scenes of *Venus Spied upon by Satyrs* (fig. 96, and another one after Rottenhammer), Van den Valckert's etching of the same subject, Matham's *Cimon Observing the Sleeping Ephigenia* and, naturally, in Goltzius' own *Antiope*, in which the god is shown as a lascivious satyr approaching the sleeping woman (fig. 124).[216] The pose of the nude in Goltzius' drawing is remarkably close to the figure of Herse in Gian Giacomo Caraglio's lascivious print of *Mercury and Herse* (from his series of 'pornographic' loves of the gods (fig. 125), while the lecherous nymph in one of Agostino Carracci's *Lascivie* (fig. 126) also bears a striking resemblance (both are shown in the classic 'sleeping' pose, however the first with an even more frontal view of the genitals); Goltzius certainly knew Caraglio's print.[217] These are decidedly not representations of a chastely conceived nude leading one to think that "unacquainted with earthly shame – [she displays] her natural parts to the artist, who then shares them with the profane viewer." On the contrary, they are models of provocative immodesty. This makes it all the more improbable – and there is nothing else from which this could be deduced – that Goltzius, indeed, would have had such connotations in mind, as in the quote above.[218]

The approach to this suggestive drawing outlined above is illustrative of the way in which so frequently in the history of art an evident and fundamental aspect of such an image – for the viewer both then and now – was reasoned away.[219] In my view, Goltzius fully acknowledged this aspect, as well as the tension it generated. During the last three decades of his long career, using all of his skills as a draughtsman, engraver and finally as a painter, he displayed the combined power of Venus, Visus and Pictura with great allure and in various appearances. Goltzius only once thematized their relationship in a sophisticated invention; in many other works he allowed this bond to speak for itself within somewhat variable boundaries determined primarily by the medium and purpose of a given work, and within the for him so self-evident context of a prestigious tradition.

V

The Introduction of the Amorous Shepherd's Idyll in Dutch Prints and Paintings

Detail of fig. 151

Goltzius' *Coridon and Silvia*

With his scene of a shepherd and his paramour (possibly engraved by Jacob Matham), Hendrick Goltzius introduced something new into the visual arts of the Northern Netherlands in the early years of the seventeenth century (fig. 127).[1] While certainly novel, this pastoral invention nevertheless had many ties with various other subjects and included many motifs found earlier. Beginning with this print after Goltzius, I will examine the pastoral images produced in the first two decades of the seventeenth century.[2] Particular attention is paid to the correspondences with existing pictorial motifs and the possible correlation with literary conventions in an attempt to gain insight into the origins of this new type of imagery.[3]

In the print after Goltzius' invention a young couple is seated under an oak tree gazing lovingly into each other's eyes. The girl has placed her hand on the knee of her lover, who is clearly characterized as a shepherd by the staff lying next to him. The two appear to be conversing. Written above the girl's head are the names "Coridon" and "Silvia": evidently identification of the couple was deemed necessary. These names, however, do not refer to personages in a specific narrative text but simply indicate that they are an amorous pastoral couple. For the lettered beholder they reinforced associations with a shepherd overflowing with love, who, in a *locus amoenus* – far from the unnatural city and court life – showers declarations of love on his timid companion and woos her with song and flute.

Since he first appeared in Theocritus' *Idylls* and Virgil's *Eclogues*, Coridon (as in the print after Goltzius, this is the usual spelling of this name in Dutch pastoral poetry) may be the most frequently recurring shepherd's name in pastoral literature. In Virgil's *Eclogues* (or *Bucolics*) – the seminal work for bucolic and pastoral literature (of which the first Dutch translation by Karel van Mander had just been published) – Coridon is the epitome of a simple, enamored young shepherd and

127 Jacob Matham (?) after Hendrick Goltzius, *Coridon and Silvia*, engraving

also the best singer/poet among the shepherds, who compete with each other in singing of love's laments.[4]

In these classic pastoral poems, the objects of this love are not physically present. These women figure only in the shepherds' love songs and laments and are called Amarillis, Galatea or Phyllis, for example. The name Silvia does not yet occur, and is first introduced in the second half of the sixteenth century when the shepherds' sweethearts are allotted their own roles in the pastoral literature.[5] It is then that Silvia – whose name indicates that umbrageous woods are her domain – becomes one of the most frequently used names for a nymph/shepherdess either fleeing from or requiting love. In this literature, Coridon's lover may also be called Amarillis, Galatea, Phyllis or Lydia, and Silvia's suitor Tityro, Thirsis, Damon or Daphnis, to mention but a few of the most common pastoral names. However, in amorous pastoral songs found in rapidly growing numbers from 1608 on in the typical Dutch songbooks,[6] it is Coridon and Silvia who are most often paired up. In these popular songs they appear to have become the most obvious amorous pastoral couple, certainly in the case of light-hearted erotic songs in which a pastoral couple requite each other's love. For example, a song entitled "On Coridon and Silvia" (Van Coridon en Silvia) must have been generally known in 1613 because it is used to indicate the tune of various songs in *Cupido's Lusthof*.[7] It is worth noting that the few times that names are later given in representations of shepherds/ shepherdesses, they are always Coridon and Silvia.[8]

Contemporary viewers will have been thoroughly familiar with Coridon's most striking attribute in this print, namely the shepherd's staff lying beside him. After all, since time immemorial the staff, or crook, had been the identifying mark of the sheep herder, as is the case in many biblical and a few mythological scenes: from the first shepherd, Abel, to the shepherds of the Adoration, and from Paris as shepherd to Apollo with Admetus' flock. That the shepherd as an ideal type enjoyed such a vigorous life in Christian culture was certainly facilitated by the fact that the shepherd's life figures prominently in the Bible and that for Christians the shepherd automatically evoked associations of humility, nobility and natural wisdom: no one less than Abraham, Jacob and David, for example, spent a good part of their lives as shepherd, and needless to say, the image of Christ as the good shepherd plays an important role in the Christian faith.

In the Old Testament, Abel – chosen by God – was the first to fulfil the role of shepherd (Cain, his brother and negative pendant, was a farmer).[9] It is striking that in a print by Jan Sadeler I after Maarten de

Vos (in a series of early man dated 1583), Abel is depicted as a shepherd in a truly classical idyll (fig. 128). As an ancient deity standing in relaxed contrapposto, wearing only a short tunic with drapery flung over his shoulder and a foliage wreath on his head, he watches over his flock. He contrasts sharply with his farmer brother Cain toiling behind his plough. Several decades would elapse before such an *all' antica* shepherd as this Abel was encountered in genuine pastoral scenes. For the time being, shepherds in pastoral images – in Italy as well – were less idealized and a more 'classical' type is found only as mythological figures assuming the role of shepherd, including Paris, Mercury and Apollo.

In the New Testament, shepherds were elected as the first to see and venerate the Christ Child. In the Gospel of St Luke, the emphasis on the rustic simplicity and humbleness at the Birth ensures a setting that lends itself to a 'pastoral' interpretation.[10] It was to the shepherds watching over their flocks in the open field that the angel of the Lord

128 Jan Sadeler after Maarten de Vos, *Abel Tending his Flock and Cain Ploughing*, 1590, engraving

129 Adriaan Collaert after Hendrick Goltzius, *The Annunciation to the Shepherds*, 1585, engraving

appeared and they were the ones who found the Child who had been laid in a simple crib. Accordingly, for centuries shepherds played an important role in pictorial representations especially in scenes of the *Annunciation to the Shepherds* and the *Adoration* and it was precisely in the second half of the sixteenth century that these images were depicted with increasing frequency.

In late sixteenth-century scenes, such as in an early composition by Goltzius of the *Annunciation to the Shepherds* (engraved by Adriaan Collaert in 1585), the shepherds are well-built young men (only one is an older man) clad in short loose tunics leaving the legs exposed (fig. 129); three hold a shepherd's staff, one clutches a bagpipe, one wears a

wide-brimmed hat, and the somewhat older shepherd wears a cape and a game bag around his waist. These had been the standard shepherd's attributes in texts and images since the Middle Ages;[11] however, here they are combined with a more idealized shepherd type than had been common until then. As a matter of fact, all of these elements, would recur frequently in later pastoral scenes. Short tunics, shepherd's staff, bagpipes and large hats are likewise included as attributes of shepherds in an *Adoration* by Karel van Mander of 1598 in the Frans Halsmuseum in Haarlem. These young men, however, look even more 'classical' because of their marked 'antique' footwear, and they have been joined by a young woman.[12]

130 Hendrick Goltzius, *Prudentia*, *c.* 1577, engraving

Two decades later it would appear from the inscription in a print by Boëthius Adams Bolswert after Abraham Bloemaert (1612)[13] that the shepherds present at the Adoration were given names: in these lines of verse they are called Coridon, Meliboeus, Galatea and Amarillis. These names were derived from Virgil's *Eclogues*, and by then they had become widely known through various forms of pastoral literature. The names of these classical representatives of a simple and harmonious existence close to nature had thus been transferred to the shepherds of the Adoration.[14] While on the one hand the shepherd in pastoral poetry became the paragon of amorous preoccupations, on the other hand he could act as a moral leader praising wise insights into nature, the world and even the love for God.[15] Accordingly, the inscription in Bloemaert's print can claim that Coridon and his companions are the "Happy souls, the faithful guardians of sheep," about whom it is emphatically noted in the concluding line of verse that they were the first to be allowed to see and venerate the Child: "Who would not want to tend the flock on such a night?"[16]

The shepherd as the image of a humble man blessed with natural wisdom could even lead to his inclusion in an early print by Goltzius (*c.* 1577) as the center of a complicated *Allegory of Prudentia* (fig. 130).

Here, as the symbol of self-knowledge, the shepherd sits on an hourglass and gazes into the mirror of Prudentia, who bends over him pointing to his reflection. The sheep on whose back his hand rests is the symbol of the spirit (*anima*) and his dog its guardian (*custodia animae*).

On the heels of this excursion into a few biblical shepherds who represent an image of humble simplicity and piety, and who show us what the late sixteenth-century conventions were with regard to the appearance of shepherds in such scenes, let us return to Goltzius' *Coridon and Silvia* (fig. 127). While the staff was a generally known identifying attribute of the shepherd, the panpipe or syrinx which Coridon is holding and which distinguishes him as a genuine Arcadian shepherd will have been perceived by many as a novelty. Although in the classical bucolic literature the syrinx is *the* attribute of the shepherd (in the Renaissance, it was even elevated to the symbol of Arcadia in Jacopo Sannazaro's *Arcadia*),[17] the instrument here so accurately and conspicuously portrayed by Goltzius was seldom depicted in the numerous later Dutch pastoral scenes. It is the instrument which Pan, the god of Arcadia and patron of shepherds, cut in eternal memory of his beloved and unattainable Syrinx from the reed into which this nymph had changed. The best-known source of this myth was undoubtedly Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, at the time very popular also in the north.[18]

In the *Metamorphoses*, the story of the origins of this shepherd's flute is recounted to Argus by Mercury who, disguised as a shepherd in a seemingly pastoral setting, played this instrument so movingly in order to lull Argus to sleep (and subsequently kill him). In this fable on the invention of the syrinx, Ovid provides a detailed description of the instrument (a flute consisting of reed pipes of unequal length glued together with wax), yet, remarkably, in northern sixteenth-century *Metamorphoses* illustrations of this episode – beginning with Bernard Salomon's of 1557 – it was depicted as a common, single pipe flute.[19] Even Goltzius, and many after him, followed this pictorial convention derived from those book illustrations in his two prints of *Mercury and Argus* (figs. 32, 131).[20] Incidentally, the first Dutch translator of the *Metamorphoses*, Johannes Florianus, similarly simplified Ovid's text and only wrote that Pan made "a pipe" (een pijpken) from the reed.[21] It seems as though both the translator and the illustrators feared that the panpipe would be incomprehensible to their northern audience.[22]

A second mythological scene with a 'pastoral' *concert-champêtre* in which a god is also temporarily attired as a shepherd and sings of the

joys and pains of love is *Apollo as a Shepherd with Admetus' Flock* (fig. 132). Like *Mercury and Argus*, this mythological scene also comprises many elements of an actual pastoral idyll, yet because of their narrative source (both are ultimately about cunning and deceit) the subjects differ fundamentally from a true pastoral. Noteworthy is that in the *Metamorphoses* illustrations of this story in which Apollo is described as playing a seven-piped panpipe (and filled with thoughts of love he neglects his flock, which is stolen by Mercury),[23] the syrinx *is* correctly depicted starting with Salomon's print and in all the successive illustrations. In his illustration of this episode, Goltzius also followed this tradition.[24] Thus, he was aware of what this shepherd's flute looked like before he illustrated a book which until then was considerably less well known in the Netherlands than the *Metamorphoses*, but which was the preeminent source for the image of the classical shepherd: namely, the aforementioned *Eclogues* by Virgil, Van Mander's translation of which appeared in 1597.[25]

In the second *Eclogue*, the panpipe is described by no one other than a shepherd named Coridon whose mastery of the instrument was

131 Anonymous after Hendrick Goltzius, *Mercury and Argus*, 1589, engraving

132 Anonymous after Hendrick Goltzius, *Apollo as a Shepherd with Admetus' Flock*, 1590, engraving

unsurpassed. He recounts: "Pan it was who first taught man to make many reeds one with wax" (Coridon himself owns one with seven pipes, he adds).[26] Among Goltzius' woodcuts for Karel van Mander's translation we, indeed, see Coridon playing this panpipe in the illustration to the second *Eclogue* (fig. 134). Also, in the seventh *Eclogue* where a shepherd likewise named Coridon takes part in a poetic-musical contest against Thirsis, he is shown playing the panpipe in the accompanying illustration (fig. 135). Surprisingly, however, in later illustrations to the *Eclogues* by Crispijn de Passe I (1612), the panpipe has been eliminated in favor of a regular flute and the rustic bagpipe.[27]

Hence, in his *Coridon and Silvia*, the first amorous pastoral couple in Dutch art, Goltzius depicted the instrument most befitting the shepherd whose roots lie in the classical bucolic tradition. As noted, though, with few exceptions the panpipe would no longer be encountered in later pastoral scenes in the Netherlands.[28]

In his illustrations to Van Mander's translation of the *Eclogues* to which, incidentally, Van Mander added a laudatory poem explicitly

urging Goltzius to draw inspiration from this Dutch version of Virgil's poetry,[29] Goltzius first presented his vision of true Arcadian shepherds (figs. 133, 134, 135).[30] Their attire – the somewhat coarse tunic leaving the legs exposed being the most characteristic item – is largely identical to that in which many biblical shepherds had earlier been portrayed. Thus, Goltzius did not adopt the much looser, revealing drapery which he and his contemporaries used in scenes of mythological figures disguised as shepherds, such as Paris, Apollo and Mercury (also encountered in Maarten de Vos' composition of the Old Testament shepherd Abel), but rather a somewhat more traditional shepherd's costume. The shepherd in the *Coridon and Silvia* print – wearing pants to his knees under his tunic, a cape and a game bag – is even more sensibly dressed than his colleagues in the illustrations, and just as proper as the shepherd in his previously mentioned *Allegory of Prudentia* of more than 20 years earlier.

133 Hendrick Goltzius, illustration for the First Eclogue, woodcut in: *Bucolica en Georgica...*, Amsterdam 1597

134 Hendrick Goltzius, illustration for the Second Eclogue, woodcut in: *Bucolica en Georgica...*, Amsterdam 1597

135 Hendrick Goltzius, illustration for the Seventh Eclogue, woodcut in: *Bucolica en Georgica...*, Amsterdam 1597

Decidedly conspicuous is Coridon's hat, displaying a somewhat curious combination of two types of headgear with which Goltzius garbed the shepherds in his illustrations to Van Mander's *Eclogues* translation (for example, fig. 135). There, most of the figures wear a bushy fur hat derived from a Flemish/Dutch peasant costume tradition, one Goltzius used several times as part of the attire of true bumpkins (for example, fig. 136).[31] A few of the shepherds in the illustrations, however, wear a kind of Phrygian cap (for example, fig. 133), which has the same shape as Coridon's fur cap. The Phrygian cap will have been especially familiar to artists and connoisseurs through the famous and frequently copied engraving by Marcantonio Raimondi after Raphael with Paris dressed as a shepherd judging among the three most beautiful goddesses, and it also occurs as headgear in most of the *Metamorphoses* illustrations with Apollo as a shepherd.[32] In his representation of Coridon, Goltzius thus combined the distinctly peasant fur hat with the truly 'classical' Phrygian model. Incidentally, he earlier used a variant of this headgear for the cow herder Argus in his designs for the *Metamorphoses* (fig. 131).[33] The dress, the syrinx and the headgear indicate that Goltzius deliberately located this shepherd in a realm containing antique connotations on the one hand, while clearly distinguishing him from mythological shepherds on the other hand, for Coridon's clothing reveals that he is in essence a simple peasant.

A conspicuous feature of Goltzius' invention is the shepherd dressed as a contemporary peasant in the background. He assumes a pose – leaning on his staff – used since antiquity for shepherds and also encountered in one of the woodcuts for Van Mander's *Eclogues* translation (fig. 133).[34] We can only guess whether this more 'realistic' shepherd tending his flock was meant as a contrast to the Arcadian shepherd for whom quotidian worries did not exist and who as a poet and singer was primarily preoccupied with matters of the heart. This contrast is found in Italian pastoral literature: for example in Sannazaro's renowned *Arcadia* the simple shepherd Montano, the more sophisticated Ergasto and the courtier-shepherd Sincero, are the clearly distinguishable types. Such a distinction seems to be present in the most famous, and most idiosyncratic of Arcadian scenes, namely

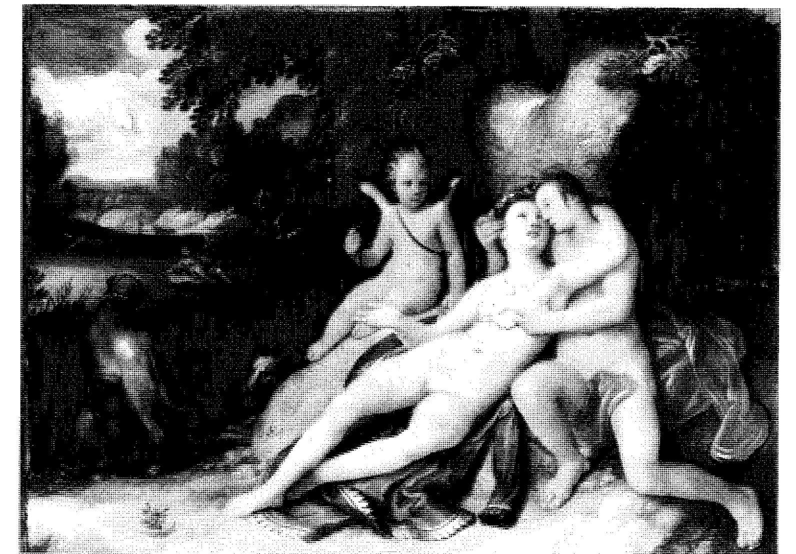
Giorgione's *Concert Champêtre*, a painting that was completed by Titian (*c.* 1511).[35] There too a normal shepherd driving his flock in the background is contrasted with the duo seated in the foreground consisting of a more civilized though still simple Arcadian shepherd and an aristocratic courtier who has retreated to Arcadia. For the rest, however, Goltzius' invention has little to nothing in common with either the atmosphere of this Venetian pastoral or Sannazaro's *Arcadia*.

136 Adriaen Matham after Hendrick Goltzius, *Amorous Peasant Couple*, engraving

As mentioned earlier, the portrayal of an amorous rendezvous between an Arcadian shepherd and his paramour as depicted by Goltzius in his *Coridon and Silvia* invention was a new phenomenon.[36] The demeanor of the lover whom Goltzius coupled with the shepherd is that of a classical nymph: she wears a loosely falling garment, transparent at the breasts and navel, and held together only in the middle. This type of clothing also occurs in many of Goltzius' mythological scenes (in so far as the goddesses and nymphs are clothed).[37] Silvia's appearance is, thus, not yet that of a shepherdess with her own distinct features. One striking element is the foliage wreath adorning her head; Goltzius must have found this fitting for a nymph named Silvia. She represents the image of the wood nymph, which in fact the first Silvia in pastoral literature was: in Tasso's *Aminta* (performed in 1573 and printed in 1581) she is a chaste follower of Diana.[38] Moreover, this corresponds with the fact that in Dutch pastoral songs of the beginning of the seventeenth century, shepherds' loves were initially referred to as "nymph" or "field goddess" (veltgoddin), and not yet as shepherdesses.[39]

An amorous couple sitting under a tree, as in this print, will have been primarily familiar as pictorial imagery from scenes of the mythological couple Venus and Adonis. Well-known from the *Metamorphoses*, this story describes how after the hunt these lovers lie down in the grass in the shade of a tree.[40] This is how the scene was

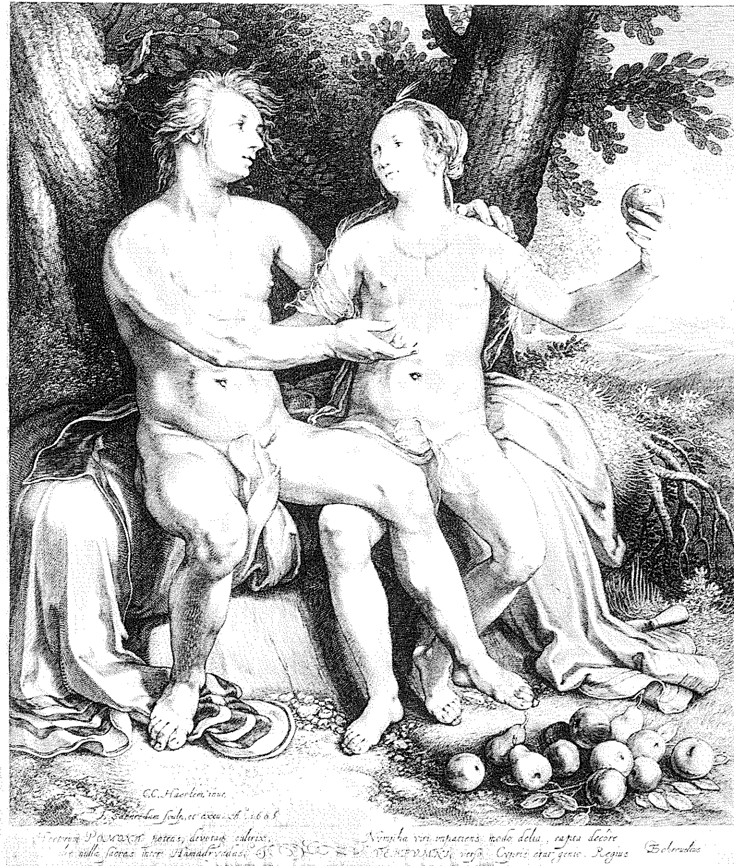
portrayed in the *Metamorphoses* illustrations and in all the following depictions of this amorous couple. Precisely in this period, from 1600 on, this subject suddenly became very popular in the Northern Netherlands. While Goltzius himself had already made a small-figured representation of the subject in a landscape drawing in 1596,[41] his friend and fellow townsman Cornelis Cornelisz van Haarlem depicted it with great frequency (fig. 137).[42] Because of the dog, standing so prominently in the foreground, Goltzius' *Coridon and Silvia* is also



137 Cornelis Cornelisz van Haarlem, *Venus and Adonis*, 1600, panel 31 x 41 cm, Present whereabouts unknown

strongly reminiscent of *Venus and Adonis* scenes (Adonis is always accompanied by dogs).

Undoubtedly the courtship of Venus and Adonis was the most idyllic description of an amorous mythological couple, which will have been an important reason for its popularity in visual representations. In depictions of this scene, however, the nature of the lovemaking is always more intense, and both figures are usually shown virtually nude. As is consistently the case with 'sensual' mythological subjects that were popular in images in this period, the story ends disastrously thereby allowing the licentious image to be justified by means of moralizations.[43] As this does not occur in the non-narrative pastoral that Goltzius depicted in his *Coridon and Silvia*, he has depicted this image of an Arcadian amorous relationship, quite unlike his mythological courtships, in a very restrained fashion. It is most reminiscent of the way in which Cornelis Cornelisz represented



138 Jan Saenredam after Cornelis Cornelisz van Haarlem, *Vertumnus and Pomona*, 1605, engraving

Vertumnus and Pomona in 1605 in the scene where the couple is finally united in love after Pomona, having resisted all male advances, ultimately submits to Vertumnus' unflagging attempts (fig. 138).[44] This engraving shows the outcome of a popular story in the *Metamorphoses*, the central motif of which – the emphasis on the endless professions of love by the suitor and the rejections by the beloved nymph, who ultimately does yield – also recurs frequently in pastoral literature of the time. In Cornelis Cornelisz's invention, however, the conspicuously crossed legs of Vertumnus and Pomona convey a clearly sexual connotation. Goltzius' Coridon and Silvia only look deeply into each other's eyes and the roses (an attribute of Venus) in Silvia's hand indicate that she requites Coridon's love, which is confirmed by the gesture she makes with her other hand, namely placing it on his knee.

The large tree spreading its shady foliage over the figures seated below and also rendered in other scenes with an idyllic setting is a standard element of the *locus amoenus*. In the – rare – scene of the ultimately ill-fated couple *Paris and Oenone* (in which Paris carves their names in the tree), the tree is part of the narrative text; one of the few Dutch representations of this theme is the painting by Cornelis Cornelisz from around 1600, which was subsequently engraved by Jan Saenredam (fig. 139). Also in depictions of the *Golden Age* – so idyllically described by Ovid – we always see a couple under a large broad-leafed tree, as in Goltzius' invention in his *Metamorphoses* series (fig. 140).[45]

One repeatedly comes across this situational description in pastoral texts: the shepherd seated under a tree is found already in the opening line of Virgil's first *Eclogue*: "You, Tityrus, lying under the expansive girth/ of the beech tree crown."[46] This image was visualized a number of times in the illustrations to Van Mander's translation (fig. 133). Not surprisingly, the decidedly pastoral passage for the description of staffage that Van Mander incorporated into his chapter on landscape in the *Grondt* is reminiscent of Virgil's first *Eclogue*. An important difference, however, is that in Van Mander's text the music-making shepherd under a tree – unlike Virgil's shepherds, but just like the shepherd in Goltzius' invention – is united with his beloved: "Let Tityrus bring joy with his pipe,/ In the company of Amarillis, his

139 Jan Saenredam after Cornelis Cornelisz van Haarlem, *Paris and Oenone*, c. 1600, engraving

140 Anonymous after Hendrick Goltzius, *Aetas Aurea*, 1589, engraving

141 Hendrick Goltzius, *Landscape with Seated Couple*, c. 1597-1600, chiaroscuro woodcut

sweetest of women,/ Sitting peacefully under the beech tree."[47]

This motif recurs consistently in amorous songs – even if not specifically a pastoral – and is nicely summarized in the line, "The suitor under the green tree sits/ his appetite for courting he admits."[48] It constitutes a general idea of pleasant repose which is also found in Horace's *Beatus Ille* and in all of its variations in praise of country life as a self-evident element; in the words of Coornhert's translation of Horace (1575): "In the green grass he rests, liberated from evils/ An old oak shades him with its many leaves."[49] Such a vision of pleasant country life was splendidly depicted by Goltzius shortly before his *Coridon and Silvia* invention in a woodcut from around 1597-1600, which shows a landscape with a small-figured peasant couple amicably conversing under an enormous tree in the middle of the composition (fig. 141).[50] In his *Coridon and Silvia*, Goltzius zoomed in, as it were, on figures functioning as staffage in a landscape transforming them into an amorous couple from a truly pastoral idyll.

A distinction between Goltzius' invention with *Coridon and Silvia* and the aforementioned idyllic representations with mythological enamored couples sitting or lying under trees is the unmistakable presence of a city and a castle in the background. They are set between steep unpleasant looking rocks and their purpose seems to be to intensify the contrast with the *locus amoenus*, where this couple revels free from worldly concerns.[51] This contrast is a standard feature of pastoral literature and turns up in many forms. As opposed to city or court, the *locus amoenus* is devoid of false desire, intrigue, avarice, injustice, ambition, and dangers; there, everything is beautiful, life is simple, and love is central.[52] While in classical pastorals this love is always unfulfilled, about which the shepherds complain, in the many amorous pastoral songs from the first decades of the seventeenth century, alongside the shepherd's lament, the pleasures of sweet reciprocal love are a frequently occurring motif.[53] In this world, love, song and dance are the primary pastimes; only the grazing sheep need tending now and then.

The situation as portrayed by Goltzius is strongly reminiscent of the atmosphere in a pastoral scene in Samuel Coster's tragedy *Ithys* – admittedly written later – where the natural life of a shepherd with its uncomplicated consorting in love, song and dance forms a shrill, ethically loaded contrast to the atrocities issuing from the false desire and licentiousness at court.[54] The first scene in the fourth act (incorporated in the second edition of 1618) could almost serve as a description of Goltzius' invention. In this love scene between the shepherd couple Daphnis and Grusella, the former says: "Rest a while, Grusella, under the oaks/ that reach each other dense with leaves/

Spreading its shoots wide, adorned with fresh foliage." Daphnis then begs for kisses, which he receives and which cause him to become very excited. Grusella exclaims: "What is happening Daphnis! you are on fire." Daphnis replies: "If I am on fire, I am burning because of the amorous glances/ Of your face, which emits inextinguishable sparks/ from eye to eye, and welds soul to soul:/ Because your fire landed in my fire-sick soul/ No one other than yourself can douse it."[55] Here, incidentally, we encounter a frequently occurring motif, namely love's fire being ignited by 'rays' from the eyes of the beloved, while conversely this love penetrates the suitor via the eyes (a notion also perceived as a physical reality).[56] By gazing so intently into each other's eyes, Goltzius' Coridon and Silvia seem to reflect this idea.

The same atmosphere, frequently even more erotically charged (and lacking any moralizing function), is found in various pastoral songs in songbooks. This frank eroticism is already present in a few songs in the first songbook to include them, *Den Bloem-hof van de Nederlantsche Ieught* of 1608: "Coridon greatly impassioned/ Said to his goddess of the field/ Lydia, would it not be your wish/ To douse my love?/ That we might with pleasure/ Spend together our young youth;" and further on: "Open your white arms/ And receive your faithful servant/ Who with a sincere heart/ Would pay for you with his life." And, indeed, Lydia concedes: "Lydia began to catch fire/ Displaying a face/ With such loving light/ With such conspicuous glances."[57] In a song published in the somewhat later *Apollo oft ghesang der Musen* (1615), it is Coridon and Silvia who speak openly of their love.[58] Silvia invites Coridon to sit next to her under a tree, and she is the one unconcerned about their sheep becoming mixed up while they sing lovingly to each other: "You Coridon with your poetry/ You cast a spell on the shepherdesses,/ You Silvia with your face/ Enchant the shepherds' senses."[59] One could easily imagine these words being uttered or sung by Coridon and Silvia in Goltzius' invention.

Illustrations in Songbooks

We have seen that Goltzius' simple rendering of the first pastoral amorous couple – a scene that also had not yet appeared in this form in Italian art – has ties with many themes popular at the time and that he combined countless motifs previously found in biblical and mythological scenes of shepherds and in mythological fables about a pleasant an amorous repose in nature. Unlike these other representations, the resulting image lacks any narrative context. In doing this he created a new vehicle for the depiction of an amorous idyll. In contrast to the

142 Claes Jansz Visscher, *Shepherd Playing the Bagpipe*, engraving in: *Den Bloem-hof van de Nederlantsche Ieught*, Amsterdam 1608

repertoire of mythological scenes with courting couples, it afforded the possibility of depicting an untroubled amorous union. The atmosphere in this scene has in first place a strong affinity with a certain type of light-hearted, likewise non-narrative pastoral song, which was printed in steadily growing numbers in Dutch songbooks somewhat later than Goltzius' invention. The extent to which Goltzius could have been inspired by the "pastourelle" with its age-old tradition in France and which must have been an important source for this type of Dutch pastoral song, is difficult to recover.[60]

These songbooks also contain illustrations of shepherds and – though not always – their partners. The nature of these prints, however, is distinctly different from Goltzius' pastoral. The first representation of such a shepherd, namely an illustration by Claes Janszn. Visscher in *Den Bloem-hof van de Nederlantsche Ieught* of 1608 (as mentioned, the earliest songbook with pastoral songs), shows a peasant figure leaning against a tree with shady leaves and playing the bagpipe (fig. 142). This instrument, the musical attribute of the rustic, had long belonged to the standard accoutrements of the shepherd in the *bergerie* tradition of medieval French literature and traditionally was also included in depictions of the shepherds in the *Adoration*.[61] The shepherd in this illustration however appears to have mastered more than the peasant bagpipe, for hanging from his waist is a long, straight flute and lying next to him on the ground is a panpipe. In the middle ground with richly wooded environs where his flock of goats and sheep graze, we see the shepherd once again: now, however, hat in

143 Crispijn de Passe I, *Shepherd Playing the Bagpipe*, engraving in: Daniel Heinsius, *Nederduytsche Poemata*, Amsterdam 1616

hand, he beseeches a young lady who clearly wards him off. She also wears a rustic costume with the large pointed hat familiar from many representations of sixteenth-century peasant women. The shepherd and his lover have therefore been relocated, far more than in Goltzius' invention, to a contemporary rural world, the only 'foreign' element being the syrinx.

This print is the illustration to a "Nieu liedt" (new song), in which the shepherd – also named Coridon – plays his flute and laments the "field goddess," who constantly flees from him.[62] The song contains the threat, already present in Virgil's fifth *Eclogue,* that he will die from unrequited love. Powerfully stimulated by the Petrarchan mode in amorous poems of the time, this motif also occurs in countless non-pastoral love songs in these songbooks.[63] However, the shepherd in this song explicitly considers himself a "farm-hand": "It is true, I am in my manners/ A born farm-hand." He hopes to win the affections of the nymph by emphasizing his steadfast love and earnest simplicity: "No one sustains such faithful love,/ As I for my goddess of the field." He would not trade his "bagpipe" and "flute" for all the treasures in the city. Nevertheless, as befitting a genuine Arcadian shepherd (and the syrinx in the print has already raised the suspicion), this shepherd/ farm-hand, too, proves to be versed in classical mythology: his beloved should not feel too superior, for many gods have desired the love of herdsmen, he says. Remarkably, he then mentions the love of Venus and Adonis, where for the sake of convenience he refers to Adonis as a

shepherd's child: "Venus came so often/ To Adonis the shepherd's child."[64] The similarity between pastoral wooing and the courtship of this mythological couple is thus acknowledged in a literary context.

The same shepherd type with a bagpipe and seated under a tree recurs eight years later in Daniel Heinsius' *Nederduytsche Poemata* (1616) (fig. 143). Heinsius' languishing shepherd – again named Coridon – explicitly indicates in the poem, which is illustrated with a print by Crispijn de Passe I, the moral distinction between the natural lasting love of the simple shepherd and those who have been tainted by city ways (in this case his beloved, but frivolous Phyllis).[65] This Coridon, incidentally, seems to be able to play both the bagpipe and the "newly cut reed," which appears to refer to the real shepherd's flute. The print shows only the bagpipe, however. Heinsius' Coridon is set in entirely Dutch surroundings: "Coridon who grazes his sheep/ Always near the water of the Rhine/ As this is where the best pastures are:"[66] he tends his sheep somewhere between Leiden and Katwijk, while The Hague is the resort of wickedness. In the print we see a *trekschuit* (horse-drawn barge) gliding by, as could undoubtedly be seen in reality on the Old Rhine. Related to this is the shepherd in the ten-year-later title print of *'t Amsterdamsche Fluytertje* (1626), who plays the somewhat more sophisticated flute, this time with the profile of Amsterdam in the background.[67]

The here so categorical removal of the Arcadian shepherd to a recognizable Dutch environment is a phenomenon frequently encountered in various kinds of pastoral literature in the Netherlands,[68] but it was only sporadically depicted so emphatically in pictorial representations of the first decades of the seventeenth century.

An amorous pastoral *couple* first appears in songbook illustrations in *Apollo oft ghesangh der Musen* (1615) (fig. 144). Given the precedent set by Goltzius' *Coridon and Silvia,* it should come as no surprise that this illustration is somewhat reminiscent of his invention. The couple in the illustration is also seated under an oak tree, the woman wearing a wreath apparently made of leaves. However, just as the shepherds in the songbook illustrations mentioned earlier their clothing is more rustic. The shepherd wears a jacket and pants and on his head is the coarse fur cap familiar from many peasant scenes, and, as we already noted, also used by Goltzius in his illustrations to Van Mander's translation of the *Eclogues.* The girl sports a jacket over a laced bodice – clothing used to typify the Dutch peasant – and has a reed basket next to her as though she were on her way to the market. Before them lie the shepherd's staff and a panpipe. A somewhat curiously garbed

Cupid holding up an arrow approaches in the middle ground, which comprises a small pasture surrounded by a fence.

Their courting is somewhat more pronounced than in Goltzius' *Coridon and Silvia*: the shepherd has thrown an arm around her shoulder and they hold each other's right hand. The conception of this lovemaking, however, is more restrained than in a very closely related illustration in the first luxuriously published songbook *Den Nieuwen Lust-hof* of 1602 (fig. 145).[69] In this earlier case, however, it concerned a peasant couple and in keeping with their role in farcical peasant songs, the farm boy eagerly grabs his beloved's breast (compare also fig. 136). That this little print served as the point of departure for the pastoral illustration in the *Apollo oft ghesangh der Musen* is evidenced by the general arrangement and the woven basket on the farm girl's arm. Since this peasant couple served as the pictorial source of inspiration for the illustrator responsible for the pastoral print,[70] these lovers were given a somewhat more rustic appearance than is actually in keeping with the atmosphere of the pastoral songs in *Apollo oft ghesangh der Musen*; only Cupid and the syrinx evoke a more classically inspired

144 Anonymous, *Amorous Pastoral Couple*, 1615, engraving in: *Apollo oft Gesangh der Musen*, Amsterdam 1615

145 Anonymous (after David Vinckboons?), *Amorous Peasant Couple*, 1602, engraving in: *Den Nieuwen Lust-hof*, Amsterdam 1602

146 Frederik Bloemaert after Abraham Bloemaert, *Pastoral Couple* (*May*), c. 1630-32, engraving

bucolic ambience. The illustrator, however, also shows that the nature of the erotic character of pastoral love in these songs differs from the coarser eroticism common in songs and images of peasants.[71]

At first sight, it seems curious that this little print was printed near a song about the four seasons, which includes no mention of shepherds. The poem, however, is referred to as a "Pastorelle" and it appears to be a song that is sung by three shepherdesses in a pastoral scene in *Ithys*, the play by Samuel Coster mentioned above; it is a joyful song of thanks to nature, which once again may be understood as a contrast to the expressions of pernicious lust and revenge at court.[72] However, the illustration in the songbook best corresponds with the scene in the play that follows shortly thereafter of the courtship of Daphnis and Grusella, cited above.

Since time immemorial youth, love and music were staple ingredients of allegorical scenes of Spring.[73] That this could almost inevitably evoke the image of a pastoral idyll is explicitly visualized some time later in a print by Frederik Bloemaert after an invention by his father (fig. 146): in a series of the months of the year, a couple consisting of a shepherd playing the bagpipe and his attentive partner represent the month of May (the remaining months are here represented by real country folk).[74]

Of the early pastoral prints in songbooks should finally be mentioned the title print of Boudewijn Jansz Wellens' *'T Vermaeck der Ieught* (1616) (fig. 147).[75] This title print (by Jacob Matham after Pieter

147 Jacob Matham after Pieter Feddes van Harlingen, frontispiece from: B. Wellens, *'T vermaeck der leught*, Leeuwarden 1616

Feddes), comprising four little images, amusingly depicts the various genres of love songs. In all of the images Cupid is shown shooting an arrow at a couple in the foreground. At the upper left is the mythological couple Apollo and Daphne, who in this context also stand for poetry in general:[76] the god of poets crowned himself with the leaves of the laurel tree into which his beloved Daphne had been transformed (in the background of this roundel Apollo embraces the laurel tree). The roundel below depicts an amorous, yet virtuous burgher couple seated at a table set with food in the open air and entertaining themselves by singing from a songbook. At the upper right, in contrast, are lovers who clearly belong to a more licentious category: the woman is typified as a courtesan and the aristocratically attired young man rests his hand on her bared breast. Below this image is a print of a – once again rustic – bagpipe-playing shepherd (his sheep are visible in the background) with his sweetheart who, just as in the previously discussed songbook illustration, with her market basket more readily appears to be a peasant than a nymph or shepherdess. This little book

contains pastorally dressed-up songs that are very diverse in character: in a number of cases they barely distinguish themselves from the farcical peasant songs, and in other cases they differ little from traditional Petrarchan laments.

Lastman's Amorous Shepherd's Couples

The true successor to Goltzius' pastoral invention must be sought in painting. Pieter Lastman introduced this genre into painting and – in so far as it concerns works still known to us – produced four paintings with true pastoral amorous couples between 1610 and 1624 (figs. 148, 151, 153, 155). That the place where this type infiltrated painting happened to be Amsterdam may be related to the fact that the songbooks (which, as of 1608, primarily disseminated the light-hearted form of the pastoral in love songs) were virtually all published there (in particular by Dirck Pietersz Pers); moreover, the majority of the poets of these books were Amsterdammers.

For Lastman, the pastoral in particular seemed to function as vehicle of eroticism and permitted him to produce amorous scenes without having to tread upon the territory of the female nude (a terrain he was clearly not comfortable with), as was common in the depiction of mythological amorous couples.[77]

His first pastoral painting presents a couple appropriately seated under a large tree exchanging sweet kisses (fig. 148). The young man is wearing a truly Arcadian costume which exposes not only his legs but also his shoulders; it is the clothing of the mythological shepherd as we know it from the *Metamorphoses* scenes, though with one difference: the cloak with its visible fur trim is characterized as a sheep or goat skin fit for a shepherd. The costume of the woman is identical to that of a few of Lastman's mythological beauties in this period;[78] she even has a strand of pearls. This couple is thus far removed from the peasant atmosphere of the songbook illustrations and is also more sophisticated than those by Goltzius. Carved in the tree above their heads along with Lastman's signature and the date 1610, is the name O[E?]NONE.

With the inscription of this name, Lastman has included a reference to the story of the shepherd Paris who makes love to the nymph Oenone on Mount Ida. He did not, however, depict the consistently shown episode of this story, namely the narrative action of carving in a tree (see fig. 139). Only the letters in the tree, which are difficult to distinguish, serve as a reference to this mythological story. One is reminded of the fact that names were also included in Goltzius'

print, although in Lastman's case reference is being made to a specific story.

If one wished to supplement the image of an amorous *pastoral* couple with a 'learned' classical connotation, Paris and Oenone were undoubtedly the most obvious choice. In his *Heroides*, Ovid gives a distinctly idyllic-erotic description of their pastoral rendezvous in the lament of Oenone, who was forsaken by Paris. In Van Ghistele's translation, of which no less than nine editions had meanwhile appeared, Oenone complains: "Recall how I abased myself for you,/ When you were lying in the field near your sheep,/ Under a tree where I made love with you,/ And slept softly in the green."[79] Indications of sexual intercourse (boeleren) are found in Lastman's painting in the couple's crossed legs and in the overt imagery of the shepherd's staff poked through the floral wreath. Incidentally, the latter metaphor is also encountered in a literary context, namely in an erotic-pastoral song in *Apollo oft ghesangh der Musen*: even if Silvia were to receive the French crown and Coridon all of Spain, "She would exchange it for his shepherd's staff,/ He for the beautiful flower,/ With which he would, with which she should/ Crown him, and he reward her."[80] The idea that the young woman/Oenone in Lastman's painting gives away her virginity to the shepherd/Paris is reinforced by her offering him her floral wreath.[81] Chewing a vine, the goat (the animal symbol of lust)

148 Pieter Lastman, *Amorous Pastoral Couple (Paris and Oenone)*, 1610, panel 66 x 112 cm, Atlanta, High Museum of Art

looks on approvingly, while the ram eyes the viewer meaningfully.[82]

The idyllic-pastoral atmosphere is reinforced by a flute-playing shepherd in the background with a reclining male figure listening to his music next to him, while on the musician's other side a young woman milks a cow. Shepherds playing music for each other was naturally one of the most standard images of Arcadian activities in literature since Theocritus and Virgil. It is not surprising that, when included in a representation, the disposition of these two shepherds would be reminiscent of the composition familiar from numerous illustrations of Mercury's *concert-champêtre* for Argus (compare fig. 131).

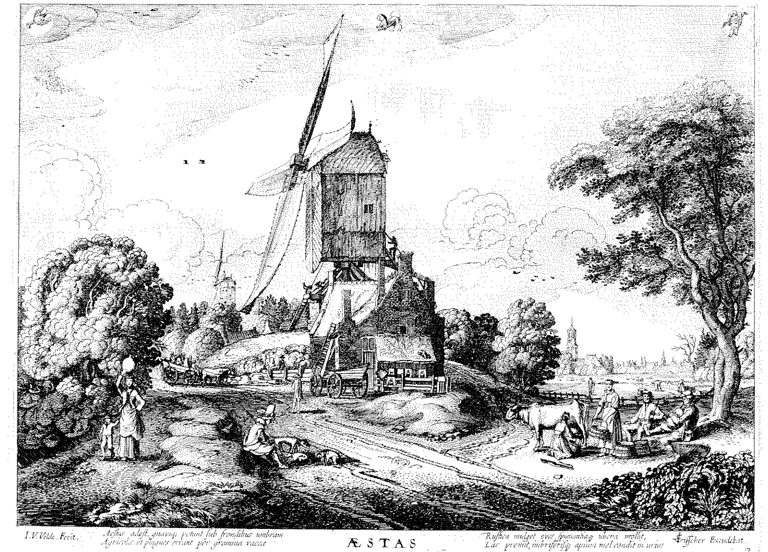
The cow-milking woman who, because of her rural labor more properly belongs to the 'Georgian' idyll rather than the pastoral, has yet a different origin: she was introduced in a woodcut after Titian (fig. 149) – undoubtedly known to Lastman – and frequently adopted by the Bassano family.[83] Lastman thus incorporated pictorial motifs he deemed appropriate for such a pastoral scene. Incidentally, the same motifs – the cow-milking woman derived from Titian and, instead of the flute-playing shepherd with his listner, a bagpipe-playing young peasant boy with a larger audience – were also used a few years later (1617) in a genuine Dutch idyll with pastures and windmills representing *Summer* in an etched series of the seasons by Jan van de Velde (fig. 150).[84]

Lastman's background scene as a whole is reminiscent of the earlier cited passage in Van Mander's chapter on landscape in the *Grondt*. After stating that for the staffage it is good to be versed in, at one's discretion, the Scriptures or the poets, he asserts that small figures are best set near large trees; he then continues: "Here let the peasant girl's hands release/ Fountains of milk along the green banks,"[85] followed by the passage already quoted above: "There Tityrus brings joy with his flute,/ In the company of Amarillis, his most beloved of all women,/ Reposing under the beech tree,/ And offering his flock diversion with sweet strains."[86] That the 'poet' who inspired Van Mander in writing this passage was Sannazaro is evidenced by his quotation (in the chapter on the disposition and invention of histories) of the latter's description of the painting of the Temple of Pales, the goddess of the shepherds: "[the shepherds who went to Pales' Temple] saw painted above the gate/ Hills and woods overgrown with trees./ There one saw meadows in the green pastures/ Many flocks spread about,.../ And one saw the shepherds relieving/ The stiff udders, swollen with milk,/ Others sheering the curly fleeces./ One saw some of them playing the bagpipes,...."[87] Probably inspired by the image of the woman milking a cow that had been popularized in Venice (and

also adopted later by artists such as Lastman and Jan van de Velde), Van Mander replaced the male cow-milking shepherds in Sannazaro's *Arcadia* with a girl in his advice on landscape staffage.

It should be added that in Sannazaro's *ekphrasis,* incorporated by Van Mander, there is a long list of scenes evidently considered suitable for decorating Pales' Temple, including satyrs frightening and pursuing nymphs (a theme found somewhat later quite regularly in the work of Cornelis van Poelenburch) and the earlier discussed subjects of Apollo with Admetus' Flock and Mercury Playing for Argus. This passage also includes a description of the kind of cloak worn by Lastman's shepherd: "Wearing a goat skin, wrapped around his body,/ Under his left shoulder, in accordance with the style of shepherds." This exposition ultimately leads to an extensive description of the Judgment of Paris, which is preceded by the following lines: "Paris was also present, and had begun/ To write Oenone in the bark of an elm/ With a scythe, but being surprised/ By three goddesses, he could not/ Finish it completely, thus he left it as it was,...."[88]

149 Giovanni Britto or Niccolo Bodrini after Titian, *Woman Milking a Cow in a Landscape,* woodcut



150 Jan van de Velde II, *Summer* (from a series of the Four Seasons), 1617, etching

The fact that in Lastman's painting only the name of Oenone has been carved in the tree seems to correspond with this passage in Van Mander, while the gesture of the young man could be interpreted as announcing the arrival of the goddesses.[89] However, this might be going too far in the narrative reading of this painting, certainly for a work by Lastman who, after all, when depicting a narrative scene always went to great lengths to make the story as clearly 'readable' as possible.[90] The painting is more likely a general image of a pastoral courtship to which a negative connotation has been added by the allusion to Paris and Oenone's unhappy love, which allows the viewer to justify the explicitly erotic scene with a moralization (an option almost always available in erotic mythological scenes). Whether the couple should be seen as Paris and Oenone or as 'a' Silvia and Coridon, is not crucial and seems to have been left to the viewer's discretion. In the latter case, after having discovered the name of the unhappy nymph Oenone the viewer could recall that the evil desire swaying Paris' judgement of the goddesses (which instigated the Trojan war)[91] represents the downfall of the carefree, natural and pure love of the inhabitants of Arcadia.

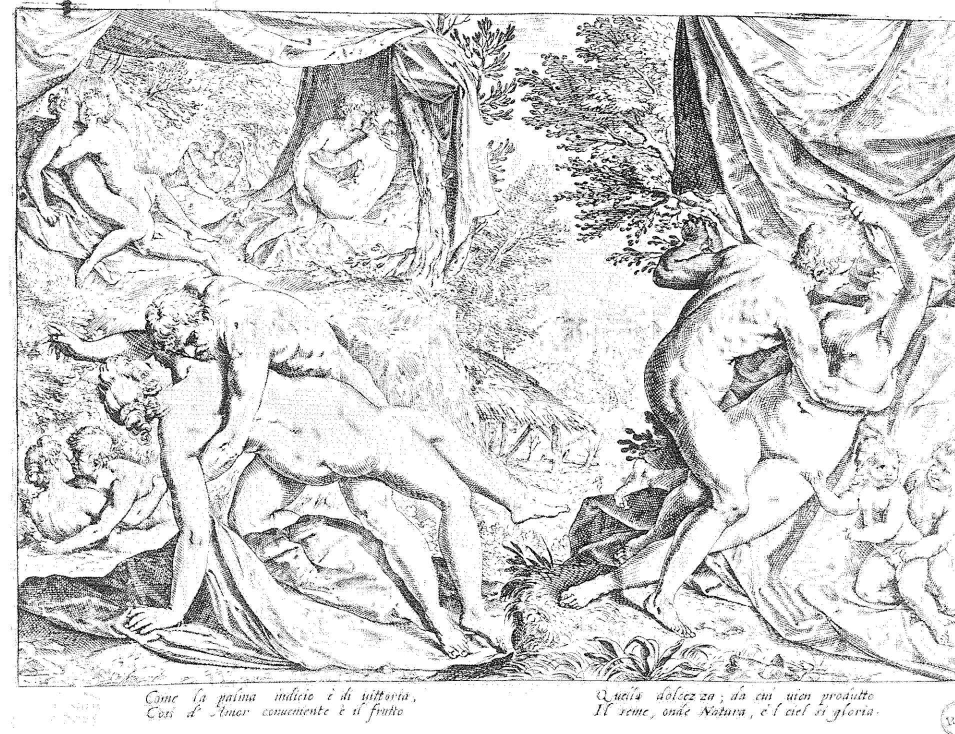
The following painting by Lastman, dated to about 1612, lacks any reference to a narrative context (fig. 151).[92] In the background we once again see the woman milking a cow. Her companion carrying a milk pail makes it patently evident that the woodcut after Titian mentioned above (fig. 149) was the direct source for this rural tableau. Just as in

151 Pieter Lastman, *Landscape with Amorous Pastoral Couple*, c. 1612, panel 38.5 x 54 cm, Private Collection

the previous painting, strains of the flute echo in the landscape, this time produced by a shepherd contentedly playing music near his flock of sheep.

In the foreground a very youthful couple make love. Closer scrutiny of the way in which the young man lies between the legs of the girl confirms that this is one of those rare cases where the viewer may conclude that they are really 'doing it' (or at least are very close to doing so). Meanwhile, the girl holds a wreath above the young man's head – in this context a sexual motif, as we also observed in the previous painting. A goat lying in the middle foreground looks out at the viewer and thus sets the tone for this scene of unmitigated eroticism. The painting does not only present an image of Arcadia in which love and song are the only activities of importance (aside from having to occasionally keep an eye on the sheep or milk a cow), but also of an Arcadia where love can be enjoyed in harmony with nature.

Lastman's love-making couple may just have been inspired by the copulating couples in the left middle ground of an exceptionally erotic print by Agostino Carracci (fig. 152; see especially the couple to the right of the three at the upper left). This print depicts *Love in the*



152 Agostino Carracci, *Love in the Golden Age*, c. 1589-95, engraving

Golden Age.[93] Around the turn of the century in the Northern Netherlands as well a fairly substantial number of scenes of the Golden Age were suddenly produced as a framework for amorous couples in an idyllic environment (albeit considerably more reserved than in Carracci's work); these were briefly discussed above (for example, fig. 140).[94] Lastman modernized the theme as it were by transforming it into a shepherd's idyll, and in so doing seems to have wanted to depict a pastoral in which the ideals of the Golden Age – the era of innocence and natural love – still existed. Such an atmosphere corresponds with the increased emphasis on the Golden Age ideal in the sixteenth-century pastoral literature. Occupying a prominent place in it was the image of happy, mutual love unfettered by contemporary conventions (described by Tasso as the "dolci arti lascivi"), or the morally more responsible image of pure love devoid of any false desire.[95] These are both images which when visualized are automatically strongly erotically tinged.

That pastoral love could be equated with love in the Golden Age of earliest mankind, was splendidly described by a great authority such as Scaliger in his *Poetica* (1561). He linked pastoral poetry with the first

stages of human existence and described this as the primal form of poetry of which the pastoral love song was the oldest: "Love is the primal force, introduced by nature to preserve the species. The sexes lived in promiscuity, and the sight of copulating animals excited humans...Venus is the goddess of joy and love, and song is the source of joy. Youth, well-fed with milk and meat, encouraged by the gentle seasons and solitude, and having no experience with sorrow, fear or hate, easily resorted to intercourse, all the more because they were accustomed to being nude or only partially dressed, not only the boys, but also the girls...What else were these youngsters to do, being free of worry, well-fed, and having powerful and athletic bodies?"[96]

In one of the pastoral songs in Coster's *Ithys*, "In poverty I live without envy" (In armoed leef ick onbenijdt), in which Grusella sings of her contentment with the simplicity of a shepherd's life – a life in which nothing more is desired than is needed – she states: "In him [the shepherd with whom she is in love] primal man still lives forth," that is to say, the man of the Golden Age.[97] Grusella's portrayal of a life of simplicity and contentment, as has already been noted with respect to other pastoral scenes in this play, has a clearly didactic-moralizing function as an antithesis to the evil lusts at court (in *Apollo oft ghesangh der Musen* the same song resorts under the heading "some moral songs"). There, natural life is morally pure, carefree and merry, and courting is an important part of this: Grusella describes her lover as "A shepherd who makes fiery love to me."[98] A natural and uncomplicated love – and of course this does not apply to the promiscuous love that Scaliger speaks of, but a true love as a contrast to the licentiousness at court – also had a place in this moral instruction.

Simplicity and a natural state and the concomitant naturalness of love is also visualized in Lastman's painting and, if one wished, could perhaps even be seen as the bearer of moral values. However, the painting primarily presents the light-hearted carefree atmosphere of "fiery love-making" in idyllic nature, thus titillating the viewer's senses. The morally edifying function which Coster's verbally gifted shepherds simultaneously fulfil – and which is an important element in a number of plays[99] – could not be depicted, and there would have been no intention of doing so. Just as in the many 'wanton' erotic pastoral songs in songbooks (usually lacking any form of moralization), an image is created of cheerful, carefree eroticism set in an ambience invoking an Arcadia in which the natural love of the Golden Age lives on. With this kind of painting, Lastman, just like pastoral songs in literature, created a new vehicle of visual erotic amusement. Lastman worked out to its extreme the precedent Goltzius had set with *Coridon and Silvia*, in which the image of the amorous pastoral idyll

was far less erotically charged. In his painting of around 1612 and his two subsequent pastorals, Lastman united a number of motifs from various pictorial sources, which bore associations corresponding with motifs that played a role in much of the pastoral literature of the time.

The girl in the painting of around 1612 is dressed in a costume more easily identifiable as 'rustic' than that of the young woman in the painting of 1610: here she wears a bodice with shoulder bands over a white shirt. This is even more patent in a subsequent painting of 1619 (fig. 153), where the girl also dons a straw hat. With this, we witness the emergence of an outfit specifically intended for the shepherdess: on the one hand it is very loose fitting, and on the other has very distinct rural connotations. This girl, too, holds up a wreath, while the young man has set aside his bagpipe to free his hands. The bagpipe lies amid the vines of a calabash, a plant included in both earlier paintings and frequently encountered in Dutch paintings with a decidedly erotic tenor.[100] The boy places his hand on the bared breast of his lover, a motif that not only visualizes caressing, but in general – given the context in which it is frequently incorporated – stands for sexual intercourse. Until this time, the motif was found in the representation of *Isaac and Rebecca Caught by Abimelech*,[101] in scenes of country bumpkins and their sweethearts (for example, figs. 136 and 145), and of licentious men with courtesans (for example, fig. 147),[102] and with great frequency in scenes of *Venus and Adonis* (for example, fig. 137). At around the same time, Lastman also included this motif, very appropriately, in a painting with *Judah and Tamar* (fig. 154).

Accordingly, in Lastman's pastoral of 1619 (fig. 153) the image of erotic interaction is also overly clear. Highly exceptional for an amorous couple, however, is that both the enamored shepherd and his companion look at the viewer, just as do the two goats emerging from the right and the dog lying on the ground which appears to be waiting for the couple to finish their dallying. The lovers seem unaffected by any embarrassment, their mischievous expression inviting the viewer to join them and take part in the joys of carefree love in nature. The beckoning gaze as well as the clothing of this shepherdess somewhat resemble Moreelse's half-length shepherdesses addressing the viewer, the earliest one of which must have originated about the same time.[103]

In his last known pastoral painting (1624), Lastman zoomed in on the couple even more (fig. 155). The shepherd's clothing has undergone some changes and he now wears a coarse cloak. Henceforth, shepherds would be shown either wearing a very loose *all' antica* costume exposing large sections of the body, or wearing such a cloak. The latter is a form of garb that Coster also deemed appropriate: in Grusella's song quoted above, she announces that her lover, Daphnis, is dressed in a coarse wrap of sheep's wool. In Lastman's

153 Pieter Lastman, *Amorous Pastoral Couple in a Landscape*, 1619, panel 47 x 68.5 cm, Worcester (Mass.), Worcester Art Museum

painting, the merry couple laughingly romp. A ram observes them intently, as though wanting to imitate this particular art and the bleating sheep look at the viewer. The dog waits impatiently to swing into action again. The humor already so evident in the previous scene in this case is strongly emphasized by the figures themselves.

Lastman's elaboration of the image of pastoral courtship apparently was not immediately adopted by other artists. From the same time we know of only one engraving after Abraham Bloemaert with an elegant pastoral couple lying under a tree and gazing deeply into each other's eyes, although in this case the lead players are a nanny goat, billy goat and sheep (the print is part of a series of engravings of all sorts of livestock, both with and without human figures, produced by Boëthius Adams Bolswert in 1611) (fig. 156).[104] This is the first very idealized and extremely scantily dressed amorous pastoral duo, distinguishable from a mythological amorous couple only by the large rustic hat worn by the shepherd. Not only the high degree of idealization, but also the contemplative atmosphere strongly differentiates this pastoral couple from Lastman's couples. Bloemaert took this a step further in a pastoral idyll painted many years later, in 1630, with an entirely nude couple (fig. 157).[105] In it, a disrobed shepherdess lying under a tree with her back to the viewer listens to the music of her flute-playing partner. Because of this pastoral couple's nudity and the decidedly nostalgic atmosphere, this work occupies an exceptional place within the representation of the pastoral in the Netherlands.[106] The fact that a few years earlier (1627) Bloemaert had made a painting of a pastoral couple totally different in character, containing the fairly coarse erotic joke made by the boorish shepherd boy who gleefully sticks his flute under the skirts of the shepherdess (fig. 158),[107] shows how pastoral couples had in the meanwhile become bearers of highly divergent, yet all erotically tinged connotations.[108]

154 Pieter Lastman, *Judah and Tamar*, panel 123 x 93 cm, New York, Collection D. Arnon

After a promising start in the first two decades of the seventeenth century, non-narrative pastoral lovemaking failed to become a frequently depicted theme. Courting in an idyllic natural setting would remain primarily in the domain of mythological subject matter, where, as pointed out above, the possibility always existed of associating a (verbal) moralization – one appropriate to the story – with the image.[109] As of the 1620s, this repertoire was supplemented with scenes from pastoral plays – particularly the love stories of Granida and Daifilo from Hooft's *Granida*, and of Amarillis and Mirtillo and Silvio and Dorinda from Guarini's *Il Pastor Fido*.[110] Another possibility for depicting an amorous idyll was a subject popular exclusively in Holland, namely Cimon Looking at the Sleeping Ephigenia (from Boccaccio's *Decameron*).[111] These were new subjects for which the pictorial schemes of existing mythological scenes could be adopted: a great deal of cross-pollination took place in which motifs proper to one subject could also be transferred to another.

The depiction of Arcadian shepherds in figure pieces without a narrative context took other directions and would reach its apex in the 1620s and 1630s in the fundamentally very different 'Utrecht' genre of half-length shepherds and – especially – shepherdesses introduced by Moreelse. What links these works to the pastoral scenes discussed above is that they all present an image of human beings primarily moved by amorous preoccupations.

155 Pieter Lastman, *Amorous Pastoral Couple*, 1624, panel 53 x 47 cm, Gdansk, Muzeum Naradowe

156 Boëthius Adams Bolswert after Abraham Bloemaert, *Pastoral Couple with Goats*, 1611, engraving

157 Abraham Bloemaert, *Pastoral Couple in a Landscape*, 1630, panel 27 x 38 cm, Present whereabouts unknown

158 Abraham Bloemaert, *Pastoral Couple in a Landscape*, 1627, canvas 59.7 x 74.3 cm, Hannover, Niedersächsisches Landesmuseum

VI

In Praise of the Art of Painting: On Paintings by Gerrit Dou and a Treatise by Philips Angel of 1642

159 Gerrit Dou, *Trumpetter in a Window* (detail), c. 1660-65, panel 38 x 29 cm, Paris, Musée du Louvre

In his lifetime, the Leiden painter Gerrit Dou was widely acclaimed both within and beyond the borders of the Seven United Provinces of the Dutch Republic. His paintings, along with those of his master Rembrandt and his pupil Frans van Mieris, were among the most expensive in the seventeenth century: at a time when a good painting could fetch 20 to 30 guilders, the prices Dou's small panels commanded – ranging from 600 to 1,000 guilders – were unheard of. In the eighteenth century as well, Dou's works remained highly coveted collector's items.[1]

It is precisely Dou's exceptional fame in his own lifetime that makes him such a fascinating subject for study. Why was his work so highly valued and why did it command prices others could not begin to hope for? Why did Dou – Rembrandt's first pupil – develop into his master's antipode qua subject matter and technique, and why was he – apart from Rembrandt – the most imitated painter in Holland? Although the answers to these questions must first be sought in the paintings themselves, in Dou's case we are in the exceptional position of having writings from his own time and from his Leiden surroundings that can shed light on this inquiry.

Dou received the highest praises from at least two authors when he was only twenty-eight. The artist "for whom no praise is sufficient" was cited several times as a shining example for other painters by Philips Angel in a celebratory address delivered to the painters' community of Leiden on St Luke's Day in 1641.[2] This address was published the following year as the *Lof der Schilderkonst* (In Praise of the Art of Painting). Dou's first biography also appeared in 1641 in Jan Orlers' *Beschrijvinge der Stad Leyden* (Description of the City of Leiden).

Philips Angel's *Lof der Schilder-konst* occupies a special place in Dutch art literature. Although not an art-theoretical treatise in the true sense of the word, but rather an encomium to the art of painting delivered to a group of painters and art lovers, it is the only substantial document on painting that was published during the greatest

flowering – both quantitatively and qualitatively – of Northern Netherlandish painting. Angel's text has only recently received due attention. While in his pioneering study on seventeenth-century Dutch art literature, Emmens still perceived Angel's modest treatise primarily as a somewhat curious derivative of Karel van Mander's art theory, a few recent publications by Hessel Miedema, Perry Chapman and myself, have addressed various unusual aspects. There proved to be differences of opinion regarding the extent to which Angel's ideas agree with traditional humanist art theory, in the Netherlands best reflected in Van Mander's *Schilder-Boeck* (1604).[3]

In my view, there was a tendency to place undue emphasis on those aspects that Angel's treatise has in common with Van Mander's ideas, while it is precisely the differences that make Angel's work so intriguing. Contrary to what has been maintained, Angel did not have a traditionally determined opinion about the literary aspects of invention; did not, by definition, rank history painting above the other genres; did not formulate exalted ideas about the didactic function of art or learned theoretical ideas about art as an intellectual activity; and did not rely all too greatly on Italian art theory as it was known in the Netherlands through Van Mander. In short, I believe Angel deviated drastically and what he did retain in the way of concepts in many respects acquired an entirely different character.

In 1989, Miedema again devoted great attention to Angel the man and his milieu, and further examined his concepts in relation to Van Mander's art theory, something no one is better equipped to do. Miedema revised his earlier views and confirmed that Angel frequently has no true understanding of Van Mander's ideas and often forwards opinions nowhere found in earlier treatises. I agree with Miedema that Angel's little book should not be seen as a deliberate and programmatic digression from prevailing theories. However, his inference that it therefore does not have much to tell us – all the more because Angel's approach is attributed to ignorance and carelessness – in my view is incorrect. From this standpoint, Angel's conceptions are gauged solely in relation to Van Mander's and too little value is placed on their own characteristic traits. That because of the virtual absence of theoretical biases "curious [I would say "meaningful"] insights rise to the surface" and that because "those insights display striking similarities with what we ourselves can observe in those Leiden paintings," it would appear that Angel's text ultimately is of minor interest to Miedema. For me, however, quite the opposite holds true.[4]

By sounding elements in Angel's texts in relation to Dou's work, important insights can be gained into the objectives of a painter like Gerrit Dou and into how his work was perceived by his admirers. I believe Angel's text can teach us a great deal about a (Leiden) painter's views of his profession around the middle of the seventeenth century and offers us an exciting ingress for better understanding the contemporary approach to a certain type of painting.

Following an examination of the terms with which a canon-formation was intiated by Orlers during Dou's lifetime, the main part of this essay is devoted to an interpretation of the way in which Angel in word, and Dou in imagery (through his manner of painting and his subject matter) expressed kindred views about the art of painting: concepts about the *paragone* with sculpture and poetry; about painting as a craft surpassing all others; the high (financial) value of good art; and the imitation of nature and the creation of a visual illusion. Furthermore, attention is paid to the way in which Dou – taking Rembrandt's early work as a point of departure – emphatically chose to develop his art in a different direction with respect to his approach to images as illusions created through paint. That Dou was a painter who must have been keenly aware of his specific views on painting and of his distinguished place within Dutch painting of his time comes clearly to the fore.

In many respects Dou's paintings also represent a conscious "Lof der Schilder-konst" (coupled with praise of his own abilities). Gerrit Dou, however, was able to express this praise in paint in an incomparably wittier manner than Philips Angel could in words.

Jan Orlers, Philips Angel and a Leiden Canon

The purpose of Jan Orlers' *Beschrijvinge der stad Leyden* was to extol the glory of Leiden's past and present by praising its history, its municipal government, civic institutions and famous 'sons'. Orlers had already given accounts of the lives of painters in the first edition of 1614. After presenting the biographies of Leiden's illustrious scholars, he stated that besides the men of learning that Leiden had always produced, it had "not been idle in nurturing and rearing in equal measure many and various artists: especially...many renowned and excellent painters." The great praise they deserve, according to Orlers, can be demonstrated by the "exceedingly fair and invaluable paintings" found both in and outside of Leiden. Accordingly, they deserve "to be written about and chronicled in all the Books of Praise and History."[5]

Aside from the chosen successor of the Emperor, the Emperor-elect Willem II, and Count Floris V (both born in Leiden), and the "infamous" Anabaptist leader, Jan Beuckelsz van Leyden, the chapter

on "All the Illustrious, Learned and Renowned Men" included only biographies of scholars and painters.[6] While Orlers' publication had been preceded three years earlier by Johannes Pontanus' Latin description of Amsterdam, Orlers far surpassed Pontanus in the number and scope of painters' biographies, and even included those of painters still living. In fact, the number of pages Orlers devoted to scholars is decidedly meager in comparison to that for the painters.[7] The introduction to this chapter, moreover, attests to Orlers special interest in painters. Having introduced the scholars in a single sentence, he justifies the attention he lavishes on the painters by stating that: "... this art, I say, which is an art and a science renowned, adored, and pleasing among all nations and peoples throughout the world, and therefore has earned overwhelming praise from persons of high and low rank alike, has not only flowered, grown and increased within this city, but has also reached near perfection with some artists."[8]

Thus, Orlers presented the painters as an important source of civic pride. The fact that the lives and work of painters – even living painters – were described in this prestigious glorification of the city must also have contributed in no small measure to their sense of self-esteem.

In his first edition of 1614, Orlers could take the biographies of the painters born in Leiden from the *Leven der doorluchtighe Nederlantsche, en Hoogduytsche schilders*, part of the *Schilder-Boeck* of 1604 by Karel van Mander (whom Orlers claimed to have known in his youth).[9] After all, the canon of Dutch painters from the fifteenth and the sixteenth century that Karel van Mander created in this book included a substantial number of Leiden painters.[10] With the exception of the Van Eyck brothers, the life and work of Lucas van Leyden received even the most extensive coverage and perhaps the most enthusiastic description of all the painters not from Van Mander's own generation.[11] Orlers supplemented the biographies of Cornelis Engebrechtsz, Cornelis Cornelisz Kunst, Lucas Cornelisz de Cock, Lucas van Leyden, Aertgen van Leyden and Otto van Veen only with those of his contemporary, Isaac Nicolai van Swanenburch, and the latter's sons Jacob and Willem, followed by an enumeration of a few other young painters: Jan Adriaensz, Coenraat van Schilperoort, Aernout Elsevier, David Bailly and Cornelis Liefrinck.

In his second, considerably enlarged edition of 1641, however, Orlers had to rely purely on his own information and observations for the survey of contemporary painters that he added at that time, and who, as he states, also deserved to be "counted and ranked among the renowned painters."[12] In the process he seems to have made a conscious effort to create an indigenous, respectable Leiden tradition and to establish a canon of contemporary Leiden painters. After Van Mander, no one until Orlers had written such detailed biographies of still living painters. With the exception of Schrevelius in his *Harlemias* (1648), the numerous civic historians who followed him devoted considerably less attention to painters, often placing little importance on painters still alive at the time. Nevertheless, the many city descriptions reveal that painters were ranked among the local phenomena, with which the cities competed in those expressions of civic pride.[13]

The painters whom Orlers selected to chronicle extensively in 1641 were (chronologically according to date of birth, Orlers' own sequence): David Bailly, Joris van Schooten, Jan van Goyen, Pieter de Neyn, Rembrandt van Rijn, Jan Lievens and Gerrit Dou. Thus, of the painters he had listed in a single sentence in 1614, only Bailly now received his own biography: the others had to settle once again for a simple mention of their name, to which only that of Cornelis Stooter was added. Other civic historians were far less selective than Orlers: while providing less information, they often mention more names. That Orlers was strict in his selection is evidenced by the fact that he did not include the biographies – only mentioning the names – of several artists whose work he himself owned (Jan Adriaensz, Coenraat van Schilperoort, Aernout Elsevier and Cornelis Stooter, painters whose names are frequently encountered in Leiden inventories of the first half of the seventeenth century). Orlers had a large collection comprising 142 paintings as is documented in an inventory drawn up in 1640.[14]

Jan Orlers, who occupied a very prominent position in Leiden society – he was raised by his uncle, the Leiden municipal secretary and poet, Jan van Hout, and held many posts in the town council of Leiden, including that of burgomaster[15] – must have felt a certain commitment to the art of painting, which may have been stimulated by his friendship in his younger years with Karel van Mander. What he had to say about painters is worth closer scrutiny for two reasons. First of all, he himself was not a painter, unlike Van Mander, but an art lover. Moreover, he was the first to write extensively under his own steam about a number of painters who practised the depiction of landscapes or scenes of contemporary life as an autonomous specialism. He obviously wrote without any notion of a hierarchy in subject matter; one seeks in vain for a distinction in status between history, portrait, 'genre', or landscape painting. Bailly, Van Goyen, De Neyn and Dou were not treated any less seriously or extensively than painters of history pieces. Neither does the terminology he praises

them with differ. This, in fact, corresponds with the way in which art lovers collected and displayed paintings in their interiors. All types of paintings were hung together in even the most representative of interiors. It would seem that a painter's reputation and the value of his work were frequently the prime factors determining where the painting was hung.[16]

Orlers very precisely recorded dates of birth and death, apprenticeship and other facts, and he must have done the research necessary to obtain this information. Unlike Van Mander's biographies, Orlers' provided rather scanty information about their art, and when referring to works of art his vocabulary is limited. He usually describes their paintings in general terms, which mainly boils down to stating how much their work pleased art lovers (something Van Mander does only sporadically). The phraseology differs somewhat from painter to painter, however, from simply stating how much their paintings were admired by art lovers – as in the case of Jacob van Swanenburch and Pieter de Neyn[17] – to a far greater emphasis on art lovers' praise, in which in addition to the fact that the collectors "took pleasure in" the paintings and found them "delightful", he accentuated the astonishment these works elicited (Van Goyen, Rembrandt, Lievens).[18]

Only in Dou's biography does Orlers attempt to formulate the cause of this admiration, saying that "everyone seeing these same [paintings] must be amazed at their highly finished neatness (netheyt) and curiousness."[19] That one was prepared to pay a great deal of money for these paintings was a fact recorded only in connection with Dou: Orlers informs the reader that Dou's paintings "were highly valued by art lovers and dearly sold."[20] Orlers, moreover, was more precise about the nature of Dou's work. About other painters he says that they painted admirable or excellent history pieces, portraits or landscape paintings, but for Dou he obviously felt the need to express himself more precisely with regard to the special quality of his paintings: "an excellent master, especially as regards small, subtle and curious things, be it figures painted from life, animals, insects, or other subjects."[21] Hence, these first recorded statements on Dou already contain all of the terms and categories with which his work would be described in the following decades: Dou's pictures are a source of amazement to all, due to the refinement and miraculous detail he introduced in small paintings (they show "neatness" [netheyt]; and "curiousness" [curieusheyt] and are "subtle" [subtil]).

There is another striking element in Dou's biography. Orlers mentions the precise year, even the exact day, on which Dou began his pupillage with Rembrandt: "in the year 1628, on the 14th of February, being 15 years old, with the artful and widely renowned Master Rembrandt."[22] When Orlers wrote this in his city description, Dou was the only famous painter from Leiden who was a pupil of another, already highly celebrated, Leiden painter, "one of the most distinguished contemporary artists of this century," as Orlers described Rembrandt,[23] who was only 22 when Dou came to him and 35 when Orlers wrote this. It seems that by placing so much emphasis on the exact day that Dou went to train with Rembrandt (as though referring to a date of birth), Orlers wished to create a dynasty of illustrious Leiden painters.

While preparing a new account of the city of Leiden 30 years later, Simon van Leeuwen took over from Orlers only the names and most essential dates in his very summary accounts of the painters' lives. Van Leeuwen still concluded this section with the by then 59-year-old Gerrit Dou, who was the only artist he treated more extensively. In doing so, Van Leeuwen seems to suggest that he wished to establish a line of descendants: he ends by saying that Dou did not conceal his art from his pupils, which was apparent from "the superb advent and flourishing progression of Frans van Mieris and Pieter van Slingeland, whose excellence gives rise to the expectation that they will one day equal their Master, and, if possible, even surpass him."[24] This engendered the image of a specific Leiden school of painting with its own characteristics, underscored by the fact that Dou was the only artist whose art Van Leeuwen thoroughly described, an art Dou passed on to his pupils. What made Gerrit Dou, "the excellent painter of life in miniature" so special was that he was able to achieve such perfection in "very refined minuteness" which has such a "semblance to the things themselves" that it "can scarcely be distinguished from life."[25] Hence, his work is typefied by an incredible precision in painting subjects from life which actually look lifelike, though on a small scale.

In formulating an illustrious local tradition, Orlers and Van Leeuwen emphasized a speciality devised by Dou, using terminology in which "highly finished neatness" (netheid), "small" (klein) and "from life" (naar het leven) are key words, and concepts such as "curiousness" (curieus), "subtlety" (subtil) and "true to life" (gelyk als eygen) are also pronounced. They described the painters as an important source of local pride and among Leiden's main attractions. That Dou and his pupils were actually considered one of Leiden's 'sights' is substantiated by several travel journals written by foreign visitors who hastened to their studios and were truly astounded by their work, and as often as not dismayed by the high prices they asked for their paintings.[26]

160 Philips Angel, *Head of an Old Man*, 1637, etching

PHLIPS ANGELS
LOF
DER
SCHILDER-KONST.

PICTVRA

TOT LEYDEN,
Ghedruckt by *Willem Christiaens*, woonende by de Academie. ANNO 1642.

161 *Pictura*, frontispiece from: Philips Angel, *Lof der Schilder-konst*, Leiden 1642

163 Isaack van Aelst, *Pictura*, titlerint (detail) of: Samuel Marolois, *Perspective*, Amsterdam 1637

162 Printer's mark on the last page of: Johannes Secundus, *Opera*, Leiden 1619

Since Orlers' second edition of his account of Leiden appeared in the same year that Angel delivered his address to the Leiden painters' community, there may just be a connection between Orlers' establishment of a Leiden tradition of painting, Angel's *Lof der Schilder-konst* and the fact that just then the painters of Leiden were trying to pressure the town council into establishing laws for their economic protection.[27] Angel himself (by whom, incidentally, only one relatively insignificant etching of a *tronie* is known [fig. 160])[28] would become the first "dean" (hooftman) of the guild organized by the painters in 1644, at which time it was still entirely unofficial.[29] The painters wanted to obtain the rights of a guild, which would simultaneously signify their recognition as an important socio-economic group in Leiden.[29] In a petition a few years later to the Leiden town councillors (1648), they called the illustrious Leiden tradition of painting to their defence, pointing out that many painters had been forced to leave the town due to the lack of economic protection "which was regrettable, as Leiden has of old been celebrated for its excellent masters."[30] We find the same proud reference in Angel's speech when he says that "our art...makes Leiden (which is a breeding ground for all great minds) even more illustrious."[31]

In the year that Orlers' biographies of living Leiden painters were published, Angel assumed the task of defending the importance and dignity of their art before his own circle of Leiden painters. Angel's frontispiece also seems to be an expression of the local pride engendered by the art of painting (fig. 161). For his title print, he used motifs of an existing vignette of a Leiden printer, varied and supplemented with elements from another title print. The printer's mark (fig. 162) shows Minerva holding a book – the university's emblem – standing on a pedestal in a circular enclosure of osiers: a familiar image derived from political allegories of the 'Dutch garden'.[32] The abbreviations on the pedestal, AC(ademia), LUG(duno) BAT(ava) were replaced by the word PICTURA and the traditional shield of the (not yet existing) St Luke's Guild was included at the right.[33] Furthermore, Minerva was given a brush, a palette, and a painting as her weapons, an idea borrowed wholesale from another frontispiece, namely that of Samuel Marolois' *Perspectiva* of 1637 (fig. 163). Thus, one of Leiden's sources of pride, *Pictura*, replaced as it were her main glory, the university.[34] This recalls Orlers' words, "Likewise, Leiden is to be praised...for its inventive art of painting," whereby "likewise" refers to the scholars Leiden spawned mentioned in a previous sentence.[35] That Minerva was transformed from a very stylized figure into a sturdy lass with both legs firmly planted on the ground, moreover, accords nicely with the character of Angel's text.

Gerrit Dou and Philips Angel: The Status of the Painter and his Art

The frontispiece of Angel's book is certainly clever, however, one should not read too much into its scholarly implications. Especially at the beginning of his text, Angel presents the same combination of a superficial yet not unintelligent patchwork of apparently learned information culled from various sources and inserted into this paean to his art, one essentially springing from the practical experience of his daily surroundings. Angel in no way intended to instruct his fellow painters in art theory.[36] The most important function of his speech was to affirm the dignity of their profession.

Precisely because of its theoretical shallowness and the virtual absence of theoretical biases, significant insights come to the fore. Angel's deviations from prevailing art theory will not have been deliberate and programmatic, but appear to be typical of what at the time a fairly pretentious (Leiden) painter would have found important to express to an audience of Leiden colleagues, just when the status of the art of painting needed to be emphasized. It will have confirmed certain notions commonly held by painters, but then in the pompous garb befitting such occasions.

Angel's vocabulary probably reflects a more or less current terminology for talking about paintings; moreover, his use of certain terms and categories may indicate the way in which some of Van Mander's concepts had been assimilated by painters and collectors, being simplified and adjusted to the circumstances and the nature of actual artistic practice. In his dedication to the wealthy art collector Johan Overbeeck, Angel asks the reader not to pay too much attention to the purity of his language "but to the words that painters customarily use among themselves."[37] He employs the language that would have been used by educated (Leiden) painters and art lovers to discuss paintings, which would have expressed what they considered important. Accordingly, this offers us the possibility of estimating several aspects of the work of a painter like Dou in contemporary terms and categories of appreciation.

Having gained an impression in the first chapter of the importance that Orlers and Van Leeuwen accorded Dou within a Leiden tradition, we now turn to Angel, for whom Dou must have been the exemplary painter. The work of Gerrit Dou probably embodied that which Angel would have thought was the apex of artistic achievement. In the following I will examine shared views of the art of painting as expressed in words by Angel and in images by Dou. To avoid any misunderstanding it should be stated that this in no way implies that Dou was influenced by Angel's views, nor that Angel derived his ideas from Dou. The point is that their approach to painting displays a number of shared aspects.

Zeuxis and Parrhasius

Angel's address makes it clear that he had read several relevant books on the subject, primarily Van Mander's *Schilder-Boeck* of 1604 and De Brune's introduction to the Dutch translation of Junius's *Schilder-konst der Oude*, published in 1641. Also with respect to Van Mander, Angel particularly studied his introductions. Angel plundered Van Mander's *Schilder-Boeck* for the first part of his speech in which he tried to impress his audience with countless names, dates and anecdotes.[38] Angel's erudition, however, is only skin-deep. With a great show of literacy, he includes many names of painters and authors from antiquity and even supplements Van Mander's information with eleven pages of his own complicated arithmetic to prove that painting is the oldest of the arts.[39]

This part becomes interesting when he demonstrates "how our art has progressed gradually through the ages"[40] having already reached the height of perfection in antiquity. This information too is taken from Van Mander, but Angel selects only a few of the painters and arranges them in a sequence of his own to show this progression. Angel's account of the art of painting's rise to perfection culminates in the anecdote about the contest between Zeuxis and Parrhasius, which he sees as exemplary of the highest level obtained by painting in antiquity.[41] It concerns the ultimate deception of the eye. After Zeuxis had tricked the birds into being lured by his painted fruit, Parrhasius subsequently won the contest by deceiving Zeuxis himself, who, in order to view Parrhasius' painting, tried to remove a cloth painted by the artist. Angel, thus, places great weight on imitation and the power of painting to obscure the boundary between appearance and reality.

This anecdote served as a respectable justification of the striving for illusionism. In this respect it is significant that a few years later the Leiden poet Dirk Traudenius called Dou "the Dutch Parrhasius" (den Hollandschen Parrhasius) in the introduction of a laudatory poem in which the reader is assured that Zeuxis would yet again be deceived, but this time by Dou's work: "If Zeuxis saw this banquet, he would be deceived again:/ Here lies no paint, but life and spirit on the panel./ Dou does not paint, oh no, he performs magic with the brush."[42] This anecdote must have been very familiar and Dou was undoubtedly aware of this comparison, perhaps even actively fostering this image. For example, Dou painted an illusionistic curtain drawn back in front

of a painting – substituting Parrhasius' cloth, as it were, for the type of curtain actually used at that time to protect paintings. And, he does this precisely in a painting with a painter, characterized as such by the studio in the background, who looks out at us (fig. 201). In this, more than in any of his other paintings, Dou, moreover, plays a pointed game with various layers of illusion, whereby the viewer is continually set on the wrong track in a witty way.[43]

As stated above, Dou in first place suggests that the curtain hanging from a copper rod attached to an ebony frame is in front of *painting* with a man in a window. However, this *trompe-l'oeil* effect is simultaneously undermined by the book on the sill, which seems to protrude from both the window and the feigned ebony frame (the book casts a shadow up to and on the frame, so that it extends 'into the space' of the frame and the curtain). This suggestion is reinforced by the wall with the window, which seems to coincide with the picture plane creating the impression that the ebony frame is attached to this wall. This, in turn, is naturally undermined by the fact that only the curtain and the frame are shown 'life-size' while the rest is a world 'in miniature' (and this is not even the whole story, as we shall see later in this essay). The painter at the window gazing out of the picture plane while smoking a pipe[44] invites the beholder to contemplate appearance versus reality, to ponder the capacity of painting to create illusion, and to marvel at the virtuosity of the maker, the "Dutch Parhassius".

The 'Paragone' with Sculpture: A Semblance without Being

While Van Mander displays virtually no interest in the *paragone* – i.e. a comparison of the arts to determine which is the most elevated – Angel addresses it fairly extensively.[45] In Italy, where this debate raged in the sixteenth century, it was actually part of the struggle to secure a place for painting among the liberal arts,[46] yet nothing of this can be detected in Angel's work. Evidently, he was not interested in whether his arguments to prove the important status of the painter/art of painting agreed with the ideology of the liberal arts. While this may in part be due to a lack of knowledge, it becomes clear that such an ideology simply did not prevail in this milieu; otherwise such a reasonably ambitious and literate painter as Angel would surely have broached the subject.

Embarking on the traditional *paragone* debate, beginning with the usual comparison between painting and sculpture, Angel uses arguments based entirely on the capacity to create illusion, in which painting far outstrips sculpture. Following De Brune's example, he takes an age-old criticism levelled against painting and turns it in its

favor. Devotees of sculpture are wont to say that painting is but mere "semblance without being" (schijn sonder sijn); sculpture and painting differ in that the one is "essence" (het wesen) and the other "appearance" (het schijnen). Angel assures his audience, however, that the tangible and spatial qualities of sculpture are not virtues of an art attempting to imitate nature, since these are phenomena of nature itself. This line of reasoning boils down to the argument that painting is a higher form of illusionism precisely because it lacks the tangible characteristics of that which it depicts, but is only paint on a flat surface and therefore the ultimate in artificiality.[47] Angel then gives an extensive summary demonstrating that painting, unlike sculpture, is able to imitate all visual phenomena, again proudly emphasizing the illusionistic capacity of painting: its "semblance without being". This argument is certainly not new, but Angel expands on it. Besides the already frequently mentioned ability to represent insubstantial matter such as light, lightning, rain, clouds, mist, reflections, morning, evening and night, as well as tangible ones such as birds, insects, hair, foam and so forth,[48] Angel adds that painting is able to distinguish various metals, such as "gold, silver, copper, pewter and lead." In so doing, he places strong emphasis on the possibilities of rendering the appearance of different materials through color and the reflection of light. Here, one might even think that Angel's reasoning was inspired by several of Dou's very early works, one of which is a masterful demonstration of the depiction of all sorts of metals (fig. 173, see also fig. 183).[49] Already at a youthful age, Dou explicitly displayed his virtuosity in the rendering of "sheen" (luyster), the specific ways in which various kinds of surfaces reflect light.

That Dou also joined the *paragone* debate in his own way seems to be confirmed by his inclusion of prominently depicted sculpted reliefs in many of his paintings (figs. 159, 167, 175, 176, 190, 194).[50] He thus demonstrated that painting is capable of imitating sculpture most deceptively on a flat surface.[51] By painting human figures above these reliefs, and objects consisting of all manner of materials and substances on top and in front of them, he makes it abundantly clear that sculpture can show only *stone*, while painting can give a perfect suggestion of all matter, living and dead.[52] To this end Dou frequently used a relief by François Duquesnoy, whose most prominent element was a putto holding a mask before its face, *the* attribute of *Pictura* and a symbol of the 'deceptiveness' of the art of painting (figs. 159, 167, 176, 190).[53]

In a picture of an old painter at work (fig. 164), Dou may have incorporated yet another idea that Angel (and De Brune) formulated in this debate. Angel concludes his comparison of painting and sculpture

164 Gerrit Dou, *Old Painter at Work*, 1649, panel 68.5 x 54 cm, Germany, Private Collection

by stating that an old and experienced artist can produce his best work at an advanced age, which an old sculptor cannot, because of the strenuousness of his work.[54] Dou's seasoned painter is set behind a table on which is a display demonstrating the specific competences of his art. Two other forms of art are also imitated (something only painting is capable of): a sculpted head and a book with a print are there almost for the taking. Furthermore, prominently included are "art works of nature" that sculpture is powerless to imitate,[55] such as an amazingly true-to-life peacock and a beautiful Triton shell, placed next to a copper pot with the most refined reflections of light. It is within such multi-colored manifestations of beauty that *natura* and *pictura* compete; by representing a dead peacock the painter stresses that the art of painting can preserve the transient works of nature thereby even surpassing it. That he selected a peacock – an age-old symbol of pride and vanity – displays his awareness that this aim is ultimately vain: what we see here is, after all, mere semblance. This semblance includes the arched window and the shimmering red curtain that seems to have been pulled aside in order to present to us this eloquent illusion.

The sculpture of Cupid 'flying' above the painter's head (and a relief of the little god of love behind him on the pillar), recalls the motif – mentioned a few times by Van Mander – of the love exacted by *Pictura* who is like a beautiful, jealous woman. However, more in keeping with motifs represented by Dou would seem to be Van Hoogstraten's much less metaphorical statement in his treatise of a few decades later (1678), namely that the painter "... should not only appear to be in love with art, but indeed is in love with depicting the beauties of graceful nature."[56]

The 'Paragone' with Poetry: Financial Profit, Preserving the Temporal, and the Power of Sight

In Angel's *paragone* with poetry, which follows his comparison with sculpture, an astonishing – and up until then highly unusual – accent is placed on the financial profit of the art of painting. As will be shown, here too, Angel turns an argument actually levelled against the art of painting to its advantage. In demonstrating painting's superiority to poetry, Angel quotes extensively from Jacob Cats' *Trouringh* (1632).[57] In these passages Cats draws a stark contrast between the painter and the poet, who – along with several other suitors – vie for the hand of their beloved and try to convince her of the dignity of their respective professions. The poet stresses lofty values, his duty to pass on ethical standards, and his need to instruct people about virtues and passions. He has the moral and didactic duties that were identified with the art of poetry (and to which Cats undoubtedly fully subscribed!).[58]

The painter, on the other hand, says nothing about the higher objectives of his art or elevated principles. The art of painting provides amusement, induces pleasure and soothes the spirit; it can reproduce anything that anyone wishes to see, and fixes transient beauty. Mockingly the painter says of the poet that, although he may earn the greatest praise, the highest honor and laurels, he "[cannot] stock the larder" with his exalted mind and profound thoughts; one cannot live

on air alone. The painter's arguments largely boil down to his claim that he can earn money practicing his art: "The honored art of painting deserves far greater praise,/ For more than just delight, it brings profit in its train./ I earn money in abundance, I paint majestic pictures...It is with this I trade, and freely, with great profit,/ And that is useful work, for home and family."[59] He produces a commodity that happens to be in great demand, which is financially profitable, and with which he can conduct trade like a merchant: "And if you love a merchant, I too am skilled in trade,/ And can improve my business much better through my art"[60] and even better than the merchant the painter contends (one of the other rivalling suitors is a merchant), because his trade is less risky as the painter produces his own merchandise.

Cats obviously meant all of this in a most unfavorable way. He portrays the painter, in complete contrast to the poet, as someone lacking lofty aims; in essence, he is no better than a craftsman who produces superior merchandise and a merchant who deals in it only for profit. His products, moreover, are intended only to please the eye and amuse people. For a poet, for whom honor was said to be far superior to profit, these were ruinous disqualifications – even for one aiming for such large editions as Cats himself. To be sure, Cats consciously wrote for a large audience (and he was exceptionally successful at it!), but for him poetry was foremost an honorable pastime, through which someone from a social upper class could fulfil a task as a 'moral leader'; in spite of the, for the time, unprecedented large editions, there is no indication that Cats earned any money with his poetry.[61] Thus Cats' contrast between the painter and the "moral-philosophical" poet who forwards strongly stoically colored ideas – condemning all passion, pomp and circumstance, desire for wealth and status – could not be greater.

However, Angel took Cats' expatiation on the painter completely seriously, and cites this ironic and negative criticism by a humanistic-ally schooled poet as an entirely positive commendation of the art of painting. After quoting Cats extensively for three pages, Angel concludes with the exclamation, "Behold, a poet himself places painting above poetry!"[62] Angel considered Cats' objections to the mercenary side of artistic endeavor, regarded as reprehensible within the humanistic tradition of the liberal arts, as merits perfectly worthy of mention when praising the art of painting, and deemed this quote appropriate for an occasion where the dignity of his art was praised.

It is plausible that Cats formulated – albeit ironically – an ideology widespread among painters at the time, which many of them took for granted and found entirely unobjectionable. On the contrary, they must have been proud to spawn a superior product yielding a good income, whereby they could raise their social standing. Most painters would not have cared for the old humanistic ideology of a small literary elite, which was also formulated by the scholar Franciscus Junius in his treatise *De Schilder-konst der oude* (1641) in connection with the art of painting (and which was to play a prominent role in Classicistic art theory some decades later). Junius launched a fiery attack on artists who conduct themselves as craftsmen and practice art merely to earn their daily bread.[63] A prominent socio-economic position within urban society, however, will have been more important to painters who, by and large, came from prosperous artisan circles and whose occupation had social traditions differing entirely from those of poetry. After all, within this society trade and commerce were highly esteemed. The capital earned in this way was the surest means of securing one's ascent to higher echelons of society; this too was within the reach of painters from an artisan's milieu.[64]

Dou's father was a glazier and glass-engraver with a substantial number of assistants. He must have been fairly well-to-do and Dou, just on the basis of his inheritance (which included three houses on Kort Rapenburg), had a small fortune at his disposal.[65] That Dou was a flag-bearer in Leiden's civic militia – a position held only by bachelors – at the time of Angel's address says something about the social prominence he already enjoyed as a young man. The value attached to this position is evidenced by the fact that "Vaendrager" (flag-bearer) was recorded after his name in the 1648 register of the painters' guild. The only other such addition in this register was "Capitijn", or captain, after the name of Johannes van Staveren, who came from a family of regents.[66] Some of Dou's pupils, who also painted in his style and who may well have attended Angel's lecture, were among the town's elite, including a Leiden regent (the aforementioned Jan van Staveren: town councillor, alderman and burgomaster), and a well-to-do merchant (Abraham de Pape); they do not seem to have minded practicing this 'craft' in connection with an organized 'guild'.[67] It should be noted that Leiden already enjoyed a tradition of sorts in this respect in the person of Isaac Claesz van Swanenburch. He was the most eminent painter active in Leiden in the last quarter of the sixteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth century and held many positions in the municipal government (including that of burgomaster several times).

A painter like Dou, from a milieu where a craft was practiced at a high socio-economic level, would not have been ashamed to be regarded as a highly qualified craftsman – and perhaps also as a merchant. Like many of his colleagues, Dou may have dealt in and appraised paintings. He certainly did the latter and probably also the former (he presumably sold a painting by Adam Elsheimer), when he

assisted in acquisitions made by the States of Holland for the *Dutch Gift* of 1660.[68] Joachim von Sandrart's remark that Dou calculated the price of a painting according to the hours he worked on it attests to a fundamental artisanal approach that would have filled any poet with disgust.[69] It is principally Dou's highly qualified and greatly esteemed craftsmanship – and the inherent professional pride – for which one had to pay so dearly.

That one could pride oneself on the great financial profit that paintings could yield found justification in a respectable past: Pliny, the most important source of knowledge on painters from classical antiquity, frequently mentioned the high prices painters received for their work. Van Mander included these prices in his biographies of "the illustrious painters from antiquity," and Angel, in turn, relied on this information for his discourse in which he describes just how much honor and esteem had been lavished on painters from antiquity to the present. For this he culled information from Van Mander's text and specifically selected several painters whose honor and dignity could be expressed in terms of the money and valuable gifts that they received. These were always carefully recorded: and, for the sake of clarity, Angel even worked out the equivalents of the ancient sums given in talents in contemporary currency.[70]

Angel closes with the assurance that proof of high esteem need not be sought beyond the borders of the Netherlands, nor even further than the town walls of Leiden, because as he triumphantly states, "the perfect and excellent Gerrit Dou" receives 500 guilders annually from Mr Spiering Silvercroon, entitling him to the first choice of Dou's annual production.[71] Accordingly, it is evident "that painters were esteemed and honored for their art not only in the past, but that the same is done in this, our century."[72] From there it is almost an obvious step to consider in positive terms Cats' 'reprehensible' painter who boasts about the financial advantages of his art.

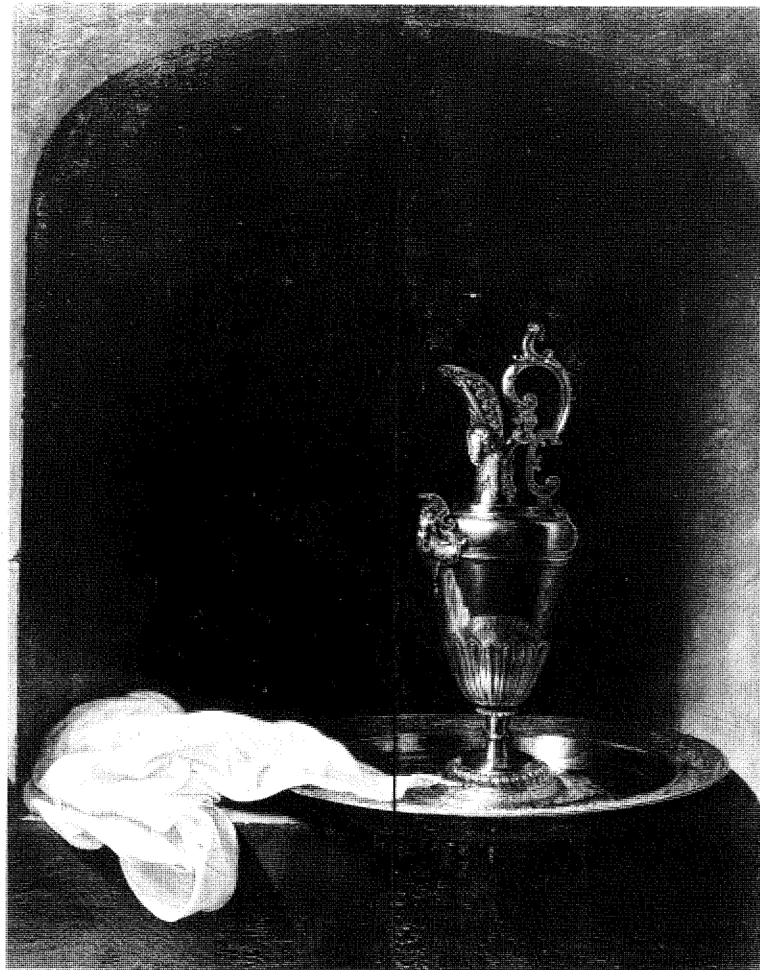
Incidentally, Dou's relationship to this 'Maecenas' Pieter Spiering Silvercroon held no obligations, quite unlike that for example of the Italian painter Rosso Fiorentino, who worked in the service of a court, of whom Angel says, shortly before concluding this passage with comments on Dou, that François I gave him "an annual stipend of 400 golden crowns in addition to the wages for his work."[73] Spiering will have exerted no influence on how and what Dou produced; their agreement was limited to the right of first choice (one of Spiering's choices was the 1637 *Student with a Violin* in Edinburgh, fig. 180).[74] The existence of such enthusiastic Maecenases has led some authors to conclude, incorrectly, that Dou thus avoided the open market.[75] However, this special agreement actually attests to the fact that Dou

made his paintings on his own initiative for the open market and that his Maecenases/buyers (probably a relatively small circle of wealthy collectors) could make a selection from this production – sometimes paying him for the right of first choice. The working method is a consequence of the mechanism of the open market and differs essentially from working on commission. Hence, Cats' painter's proud remark certainly applies to Dou: "It is with this I trade, and freely, with great profit."[76] That this freedom could be considered as a great privilege, in contrast to being employed by a sovereign, which formerly had been – and in other countries still was – perceived as the highest status an artist could attain, is apparent from a poem by Dou's fellow townsman Dirk Traudenius. This poem was evidently written in response to an offer Dou received from Charles II to come to England after works by the artist included in the above-mentioned *Dutch Gift* presented to England by the States of Holland and West-Friesland had reaped great admiration there:[77] "How DOU! Shall Stuart drag you, the fire beacon of the brush,/ To Whitehall, oh but do not go to Charles' court,/ Do not sell your freedom for smoke, for wind and dust,/ He who seeks the favor of princes, has to play the slave and flatterer."[78]

Dou's costly products, which he sold to wealthy collectors and even princes, could, moreover, be considered superior to all of the other crafts. As Cats' painter also says: only *his* art is capable of capturing and making visible anything one could wish to see or desire. The owner of paintings can 'possess', as it were, everything that man (and nature) brings forth.

As has been noted, the costliness of Dou's work was a point mentioned in the earliest accounts – Orlers already commented that Dou's paintings were "dearly sold". All other authors writing about Dou in the seventeenth and eighteenth century were fascinated by the fabulous prices his work commanded, a fact they mentioned *ad nauseum*. Von Sandrart, who would have been personally acquainted with Dou, was especially intrigued by this: aside from the hourly fee that Dou charged for his work ("eind Pfund Flemsch", or six guilders), he went so far as to mention twice that paintings not even the size of a hand were sold for 600, 800 and no less than 1000 guilders.[79]

In some of his paintings Dou seems to have referred to their costliness. The fact that many of his small panels were delivered in "a case" (een kas; probably made of ebony) or with painted doors in front of them, indicates that they were to be considered as precious gems.[80] The best-known, still extant example of this is the representation of a ewer and a basin on two panels (fig. 165), which served as doors for one of Dou's most ambitious (and expensive) works, the *Sick Woman*

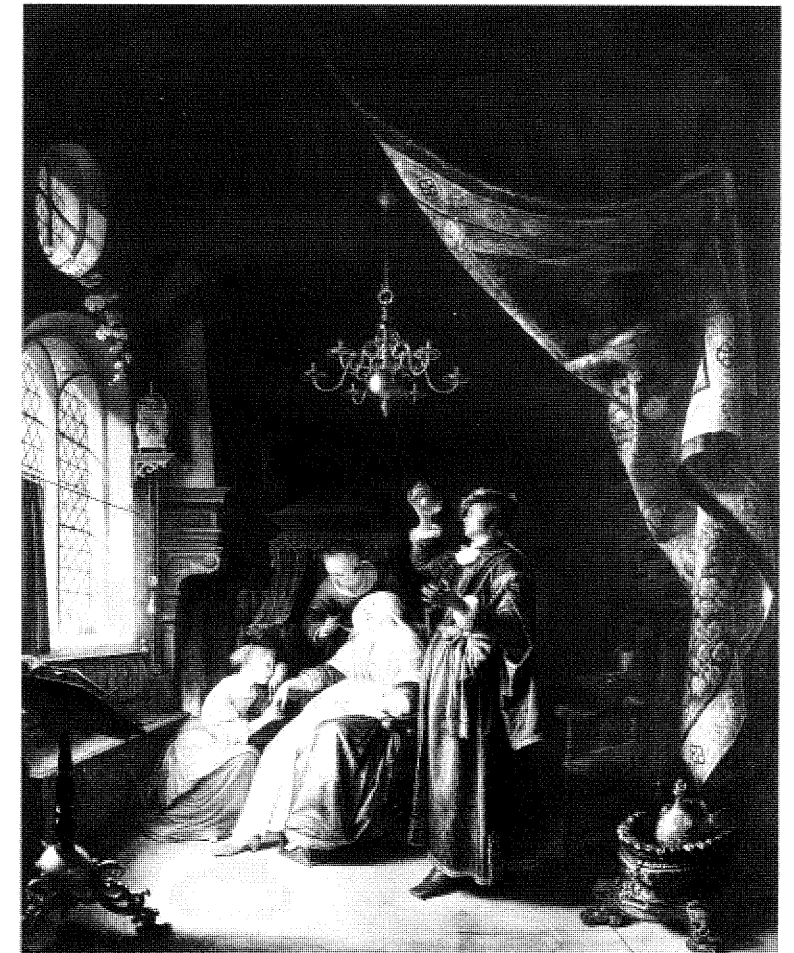


165 Gerrit Dou, *Silver Ewer and Basin*, (two panels – together 102.5 x 108 cm – originally the doors for *The Sick Woman*, 1663), Paris, Musée du Louvre

(fig. 166),[81] – formerly in the collection of Johan de Bye, a Maecenas who owned no less than 27 paintings by Dou.[82] Dou himself may well have owned this costly silver ewer and basin, decorated with gold-plated ornaments (which he depicted in three other paintings as well, see, for example, figs. 159, 199), having received them from a wealthy Maecenas. They are typically objects given as tokens of exceptional esteem.[83] With this display, Dou may have been indicating to collectors who knew him personally his pride as a successful painter worthy of receiving such a present from a Maecenas.[84]

By being depicted on the outside, the ewer may also be construed as a symbol of the costliness of the painting itself, which must have had a value commensurate with the actual masterpiece of silver and

166 Gerrit Dou, *The Sick Woman*, 1663, panel 86 x 68 cm, Paris, Musée du Louvre



gold. Such a conscious demonstration of the high value of the product that the painter was capable of making by means of his exceptional skill is certainly not unthinkable in Dou's case, particularly as we know that this was done earlier by another painter. In a letter to Cardinal Borromeo, Jan Brueghel – an artist equally adept in the making of expensive and refined painted works – makes it clear that he included a reference to the value of the painting *in* the painting, whereby the costliness of the work coincided with objects represented. In a flower still life made for Borromeo, Brueghel painted a splendid piece of jewellery which he mentions emphatically in the accompanying letter. Borromeo assumed that the price of the painting matched that of the "jewel" and paid accordingly.[85] In addition to the ewer serving as a

visual representation of the value of the painting, Dou also demonstrates that the art of painting – unlike the goldsmith's art (one of the most esteemed crafts) – can even create this worth without the material of the product itself being costly. Moreover, unlike other kinds of artists, the painter is capable of portraying such a precious example of the goldsmith's work as though it were truly before one's eyes. By showing it as a genuine *trompe l'oeil*, life-size and in a shallow niche, the artist 'supplies' this expensive object in addition to the already valuable painting. His desire aroused, the viewer is invited to grasp this pièce de resistance. However, upon opening the doors on which it is painted, a scene representing the transience of all things earthly (by means of the sick woman) is revealed to him.[86]

167 Anonymous, copy after Gerrit Dou's *Self-Portrait* of 1658 (Florence, Uffizi), Present whereabouts unknown (more details are visible on this old copy than on the extremely darkened original)

The notion that the art of painting can present all earthly beauty, or for that matter anything one could possibly wish for, was wed to an awareness of vanity and transience, as mentioned earlier in the discussion of the painting with the old painter (fig. 164).[87] Allusions to *vanitas* occur in countless paintings by Dou, especially when their subject is the painter or the art of painting.[88] The most pointed *vanitas* references are found in a late self-portrait in the Uffizi, with Dou resting one hand on a skull and drawing attention to an hourglass with the other (fig. 167); and in a very early work of a painter in his studio (fig. 168). In the latter, a young artist shows us that the unpainted panel on the easel – and actually the artist himself – are part of the still life alluding to vanity and transience which, furthermore, is the subject of the yet to be executed painting.[89]

Angel concluded his slender volume with the words: "We will wrest free of the devouring maw of mortality through our art, and vanquish it, despite the breaker of all necks [death]"[90] This sentence incorporates both the idea that art conquers mortality by capturing all that is transient (as Cats' painter also assured his beloved),[91] and the notion that the painter wrests himself from mortality through his art. For, as Angel exclaims elsewhere: "paintings can survive several hundred years, and that is enough."[92] This pride, which implicitly comprises an awareness of the transience of all earthly matters – also of the painting itself – and the vanity of striving to eternalize this, is reflected in many works by Dou. However, it was Dou's Leiden colleague David Bailly who gave the most detailed visual expression to these thoughts in his famous and elaborate "Vanitas" still life of 1651 (fig. 169), which can simultaneously be considered an encomium to the art of painting and a self-conscious monument to the painter. It is

168 Gerrit Dou, *Young Painter in his Studio with a "Vanitas" Still Life*, c. 1632, panel 59 x 43.5 cm, New York, Newhouse Galleries, Inc. (1998)

the most detailed accumulation imaginable of various materials, fabrics and substances as well as of the various arts that painting could eternalize.[93] Bailly, moreover, stressed that the work of a painter has a financial value and that a successful artist will certainly not be the worse for it: he placed a pile of coins in front of his own decorous portrait in the middle of this painting.

Angel began his comparison to the art of poetry with a most remarkable argument designed to demonstrate painting's superiority. He maintained that in poetry, interpreting the emotions and circumstances of the personages as the poet intended them depended entirely on the reader's mental exertion. In painting, on the other hand, our sight distinguishes every emotion which is presented "in the form that the painter wished it to be displayed, for it is not bound to the user's will."[94] In other words, poetry needs an alert reader to interpret the text, and the poet cannot be certain that he will be understood correctly. The painter, on the other hand, simply shows what he wants the

169 David Bailly, *"Vanitas" Still Life with Self-Portrait*, 1651, panel 89.5 x 122 cm, Leiden, Stedelijk Museum De Lakenhal

viewer to see. In short, Angel maintains that visual art effects the mind more directly and is therefore more eloquent than poetry.[95] This is based on the old idea – De Brune quotes several statements to this effect from antiquity – that what is perceived by the eye penetrates the mind more directly and powerfully than that which is conveyed through words.[96]

In fact, this argument agrees perfectly with Angel's 'reverse' reading of Cats, and could be used by supporters of the literary-humanistic approach to the arts as proof of the inferior position of painting.[97] For them, true knowledge was acquired only through words; pictures presented merely an outward appearance which, due to the power of the image itself, could also be dangerous. Nevertheless, for painters, most of whom would have been convinced, just as Angel was, that "the eye is the most noble of all the senses and that color is a prerequisite of sight,"[98] this was a fitting ideology. Thus, the awareness that painting communicates differently than language is here used to its advantage. A poet such as Dirck Raphaelsz Camphuyzen, however, applied this notion quite differently when maintaining that one can, indeed, try to explain in words a painting that has made an impact on the mind through the eye, but that by then the image will have already done its work, which to his way of thinking could only be dangerous and even harmful to the mind: "But [oh!] what explanations and what praise can safely withstand/ The things displayed, which, by their very nature, shame the mind."[99]

The age-old reproaches that sight is a dangerous sense because that which is seen has a powerful impact on the mind and arouses desire, and because sensual pleasure is directly stimulated by looking at paintings (in which color makes painting the most sensual medium),[100] posed no problem for Angel. On the contrary, for him delighting the eye was painting's primary function. Discussing the qualities a painter should master, Angel continually repeats that the painter must delight the eyes of the art lover,[101] combining this with the notion that by doing so he wil be able to sell his paintings all the more easily.

When he speaks of the abundance of things that should be depicted to pleasantly embellish a picture, he assures his audience that this is particularly necessary to kindle "affection" in the art lover's mind, so that "the eyes of art lovers" become enraptured with a "wish-desire" (wensch-begeerte) of what is seen, whereby the paintings "find ready buyers".[102]

Moreover, the proficiency required to produce the proper combination of light and shadow, a natural color scheme, an accurate

rendering of optical effects, and the different appearance of various substances, all serve to please and captivate the eye of the art lover and arouse his "craving" (begheer-lust) for art.[103] The necessity of competing for the favor of the buyer/collector driven by "lust of the eye" (ogenlust) is here expressed quite frankly and was, of course, extremely important for a painter wishing to compete successfully in the open market. Every single characteristic Angel listed as necessary to please the eye of the art lover (and which are discussed at greater length in the following chapter) are elements Dou had already employed in his work with great success. After all, from the beginning he painted a wealth of objects (immediately distancing himself from his teacher), and evidenced a very careful treatment of light and dark, a meticulous rendering of texture, a natural palette and carefully considered reflections of light. He undoubtedly succeeded "in satisfying the desire of...inquisitive eyes."[104]

These same characteristics are also enumerated in Joachim von Sandrart's admiring description of Dou's work, which has "... everything that otherwise belongs in a life-size picture as regards draftsmanship, palette, highlights, shadows and sheen, painted very amazingly and to perfection in very small pictures only a few fingers in length, so wonderful, vivid, powerful, impressive, plastic, and harmonious, that no one before him has ever produced similar small pieces."[105] Sandrart began the passage just quoted by emphasizing that although Dou was Rembrandt's pupil he had become a "totally different flower" and continues by saying that Dou "[had] adopted an entirely different manner of painting never before seen."[106] Indeed, from the beginning Dou seems to have deliberately taken a different path which, though derived from Rembrandt's art, would ultimately lead to a style that can be considered its opposite. Rembrandt and Dou would become the two most famous and best paid painters in Holland; and their separate directions manifest immense consistency and great self-awareness. That Dou's art served pictorial illusionism in a completely different way than Rembrandt's is examined more closely below with respect to several recommendations by Angel, who must have preferred the path that Dou took.

Gerrit Dou and Philips Angel: The Conditions of Good Art

Borrowing from Others

In the second half of Angel's address, wherein he specifies the requirements an artist must satisfy to be worthy of being called a

painter, all pedantry suddenly disappears and he straightforwardly treats only that which he finds most important. With some effort, several of the requisite qualities can be traced back to traditional concepts of humanistic art theory.[107] The way in which he discusses these requirements, however, has little to do with the connotations associated with these terms in art theory, and is quite independent from the literary notions stemming from the theories of poetics and rhetoric on which they are based.[108]

First and foremost, a painter must have sound judgement. In discussing this Angel focuses entirely on the practicalities of borrowing from others, a problem undoubtedly preoccupying painters at the time. After all, as an apprentice one began by copying the master's work. And, later on, one could continue to work in the master's manner qua subject matter, compositions and style if one wished to ride on his coat tails. However, upon completion of his apprenticeship, the ambitious young painter had to profile himself differently should he want to corner his own place in the market.

With respect to borrowing, Angel warns against flaunting a borrowed invention, and cautions that it would be entirely wrong to present something as one's own when only a few scattered additions have been made to someone else's invention (as happens so often, Angel notes). If one directly follows the work of a great master, then one should do just that, namely make an accurate copy and nothing more. In and of itself there is, however, nothing wrong in borrowing motifs from great masters, but they should be fully and naturally assimilated into the composition and in no way recognizable as a motif taken from someone else: "he should know how to incorporate that which he has borrowed into his own work so sweetly and fluently that it escapes notice."[109] Done in this way it will then serve "to praise the master from whom it was taken."[110]

Here Angel quotes Van Mander as the authority on "rapen" (to borrow or steal, yet it can also mean "turnips"), and expands on the latter's pun about well-cooked "rapen" (turnips) making a good soup: "Turnips...are good fare, as long as they are well-stewed."[111] Van Mander was directing this advice specifically to the young apprentice painter; and partly for this reason Hessel Miedema concluded that it must have been immediately clear to the thoughtful reader that Van Mander actually found this practice objectionable. According to Miedema, the recommendation applied only to painters of the lowest level, while those with greater discernment were expected to do exactly the opposite. Hence, Van Mander's irony seems to have entirely escaped Angel.[112] Whatever the case may be, more important than the question of whether Angel understood Van Mander's intentions is the

fact that Angel was conveying prevailing views on this practice; after all, countless paintings of the time reveal that the working method prescribed by Angel was commonly followed. Van Mander's advice to "rapen" during one's pupillage ("Steal arms, legs, bodies, hands, feet/ it is not prohibited here"),[113] is used by Angel in a broader sense as part of a somewhat superficial notion of imitation and emulation: one may borrow from the great masters out of admiration for them, but one should also be able to transform the derivations into something completely one's own, whereby they become 'invisible'.

Angel seems to have no notion of true *aemulatio* – that is, surpassing the great example through rivalry. For Rembrandt, on the other hand, this must have been a rather fundamental concept, and one undoubtedly acquired in Lastman's studio. Although Van Mander does not treat this form of rivalry in his didactic poem, it does come up in several of his artists' biographies.[114] Particularly the anecdote about Lucas van Leyden who in order "to challenge or surpass" Dürer frequently depicted the same histories,[115] is entirely applicable to Rembrandt's working method in his early years. Particularly in the first ten years of his career, the young and ambitious painter consciously measured himself against the great masters (Lastman, Lucas van Leyden, Rubens and Titian), by using their inventions as his point of departure in such a way that they would be undoubtedly recognizable to connoisseurs, and then 'defeating' them, as it were, with their own weapons. Rembrandt displayed his skill and virtuosity by 'improving' on their inventions entirely according to his own views, and thus consciously appointing himself as their successor in a prestigious, international tradition that would always remain his standard of comparison.

170 Jan Gillisz van Vliet after Rembrandt, *St Jerome*, 1631, etching

Dou's early work evidences more limited ambitions as he initially borrowed mainly from the work of his own master. He incorporated only those motifs that he could employ for non-narrative representations, stripping them of all textual-narrative references when necessary. The manner in which Dou used these derivations is reminiscent of Angel's method, and the latter would have probably interpreted it as the exquisite masking of borrowed motifs in Dou's own, entirely new inventions. Rembrandt's exotically dressed 'biblical' characters, for instance, were transformed into contemporary old men and women spinning, eating porridge or reading the Bible (figs. 181, 196, 197); St Jerome became an anonymous hermit surrounded by a multiplicity of objects (figs. 170, 171); a solidly built Oriental emerged as a slender officer with a plethora of contemporary military attributes (figs. 172, 173); and Rembrandt's representation of a painter in his studio yielded various images of artists before an easel surrounded by studio props and other paraphernalia (figs. 168, 183, 184), to name but a few examples.

171 Gerrit Dou, *Hermit*, panel 57 x 43 cm, Dresden, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister

Somewhat later, Dou also borrowed from the sixteenth and early seventeenth-century kitchen scene tradition. He took the type of kitchen maid situated amid copper and pewter kitchen utensils, baskets, vegetables, fruit, poultry, and placed her in a completely different ambience and within the framework of the monumental window-motif, which he had developed in the meantime (for example, figs. 174, 175).[116] Other themes, which Dou introduced as independent subjects, evolved in a similar fashion; for instance, a small print in Jost Amman's *Ständebuch* (1568) served as the prototype for his scenes of doctors examining a urinal with an old woman awaiting the outcome (figs. 176, 177).[117] In the process, Dou zeroed in on the genre of non-narrative scenes with figures that was branching off into ever more subtle categories, and he enriched them – like few other painters – with new types of images by creating inventions that were the result of characteristic, well thought-out combinations and transformations of older pictorial motifs in Dutch paintings and prints. Many painters would endlessly embroider on themes introduced by Dou, and were no strangers to the practice that Angel opposed – namely the adoption of other people's inventions with only minor variations.

In contrast to Dou, Rembrandt almost always kept to existing themes from the international tradition of history painting which served as his constant frame of reference. Largely through his

intensive study of prints Rembrandt, perhaps more than any other Dutch painter, was well-versed in the iconographical conventions of this genre. The tradition of history painting is something Dou seems to have avoided from the very beginning, probably quite consciously. He was most likely fully aware of where his strength lay, and this was certainly not the suggestion of movement and emotions in a narrative context, the primary goal of his teacher, as Huygens was quick to ascertain around 1629.[118] Van Mander called the depiction of affects – the emotions expressed through the position and movement of human limbs – the very essence of painting.[119] Rembrandt will have fully endorsed this view, as he wrote in a letter to Huygens that he was making every effort to render "the most natural (e)motion possible."[120] Like many of his colleagues, however, Dou eschewed this, and it is striking that Angel too avoids discussing the rendering of emotions when he so extensively discusses all that a painter should be capable of doing.[121]

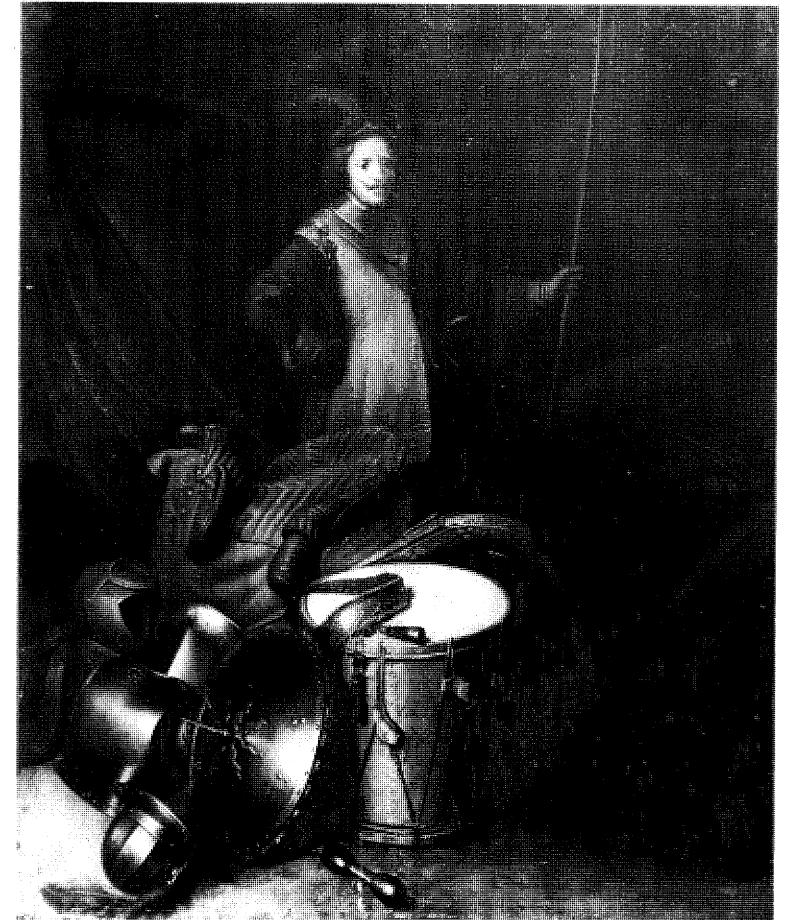
A Wealth of Visible Things

As remarked earlier, Angel considered a "pleasingly decorative richness" (aerdigh-vercierende Rijckelijckheydt) of great importance because it was so highly valued by art lovers. Daily we notice how essential it is to "verrijcken", or embellish scenes, Angel writes, because the paintings by masters who take this seriously inflame the desire of art lovers and thus sell very well indeed.

There is no doubt that Dou was one of these painters. In this, too, he immediately distinguished himself from his teacher who early on began to limit the inclusion of details. Comparison of the paintings mentioned above in which Dou adopted motifs from his teacher makes this abundantly clear (for example figs. 172 and 173).

Van Mander (following Alberti) also discussed *copia* (abundance) and *varietas* (variety), writing that one could fill compositions of history scenes with an abundance of elements that are pleasant

172 Rembrandt, *Self-Portrait as an Oriental*, 1631, panel 66.5 x 52 cm, Paris, Musée du Petit Palais



173 Gerrit Dou, *Officer with Weapons*, c. 1631, panel 66 x 51 cm, Budapest, Szépmüvészeti Museum

to behold.[122] As an alternative, though, he adds that some of the best masters "Often avoid abundance or Copia,/ and take pleasure in rendering sober subjects with few details,"[123] (Van Mander compares this with lawyers who argue a case with a superfluity of words, while kings need only a few to express their opinion).[124] Rembrandt opted for the latter approach. Van Mander, however, discusses more extensively painting with *copia* than this "soberness", for as bees love meadows with a great variety of flowers, so too the eyes love to graze on all of the beauties in *Pictura's* garden, and he concludes that they "Search in many nooks and crannies for the sake of pleasure,/ Every place where delight and diversion leads them,/ Hungry to see ever more, high and low,/ Like savoring guests, tasting all sorts of delicacies."[125] He thus outlines the ideal that Dou (and Angel) strove to attain.

174 Jacob Matham, *Kitchen Maid and a Boy* (in the background: *The Supper at Emmaus*), engraving

175 Gerrit Dou, *Kitchen Maid and a Boy in a Window*, 1652, panel 33 x 23.8 cm, Karlsruhe, Staatliche Kunsthalle

Ich bin ein Doctor der Artzney/
An dem Harn kan ich sehen frey
Was kranckheit ein Menschn thut beladn
Dem kan ich helffen mit Gotts gnadn
Durch ein Syrup oder Recept
Das seiner kranckheit widerstrebt/
Daß der Mensch wider werd gesund/
Arabo die Artzney erfund.
D iij Der

176 Gerrit Dou, *Doctor with an Urinal in a Window*, 1653, panel 49.5 x 36.5 cm, Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum

177 Jost Amman, *"Der Doctor"*, woodcut in: *Eygentliche Beschreibung aller Stände auff Erden*, Frankfurt am Main 1586

Should one chose to pursue this ideal, however, certain conditions are involved. And, it is no coincidence that Angel immediately preceded his discussion of painting with "embellishment" (rijckelijckheydt) with another necessary characteristic, namely "a talent for combining things in a fluent and natural way,"[126] in other words, the capacity to casually and naturally arrange many fancies in a single composition. This is also related to Angel's subsequent condition: the organization of all of the pictorial elements by means of light and shadow, which I discuss in the following section.

As we have seen, in his early work Dou exhibited a propensity for setting meticulously depicted objects in the foreground. The window motif – which he began using in his paintings in the 1640s – seems to have been developed in order to display this wealth of objects to their best advantage for the benefit of the viewer. The window sill provides a highly suitable surface on which to arrange as a still-life all sorts of items painted in detail in the immediate foreground; they have a place there in a relatively natural way. Dou must have been inspired by the arched stone window openings in various prints in Amman's *Ständebuch* (fig. 178), where the sills function as a display case for the

wares of the craftsmen shown at work in the interior in the background.

Naturally, stone ledges or architectural frameworks in the service of illusionistic effects had already enjoyed a long tradition in the Netherlands.[127] However, the specific form elected by Dou seems to be derived from Amman's prints. They probably afforded the solution that Dou was seeking, as his early paintings already incorporate elements that anticipate this form. Imitating several history pieces by his teacher, Dou began producing works with an arched top, which helped to focus attention on the scene by 'cutting off' the dull, entirely dark upper corners – the obvious consequence of his method of lighting. In a few of these paintings can be seen a table with objects, and a figure behind it, positioned close to the picture plane (fig. 179). Interesting in this connection is that with some of his interiors of the 1630s illuminated by a large, arched window,[128] the viewer has the impression – especially in the *Student with a Violin in a Study* (fig. 180) – of looking through just such an arched window into the room beyond because of the shape of the panel.

The window frame that Dou subsequently placed before the interior into which the viewer looks, aside from the display of "embellishing richness" offered him the possibility – as his teacher did shortly before in a few portraits (including, figs. 187, 188) – of experimenting with the suggestion of breaking through the picture plane.[129] Because the picture plane is accentuated by the natural stone jambs of the window, a superb transition from the painting's space to that of the beholder is effected: it isolates the artistic realm of the *fijnschilder*, and frames it in a monumental fashion – underscoring that we are looking at something special – while also creating the illusion of proximity. Moreover, this accentuation of the picture plane reinforces the suggestion that we are simultaneously looking into a space while also beholding a beautiful surface. It offered Dou an ideal solution whereby he could also make the framing itself part of the "embellishing richness" by adding reliefs. That the window motif would be so successful as to be endlessly repeated by numerous painters in both his own lifetime and far into the nineteenth century, is something Dou could never have imagined. Few of these followers, however, were able to keep the profusion of objects "for the delight of

Der Kandelgiesser.

Das Zin mach ich im Feuwer fließn/
Thu darnach in die Mödel gießn/
Kandel/Flaschen/groß vnd auch klein/
Darauß zu trincken Bier vnd Wein/
Schůssel/Blatten/Täller/der maß/
Schenck Kandel/Saltzfaß vnd Gießfaß/
Ohlbüchßn/Leuchter vnd Schůsselring/
Vnd sonst ins Hauß fast nůtze ding.
B iij Der

178 Jost Amman, *"Der Kandelgiesser"*, woodcut in: *Eygentliche Beschreibung aller Stände auff Erden*, Frankfurt am Main 1586

179 Gerrit Dou, *Boy Playing a Flute in a Study*, 1636, panel 35.5 x 28.5 cm, Peterborough, Elton Hall

180 Gerrit Dou, *Student with a Violin in a Study*, 1637, panel 32 x 23.5 cm, Edinburgh, National Gallery of Scotland

the eyes" in check like Dou, and this was certainly due to his superior mastery in organizing light and shadow.

Light and Shadow

Angel's recommendations chiefly, and constantly, accentuate the necessity of imitating visible things accurately, so that they actually seem to be before the viewer. One of the most important requirements to this end is using light and shadow in such a way that everything looks wonderfully real and acquires a "magical power" (tooverachtighe kracht). Angel points out that the lit areas and the shadows should not be depicted in a scattered fashion – the way one often sees them in reality – but should be powerfully organized. Just as soldiers never win a battle if they scatter, but only if joined as a unit, so too the "appearance-simulating power" (schijn-eyghentlicke kracht) (that is the power of painting to suggest that one is seeing the real thing, although it is only appearance) with which the eyes of the art lover may be "overwhelmed and conquered" (overweldighen en in nemen) can only be achieved in this way.[130]

In making these comments Angel may well have had Dou's work

in mind.[131] From the very beginning Dou's compositions were characterized by their organization based on clearly defined zones of light and dark, as summarily mentioned above, a feature that he developed during his apprenticeship in response to his teacher's treatment of light. Angel's statement that well-organized areas of lights and shadows "make many things which are virtually impossible to imitate with the brush and colors look almost real,"[132] seems to have been inspired by the remarkable refinement with which Dou placed figures and objects on the border of broad bands of light and dark, the transitions between which are painted with infinite subtlety (with

181 Gerrit Dou, *Old Woman Eating Porridge*, c. 1632, panel 51.5 x 41 cm, Germany, Private Collection

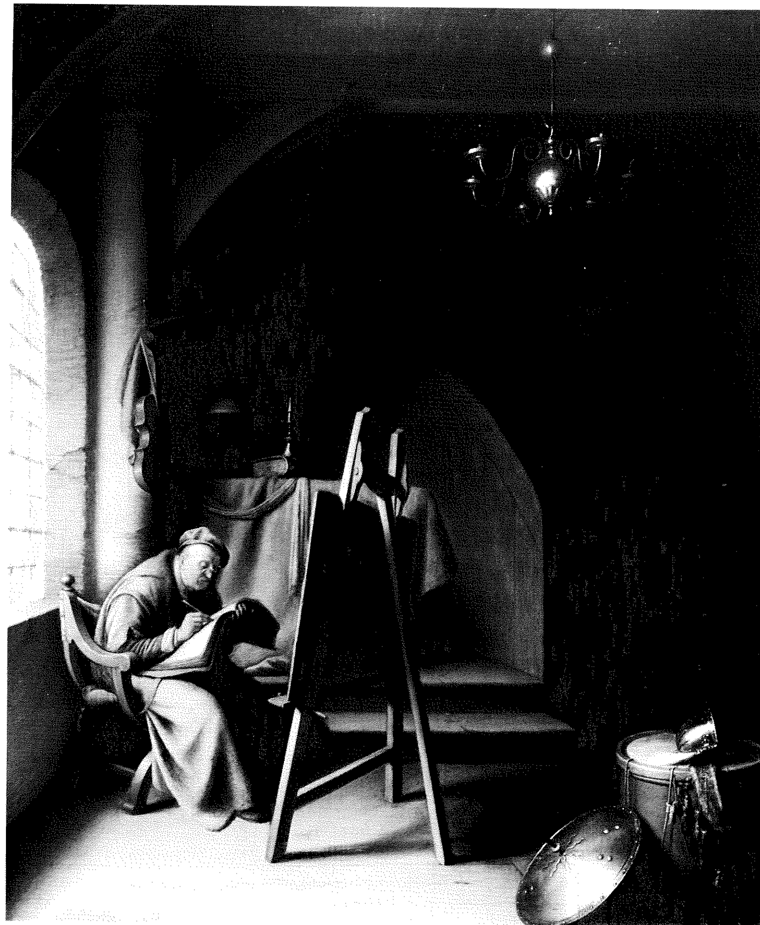
182 Rembrandt, *Peter and Paul Conversing*, 1628, panel 72.5 x 59.5 cm, Melbourne, National Gallery of Victoria

regard to works before 1641, for example, see figs. 168, 171, 173, 179, 180, 181, 183). Consequently, in spite of their highly detailed depiction, Dou's works almost always maintain a strong unity, not only in the composition as a whole, but also in each part independently – such as the tapestries or kitchen cloths, whose weave is visible, hanging over the window sill (figs. 159, 176, 189, 194). In the works of many of Dou's followers can be seen how such a high degree of detailing leads to the total splintering of all of the elements in the scene, because they lack Dou's superior mastery of a unifying distribution of light. This is a feature of Dou's oeuvre admiringly remarked upon by various seventeenth-century authors, including Joachim von Sandrart (see the quote above, p. 224), André Félibien and Roger de Piles. The latter wrote in 1699: "... his works are finished like nature itself losing nothing of the freshness, unity or the power of the colors, nor of the relations between licht and dark."[133]

Although Dou derived his handling of light from Rembrandt's works from 1628-1631, he soon deviated from this in a number of respects. For example, in his paintings from this period Rembrandt rarely depicted a strong light in the immediate foreground; in fact, the light there is usually tempered or the foreground is even left totally in the dark, whereby the detailing becomes vague. The light thus remains 'within' the space of the painting and the strongest lit part recedes into the scene. In Dou's interiors, the light streaming in (diagonally from left to the right front) usually extends all the way to the foreground. The objects in the foreground are always raked by a strong light, which simplifies the spatial modelling and offers the possibility of detailing them crisply; the objects 'closest' to us are therefore the most 'tangible'. Compare, for instance, Rembrandt's interior with *Peter and Paul Conversing* (fig. 182) of 1628, the year when Dou came to train with him, with Dou's early interiors from the 1630s (for example, figs. 180, 181, 183). Among the very few exceptions in Rembrandt's oeuvre are the *Painter in his Studio* and the *Self-Portrait as an Oriental* (figs.

184, 172, of 1629 and 1631 respectively), in which we see the method that Dou adopted and exploited by scrupulously placing objects in and along the edge of the band of light.

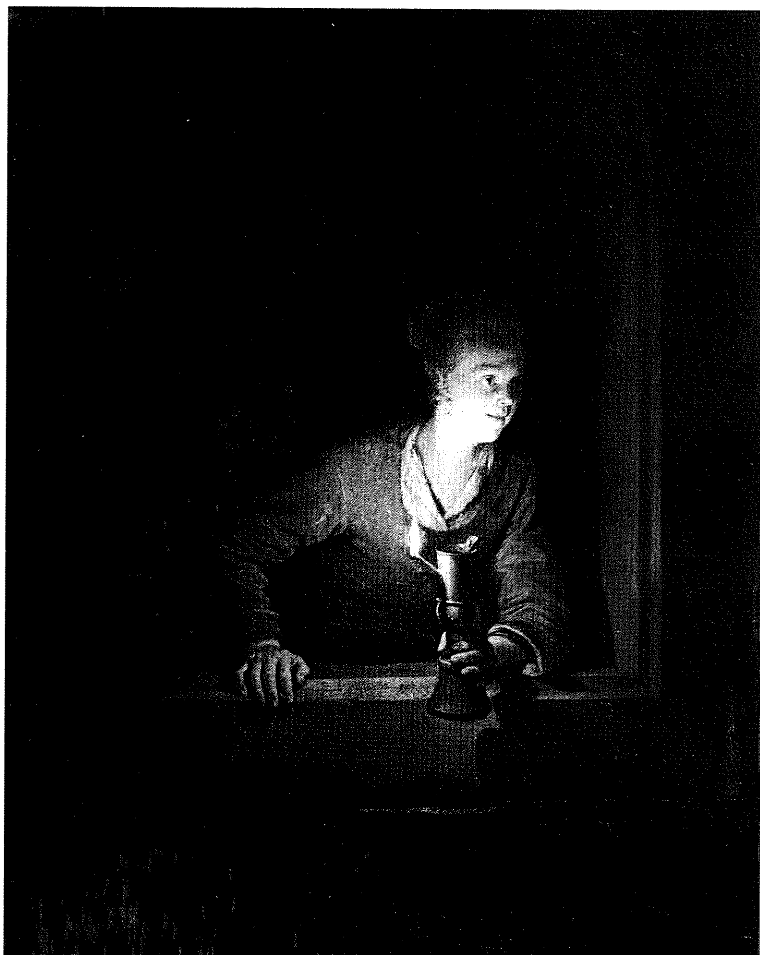
The paintings demonstrating Dou's virtuosity in rendering night illumination betray his source of inspiration, namely Rembrandt's earliest experiment with candlelight in his 1627 painting of an old man examining his money (based on the Parable of the Rich Fool) (fig. 185). While in Rembrandt's painting the source of light is in the middle of the visible space, its intensity decreasing toward the front and the foreground shrouded in darkness, Dou preferred placing a candle or lamp as far to the front as possible in many nocturnal scenes with astronomers or maidservants standing at a window (figs. 186, 212).



183 Gerrit Dou, *Old Painter Writing before an Easel*, c. 1632, panel 31.5 x 25 cm, Montreal, Private Collection

184 Rembrandt, *The Painter in his Studio*, c. 1629, panel 25 x 32 cm, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts

185 Rembrandt, *The Miser from The Parable of the Rich Fool*, 1627, panel 32 x 42.5 cm, Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Gemäldegalerie



186 Gerrit Dou, *Maidservant with an Oil Lamp in a Window*, c. 1660, panel 22 x 17 cm, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum

Dou's framing window-device also made it possible for the most important source of light to be outside the window (and thus, as it were, shine in from 'outside' the painting), so that the light is strongest in the foreground and the figures and objects in the window are literally positioned on the borderline between light and shadow.[134] This simplifies the suggestion that that which is most prominent in the foreground is also 'closest to' the viewer, according to the age-old principle that light advances and darkness recedes. Rembrandt, on the other hand, even when using artistic devices somewhat comparable to Dou's window, has the light originating from 'inside' and sets that which is closest 'to the front' in shadow. A striking example of this is found in Rembrandt's *Portrait of Agatha Bas* (fig. 187), where a shadow

187 Rembrandt, *Portrait of Agatha Bas*, 1641, canvas 104 x 82 cm, London, Buckingham Palace, Collection of her Royal Majesty Queen Elizabeth II

that blurs the details falls on the part of the right hand and fan of the sitter that extends beyond the *trompe-l'oeil* ebony picture frame. The same is the case with Rembrandt's elbow extending over a balustrade in his self-portrait of 1640 (fig. 188). Even in Dou's prententious self-portrait of 1663 (fig. 189), with a pose directly referring to that in his former master's equally pretentious 1640 self-portrait (in which Rembrandt simultaneously emulated Titian, Raphael and Dürer),[135] he nevertheless has the light enter 'from outside'. Dou replaced Rembrandt's simple stone ledge with a variant of the motif that had meanwhile become his 'trademark': the window was now 'broken open' making place for an imposing baldachin. Because the light streams in from the front, the costly Oriental tapestry hanging over the balustrade could be painted in minute detail; thus, in this self-portrait Dou provided a display of the very foundations of his great fame. Dou, early on, clearly turned away in some respects from Rembrandt's method of creating the illusion of space through light, and in their later work as well the two would further develop their different approaches.[136]

The Reflection of Light

As noted earlier, Angel discusses extensively the necessity of carefully observing optical effects and scrupulously depicting what one sees; he takes very literally the observation of the "the realness of natural things" (eyghentlijckheyt van de natuerlijcke dinghen) and reproaches painters for not rendering correctly certain optical phenomena, such as the effect of the spokes of a spinning wheel,[137] or of a fuse being swung around in the air. Just as marine and battle painters excel in the depiction of the effects of powder smoke from pistol and cannon shots, and landscapists in reflections in water, other painters too should spare no effort in studying the visible world precisely: "since we are imitators of life we must not avoid taking greater pains (if this

brings us closer to the successful imitation of natural objects)."[138] Yet another reason for doing this is that it would "arouse a keener desire for art" on the part of art lovers.[139]

A bit further on Angel notes that one should study closely the texture and characteristic reflections (the "luster" [luyster] and "sheen" [glans]) of various materials, whereby he distinguishes between silk, velvet, linen, plain cloth, wool, satin, *toers* (a sturdy silk) and *floers* (a very thin, translucent silk weave).[140] A painter must be able to represent "this variety in the most pleasing way for all eyes."[141] The fact that Angel named the painter Willem Duyster as especially skilful in the depiction of "the harsh, rough clothiness and smooth, satiny evenness"[142] indicates how such 'innovations' were immediately noticed and appreciated. After all, it was this Amsterdammer, together with his fellow townsman Pieter Codde, who in the 1630s (just a few years before Angel's address) produced virtuoso depictions of the particular shimmer of costly satin clothing, which was perfected by a number of painters of the next generation – led by Gerard ter Borch. It goes without saying that precisely in this period, and particularly in Leiden and Amsterdam, genre and still-life painters became increasingly preoccupied with a highly refined rendering of texture.

As mentioned above, early on in his lecture Angel emphasized the capacity to differentiate metals by means of their different types of sheen in order to strengthen his arguments regarding the superiority of painting vis-à-vis sculpture. Van Mander had also accentuated the necessity of meticulously studying the complex ways in which materials reflect light to achieve an "almost real" rendering of objects and even devoted an entire chapter of his *Grondt* to "Reflection, reverberation, contra-glow or the repercussion of light" (Reflecty, Reverberacy, teghen-glans of weerschijn). He composed the following verse regarding "a kitchen scene" by Pieter Aertsen ("lange Pier"), which he cited as an example: "Through diligent observation can be learned,/ How gleaming fish, tin and copper,/ share the reverberation [of light],/ As

188 Rembrandt, *Self-Portrait*, 1640, canvas 93 x 80 cm, London, The National Gallery

189 Gerrit Dou, *Self-Portrait*, 1663, panel 53.5 x 39.5 cm, Kansas City, The Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art

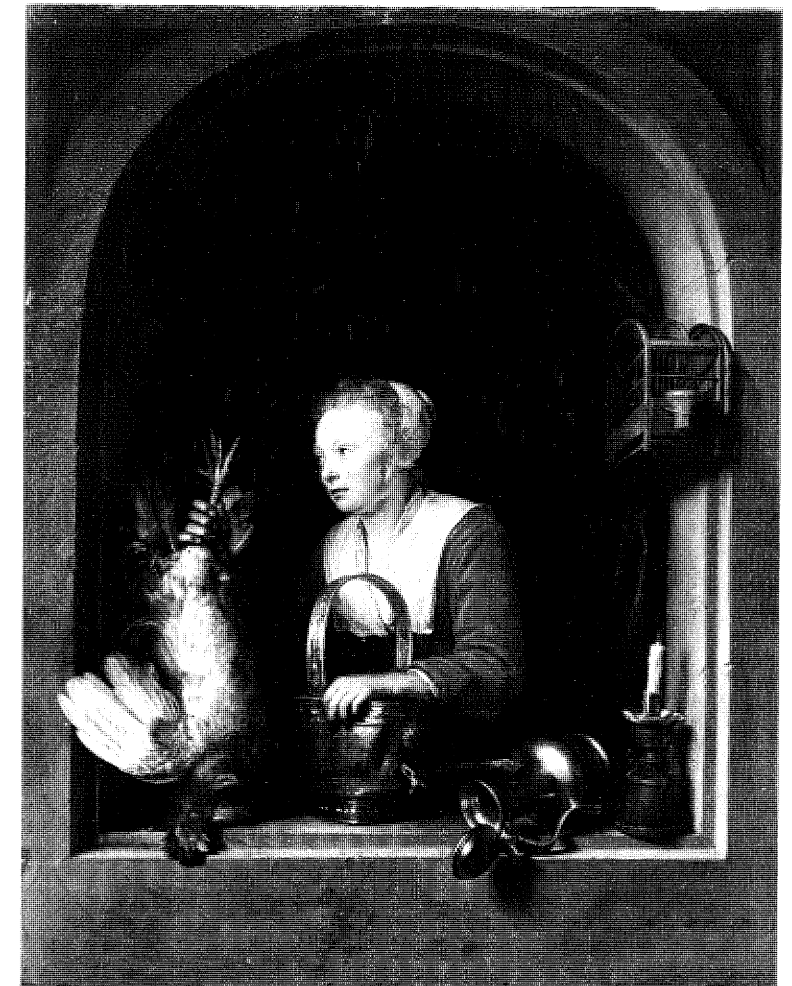
190 Gerrit Dou, *Maidservant and an Old Woman in a Window with Game and Poultry*, c. 1665, panel 59 x 46 cm, London, The National Gallery

exemplified in 'tall Pete's' scenes."[143] He continued that it is as though everything shown in such a painting can be grasped with the hands, calling Aertsen a great and skilful "deceiver of people's eyes," because "… one believes to see all sorts of things,/ Yet it is only paint that he knew how to mix."[144] Dou's kitchen maids surrounded by tin and copper pots, fish, poultry and vegetables – a theme that Dou, as mentioned earlier, took up and popularized – appear to be a true 'emulation' in a contemporary idiom of the aspects in Pieter Aertsen's work that Van Mander praised (figs. 175, 190, 191).

Through his careful handling of light and shadow and the close observation of the effects of luster and reflection, Dou strove to realize

191 Gerrit Dou, *Maidservant with a Rooster in a Window*, 1650, panel 26.5 x 20.5 cm, Paris, Musée du Louvre

just what Van Mander describes here. While in a number of early paintings Dou concentrated on a veritable catalogue of different types of metals in order to demonstrate his skill (fig. 173), in the course of time he expanded his repertoire to include the various kinds of downy softness of the plumage of all sorts of poultry, the fur of hares, the glimmer of fish, the constitution of assorted vegetables, plants and flowers, the texture of valuable tapestries or gilt leather, velvet or silk clothing, etc. Dou did not shy away from executing a true tour de force, for example, in the depiction of extremely carefully observed effects of the reflection of objects surrounding a polished market bucket (fig. 190). This all has been displayed in such a fashion that the eyes can



indulge fully in exploring these wonders of virtuosity; "Dou does not paint, oh no, why he performs magic with the paint brush," as his poetic supporter, Traudenius, phrased it.[145]

Illusion and Manner of Painting

Most remarkable with respect to Angel's almost obsessive emphasis on working precisely "after life" (naar het leven) is the passage regarding the relationship between imitating nature and the manner of painting.[146] Angel asserts that one should never imitate the "manner" (handelinge) of another master, but only nature (and by "nature" he means nothing profound). He even goes so far as to prohibit a painter from displaying any trace of a distinctly individual manner (we would say, a personal style of painting): as long as the work of a particular painter can be recognized by his manner it is no good, because then "the master is putting too much of himself into it."[147] The highest praise a painter can receive is when his painting "approaches real life without being able to detect in it the manner of the master who made it."[148] Accordingly, the painter must whole-heartedly strive for a "remarkable correspondence" or "approximation of life", so that everything is "natural and no less varied". Only then does one rightfully deserve to wear the "crown of honor".[149]

According to Angel, then, all things must be characterized by the properties of form, texture, and reflection that are different and specific to each object (the "diversity" [veranderlickheyt] of nature), without interference from the master's style. Illusion can thus only be perfect if the means of its origins – working the paint in a particular manner – becomes as invisible as possible. This recalls the terms that Michel le Blon used to commend Torrentius' work to Spiering Silvercroon, Dou's first Maecenas (fig. 192): "... and one never sees the slightest unevenness of paint on the surface, neither the beginning nor the end of the entire work, and [it] seems to be painted more as a wash or as a vapor-thin layer."[150] It is the ideal of the image as a mirror in which nature reflects itself.

192 Torrentius (Jan Simonsz van der Beeck), *Still Life with a Wine Pitcher, Water Pitcher, Glass and Bit (Allegory of Temperance)*, 1614, panel 52 x 50.5 cm, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum

193 Gerrit Dou, *Man with a Pipe*, c. 1640, panel 19 x 14.5 cm, London, The National Gallery

Discussing the manner of painting more fully in the following passage, Angel explicitly presents Gerrit Dou's work as the great example to be studied should one wish to achieve "neatness" (netticheyt, that is, a careful, smooth and finely detailed manner), because Dou knew how to combine "netticheyt" with a "curious looseness" (curieuse lossicheyt) – a manner of painting that is simultaneously meticulous, refined, and smooth, as well as amazingly "loose".[151] When working with "neatness without looseness" one will only lapse into stiffness and unnaturalness, he notes. Should one be incapable of achieving Dou's kind of "netticheyt", one would be better off employing a truly loose and flowing manner of painting.

Angel seems unperturbed by the apparent contradiction between his recommendation of Dou's manner of painting and his earlier warnings against having a recognizable personal style or of imitating that of another master. For Angel, Dou's work undoubtedly represented the ideal "mannerless manner", with which all visible things are perfectly imitated in paint. In this passage it would seem paramount to Angel that a painting look natural and unforced. As, in his view, the most accurate possible 'imitation' of the visible world is an absolute condition, the solution is to practice a manner of painting combining "neatness" with "looseness", as he perceived it in the work of Dou. This feat, however, could only be achieved by the fortunate few. As regards the above-mentioned Torrentius, Constantijn Huygens remarked that although one asks in vain how this painter was able to imitate nature in such a miraculous way, he could only depict "inanimate objects".[152] Like Dou, Angel must also have realized that more was required in suggesting "life" than "netticheyt" alone.

Perceptively, Angel recognized that it was this extraordinary combination of an extremely meticulous and detailed style of painting with loose and lively brushwork that was one of the wonders of Dou's art. This quality can be confirmed by anyone studying Dou's paintings, and was spoken of with admiration until finely detailed painting fell

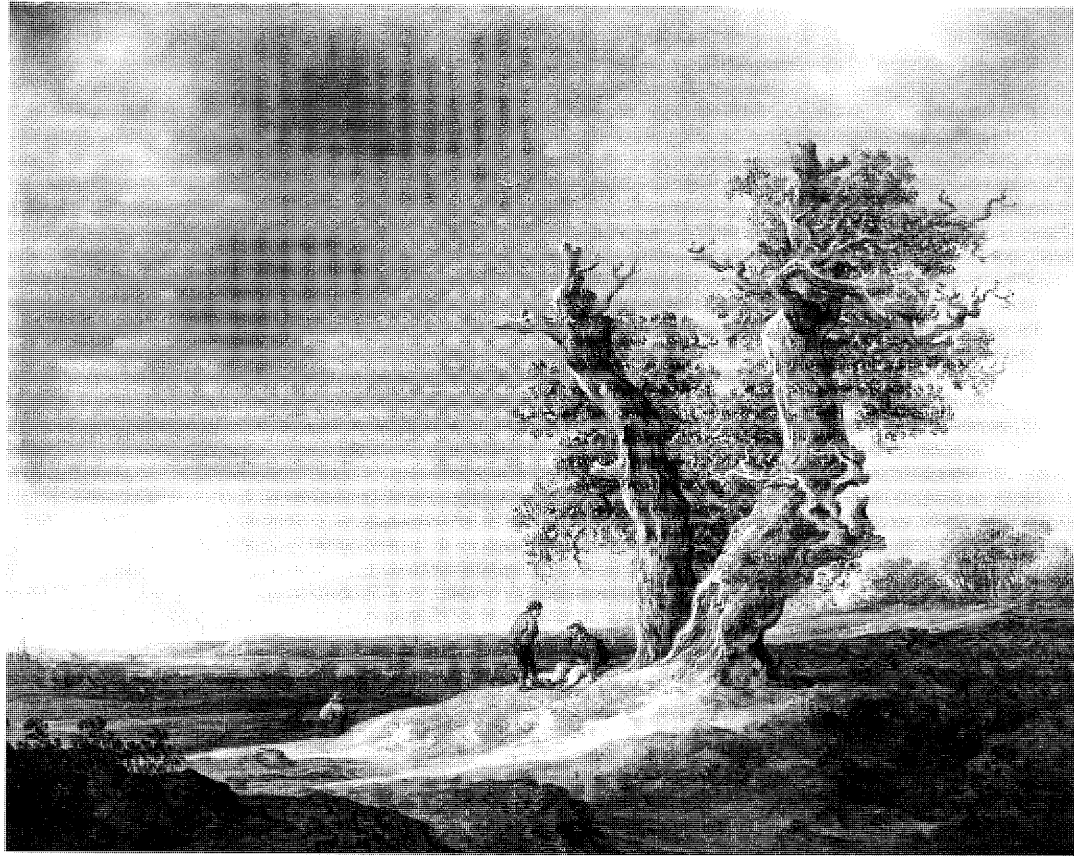
out of favor in the second half of the nineteenth century. For instance, comparing Dou's working method with the "stiffness" (styvigheit) of his pupil Pieter van Slingelandt, Van Gool wrote in 1750 that: "...no matter how neatly and fully he elaborated everything, the graceful looseness of his brush [still] shows through everywhere."[153]

Earlier on in his address Angel discussed the "looseness" (lossicheyt) needed to give a face the appropriate expression.[154] This is a characteristic that we certainly find in Dou's work. A number of Dou's early *tronies* – relatively inexpensive and quickly executed heads – were done with animated and clearly visible brushstrokes, and display his exceptional handling of the brush (fig. 193). Yet even in his most meticulously executed works, it is striking that the faces are always composed of deft – though in appearance deliquescent – brushstrokes, resulting in great liveliness (fig. 194). His followers were rarely up to this task, and the faces they painted – even those by Frans van Mieris – lack that naturalness of expression so characteristic of Dou's. As a consequence, they frequently seem to be grimacing because they suffer from "the mistake of stiffness" (die foute van stijvicheyt).

As noted, Angel's most highly recommended alternative for "neat" painting was a loose, deft and fluent manner of working. Here, too, though, the brushstrokes should be deliquescent, should "disappear". Hence, a "sweetly melting [literally: disappearing] brush" (soet-verliesent Penceel), or a style of painting that strives for a smooth surface, remains crucial for him. This is decidedly different from the "rough" (rouwe) manner that Van Mander spoke of and which is discussed below. What Angel means is presumably represented by the style of Dou's relatively quickly painted early *tronies* mentioned above. However, the deft working method of, for example, Jan van Goyen – a contemporary, very popular and highly respected Leiden landscape painter – probably also falls in this category; this method guaranteed a less time-consuming and therefore less expensive mode of production (fig. 195).[155]

Angel makes no reference to Rembrandt's manner of painting, which is anything but "sweetly melting" (soet-verliesend) or "sweetly flowing" (soet-vloeiend). His style exemplifies precisely a working method in which a highly personal manner is strongly emphasized, a feature resolutely condemned by Angel as we have seen. Rembrandt's treatment of the paint most emphatically bears his stamp: it is a readily recognizable "manner of the master" (Meesters handelinge), a 'trademark' that could be imitated and which, in fact, *was* imitated on a grand scale by pupils.[156] Even in his earliest known works, Rembrandt distinguished himself with his characteristic treatment of paint with distinctly visible brushstrokes and concentrated on the then highly

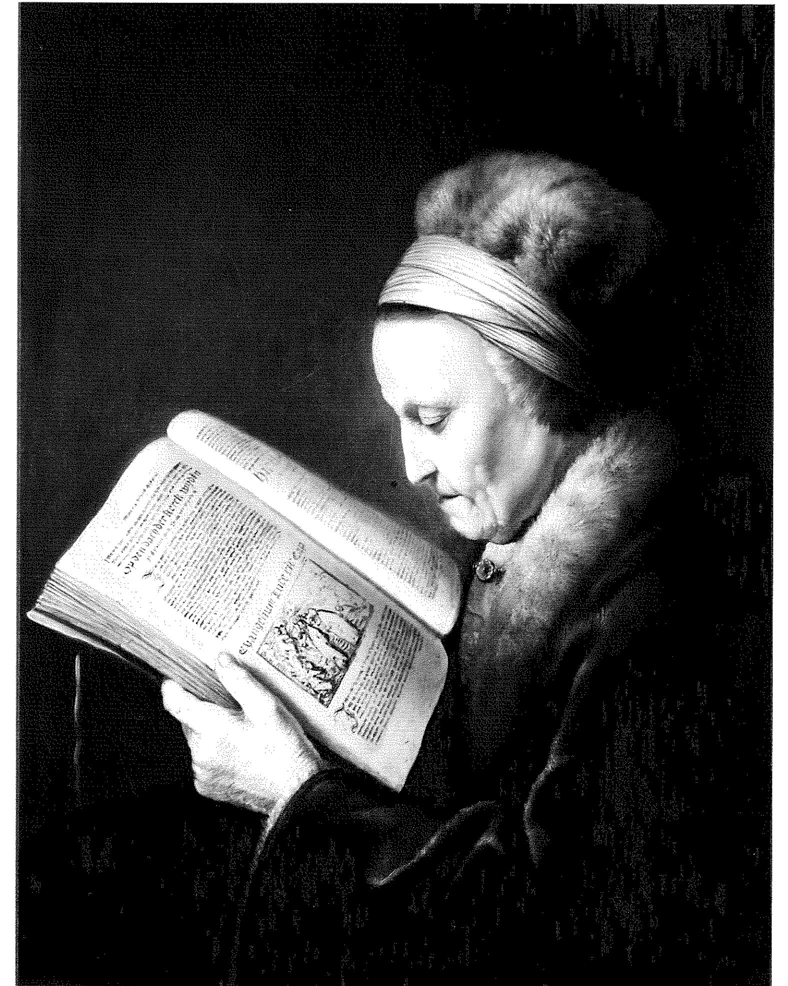
194 Gerrit Dou, *Maidservant Emptying a Jug in a Window*, *c.* 1655, panel 38 x 28 cm, Rotterdam, Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen



195 Jan van Goyen, *Landscape with Two Oak Trees*, 1641, canvas 88.5 x 110.5 cm, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum

unusual method of rendering the surface texture of materials by varying the thickness and relief in the paint layer.[157]

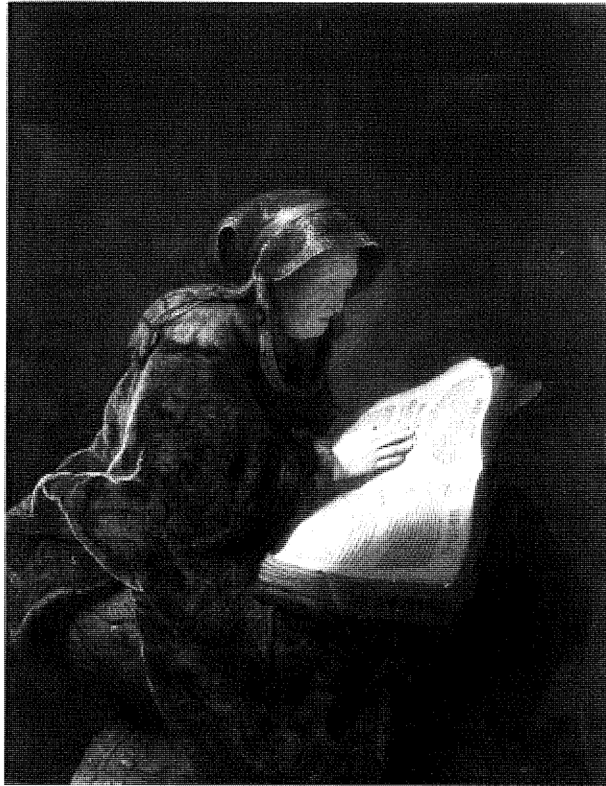
Like Rembrandt, who with this technique distanced himself from his teacher Lastman and thus instantly established his own direction, Dou too abandoned his teacher's working method as soon as he could. Only his earliest works betray signs of Rembrandt's style. In Dou's *Old Woman Reading a Lectionary*, for example, the paint has been applied in a fairly thick and differentiated manner: the wrinkles in the aged skin of the hands and face are suggested with some relief in the paint (fig. 196). Yet because of the way in which the surface of the fur, the coat, and paper of the book has been so very meticulously 'explored' (we can even see exactly which passage she is reading in the distinctly contemporary lectionary), the nature of the depiction of this old woman differs entirely from that of Rembrandt's *Prophetess Anna*, the painting likely to have inspired Dou (fig. 197).[158]



196 Gerrit Dou, *Old Woman Reading a Lectionary*, c. 1632, panel 71 x 55.5 cm, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum

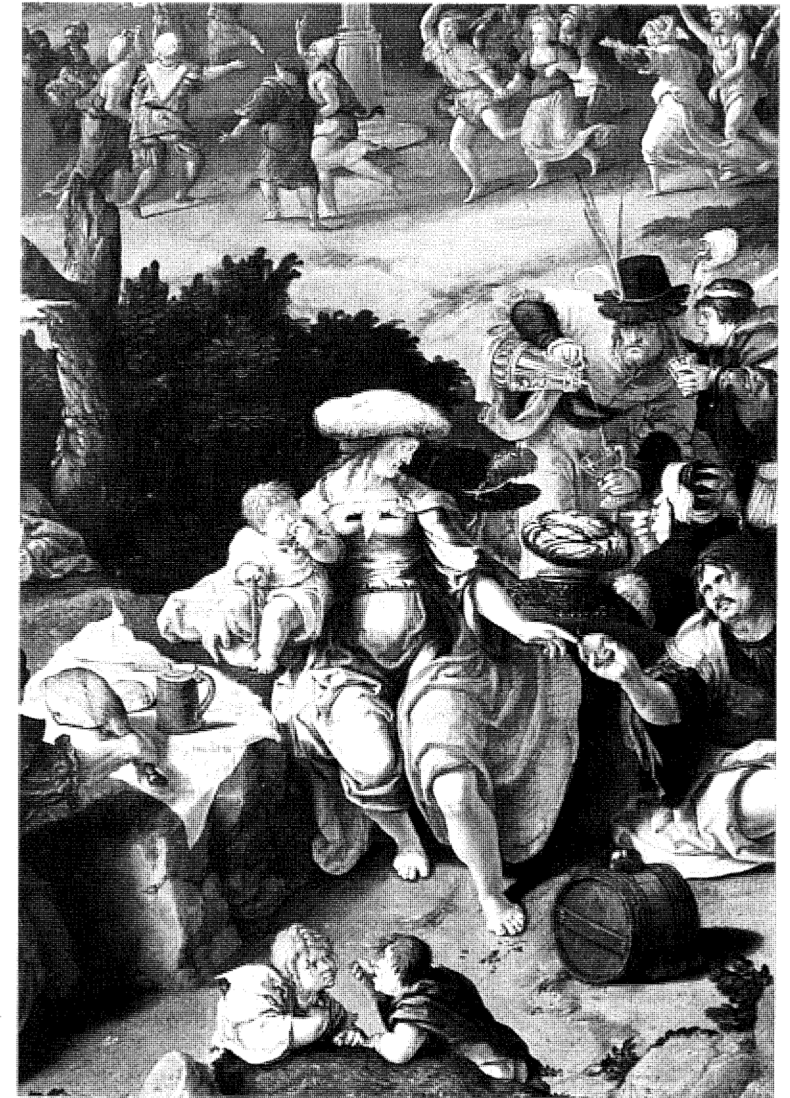
After Rembrandt's departure from Leiden, Dou fully embraced a smooth technique, suggesting space and texture only by means of color gradations, light and shadow, sheen and reflection, with brushstrokes flowing together in the surface. In fact, he returned to a method already perfected by the Van Eyck brothers in the fifteenth century.[159] The terms "net" and "netticheyt", which were employed from the onset to characterize Dou's work, had already been used by Van Mander. He often combined this concept with "suyver" (literally: pure), which means approximately the same, and also occasionally linked the word "curieus" (curious) to "net", something Orlers was to do later as well in his description of Dou.[160] Van Mander used "net"

and "netticheyt" particularly in his biographies of a number of northern artists,[161] first and foremost that of Jan van Eyck, but also of Hugo van der Goes, Jan Gossaert, Albrecht Dürer and Hans Holbein, and the two celebrated painters who initiated the Leiden tradition: Cornelis Engebrechtsz and especially Lucas van Leyden. They are the two painters to whom Orlers (adopting Van Mander's biographies) awarded the most pages in his book and whose most famous works of art were kept in the Leiden town hall "to honor their dignity and commemorate them;" in the case of Engebrechtsz, Van Mander complains that his works are hung too high, so that the "neatness and nature of the artistry" could hardly be seen.[162] In Van Mander's enthusiastic description of a famous work by Lucas van Leyden, one actually comes across all the terms that Angel consistently used: according to Van Mander, the figures in this painting were "depicted very naturally and true-to-life," and the landscape "painted so neatly and naturally," that it seems as though "everything is presented naturally and truly before one's eyes". The painting, however, is also "amazingly loose, subtle and rich, well composed and well executed" while Lucas also excels in "this natural observation" (see, for example, fig. 198; while the detail reproduced here is not from the painting Van Mander was referring to, his characterization is nevertheless entirely applicable to this work as well).[163]



197 Rembrandt, *The Prophetess Anna ('Rembrandt's Mother')*, 1631, panel 60 x 48 cm, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum

The terms Philips Angel used to commend Dou's working method also recall Karel van Mander's earlier phrasing in the *Grondt*, in the chapter entitled "On Painting Well, or Coloring", where he sings the praises of the "netticheyt" in the work of Jan van Eyck, Lucas van Leyden, Albrecht Dürer and Pieter Brueghel, the painters he presents as exemplary of this type of painting. According to Van Mander, this "netticheyt" is to be recommended as long as it is coupled with "nature, spirit and diligence" (aerdt, gheest en cloeckheyt) (Angel used the terms "wacker en kloeck", or alert and diligent).[164] Here, Van Mander emphasized that "netticheyt" provides the eyes with "sweet



198 Lucas van Leyden, detail (*c.* 46 x 27 cm) of *The Adoration of the Golden Calf*, *c.* 1530, central panel *c.* 93 x 67 cm, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum

sustenance" (soet voedtsel) and engages them for a long time; moreover, it ensures attachment to that which is seen because "... through the insatiable eyes,/ the heart is gripped with persistent desires."[165] Here, Angel's tenacious emphasis on pleasing the eye, precisely in combination with this manner of painting, seems to be anticipated.

In the passage concerned, Van Mander then juxtaposes these smooth panels with others seen occasionally in his own time heavily

laden with paint and apparently intended to invite touch. These were so uneven and rough, according to Van Mander, that they might be mistaken for reliefs sculpted in stone.[166] This is the "rough" (rouwe) manner that Van Mander associates with the late "spotted or smudged" (met vlekken) work by Titian, whose paintings, he states, can only be viewed at a distance. Van Mander warns that this style was followed by many, though with little success. To achieve Titian's extraordinary naturalness based on seeming nonchalance requires not only great exertion, but the exceptional judgement and power of reason of such an artist.

That Rembrandt consciously embarked on this course was recently convincingly argued by Ernst van de Wetering.[167] Dou, on the other hand, concentrated on a working method that will have been deemed one of the most important features of an indigenous tradition. That the work of Lucas van Leyden, Leiden's most revered artist,[168] could be regarded exemplary of this, was perhaps a conscious or an unconscious stimulus.

In order to emphasize the nature of a highly artificial "semblance without being," in painting "net" the surface as being real matter and painting as manipulating paint is denied as much as possible. And, this was Dou's goal: the creation of a surface "without the slightest unevenness of paint" – even, smooth, and gleaming like a mirror, the very symbol of the deceptiveness of appearances. It should come as no surprise that Van Mander (quoting the words of his teacher, Lucas de Heere), made a comparison between a painted panel and a mirror when referring to Jan van Eyck, whom he considered the founder of Netherlandish painting.[169]

In the introduction to the biographies of painters from antiquity, Van Mander (following Alberti) also discussed the mirror metaphor, saying that the poets intent on seeing the origins of painting in the fable of Narcissus had made an apt comparison: what better way is there to compare an ingenious painting after life than with the reflection of this young man in a crystal clear pool? After all, Van Mander adds, our art is "already a reflection of true nature, comparable with a semblance of being."[170] Prefaced by the story of Zeuxis and Parrhasius and followed by the same comparison with the fable of Narcissus, three-quarters of a century later Van Hoogstraten arrived at his famous statement: "Because a perfect painting is like a mirror of nature, making things that are not there appear to be, and which deceives one in a permissible, pleasurable and praiseworthy way."[171] Self-evidently implicit in these comparisons with the image of the mirror are prevailing notions of the mirror as a symbol of fleeting and deceptive appearances, pride and vanity (the Narcissus story, of course, immediately evokes the idea of vanity), and of the concept of the mirror as a moral exemplum (the scholastic *speculum*). Accordingly, the comparability of the painting and the mirror became all the more pregnant.[172]

The comparison between a painting and a mirror was undoubtedly rejected by a painter like Rembrandt: his pictures in no way recall the image of the mirror. Quite telling in this respect is that representations of mirror effects in his work – so rife in that of the old Flemish masters, and in that of Dou and many other seventeenth-century Dutch painters – are entirely absent. The contrast between the teacher's and pupil's conception of the nature of the image seems to have been wittily reflected late in their careers in paintings of 1654 and 1667, respectively; in the latter Dou literally displays the mirror image of a girl's face that is very closely related to that of a young "courtesan" looking in a mirror painted 13 years earlier by Rembrandt (figs. 199 and 200).[173]

Through his technique, Rembrandt was able to imbue the girl with an almost breathing corporeality, even though when looking at her one is always conscious of the surface as a mass of paint built up of broad, paint saturated brushstrokes. And, as one would expect, Rembrandt showed the back of the mirror, for representing it frontally would have been at odds with the technique underlying his brand of illusionism. In Dou's work on the other hand, the image focuses on the mirror's reflective surface. This allows Dou to accentuate the comparison between the painting and the mirror: we are looking at two layers of illusion, the painting of the girl and that of her mirror image. The girl even looks at us via the mirror, thus further underscoring the fact that the beholder sees only an illusion of this pretty young woman. However, it is pretty deception that can entice him into paying handsomely for her.

In Dou's numerous images of enticing maidservants and young ladies painted in the 1650s and 1660s, the allurement of the costly, extremely refined object corresponds perfectly with that of the young beauties invitingly addressing a viewer outside of the image.[174] In the scene of the woman looking at us in the mirror, the wine is in the cooler and a chair stands ready for her suitor. Even though the open door of the bird cage above her head indicates that she is 'available', she will always remain beyond reach, for she is merely artistic artifice. The latter aspect receives additional emphasis through the artificial arch from which hangs a precious tapestry pushed aside and affording the viewer a glimpse into her realm. In Rembrandt's painting the unattainability of the very 'present' beauty is enhanced by the fact that she is distinctly made of paint. Although created in such different

manners, both exhibit a perfect illusion of transient beauty, which the owner/(art)lover can enjoy forever.

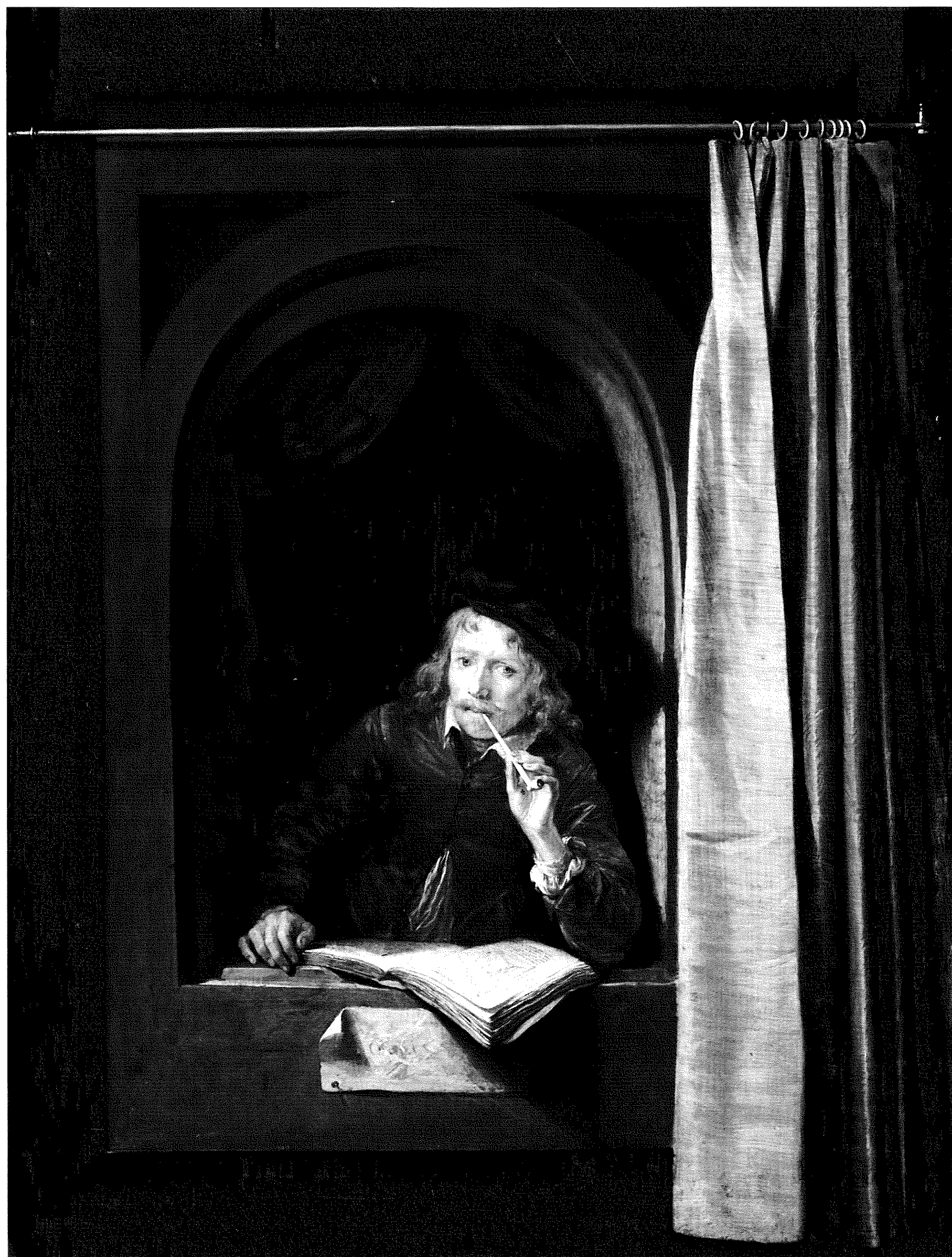
This marked difference in approach comes clearly to the fore – as though purposely demonstrative – in two earlier works by Rembrandt and by Dou with a painted curtain hanging from a *trompe-l'oeil* picture frame 'before' the painting. Dou's *Painter Smoking a Pipe in a Window* of around 1647 (fig. 201), discussed earlier in connection with the curtain as a reference to the 'Parrhasian' illusionism, was probably made shortly after Rembrandt's 1646 *Holy Family* (fig. 202).[175]

Rembrandt very convincingly suggested the red fabric and the folds of the curtain by painting the lit and shaded sections with broad, masterful brushstrokes. The paint of the curtain hanging 'before' the painting is also thicker and coarser than that of the scene behind it. The curtain rings and the rod have small yet thickly applied highlights which, due to the paint relief, also reflect the real light falling on them. The suggestion of a curtain in front of the painting is matchless, but at the same time will always be seen as paint in which the hand of the maker is manifestly evident. Considering its small size, the scene must be viewed from quite nearby; hence, the curtain is meant to look like a substantial mass of paint. Only from a distance – when the scene itself is barely recognizable and all that can be seen is a painting with a curtain – the curtain has an illusionistic effect.

On the other hand, Dou's suggestion of the heavy, light green silk in his painting is quite the opposite. The left side of his curtain is folded back so that the wide sweep of fabric catches the full light. Dou could thus wholly indulge himself in painting the "luster" (luyster) and "sheen" (glans) of this particular material, which can even be identified as that of a type of silk called *toers*. He so accurately depicted the way in which the warp and weft of this fabric reflect light that one has a sense of seeing the horizontal and vertical threads of the silk, without being aware of the brushstrokes. Only upon very close scrutiny – or better yet, with a magnifying glass – can the extraordinarily lively movements of

200 Rembrandt, *Young Woman Before a Mirror*, 1654 (?), canvas 39.5 x 32.5 cm, St Petersburg, Hermitage

199 Gerrit Dou, *Young Woman at her Toilette*, 1667, panel 75.5 x 58 cm, Rotterdam, Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen



201 Gerrit Dou, *Painter Smoking a Pipe in a Window*, c. 1647, panel 48 x 37 cm, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum

202 Rembrandt, *The Holy Family*, 1646, panel 46.5 x 68.8 cm, Kassel, Gemäldegalerie

the brush required to achieve this effect be detected, and the maker's incredible virtuosity comprehended.

Moreover, this convincing effect lies not only in the perfect suggestion of the characteristic sheen of the fabric, achieved through the extremely deft rendering of the reflection of light; the suggestion of broad zones of light and shadow simultaneously prevents the 'accidental' reflections from fragmenting the picture. It is this combination of the (previously discussed) powerful, cohesive and unifying distribution of light and dark with the meticulous rendering of the way in which surfaces reflect light that makes Dou's art so special. More than any of his predecessors, he fulfilled Van Mander's wish that "netticheyt" should not "lose its unity from a distance."[176] Houbraken was also well aware of this when he remarked that Dou was the best of all the artists practicing a "detailed" (uitvoerig) style of painting, because his "brushwork has great power, even from a distance."[177]

Though in entirely different ways, Rembrandt and Dou both perform a tour de force in the service of illusion. At the same time, however, both emphasize that the illusion is produced by art and therefore completely artificial; the one by showing clearly that the surface is matter consisting of paint, the other by 'denying' its material nature and stressing its smooth and shining surface. No one would ever think that the curtain in Dou's painting was actually hanging in front of it; it blends in unmistakably with the glossy surface of the picture. Dou even underscored it as being only a component of the

painting, thereby undoing the illusion of the curtain hanging 'in front' of the painting:[178] the curtain and the window niche (with the figure and all the objects) are both illuminated by the same source of light 'from outside'! The curtain catches the strongest light and therefore figures more prominently in the foreground, yet because of the lighting it actually appears to be located in the same 'space' as the pipe-smoking man in the window. In Rembrandt's painting, on the other hand, the interior with the Holy Family is illuminated by light from 'within' the painting – where the strongest light is also found – while the curtain and the frame receives more subdued light from 'outside'; the illusion that the curtain projects forward, is here due chiefly to the coarseness of the paint structure.

The Deceptive Appearance of an Artificial World

In the paintings discussed above, Rembrandt and Dou each made clear in their own way that their art far surpasses the consummate *trompe-l'oeil* with which Parrhasius deceived Zeuxis. If art truly deceives the eye, then it cannot possibly be simultaneously seen as art. Their art, on the other hand, presents two different ways of creating a breathtaking illusion, whereby the viewer remains conscious of the virtuoso play with semblance and being.[179]

Deception is amusing only if one is aware of being deceived. This is what Dou demonstrates in his famous depiction of the *Quacksalver* (fig. 203). Palette in hand, Dou himself looks bemusedly at the viewer while leaning out of a window at the right. He juxtaposes the actual deception of the quack with the entertaining 'deception' with which the painter presents this as 'reality'. Both are selling illusions, but focus on an entirely different clientele. Dou knows how to seduce a sophisticated audience into paying large sums for his works, while the quack doctor can trick only fools and simpletons into parting with their money.[180]

The illusionism of Dou's representations should not make us forget that they are only carefully constructed fictions. The means Dou used to communicate with the viewer and articulate meaning – stated quite simply, to convey what is going on – consists mainly of certain iconographical conventions, well-known stereotypes, as well as simple and accessible visual metaphors. And, on this subject too Angel has something to tell us. For the time being, however, let us remain with the *Quacksalver*, a theme which had served as an image of falsehood, deception and foolish gullibility since Hieronymus Bosch.[181] By means of immediately understandable visual metaphors, in this painting Dou

exposes the exact nature of the quack's trade: a boy lures an innocent little bird, another robs a slow-witted peasant woman, while right beneath the quack, the dirty buttocks of a baby make obvious the nature of his tall tales; they are pure crap.[182]

The onlookers the quack addresses represent carefully selected (stereo)types, all of whom would have evoked immediate associations with the simple-minded and foolish, of individuals lower on the social scale than either the painter or the viewer. The fact that Dou, holding his palette and brushes, sits at the window of an inn (identifiable as such by the pitcher hanging from the wall), has nothing to do with reality, as he certainly never painted anywhere else than in his own studio.[183] The palette's sole function is to show that the man sitting there is a painter; and the inn, which obviously lies outside the town walls (indicated by the city gate), denotes the sort of place appropriate for such a scene, the kind of surroundings where quacks would practice their trade. This very characteristic city gate has yet another function; it is the Blauwpoort (Blue Gate) situated close to Dou's home, through which most visitors to Leiden entered the city. This gate, also found in Dou's stately *Self-Portrait* of 1663 (fig. 189), for example, seems to serve as a device for this famous son of Leiden. It calls to mind Simon van Leeuwen's city description written almost ten years later wherein the painters' biographies end with that of Dou, proudly introduced with the remark: "within this city the most renowned painters...of the entire country [were] born and raised."[184]

From the above it should be clear the extent to which a scene by Dou shows a world created by artificial means, which conveys meaning to the viewer for precisely this reason. Dou continually stresses the 'artificiality' of his world. The monumental windows with reliefs and the stone arches with drawn-back Persian carpets have nothing to do with Dutch reality. They 'separate' the wondrous world of the *fijnschilder* from the world of the beholder, presenting it and 'unveiling' it at the same time. It is an enticing world with much to savour in the wealth of carefully arranged objects. The combination of objects and their position in the interior – also the interiors themselves – often have a low reality quotient. No one would ever expect to meet up with such mischievous maidservants, astronomers and doctors examining urinals set in arched windows with their displays on the sill, or encounter such often rather curious interiors in reality. Nevertheless, the same viewer would no doubt have claimed that a painting by Dou represented a perfect "approximation of life" (na-by-kominghe nae 't leven), as Angel expressed it.

For his subjects Dou used certain pictorial conventions based on

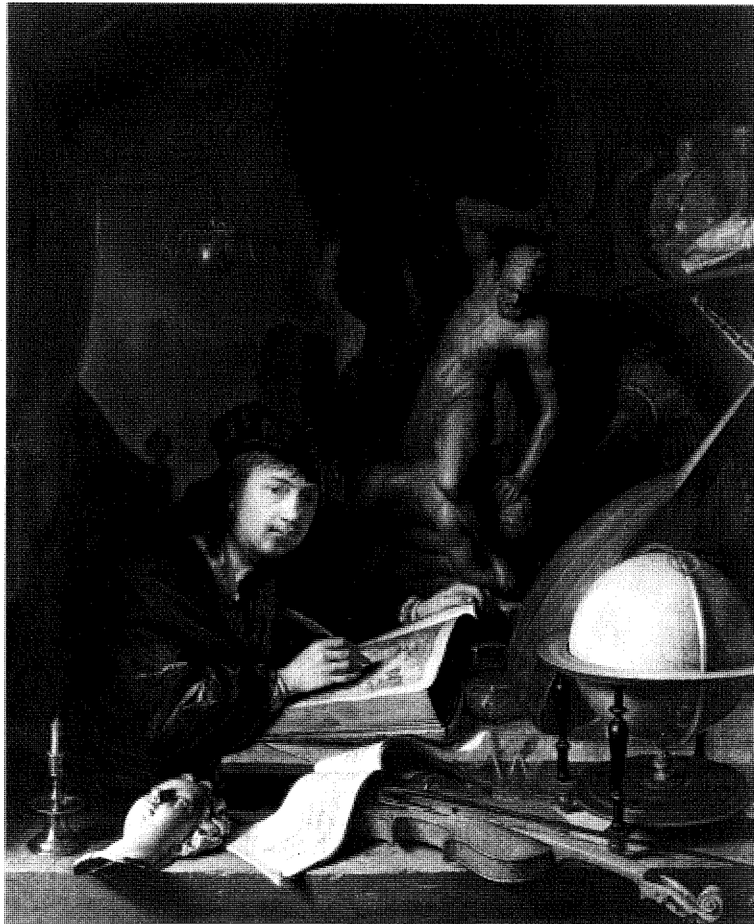
203 Gerrit Dou, *The Quacksalver*, 1652, panel 112 x 83 cm, Rotterdam, Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen

contemporary stereotypes of quacks, maidservants, fashionable young ladies, old women, astronomers, scholars, students, doctors, and so forth. Through the careful costuming and staging of the figures and the interior, and through sophisticated combinations of objects, often with the addition of visual metaphors, the paintings communicate with the viewer and become, as it were, more 'real' than life itself.

As mentioned above, Angel had something to say about this in his discussion that situations should be depicted as clearly and comprehensibly as possible. He does this in the section where he extensively treats the necessity of reading and pondering texts carefully when painting a history piece. At face value, this long passage – which gave Angel yet another opportunity to demonstrate how well-read he was – hardly seems relevant when one seeks links with Dou's art, which was never based on narrative texts.[185] Here, too, Angel's basic premise is that everything should be just "like real" (eyghentlick) and "natural" (natuyrlick), which in this context means chiefly that nothing in the representation may conflict with the story depicted, that it must look as though the events could actually have transpired in this way, and that the viewer must be able to immediately comprehend what is going on. Aside from the fact that the representation should refer to contemporary experience as much as possible (without violating the story),[186] Angel makes a few interesting recommendations on the basis of a painting of *Bathsheba* by Lievens that might also clarify how motifs function in genre scenes.

Angel praises Lievens for including in the scene of the bathing Bathsheba an old woman delivering David's letter with the invitation to make love with him. Although this figure (despite Angel's implication to the contrary, the motif had become a conventional feature in the meantime) does not occur in the story, he deemed her inclusion to be an excellent idea, because she represents a "woman greatly experienced in the art of love, or a procuress" whom one "usually employs [for amorous transactions]."[187] The inclusion of such a recognizable 'stereotype' makes all the more obvious just what is taking place.

Metaphorical images can be added to the picture as well. For example with respect to the painting concerned, Angel praises a cupid shooting a burning arrow at Bathsheba to show that she must have become inflamed with a "hot fire of passion" when she received this request from King David. Like the image of the procuress, this is a means of visually expressing what is happening in the picture in an immediately comprehensible fashion. These examples provide insight into the way all kinds of motifs function in genre painting (where, for that matter, old women such as procuresses, love letters, and reliefs or



204 Gerrit Dou, *Self-Portrait*, 1647, panel 43 x 34.5 cm, Dresden, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister

paintings of cupids are all familiar motifs). It is precisely in paintings with no narrative source, such as Dou's, that a painter would have had to use such means to clarify the scene. Dou's fictions – and naturally that of others as well – are constructed of such devices. In my view, the idea that Dou incorporated profound, didactic meanings in his scenes and that the viewer was expected to pose questions about such layers of meaning, particularly with the help of emblematic texts, is untenable.

On the basis of Houbraken's comment on Dou concerning his regret that "the man's intellect was not inclined to contemplate lofty matters, nor his brush to depict more worthy and commendable subjects,"[188] Emmens and De Jongh concluded that the deeper meanings in Dou's genre scenes were no longer understood even in Houbraken's day.[189] If Dou's paintings had, indeed, contained such

profound moralizations, it seems improbable that Houbraken no longer acknowledged them; such amnesia is not very plausible at a time when the themes introduced by Dou were still very much alive in many Dutch studios and when Houbraken still knew painters who had trained with Dou. Hence, this comment has nothing to do with meanings that were no longer understood: Houbraken merely regrets that Dou did not paint any history pieces. With the advent of Classicistic art theory, the hierarchy of the genres – with history painting at the top – in the meanwhile had become an unshakable given. While the way in which they were looked at will not have differed essentially, the theoretical appreciation of such scenes changed.[190] None of this seems to have affected eighteenth-century collectors, however, who avidly continued to purchase Dou's genre paintings.

Such a hierarchy will have had no significance for Angel and Dou. The fact that Dou's works ranked among the most expensive of the seventeenth century sufficiently proved how "respected and honored" his art was. It was an appreciation based on pictorial qualities and, as illustrated by several examples, I believe that there was a close interaction between these specific qualities and the subjects selected for depiction; and in some cases this was even wittily thematized.

Six years after Orlers' laudation and Angel's address, in 1647, Dou painted a self-portrait showing himself drawing seated amid numerous objects alluding to the dignity of his person and of his occupation (fig. 204).[191] Here, he seems to be referring to the necessary characteristic with which Angel concluded his speech, namely the "passion and diligence" to work: "That never a day may pass,/ Without drawing a line."[192] Angel thus quotes a well-known comment ostensibly made by Apelles ("nulla dies sine linea"). If one satisfies this last condition as well, Angel says, then one may rightly place on one's head "the crown of honor as having earned it."[193] Though a chandelier (in Dutch "kroon", the same word as "crown") hangs from the ceiling in many of Dou's paintings, it is all the more conspicuous here for it seems to float rather unrealistically above Dou's head. Surely, this is no coincidence.

VII On *Fijnschilders* and 'Meaning'

Detail of fig. 219

While the exhibition catalogue *De Hollandse fijnschilders* is primarily intended as an "essay in the history of taste,"[1] it chiefly drew attention – and this came strongly to the fore, for example, in newspaper reviews[2] – to the fact that in the entries Peter Hecht appeared to have largely abandoned the prevailing iconological interpretation, seeing in many paintings nothing more than "the literal meaning of that which is represented." Even though the interpretation of meaning is not the central issue in the catalogue I would nevertheless like to address this matter, as Hecht's view in this respect is certainly noteworthy. The following should not be understood as a critical review of *De Hollandse fijnschilders*, but rather as a string of comments on interpretation prompted by entries in this catalogue. This was motivated by a remark Hecht made in the conclusion of his introduction: after discussing 'the small war' that has been raging for some years concerning the relationship between instruction and delight, he states that a new round in this undecided battle could be initiated if only the idea would take hold that treating form and content separately in no way does justice to the way in which the works of art studied were conceived by their makers.[3] Perhaps this article can be considered as a modest contribution to that next round.

During the past two decades, Eddy de Jongh's approach has prevailed to such an extent that one can safely say that his 'to-instruct-and-delight principle' not only has long dominated research into genre painting, but also – or perhaps especially – the texts intended for a general audience, which explain hidden meanings consisting of didactic-moralizing messages. In the last few years this approach has come under fire in varying forms and degrees; it has even been somewhat relativised by De Jongh himself. However, Hecht has jettisoned many of the results yielded by this approach as unnecessary ballast without sufficient argumentation and without a methodical discussion. While seeming to contrast strongly, in my view De Jongh

and Hecht's interpretations of meaning are two sides of the same coin and derive from the same concept of meaning, as I hope to make clear here.

Elsewhere, I have argued extensively that the so determining notion in the prevailing iconology that moral lessons should be seen as the primary complex of meaning in seventeenth-century genre scenes is, in my opinion, incorrect (which is not to say that these works do not contain a certain moral), and that it is equally fallacious to assume that seventeenth-century genre painters would have had a preference for disguising or hiding such meanings.[4] The concepts of 'disguising' and of moralizing 'instruction' are both central to De Jongh's approach.

I also argued that the virtuosity in depicting things "as good as real," with the "power of the seemingly real" (schijn eyghentlijcke kracht), and "approximation of life" (na-by-kominghe nae 't leven) (to use Philips Angel's term), must have been of prime importance to the *fijnschilders*, and that it was this above all that drew the admiration and awe so manifestly expressed.[5] The *fijnschilders*' audience must have been enthralled by their ability to perfectly capture earthly beauty and present it in miniature as a "semblance without being" (schijn sonder sijn) (another of Angel's terms), or, as Van Leeuwen wrote about Dou in 1672: "who is able to render such great perfection...in very refined minuteness, that his creations thus become the same as the real thing, and can barely be distinguished from life itself."[6] Furthermore, I wanted to demonstrate that attracting and pleasing the eye of the art lover ("with a wish-desire, enrapture the eye of the art lovers"),[7] was an ever-present notion. That these paintings are thus first and foremost ingenious works of art, meant to delight and gratify the eye is a point on which I fully agree with Hecht.

My objections, however, are consistently fueled by the fact that the paintings concerned are treated as more or less isolated incidents and are rarely considered in connection with other paintings made earlier or in the same period with related themes and compositions.[8] In my view, this is of paramount importance if one wants to truly comprehend the endeavors of a painter and the how and what of a certain style and subject matter. A second problem is that form and content are dealt with separately, despite the author's attempt to convince the reader of the opposite in the introduction; a given work is considered solely in terms of form, in which case it is perceived as devoid of meaning, or, in a few instances, is explained as having a metaphorical meaning.[9]

The distinction between Hecht's and De Jongh's approaches is less great than would seem at first sight, because – as stated above – they both derive from the same concept of meaning. However, Hecht's

application does an injustice to the importance of De Jongh's iconological interpretation, which has opened our eyes to a remarkable number of aspects. Like De Jongh, Hecht limits himself to the question of whether or not a metaphorical meaning should be sought in that which is represented. This comes to the fore numerous times in sentences where he wonders, for example, "whether the painter's intentions went further than painting the most pleasant possible image of...." Basically, this is the same as De Jongh's ruminations on whether "a given artist may not have meant to represent anything more than meets eye."[10] In both cases, either one or the other is implied: a work is merely a faithful imitation (in which image and reality sometimes tend to be confused), or some deeper meaning should be sought; it is either realism or it contains a hidden literary-metaphorical meaning, encapsulated in the faithfully rendered appearance. A long time ago now, De Jongh expounded this division between realism devoid of meaning and meaningful content concealed behind the realistic exterior in his pioneering article "Realism and Seeming Realism" (Realisme en Schijnrealisme).[11] Hecht's catalogue entries for the most part gainsay De Jongh's view that such paintings comprise more than can be literally read.[12] Instead, Hecht embraces an alternative also created by De Jongh that a painting can convey a realism per se which is, in fact, meaningless: what then remains is the "literal meaning of that which is represented." Hence, form and content remain divorced in just the same way, now, however, frequently with the added warning that we are better off not seeking deeper meaning in the image (usually only with the argument that a particular meaning is highly improbable). Quite aside from the fact that it threatens to blind us to much of what we have just learned to see, such a limited understanding of how meaning is conveyed does not further our attempt to comprehend what these paintings are about. After all, they *are* about something and not just about *fijnschilderen*; fine painting is but a means of depicting something in a particular way, and that representation conveys meaning.

In my opinion, whether something is simply a meticulous rendering or whether it means more than that is not the right question. It seems more useful to assume that the meaning of what we call genre scenes (as these are primarily the type of paintings under discussion here) issues directly from that which is depicted, and is foremost determined by that which the artist shows us, what he chose to depict in a particular manner. The choice of subjects and motifs, and the conventions used to refer to the beholder's world of experience imply certain ideas and associations. Through pictorial conventions, which frequently contain stereotypes and visualisations of prevailing

metaphors that were familiar to the audience for whom the work was intended, that which is represented in such paintings will have imparted meaning: after all, these pictures require other means to clarify what is going on than works based on a narrative text. In general, the connotations would not have been very specific: these paintings were produced for a largely anonymous and relatively differentiated public.

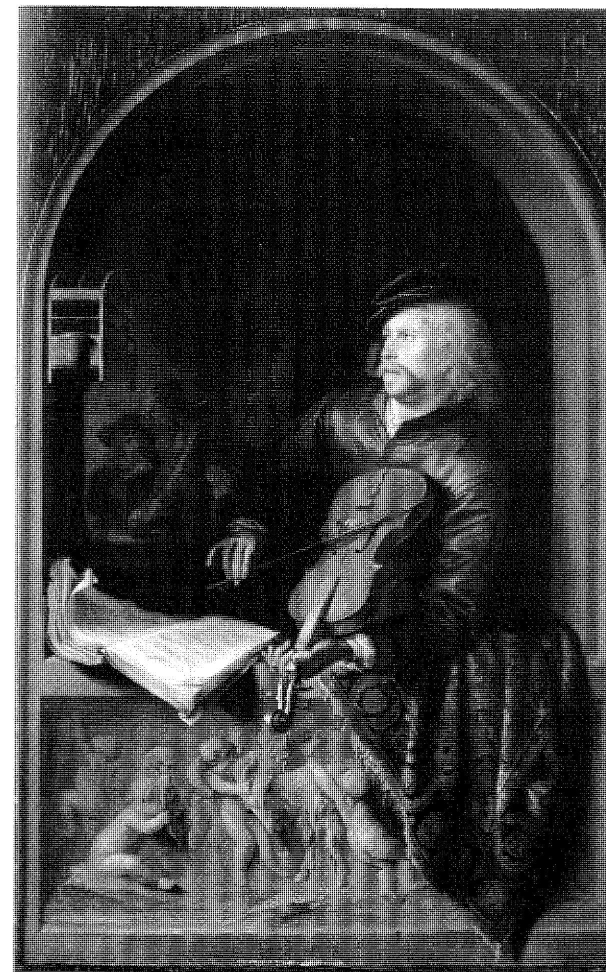
Particularly the question of whether and why certain subjects were evidently considered interesting and attractive could lead us in another direction. Answers to this question can only be found by investigating particular groups of popular subjects – and the greatest possible number of known paintings that belong to such groups – in connection with each other. By carefully studying the pictorial conventions, by tracing how they originated and developed, and how the various painters applied, varied, transformed or deviated from them, can we uncover information about the how and why of certain subjects. Armed with this knowledge and with the help of all sorts of cultural-historical sources of the time, we can ask what they might have meant to the painter and his audience.

The ideas and associations that may have been linked to certain frequently depicted themes and motifs must have been approximately the same for the painter and his public, so that in this respect the painter's intentions will have largely corresponded with the reception of the work by the public for whom it was made. Hecht very emphatically disconnects the two, that is the intentions of the maker and the associations of his public, a division I deem largely artificial and confusing.[13]

In Hecht's introduction, the reader is prepared for what is to follow with the remark that many a painting "owes its subject mainly or perhaps exclusively to the purely pictorial possibilities that the artist saw in them," thus merely as a pretext for an autonomous formal objective. The subject is considered as something utterly random that could have been replaced by any other subject, and one chosen by the painter solely because of the possibilities it afforded for meticulous depiction – as is in fact suggested in the first catalogue entry, namely on Dou's *Old Woman Reading a Lectionary* (fig. 196).[14] If this were so, however, one could come up with endless possibilities, while it is clear that artists consistently depicted only certain subjects and combinations of motifs. The simple fact that the Leiden painter Quirijn Brekelenkam, who by no means had a *fijnschilder's* technique, portrayed countless old women provides some indication of there being more reasons why such a subject was considered interesting.

Naturally, painters like Gerrit Dou and Frans van Mieris selected subjects permitting them to demonstrate their virtuosity in depicting subjects 'as good as real,' and many aspects of their paintings can be explained in light of this ambition, yet the question remains why precisely these subjects were deemed worthy of rendering in this way, and why buyers wanted to purchase and look at them. The fact that a painting represents something, that the subject was actually chosen for depiction, and that the buyer wished to hang it in his house so that he could look at it, in and of itself always implies meaning. The pictorial traditions and iconographical conventions (as well as the changes and deviations therefrom) that determined these paintings and via which they communicated should be studied first.

In the catalogue entry on Dou's painting of a *Violinist in a Window* with a painter's studio in the background (fig. 205), Hecht implies that the scene was only meant to attest to the talents of the maker. While he does, indeed, offer an explanation of the well-known relief below the window with putti holding a mask up to a goat that may refer to the 'amusing deceit' of the art of painting, he totally disregards the rest of the scene as well as its connection with this relief. Hecht does not ask why a violinist is shown in combination with a painter's studio in the background. No attempt is made to connect this painting with the many other scenes of music-making figures in an artist's studio from the same period, whereby it is reduced to something utterly arbitrary.[15] With respect to the subject, the reader is informed that it is hardly surprising that Dou painted a violinist in a window, because all of the subjects that he depicted in windows, "[seem] to have been selected with but a single intention," namely that "every single one of them [shows] a plausible activity at a window." This gives cause to wonder what might then be designated as implausible activities at a window when – to list but a few – violin players,



205 Gerrit Dou, *Violinist in a Window*, 165(3?), panel 32 x 19.5 cm, Present whereabouts unknown (formerly Amsterdam, Dutch Renaissance Art Collection)

doctors examining urine, dentists, figures cutting quills, trumpeters, old women with reel and spindle, girls sewing, scrubbing pans, scraping carrots, chopping onions, girls displaying a parrot, holding up a dead hare or a mouse trap, and so forth, are perceived as plausible activities. As examples of convincing activities, Hecht refers to the astronomer in a window – incidentally, a subject (like the violinist) that Dou had earlier depicted in an interior before setting it in a window[16] – and a girl picking grapes (fig. 206).[17] With regard to the latter motif, it may be noted that it was probably equally unusual then, as now, for grape vines to grow along a window in Holland. More importantly,

206 Gerrit Dou, *Young Woman with a Bunch of Grapes in a Window*, 1662, panel 38 x 29 cm, Turin, Galleria Sabauda

however, the girl is not shown picking grapes, but holding up a bunch of grapes and showing them to the beholder: not such a natural activity.

Dou's arched stone windows, often with a relief below them, have nothing to do with any aspect of Dutch reality or any kind of probability; they accentuate the picture plane and thus link the viewer's realm with that suggested by the *fijnschilder*. They permit the artist to play with illusionistic motifs, but because of their totally artificial appearance they clearly extract that which is represented from our reality, presenting it emphatically as a work of art.

No contemporary viewer would ever have expected to actually encounter a kitchen maid in Leiden like the one in the painting in Karlsruhe (fig. 207) – that is, a maidservant at a monumental stone window handling fish – even though the same viewer will have whole-heartedly endorsed this scene as being a perfect example of "approximation of life."[18] I will discuss this exquisite little painting of 1652 in more depth because the catalogue entry on it contains numerous explicit arguments that typify Hecht's reasoning. He suggests that we should see this painting as a good likeness of reality in which "the perfect illusion [is] the central if not the only motif." Furthermore, one should not think anything more is going on than "the most obvious, namely, literal meaning of that which is represen-ted," and it is unlikely that Dou had any aim that "went further than an appropriately staged presentation of his ability." If this is the "appeal to common sense" that Hecht made in an earlier article, I fear we are not much helped.[19]

Dou undoubtedly had no intention that went any further than what he shows, for this intention is embedded in that which is represented. But why did he depict a maidservant? What is in this case "the literal meaning of that which is represented," and what should be understood as "appropriately staged"? Is it appropriate to show a maidservant at such a window? Why has a relief been included below it with a nude woman and a cupid (instantly calling to mind Venus and Cupid)? And why is it fitting to include in the scene a cabbage and carrots on one side and a mortar and pestle on the other? Are these items naturally associated with a girl occupied with fish? Was it commonplace to hang roosters and baskets of eggs from the window frame, and what is so normal about the boy standing behind the maid trying to draw her attention to a hare? Naturally, these motifs permitted Dou to indulge his virtuosity at representing all sorts of materials 'as good as real,' but why precisely these motifs? It is impossible to say what the 'literal meaning' of the scene is, because there is no such thing. After all, it

207 Gerrit Dou, *Kitchen Maid with a Boy in a Window*, 1652, panel 33 x 23.8 cm, Karlsruhe, Staatliche Kunsthalle

concerns a scene consisting of pictorial conventions that are a product of their own time and not a random fragment taken from reality.

Indeed, we will never be able to recover exactly the thoughts and associations such a scene evoked on the part of the public it was made for – and which must have been approximately the same as those of the maker. But, we are here dealing with pictorial conventions that (undoubtedly) emitted meaningful signals. To retrieve why such a subject so captivated the painter and his public, we must begin by comparing this with the numerous other scenes of maidservants with fish, cabbage, fowl and so forth to determine how they were depicted and which combinations of motifs are consistently encountered. Dou did not simply avail himself of just any pleasant subject: with these young maidservants who dominate an image either as the sole or central figure he created a new type of genre scene. This subject had no immediate precursors in the 1620s and 1630s, but after its introduction by Dou, it was endlessly embroidered upon, and not only by *fijnschilders*. In other words, these are images which for some reason were considered exceptionally attractive.

In very general terms, we could say that Dou combined motifs found in sixteenth-century kitchen scenes by Pieter Aertsen and Joachim Beuckelaer with the seductive, half-length female figures, which were depicted primarily by Utrecht painters in the 1620s and 1630s. We know the many voluptuous kitchen maids handling fowl and fish by Aertsen and Beuckelaer, and related figures are still encountered in Northern Netherlandish kitchen scenes of the first decades of the seventeenth century; these motifs were transmitted particularly via prints.[20] For example, a 1603 engraving by Jacob Matham of a kitchen maid with fish who is turned to a boy holding up a fish (in the background is shown Christ at Emmaus) (fig. 208), displays many similarities with Dou's kitchen maid (such as the motif of the boy looking

208 Jacob Matham, *Kitchen Maid with a Boy* (in the background: *Christ at Emmaus*), engraving

up and displaying something).[21]

The half-length saucy shepherdesses and courtesans became quite the rage among Utrecht painters, including Paulus Moreelse, Abraham Bloemaert, Gerrit van Honthorst and Jan van Bijlert in the 1620s. In two rather early works of this type by Moreelse, of 1622 and 1624 respectively, the shepherdesses clearly reveal their longings to the beholder by means of their gesture: they press their index finger between their almost completely bared breasts (fig. 209).[22] In other scenes, such scantily clad girls present a shell, a bird's nest, a sliced-open pomegranate, plums or a bowl of grapes to the viewer while ogling him. These are images of young women who literally and figuratively offer their wares to the beholder.[23] In his small, refined, 'modern' cabinet paintings, Dou replaced these women with maidservants as it were. This is not to say that Dou was directly influenced by the aforementioned works, only that this type is somewhat comparable to the sort of female half-length figures that immediately preceded Dou's works.

209 Paulus Moreelse, *Shepherdess*, 1624, canvas 77 x 64 cm, Schleissheim, Bayerisches Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Gemäldegalerie

Just as one should wonder why shepherdesses made their appearance, the same could be asked about maidservants: what was the image of the maidservant? In a plethora of seventeenth-century literature (farces and comedies are particularly inexhaustible sources that can clarify for us the contemporary use of stereotypes), the maidservant is characterized as an exemplum of unbridled and insatiable lust: *the* stereotype of the seductress and 'available' woman.[24] Even Lairesse still used this stereotype when he wrote that in 'modern pieces' one should depict everyone's passion after his nature and kind, so that the art lover can truly recognize "the innocence of a child, the temperance of the mother and the frivolousness of the maid."[25]

It should be added that in seventeenth-century literature, wanton girls are often described with terms such as "Venus moppet, Venus wench, Venus animal, Venus piece, Venus pupil," to mention but a few.[26] Given the relief below the window, this probably says something

about the, in my opinion, amusing and humorous context in which Dou situated this girl.

Dou's maidservant looks and smiles vaguely at someone outside of the picture plane, so the painter seems to suggest, while her open shirt probably hangs more loosely than was considered seemly. Striking here is the resemblance in type and clothing (and the extent to which her shirt hangs open) to the onion-peeling kitchen maid in an emblem in Cats' *Proteus ofte Minnebeelden*, which warns against the dangers of baring one's limbs (motto: Nuda movet lacrimas) (fig. 210).[27] Dou's maidservant grabs a fish by the head; other of Dou's maidservants offer the viewer such items as a basket with fruit (fig. 211) or a bunch of grapes; they hold up a rooster (fig. 191), display a mouse trap, polish the inside of a pan, scrape a parsnip or hold a lantern in which they place a candle (fig. 212). The somewhat clumsy epigon Abraham Snaphaen lays it on rather more thickly by including a piece of paper below the window sill with the words "room for rent" (kamer te huer) near a maid holding up a mouse trap and pointing meaningfully at it (fig. 213) (the fact that men are the willing prey of women's passions and tricks of seduction is a constantly recurring, whether or not comical, topos in seventeenth-century comedies, farces, and even in serious literature).[28]

Godfried Schalcken, who is frequently more explicit than Dou, shows such a maid either stuffing or holding up sausages (fig. 214), for instance, while an innocent boy makes a rather less innocent gesture with a pig's bladder;[29] the stuffing of a sausage also occurs in a drawing that is probably a copy after a now lost Dou in which a boy, like the one in the Karlsruhe painting, holds up a sausage (fig. 215).[30] Dou, however, is almost always fairly subtle and restrained; he would never show an overtly erotic joke in the way that Schalcken does, for example in a painting in which a girl with an arch look holds up a slice of salmon, her index finger through the slit, making all too clear the nature of the 'invitation' to the beholder.[31]

210 Adriaan van de Venne, *Kitchen Maid with a Lady and a Servant*, etching. Emblem no. 28 (motto: Nuda movet lacrimas) in: Jacob Cats, *Proteus ofte Minnebeelden*, The Hague ed. 1627

That the image of maids with fish will have immediately suggested a particular context is evidenced by the representations of men together with such maids with fish. The following are but a few of many examples. In a work by Brekelenkam, an old fisherman holding a rod tickles the chin of a maid

who is handling fish (fig. 216). Here the ancient motif of 'unequal love' has thus also been incorporated; given the endless repetition in paintings as well as in farces and other comical texts, the aged man out courting was evidently still considered very amusing. In two other, fairly randomly selected examples by less refined Leiden artists Bartholomeus Maton and Jacob Toorenvliet, we see respectively a laughing man with a basket of salmon steaks throwing his arm around a maid surrounded by fish (while a cat steals a fish from a market bucket to which the maid points) (fig. 217), and a fisherman with a fishing rod greedily eyeing a salmon steak a fish maid holds up for his scrutiny (fig. 218). That the salmon steak with a slit in the middle is undeniably a visual metaphor, just as in the Schalcken mentioned above, seems clear. In passing, it is worth noting that in seventeenth-century farces and jokes, words like "sting-fish" (pieterman), and "pike" (snoek) on the one hand, and "herring cask" (haringbuisje) on the other, were frequently used words for things never mentioned by name, but which were referred to in this fashion with all the more relish.[32] The pike held by Dou's kitchen maid is a motif that probably makes the context within which such a maid is situated fairly self-evident.

Incidentally, the slightly piquant appeal of maidservants like Dou's

211 Gerrit Dou, *Maidservant in a Window Offering a Basket of Fruit*, 1657, panel 37.5 x 29.1 cm, Buckinghamshire, Waddesdon Manor

212 Gerrit Dou, *Maidservant with a Lantern and a Candle in a Window*, panel 25.5 x 21 cm, Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum

213 Abraham Snaphaen, *Maidservant with a Mousetrap in a Window*, 1682, panel 21.2 x 17.9 cm, Leiden, Stedelijk Museum De Lakenhal

214 Godfried Schalcken, *Young Woman Holding up Sausages*, panel 31 x 24 cm, Present whereabouts unknow (Sale Paris [Charpentier] 29 January 1957, no. 20)

was still observed in the mid-eighteenth century. This is clear from an inscription in an eighteenth-century print after the *Girl Chopping Onions* by Dou: "I am perfectly willing to believe that you are/ Knowlegeable in the delectable art of preparing stews/ But I feel even more appetite for you/ Than for the stew that you are preparing."[33]

The exhibition included a thematically somewhat related painting by Willem van Mieris of 1713, in which an old man holds a scored plaice to which a maid points while resting her other hand on a drake (fig. 219). The entry on this painting holds that the sign language and attributes are completely innocent, and that no specific significance should be assigned to it. As I mentioned above, such paintings never contain very specific meanings, however the question of their 'innocence' here seems to me to depend solely on the author's intuition. After all, this kind of image has a long tradition and such a statement denies the pictorial conventions which, in my opinion, determined the image and its reception.[34] This is certainly the case here with the combination of the young girl and the old man and the displaying of the scored plaice. The old man has become somewhat civilized and makes a more decent appearance than related types in seventeenth-century works with aged fishermen; the same holds true for the maid. The motif of a maid resting her hand on a drake is found

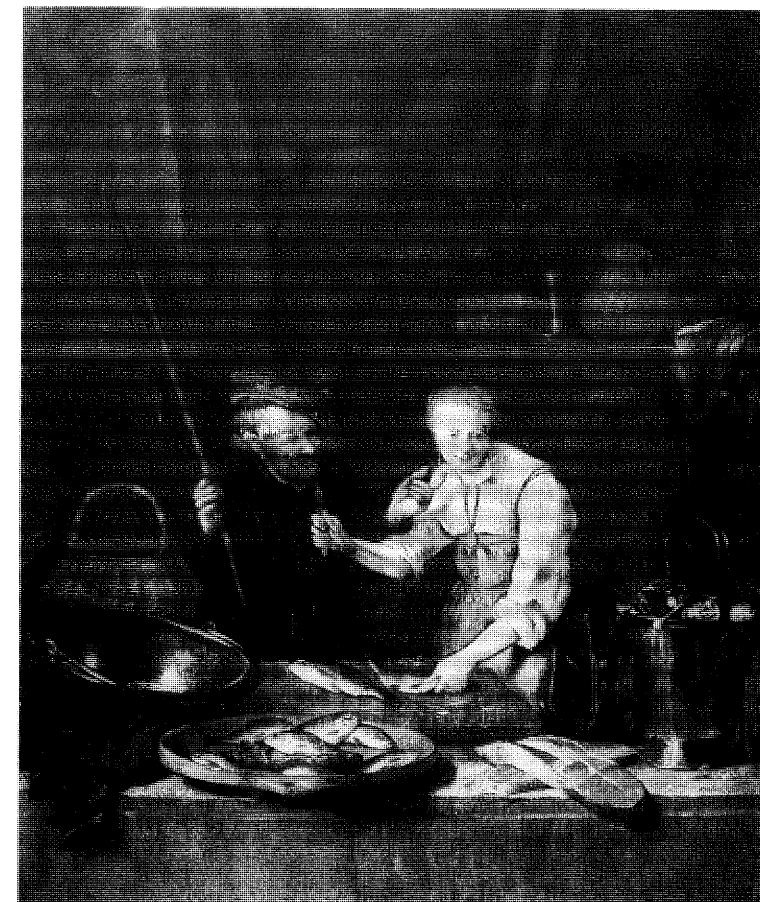
much earlier and, moreover, recurs well up to the mid-eighteenth century, for instance in a work by Willem van Mieris' pupil Hieronymus van der Mij in a context that is all too obvious: pipe grasped between thumb and index finger, a young man lays his hand on a maid's shoulder who laughingly raises an admonishing finger while her other hand rests on a drake (fig. 220).[35] Manipulation of a scored plaice occurs countless times in an equally unmistakable context: it figures frequently in the work of Willem van Mieris himself, for example in a painting in which a young man, while holding up a large fish, smiles at a maid who grabs a basket of plaice (fig. 221), or in two pendants in which the man does the same, while the maid holds up a plaice.[36] In a much earlier work by his father, Frans van Mieris, we see a laughing maid in a low-cut dress offering a plaice to a figure drinking and dressed as a comedian (fig. 222).[37] Far later, in the mid-eighteenth century, Nicolaas Rijnenburg from Leiden depicted in an almost disarmingly awkward fashion a young man offering a young girl a coin, while pointing at the scored plaice that she is holding (fig. 223).

215 (After?) Gerrit Dou, *Young Woman Stuffing a Sausage and a Boy*, drawing after a painting of 1650, 15 x 18 cm, Paris, Musée du Louvre

Naturally, emphasis differs from painting to painting, one being more reserved than another; but that the type of humor is the same seems to me beyond doubt. These comedies – informed by evidently popular pictorial motifs – would have been instantly recognized as such and would have made the representation amusing and attractive.[38] Furthermore, the relief below the window in which Willem van Mieris set his scene of 1713, and on which – directly below the maid – can be seen a sea nymph embracing the tail of a dolphin, complements this sort of drollery as an 'elevated' pendant to the maid.

Since the publication of De Jongh's fundamental article "Erotica in vogelperspectief" (A bird's-eye view of erotics), a number of visualizations of metaphors with birds has become well-known.[39] With respect to Pieter van Slingelandt's beautiful little painting of an old woman holding up a rooster to a girl making lace, Hecht rightly asserts in the catalogue "that [the] old woman is asking the girl whether she is in need of a cock" (fig. 224).[40] And, this is precisely the kind of drollery here depicted. However, Hecht then undermines this by saying: "Whether such a scene was perceived as innocent, slightly ambiguous or maybe even piquant, in the seventeenth century was also presumably an individual matter in which personal feelings and circumstances determined the extent to which one would have wanted to eroticize such a play on words in images." Once again, Hecht writes as though the scene were taken from reality, and that the viewer could make of it what he wanted. However, it is a carefully constructed pictorial fiction in which what is taking place is indicated by means of particular pictorial motifs. This is no longer a 'play on words,' but rather a 'play on images'. A bird being held up to a young woman as well as the incredibly frequent combination of a beautiful young woman and an old woman[41] are pictorial motifs undoubtedly meant to indicate how this scene should be read without requiring the use of words. A cock or a partridge being held up to a girl was depicted from the sixteenth until far into the eighteenth century and is seen, for

216 Quirijn Brekelenkam, *Kitchen Maid with an Old Fisherman*, panel 42 x 34 cm, Present whereabouts unknown (formerly Sale Amsterdam [A. de Ridder], 2 June 1924, no. 8)



example, in another painting by Pieter van Slingelandt in which – somewhat more traditionally – a young hunter (in this case with a partridge) extends an invitation to a young girl, while in the background a cook holds up a spit, surely not coincidentally (fig. 225). This motif, too, makes the situation in which these young women find themselves amusing and places them in an 'exciting' context.

The handling of birds leads us to Arie de Vois' *Hunter Resting* (fig. 226) and its pendant of a *Shepherdess* (fig. 227): the hunter holds up a partridge while observing the shepherdess in the pendant, who looks at a rose. Hecht considers it "truly misplaced" to interpret the display of the partridge in the vulgar sense of the verb *vogelen* which means birding or fornicating, and the gun as an allusion to the male genitals.[42] Hence, once again Hecht fails to appreciate that these pictorial motifs were deliberately depicted. What other reason could there be for showing the young man holding up a partridge?[43] And, in this context, isn't the position of his *snaphaen* (literally, "snatchcock", or a flintlock or snaphaunce, as this type of gun was called; in fact, we find it mentioned as such in an eighteenth-century description of this painting),[44] just a bit too coincidental? Should we not question the somewhat incongruent combination of the very contemporary rifle with clothing and footwear *all' antica*, which removes the young man from our own realm (a combination that seems to characterize him as

217 Bartholomeus Maton, *Kitchen Maid Cleaning Fish and a Man Laughing*, panel (sizes unknown), Present whereabouts unknown (in 1953: The Hague, Private Collection)

218 Jacob Toorenvliet, *Fish Seller and a Fisherman*, 1661, copper 28 x 22 cm, Present whereabouts unknown (formerly Sale Amsterdam [Sotheby's], 24 November 1986, no. 78)

219 Willem van Mieris, *Kitchen Maid with an old Fish Seller*, 1713, panel 49.5 x 41 cm, London, The National Gallery

220 Hieronymus van der Mij, *Kitchen Maid with a Young Man*, 1745, panel 28.5 x 23 cm, Bergamo, Private Collection

a contemporary counterpart of the handsome and enamored hunters Adonis en Actaeon).[45]

Naturally, this hunter lacks the conspicuousness of a *vogelaar*, or birder, from the same time in an early work by Adriaen van der Werff, for example, who with birds on his hat and rifle raised strokes the chin of a maid occupied with cabbage (fig. 228).[46] By incorporating such motifs in a painting that radiates a nonchalant elegance, De Vois adds all the more to its wit. Why would such a pleasantry be misplaced here? Just because Hecht evidently believes it to be inappropriate in such an elegant painting. At the time, however, precisely paintings with pastoral scenes, the realm in which these figures are set, were – and already had been for 50 years – a veritable playground of erotic diversions for painters and their audience.[47]

With regard to Eglon van der Neer's sumptuously clad young lady (fig. 229), Hecht again ignores the fact that we are looking at a *representation* of a young woman with a platter of oysters in one hand, a fork in the other, and a wine pitcher and a glass on the table before her.[48] While in reality, "also at that time there was certainly nothing erotic or provocative about such a gesture" (that is, the offering of oysters and the fork), this says nothing about the depiction thereof; there must have been a reason for representing the figure in just this

221 Willem van Mieris, *Kitchen Maid and a Fish Seller*, panel 45 x 37.5 cm, Raby Castle, Collection Lord Barnard

222 Frans van Mieris, *Man Drinking and a Young Woman Offering a Plaice*, c. 1673, panel 34 x 29 cm, Germany, Private Collection

223 Nicolaas Rijnenburg, *Fish Seller and a Young Man*, 1765, panel 31 x 26 cm, Present whereabouts unknown (formerly Munich, Ludwigsgalerie)

224 Pieter van Slingelandt, *Old Woman Showing a Rooster to a Young Woman*, 167(2?), panel 35.5 x 28 cm, Dresden, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister

225 Pieter van Slingelandt, *Hunter and Kitchen Maid*, panel, 46.6 x 36.6 cm, Mertown, St Boswells, Roxburghshire, The Duke of Sutherland

way. That platters of oysters and the presentation of oysters are motifs recurrently depicted in a licentious context is overly clear from many works by Van Mieris, Metsu, Steen, Ochterveld and others. The offering of oysters is a conventional motif emitting a clear signal: the woman doing this is thereby designated as a pretty 'seductress'. In Van der Neer's work, this takes place in a very restrained and civilized, albeit less spirited, fashion than in Steen's rendering of his famous oyster eater, who with a saucy look prepares an oyster for the beholder (fig. 230).

Hecht characterizes Van der Neer's woman as "a respectable young lady" and "a proper girl" respectively. But can we be so sure of this? What *can* be said is that such spectacular sleeves with exuberant slits – the most conspicuous part of her clothing – were already long outmoded at the time;[49] it is a motif that removes the figure from reality. In the second half of the seventeenth century such sleeves recur quite often in genre scenes and history pieces. For example, they

226 Arie de Vois, *Hunter Resting*, panel 29 x 22 cm, The Hague, Royal Cabinet of Paintings Mauritshuis

227 Arie de Vois, *Shepherdess*, panel 27.5 x 20 cm, Dresden, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister

228 Adriaen van der Werff, *Hunter and Kitchen Maid with Vegetables and Fruit*, 1678, panel 47 x 37 cm, New York, Private Collection

229 Eglon van der Neer, *Young Woman Presenting a Plate of Oysters*, 1665, panel 30.8 x 26.8 cm, Schloß Vaduz, Liechtenstein, the Princely Collections

230 Jan Steen, *Girl Preparing an Oyster*, c. 1658-60, panel 20.5 x 14.5 cm, The Hague, Royal Cabinet of Paintings Mauritshuis

231 Pieter van Slingelandt and Willem van Mieris, *Young Woman with a Dead Mouse*, 1693, panel 22.7 x 19.6 cm, Antwerp, Museum Ridder Smidt van Gelder

232 Willem van Mieris, *Strumpet (Luxuria)*, 1684, panel 21.2 x 16 cm, Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum

are worn by a striking lady in a sumptuous interior by Frans van Mieris with figures drinking and making music, a company, whose nature is betokened by a statuette of a flying cupid hanging from the ceiling and a relief with a bacchanal on the mantlepiece.[50] In paintings in this exhibition, such sleeves combined with a risqué décolleté were also worn by a courtesan with a mousetrap by Willem van Mieris (begun by Pieter van Slingelandt; fig. 231) and by the middle woman in a painting by Netscher, whose subject clearly involves comedians handling sausages.[51] Taken together, these motifs suggest that the appeal of the young woman in Van der Neer's painting is enhanced by means of a slightly piquant context.

This is even more categorical in the painting just mentioned of a courtesan holding a mouse up to a cat, with a mousetrap on the table before her (fig. 231), and a second painting in the exhibition of a prostitute by Willem van Mieris (fig. 232).[52] With respect to these works, it should be mentioned that inventories fairly frequently include the description "a trull" (een snolletje), "a whore" (een hoertje), or "a courtesan" (een courtisaantje). Even more clearly than in the work by Van der Neer, the attire of the ladies in these two paintings has little to do with clothing that was actually worn, thus serving as an indication that these figures are stereotypes. Naturally, we who can immediately distinguish between a business woman, a dignified lady, a fashionable young girl, a whorish type or a homy mother in our contemporary commercials, find it difficult to identify such stereotypes in the past. Then, as now, clothing and accessories undoubtedly played an important role. The "silly plumage and all too bare breasts" mentioned in the catalogue entry on Willem van Mieris' courtesan, who is indisputably a prostitute (she and her pendant represent *Luxuria* and *Ira* respectively), also reappear in countless other paintings. A random example of this is a painting by Jacob van der Merck from the 1630s of a prostitute laughingly facing the beholder and wielding a coin, whose plumage is even 'sillier' and her breasts barer yet (fig. 233).[53] In a highly civilized work by Netscher (fig. 234), feathers and decollete are substantially more discrete; what is probably being suggested here is that this elegant music-making trio is not composed of average burghers, as can also be deduced from the man's sleeve, which appears to be closer to the costumes of figures in Caravaggist scenes of several decades earlier than to actual contemporary clothing.

Although Hecht usually wants to be rid of meanings that "go further" than "the literal meaning of that which is represented," he occasionally acknowledges metaphorical motifs. In the representation of Van

Mieris' courtesan (fig. 231), the mouse trap on the table before her – an attribute, as already noted, regularly found in images of maidservants by Dou – is perceived as a literary-erotic motif because it also occurs in a number of seventeenth-century moralizing emblems. In my opinion, however, something like this should not be seen as a literary motif but as a *pictorial* motif that – as it was employed earlier, for example, as an attribute of *Voluptas* in a print of Hercules at the crossroads after Saenredam (fig. 235) – immediately made clear the "nature and quality," in Lairesse's words, of this woman.

Taking this approach, Hecht runs into difficulty discussing a painting by Schalcken, and the problematic separation between meaningless and meaningful (that is in the literary-allegorical sense of De Jongh) surfaces here all too clearly. The painting in question shows a young girl letting a bird escape and being scolded by a startled old woman wielding a stick, who is being silenced by a young man (fig. 236). Just as in thematically related paintings by Frans and Willem van Mieris, Jacob Toorenvliet (fig. 237) and Schalcken himself, the young lady's virginity is brought into question in a comical fashion.[54] Compelled by the highly specific motif of the escaping bird, Hecht forwards the well-known interpretation based on an emblem by Cats that was introduced long ago by De Jongh. Hecht then asserts that the painting cannot be called a genre scene, since it can only be

233 Jacob van der Merck, *Strumpet (Touch)* (from a series of the Five Senses), 1648, panel 77 x 63.5 cm, Present whereabouts unknown (formerly Dieren, art dealer Katz)

234 Caspar Netscher, *Company Making Music*, 1665, panel 44 x 36 cm, The Hague, Royal Cabinet of Paintings Mauritshuis

235 Anonymous after Jan Saenredam, *Hercules at the Crossroads*, engraving

236 Godfried Schalcken, *Young Woman Letting a Bird Escape*, canvas 38 x 32.5 cm, Salzburg, Residenzgalerie

understood as a representation of Cats' emblem and therefore as a literary-allegorical subject. However, like all of the other representations of the same motif, this painting does not essentially distinguish itself from other 'genre scenes'; it is a scene with "modern figures" (moderne beelden, as Lairesse calls them), whose purport is elucidated by means of a clearly visualized metaphor (and which would also have been immediately recognizable without knowledge of Cats). We are not suddenly dealing with an entirely different category of painting just because Cats previously used the same motif for an emblem, elaborating it in a specific way.

Finally, I would like to briefly discuss the beautiful *Duet* by Frans van Mieris (fig. 238) and Dou's *Young Woman Playing a Clavichord* (fig. 239), paintings that belong to a long series of related scenes. With regard to *The Duet*, Hecht once again asserts that the scene should probably be understood as nothing more than an attractive motif, and that we are better off limiting ourselves to the most obvious literal content; Hecht sees "no demonstrable meaning beyond what is actually visible." That this is an attractive motif does not warrant discussion, and that I believe its meaning is found in what is actually visible should be clear by now. However, for Hecht the alternative is again a literary-allegorical or didactic explanation and yet again the either/or misconception emerges. Hecht does not discount the possibility that there "may have been art lovers whose perception of such a work of art were so colored by literary metaphors that upon seeing such a representation they were consciously or unconsciously reminded of the connection made so distinctly in contemporary poetry and emblems between the harmony of making music together and the fortuitous love shared by a man and a woman." However, he says, this is speculation as to the potential associations of the viewer and says nothing about the intentions of the maker.[55]

The viewer, however, does not behold a real music-making couple who could evoke certain associations; instead he sees *an image* of a music-making couple. This is not a literary metaphor, but a conventional visual metaphor with a long and, especially in late sixteenth and seventeenth-century paintings and prints, immensely rich tradition; it is *the* way to depict an amorous couple. That this image was also frequently articulated in poetry and emblems does not make it a specifically literary motif, but merely indicates its general prevalence. It is a visual metaphor that Van Mieris depicted in a brilliant and in many respects innovative manner, yet one with endless precursors plainly attesting to the fact that love – seen in many nuances in the countless images of music-making couples – is the central theme.[56] Naturally, something like this in such a painting has

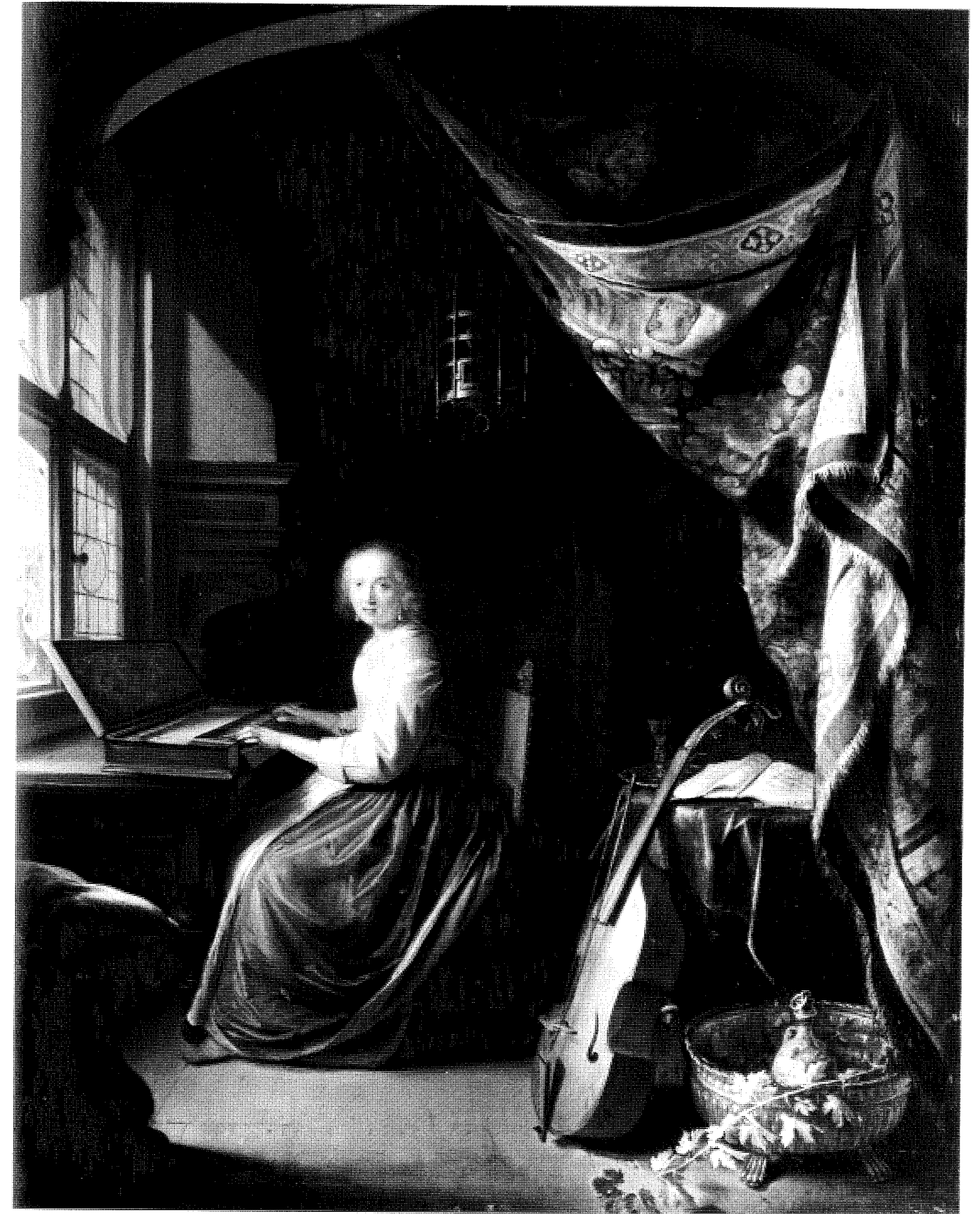
237 Jacob Toorenvliet, *Grieving Young Woman Who Has Let a Bird Escape*, 1680, panel 45.5 x 34 cm, Private Collection

no edifying or specific metaphorical meaning, but once again it does place Van Mieris' beautiful young woman in an amorous context.

The same pictorial conventions also determine more or less emphatically the context of the many women making music alone while looking out at the viewer, a splendid example of which was included in the exhibition, namely, Dou's *Woman Playing a Clavichord* (fig. 239).[57] Here, it is not a question of whether Dou "had an intention that went beyond the painting of a scene as pleasant and meticulous possible of a young woman making music" – which Hecht, of course, does not consider probable – but rather of what it means that numerous pretty young women, including Dou's, were depicted in a comparable fashion. A chair, a viola da gamba, a music book and a

238 Frans van Mieris, *The Duet*, 1658, panel 31.5 x 24.6 cm, Schwerin, Staatliches Museum

glass of wine are ready for the person who wishes to play a 'duet' with her, and it is the beholder to whom she turns and whose participation she invites. Dou's girl does this less overtly than, for example, Van der Helst's scantily clad courtesan tuning her lute, a scene in which a viola da gamba lying ready for use and a tenor score almost appear to emerge from the painting and are there for the taking, as it were (fig. 240). A painting like Van der Helst's also presents the very different possibilities for working with related motifs within various pictorial types. Dou, like many painters in this period, accorded his young woman a very reserved appearance;[58] he placed her within the context of his extremely refined cabinet pieces and within a spatial interior



239 Gerrit Dou, *Young Woman Playing a Clavichord*, 37.7 x 29.8 cm, Dulwich, The Dulwich Picture Gallery

240 Bartholomeus van der Helst, *Woman with a Lute*, 1662, canvas 136 x 109.5 cm, New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art

construction that he had been developing since the 1630s.[59] The fabulously painted tapestry[60] pulled aside and hanging in a stone arch, which is reminiscent of his window framings, reveals the attractive world of this girl to the viewer while introducing him to the ingenious realm of the *fijnschilder*. The artificial character of the arch and the tapestry make categorically clear that in a highly refined way the viewer is being seduced by a work of art with the image of an alluring young woman directing her gaze at him. One could even say that the image of such a lovely woman also literally seduces the interested buyer,[61] because he must disburse a substantial sum to own such a beauty.

I do not claim that *the* meaning of such scenes can thus be exposed, but rather that a range of ideas and associations might be recovered

that correspond with certain pictorial conventions and stereotypes. I have only tried to give a general indication of this; our knowledge could be substantially augmented by more exhaustive investigation of countless related works. Here, I have primarily focused on paintings with a woman as the central figure, presenting my view that the placement of attractive young women in a context that implies love, licentiousness or seduction, will have made such paintings enticing for the – foremost male – beholder.[62] Just as in virtually all of the farces and comedies, in genre scenes, too, the women are predominantly young, seductive and sensual.[63] The extent to which they are characterized as such in paintings can vary greatly, just as the boundaries of what was considered decorous for such scenes that referred to one's own realm of experience would have varied for different buyers.[64]

What emerged clearly in this exhibition is that a very large percentage of the 'modern' pictures are of beautiful young women set in a slightly erotic or amorous context. A young woman as the central motif (in scenes with varying degrees of emphasis on the piquant or amorous context) could be admired in the paintings discussed here, but also in a number of other genre scenes,[65] as well as in paintings with subjects from the Bible, and from classic or contemporary literature.[66]

From the above, one should not conclude that I wish to interpret all genre scenes as erotic or amorous. I only wanted to show on the basis of particular types of representations that something like the "literal meaning of that which is represented" does not exist; that subjects and motifs were not randomly chosen, but would have been considered captivating and attractive for some reason, and that the choice and manner of depicting a subject have something to say and convey meaning. In conjunction with this, I wanted above all to demonstrate that the research into the pictorial conventions of a certain period – into the conventions themselves and the deviations therefrom – is crucial for gaining a better understanding of these paintings.

Notes to Chapter One

1 "...onse Konst in 't ooghe van de Kunst-beminnende Liefhebbers een wel-ghevallen doet hebben," and "opweckende toe-ghenegentheyt...in de ghemoederen van de Konst-beminders wacker maeckt;" Angel 1642, 54-55 and 39, respectively.

2 "...met een wensch-begheerte, het oogh der Liefhebbers tot haer dinghen verrucken en...de Stucken haer te beter van de handt gaen;" Angel 1642, 39.

3 "...niet min behaeghlijk, als natuerlijck soude zijn in de ghemoederen der Konst-beminders, en oock een meerdere begheer-lust tot de kunst soude verwecken;" Angel 1642, 43.

4 "...schijn-eyghentlicke kracht," and "wij...het ghesichte der Konst-beminders...overweldighen en in nemen;" Angel 1642, 40. On this, see further 233-236.

5 "Siet wat het oog vermagh; het oog heeft vreemde krachten/ En over ons bedrijf, en over ons gedachten." This verse accompanies emblem X in *Proteus ofte Minnebeelden* (1627), Cats ed. 1712, vol. 1, 21.

6 "De schilderye een stille swijghende werck, ende altijdt den selvighen schijnhoudende, dringht soo diep in de binnenste beweginghen onses ghemoedts, datse menighmael de kracht der wel spreekenheyt selver schijnt te boven te gaen;" Junius 1641, 44 (translation from the English edition: F. Junius, *The painting of the ancients*, London 1632, quoted from Junius/Aldrich/Felh/Felh 1991, vol. 1, 52). See also Sluijter 1986, 269-277; and below 118-123.

7 "'t Geen d'oogen weyt en leyt, bevalt den sinnen soet,/ En d'ydle beeltenis beheerst het swack gemoet./ So komt het dat gy (t'wijl 't gesicht sich laet bedriegen,/ En 't hert verwondert staet door 't schoone schilderliegen)/ Soo als ghy alles geern in schildery aen-schout,/ Alsoo oock in der daet geern doen en hebben sout;" Camphuyzen ed. 1647, 223.

8 "...in de kunst om allerlei vormen en houdingen van mensen en dieren, evenals de gedaante van bomen, rivieren, bergen en dergelijke zaken die men in een landschap ziet, met frisse en levendige lijnen snel weer te geven." Huygens' quote is from Huygens/Kan 1971, 66. For city descriptions and the painters, see below nn. 6 and 7. See also Sluijter 1998a, 265-284, esp. 267-269.

9 "'t Malen! ey, wie kan dat wraken sonder al-gemeyn oproer?/ 't Malen is der ijdelheden al-gemeyne malle Moer./ Waer is schier of konst of ambacht, in dees soo verquanste tijdt/ (Hoe een-vuldig in voor-tijden) dat sich sonder Malen lijt?/ Slaet op huysen, huys-raet, kleeren, en al om, u oogen he'en:/ Van Graveren, trecken, malen hangt de heele Wer'lt aen een./ Zedert dat vertaerde quel-lust is op nootdrufts stoel geraeckt/ Neemt-men Mael-konst tot vol-tooyster van al wat de hand schier maeckt./ 't Malen is 't gewoone lockaes voor 't verseeuwerd hert vol keurs,/ Dan (in spijt van noodts behoeven) 't gelt ontghoochelt uyt de beurs:/ 't Malen schijnt de saus van alles wat uyt menschen hersens spruyt:/ 't Malen is de potse-maker in des Werelts sotte kluyt:/ 't Malen voort-geteelt uyt mallen van het wispeltuyrig breyn/ Is den dwasen ooghen-lusten een steets-vloeyende fonteyn,/ 't Malen, maeghschap van 't vermommen, past de Werelt. En waer-om?/ t' Kluchtig spreuckjen sal 't ons seggen: *Al de Werelt gaet voor mom;*" Camphuyzen ed. 1647, 212 (this poem was already included in the first edition of 1624).

10 "In 't huys van kleyn en groot (d'ervinding kant ons toonen)/ Sal veel-tijds meer/ gebeeld dan levend' volck in woonen./ De muur, vaack bet-gepronckt dan haren schralen heer,/ Wat geeft s'hem weder-om? oog-weyding en niet meer...Dees oog quaal is gemeen, by eel en by oneel;/ Soo wel in 't eerlijck huys als in het vuyl bordeel:/ Soo wel in kerck als kroeg:...;" Camphuyzen ed. 1647, 226 (first included in the edition of 1624).

11 Camphuyzen ed. 1647, 215, 224, 218, 3, 223 and 224, respectively.

12 "De Schilder-const die doet in my een vreucht ontspringen,/ Wie can de deucht en roem uyt-spreken of uyt-singen/ Van sulcken soeten const, soo nut en vol gerief,/ Dat door haer wert gemaect van niet een soete lief./ Ick sie (tis waer) mijn lief, door constelicke streken,/ Maer evenwel de spraeck die salder aen gebreken:/ Nochtans ic ben genoucht, mijn oog heeft wil en wens,/ Begeerich is de oog, verlangend' is de mens:/ 't Verlangen is in my te meer on dese reden,/ Om dat ick sie een beelt dat lijf en heeft noch reden,/ Beweging noch gevoel, en evenwel een schijn,/ Als of het sijn gesicht ging drayen tegen 'tmijn;" Van de Venne 1623, 59.

13 "...want aan dingen, die niet en zijn, zich zo te vergapen, also ofze waren, en daar zoo van geleit te worden dat wy ons zelve, sonder schade, diets maken datze zijn; hoe kan dat tot de verlusting onzer gemoederen niet dienstigh wezen? Zeker, het vervroolikt yemand buite maat, wanneer hy door een valsche gelikenis der dingen wort bedrogen;" De Brune the Younger 1665, 317.

14 Sluijter 1990a, 5-39. For the confusion that the term 'realism' has caused in iconological research, see below, 266-268, with references to the literature.

15 See 265-295 below.

16 See also Sluijter 1998b, 173-196.

17 See Sluijter 1986, 281-292; and Sluijter 1991, 175-207 (Sluijter 1997, 78-87, 213-220).

18 "Nochtans 't heeft mee (segt gy) sijn nut. Men kan 't uytleggen,/ En leven naem en daet al 't saem doen sien, door seggen,/ Maer (och!) wat uytleg en wat lof kan veylig staen,/ By toonsels die 't gemoet uyt eygen aert beschaen?" In Camphuyzen ed. 1647, 224.

19 See also 267-269 and 290, as well as Sluijter 1991, 190 (Sluijter 1997, 88); Goedde 1986, 146; McNeil Kettering 1992. Naturally, iconological research in which the study of pictorial traditions receives special emphasis is not new; my approach was in part inspired by that of one of my

mentors, Henri van de Waal. See Sluijter 1998c, 145-169, esp. 148-152.
20 Sluijter 1986 and Sluijter *et al.* 1988.
21 Sluijter 1998d, pp. 48-99. This article was written in 1993 (it took a long time before this book was published).
22 See respectively Sluijter 1986, esp. 168-187 and 210-224; and Sluijter 1993, 31-54.
23 For a further analysis of the Danaë theme, see Sluijter 1999, 4-45.
24 McNeil Kettering 1983.
25 Sluijter *et al.* 1988, 15-55.
26 Sluijter 1991, 175-207 (Sluijter 1997, 78-87 and 211-218). First published in Dutch in Sluijter 1988a, 3-28.
27 Hecht 1989.

Notes to Chapter Two

* This article was published earlier in Dutch in *Delineavit et Sculpsit* 4 (1990), 1-24 and *idem* 5 (1991), 1-19.

1 On the popularization of mythological subjects in painting of the sixteenth and early seventeenth century, see Sluijter 1986, esp. 14-50.
2 Sluijter 1986, 295-312 and the chart on 341.
3 Ovid/Salomon 1557. On the illustrations by Salomon, see Henkel 1926-27, 58-144, esp. 77-83. Fig. 1 is reproduced here after the copy of Ovid/Salomon 1557 in the Royal Library in The Hague.
4 On this, see Guthmüller 1973, 171-192.
5 Ovid/Posthius 1563. The woodcuts by Solis reproduced in this article are from the Franfurt edition of 1569 (Printroom Leiden). Ovid/Spreng 1564 (a Latin edition appeared earlier in 1563).
6 Sluijter 1986, 307-309.
7 Ovid/Florianus 1566 (ed. 1619). On this, see Sluijter 1986, 310-312.
8 A catalogue of all the known editions is found in Boschloo 1980.
9 Boschloo *et al.* 1980, 32-43. Nine editions are known with all 178 prints after Solis (1566, 1595, 1608, 1615 [two editions], 1619, 1631, 1635, 1650); only one edition (1637) appeared with 103 copies after Tempesta. The four editions with 15 prints (1588, 1599, 1609, 1621) contain copies after free copies after Solis, which were first published in a Leipzig edition of 1583 (on the latter, see Henkel 1926-27, 126-127).
10 Ovid/Van der Borcht 1591; Ovid/De Passe 1607. The illustrations by De Passe are in part free adaptations after Salomon/Solis and Tempesta, a few are copies after Goltzius, and several are engravings after designs by Maarten de Vos.
11 Ovid/Tempesta 1606. On the etchings by Tempesta, see Henkel 1926-27, 101-104. Henkel dates them to the 1590s (102), on the basis of the incorrect assumption that those by Goltzius date from 1598 (on p. 115, however, Henkel mentions the dates 1585, 1590 and 1615 for Goltzius' series; see also note 15).
12 Sluijter 1986, 309-310.
13 For many more examples, see Sluijter 1986, *passim.*
14 Sluijter 1986, part 1, *passim.*
15 Only nine preliminary drawings are still known, see Reznicek 1961, vol. 1, 194-197, 268-271, nos. 99 through 104; *Nachtrag* no. 100a, figs. 119 through 124 and 451; and Reznicek 1993a, 45-46, nos. 98a and 99a, figs. 25 and 26. The first print of the first series is dated 1589 at the lower left, the first of the second series (no. 21) 1590 at the lower right, and the first of the third series (no. 41) 1615 at the lower center. The dates given by Henkel are not clear (see above, note 11). Reznicek dates the drawing from the first series to 1588/89, that of the second series to 1589/90 and the four drawings from the third series to 1590 (on the last date, see notes 32 and 33 below).
16 The last series of 12 was published by Robert de Baudous, who may have been the engraver of this series (Reznicek 1961, vol. 1, 194). The engraving style of the last series differs clearly from that of the first 40. Jan van der Waals (1988, 100, note 1) mentioned that one of the prints in the last series is inscribed "JS sculp". He uses this to justify his supposition that Jan Saenredam was the engraver of this last series. However, I wonder whether the quality of these 15 engravings warrants attributing them to Saenredam.
17 No. 20: *Clymene Telling Phaeton the Identity of his Father* (*Metamorphoses,* Book I, 760-775). I know of no earlier representation of this scene.
18 In the Salomon/Solis series, no. 9: *The Deluge;* no. 10: *The End of the Deluge,* and no. 13: *Apollo Chasing Daphne;* no. 14: *Apollo Chasing Daphne While she is Changing into a Tree;* no. 15: *Jupiter Chasing Io,* respectively.
19 No. 11: *The Deluge;* no. 14: *Apollo and Daphne.*
20 Nos. 5: *The Bronze Age,* and 6: *The Iron Age.* No. 10: *Neptune Summoning the River Gods to Deluge the Earth;* this scene precedes the Deluge and can thus be considered as the replacement for the second Deluge scene, which was omitted. No. 15: *The Gathering of Peneus and the River Gods after the Metamorphosis of Daphne, Peneus' Daughter.*
21 Sluijter 1986, 16-21 and 198-210.
22 *Metamorphoses,* Book I, 574-583.
23 No. 16. The scene which, until then, had been repeatedly represented (one also later depicted in painting a number of times), was thus pushed to the background; the highly erotically charged foreground scene with Io fleeing from Jupiter, can be seen as a variant of the familiar visual configuration of Joseph and the wife of Potiphar (with a reversal of the sexes). Naturally, the scenes of Apollo grabbing the fleeing Daphne or of Pan chasing Syrinx were also related.

24 Nos. 31 and 27 respectively. The discovery of Callisto's pregnancy is discussed later in this essay.
25 *Metamorphoses,* Book II, 544-545.
26 Around 1590-91; engraved by Jacob Matham (B. 156-159). For two of the four drawings, see, Reznicek 1961, nos. 135, 136.
27 No. 39; no specific line by Ovid can be related to the added episode. In Ovid's account it is not clear whether Mercury consumated his love for Herse. The print by Caraglio in which Mercury simultaneously changes Aglauros into stone while heading straight for the bed on which reclines a rather obscene Herse, is part of a series of enamored gods clearly intended as erotic scenes (B. 9-23). The traditional scene of Aglauros' transformation is no. 36 in the Salomon/Solis series.
28 Furthermore, there is an illustration that was changed not so much in general design as in subject: Salomon/Solis' scene (no. 31) of *Ocyroe and Chiron* was transformed into *Apollo Giving the Infant Aesculapius to Chiron.*
29 There is a drawing of the traditional Diana and Actaeon scene, which must also have been made around 1589 (Reznicek 1961, no. 109). This deft, sketchy drawing probably originated in conjunction with the designs for the illustrations (as a preliminary design?).
30 On representations of Vertumnus and Pomona in the first decades of the seventeenth century (including ones by Goltzius and Bloemaert), see Sluijter 1986, 43-48 (see also below, 71-85). It is worth noting that in the 1620s Bloemaert actually once used this Beroë and Semele print after Goltzius as the point of departure for a scene of Vertumnus and Pomona; see Sluijter 1986, 46 and fig. 89, and Hollstein, vol. 2 (F. Bloemaert), no. 4, ill., for a print after this composition. The tall, narrow building in the background eliminates all doubt concerning the direct influence of Goltzius' invention on this composition.
31 Between nos 45 (*Beroë and Semele*) and 46 (*The Discussion Between Juno and Jupiter*) one would expect to find the traditional scene of Jupiter with his thunderbolt appearing to Semele. The three successive scenes were all taken from a never-before illustrated story that follows the fable of Jupiter's love for Semele. It is noteworthy that three successive moments are represented which in the *Metamorphoses* are recounted in only 12 lines (*Metamorphoses,* Book III, 318-330).
32 Comparing the nos. 45 through 48 discussed here, with the surrounding scenes, nos. 44 (*Minerva and Cadmus*) and 49 (*Thisbe Fleeing*), this distinction in style is immediately apparent.
33 Juno's profile (with the large Greek nose) is striking, and is frequently encountered in drawings and prints by and after Goltzius as of 1593: first in the figure of Ceres (who shares many correspondences with Juno in no. 47) in Goltzius' famous *'Sine Cerere...'* of 1593 (Reznicek 1961, no. 129, fig. 224).
34 The first of Book III: nos. 41-44. No. 41, *Cadmus Consulting the Oracle of Apollo,* is new. Coincidentally, three of the nine still existing drawings for the *Metamorphoses* series were designs for these Cadmus scenes (Reznicek 1981, nos. 101-103). For Book IV: nos. 49-52 (*Thisbe Fleeing, Mars and Venus Discovered, The Courtship of Apollo and Leucothoë, Salmacis and Hermaphroditus*).
35 Nos. 10, 15, 20, 27, 30, 31, 39, 41, 45, 46, 47, 48.
36 *Metamorphoses,* Book II, 581-582. Sensing that her outstretched arms are beginning to grow feathers, she tries to pull her cloak from her shoulders, only to find that it too has been transformed into feathers that are deeply embedded in her skin.
37 Both Henkel (who assumed that Goltzius knew Tempesta's prints, see above note 11), and Reznicek believe that Tempesta's illustrations dated from the mid-1590s, which for the latter implied that Goltzius could not have known them. In my view there are sufficient convincing reasons to assume that Goltzius was familiar with them and that they were thus printed before 1589. In addition to the similarities mentioned here in the illustrations of *Corone and Neptune* may also be mentioned the *Apollo Slaying the Python* (Goltzius no. 13, Tempesta no. 9), in which Goltzius' Apollo is an elegant and nude variation of Tempesta's (in both the precise moment also differs from the Salomon/Solis illustrations, where the Python is already dead) and in the *Rape of Europa* (Goltzius no. 40, Tempesta no. 21), where the friends on the bank with grazing cattle behind them display a striking resemblance. One may compare the similar variations that Goltzius and Tempesta made with respect to the Salomon/Solis version in the placing of the group of women in no. 37 (Tempesta no. 18) and the figure of Minerva in no. 38 (Tempesta no. 19). See also below note 38. Noteworthy is that the drawing of *Diana and Actaeon* of around 1589 (see above note 29) exhibits more similarities with the Tempesta than with the Salomon/Solis illustrations.
Also striking, incidentally, is that no. 51 (*Apollo and Leucothoë*), whose still existing drawing Reznicek dates to 1590-91, deviates somewhat from both Salomon/Solis and Tempesta and bears a striking compositional resemblance to Van der Borcht's illustration in his series published in 1591 (see above note 10).
38 In addition to the episode mentioned after this of Argus being slayed by Mercury, this applies to the scene of Apollo slaying the Python, mentioned in note 37. Other scenes in which Tempesta deviates include: *Ocyroe Changing into a Mare* (no. 17) instead of *Ocyroe Predicting Chiron's Future;* Goltzius replaced this episode, making it an Aesculapius who is given to Chiron. Tempesta also replaced the illustration of Jupiter's visit to Semele by an unusual scene with Juno and Jupiter seated in the clouds and pointing to Semele whose hands are raised to her face (no. 27). This appears to have inspired Goltzius in his

illustration of the subsequent discussion between Juno and Jupiter sitting in the clouds (no. 46, see note 31 above). Noteworthy, finally, is that the three scenes that Goltzius omitted in Book I (see notes 18 and 19 above), were also not illustrated by Tempesta.

39 In addition to the Cadmus scene, Goltzius also followed Salomon/Solis very closely in no. 9 (*Jupiter and Lycaon*), no. 29 (*Arcas and Callisto Changing into a Bear*), and no. 36 (*Mercury and Battus*).

40 *Metamorphoses*, Book III, 52-53.

41 On these and other deviations in the Mercury and Argus scenes, see Sluijter 1989, 114-125, esp. 120-123.

42 For a good discussion on such inscriptions, see McGrath 1984, 73-90. See also Sluijter 1986, 267.

43 Nichols 1993, 89-90 (letter of 27 March 1592 from Jan van der Hout to Gerardus Tuningius).

44 "'t Geslacht, de geboorte, plaats, tijdt, leven van Karel van Mander" in Van Mander 1618, Appendix, unnumbered folios (6r): "Karel showed them [the members of the 'Academy'] the Italian manner, just as can be observed in Goltzius' Ovid [series of illustrations] ..." (Karel wees haer [de deelnemers aan de 'Academie'] de Italiaensche maniere, ghelyck 't aen den Ovidius van Goltzius wel te sien en te mercken is...).

45 Sluijter 1986, 312-321.

46 Van Mander/Miedema 1973, vol. 1, 297. On this, see Sluijter 1986, 286 note 1, and 319.

47 Sluijter 1986, 318-319.

48 Van Mander discusses this extensively in his foreword; see Sluijter 1986, 312-315.

49 Reznicek fully assumes that Goltzius had Van Mander to thank for the initiative; Reznicek 1961, 194. He also contends that Van Mander's explanations are essential for studying Goltzius' Metamorphoses images because they would serve as the basis for Goltzius' drawings; Reznicek 1961, 196-197.

50 The paragraph in which Reznicek discusses the Metamorphoses illustrations (see preceding note) and other mythological subjects was titled "Die Allegorie". For Miedema's views, see Miedema 1981, 220 (under 7.5). According to Miedema, mythological representations do not essentially differ from allegories. For my views on the subject, see Sluijter 1986, 283-286. For an extensive review of the relationship between explanations such as Van Mander's and mythological representations, see Sluijter 1986, part 2, Chapters 1 though 5, *passim*, and a brief recapitulation on 265-269.

51 For an extensive discussion of these points of view, see Sluijter 1986, part 2, *passim*.

52 Sluijter 1986, 14-52.

53 B. 156 (Hollstein, vol. 8, no. 157), B. 30 (Hollstein, vol. 8, no. 507), B. (Matham) 162 (Hollstein, vol. 11, no. 227), B. (Saenredam) 80 (Hollstein, vol. 23, no. 365), respectively.

54 Hollstein, vol. 7, no. 422, *idem*, no. 421 and B. 3 (Hollstein, vol. 29, no. 18). For the attribution of H. 421 to Andreas Stock as engraver, see Filedt Kok 1990, 371-419, cat. no. 421 and fig. 233. Filedt Kok dates this print to *c.* 1610.

55 By reversing the pose of Blocklandt's Andromeda with respect to the rock and the rest of the composition, Goltzius closely followed the pose of the Salomon/Solis Andromeda. The depiction of Perseus and Pegasus also appears to be entirely inspired by Salomon /Solis.

56 The latter composition appears to reflect Van Mander's invention as engraved by De Gheyn. Adhering more closely to Ovid's text (Ovid refers to the parents as observers, *Metamorphoses*, Book IV, 690-691), Van Mander's nymphs were replaced by Andromeda's family. In the words of Florianus: "Her father and mother had also come, offering nothing other in support than wailing and weeping" (Haer vader ende moeder waren ooc gecomen, de welcke voor een bystant ende hulpe anders niet en brachten dan een kermen ende weemen).

57 This pictorial form is probably derived by Salomon from a miniature in Christine de Pisan, *Epitre d'Othea* (see Greenhaus Lord 1968, 45-50). The manuscript illumination in an edition of Bersuire's *Ovidius Moralizatus* should also be mentioned (see Steadman 1958, 407-410). In the *Ovide Moralisé*, Bersuire's *Ovidius Moralizatus* and also in Boccaccio's *Genealogia Deorum* Pegasus is mentioned as Perseus' mount. The confusion may have arisen from the fact that Pegasus is mentioned in the Perseus story when Perseus recounts that Pegasus was born from the blood of Medusa. This event can be seen in the background of the – thus entirely correct – illustration in the Venetian *Ovidio Metarmophoseos Vulgare* of 1497, in which Perseus flies unaided (see Ovid/Vulgare 1497)

58 See respectively *Metamorphoses*, Book IV, 714-716 and 731-734. In the painting in question is also found the textually faithful motif of the lamenting parents, which occurs in Matham's print after Goltzius of 1597 as well. The man with the beard and turban is very close in type. Perseus flying unassisted was already illustrated in the earliest printed Metamorphoses illustrations of this subject in the *Ovidio Vulgare* (see the previous note). It also appears correctly in the Metamorphoses illustrations by Van der Borcht of 1591 (Ovid/Van der Borcht 1591), and in the print in the first edition of the *Thronus Cupidinis* of 1618 (see note 68). In the Netherlands, Jan Keynooghe had shown Perseus in this way far earlier in a painting dated 1561 (The Hague, Mauritshuis). We also find Perseus without Pegasus in a few Italian prints. In addition to the illustration in the *Ovidio Vulgare*, also in G. B. Fontana's engravings (B. 56 and B. 57, the latter being a free variation after Titian). Perseus is also correctly depicted in Titian's famous painting in the Wallace Collection.

59 Van Mander, *Wtleggingh*, 41v: "Dit vliegent Peerdt, boven den dienst die het Perseo ghedaen heeft...."

60 That this can still be perceived as decidedly erotic appears from the fact that David Lodge described a scene in a Soho nightclub in which the Andromeda story is staged (*Small World*, London 1985, 188-189). The threatened female innocence that is saved from doom by a courageous man can be considered as an archetypically erotic motif.

61 Sluijter 1993, *passim*.

62 Van Mander, *Wtlegghingh*, 40r-41v (compare Natales Comes, *Mythologiae*, 8, c. 26). In essence this is a generalization of the medieval explanation in which it is an allegory of the human soul threatened by the devil which is freed by Christ (see, among others, the explanation by Berchorius incorporated in Ovid/Mansion 1484, 140).

63 Bruyn *et al.* 1982-, vol. 1, 314. On Rembrandt's Andromeda, see also Sluijter 1993, 34-37, and in response to an odd interpretation by G. Schwartz, see Sluijter 1987, 291.

64 Duym 1606.

65 Van Rijn/Van Ommeren 1895-1931, no. 461. No mention is made that this print is after a drawing by Chrispijn van den Broeck (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, cat. Lugt 1936, no. 190).

66 See the woodcut by A. van Leest in *Declaratie van de incompst van de Prince van Orangien binnen Brussel*, Antwerp 1579. For a later example, see the print by P. Nolpe in Coster 1642 (on the occasion of a display for the entry of Henriëtta Maria in Amsterdam in 1642, in which Frederik Hendrik is represented as the liberator. On this see Snoep 1975, 65-66, fig. 32. There are other examples of this comparison in literature. In J.B. Gramaye's *Andromeda Belgica dicta* (Louvain 1600), the role of Perseus is given to Archduke Albert; earlier, in 1594, the theme was used for a joyful entry in Antwerp of Archduke Ernest in which, naturally, the monster stood for the bellicose attitude of the rebellious northern provinces (see Sabbe 1927, 235-239). As discussed above, in the Northern Netherlands the theme could be applied to Frederik Hendrik, among others (also, for instance, in Revius 1630 [ed. 1930], vol. 2, 85), as well as to William III (Van Hoogstraten 1697, 101), and as the only not princely individual, to the naval hero Michiel de Ruyter (Moonen 1700, 217).

67 Quite remarkable are the lines of verse in the print by Willem van Swanenburgh after Jan Saenredam (fig. 40). Although Ovid compares Andromeda to a "marble statue" and makes no reference to dark skin (Andromeda is an Ethiopian princess) and she is always portrayed as a white, even blonde, beauty, in this inscription by Petrus Scriverius it is suggested that this image must serve to comfort dark-skinned girls: just as in the case of Andromeda, whose skin is the color of her country, black girls may hope for a handsome man ("Et speret pulchram nigra puella virum").

68 *Thronus* n.d. (ed. 1618). The first edition, with prints by Chrispijn de Passe, was published in 1618; a second edition appeared in the same year with prints by an anonymous artist that more or less follow De Passe's. See the introduction by H. de la Fontaine Verwey in the facsimile edition of *Thronus* 1620. Noteworthy is that in the print in the first edition we see the literal representation of Perseus seated on a rock battling a monster (compare the print by Swanenburgh after Saenredam), while in the following two editions the traditional depiction of Perseus astride Pegagus was added.

69 "Dat die oprecht'lyck liefd, en vreest het sterven niet." One year later, Theodoor Rodenburgh produced his own emblematic texts for a large number of the *picturae* in the first edition of the *Thronus* in Rodenburgh 1619. The Andromeda text is no. LXVI of *Liefdes-zinne-beelden*. See Witstein 1964.

70 Rodenburgh (see preceding note) used the Petrarchan mode for a sort of amorous didacticism and arranged his emblem texts going with his own selection of *picturae* from the *Thronus*, including that of Andromeda, in a somewhat more instructive relationship, which led to *Houw'lykx Zinne-beelden*. See Witstein 1964, 316.

71 For the use of this playful variant of Petrarchism in Dutch amorous emblems, see the commentary in Hooft/Porteman 1983, esp. 16-29.

72 Van Mander, Leven, 74v: "de naeckte Andromeda die van Perseo verlost werde." For the French source, see Van Mander/Miedema 1977, 74v ("une Andromeda, secourue de Perseus").

73 On this, with respect to Rubens' depiction of the theme as a central representation on his house, see Muller 1981-82, 131-146, esp. 141-143.

74 See the drawing by Goltzius (Reznicek 1961, no. 134), with the engraving after it attributed to J. Matham and dated 1588 (B. 281, Matham) and the paintings of 1611 (to which a Hercules was added in 1613) in the Frans Halsmuseum in Haarlem. On the Hermathena motif in this period, see chiefly DaCosta Kaufmann 1982, 119-145. Certainly when Mercury is shown with palette and maulstick, as in Goltzius' painting in the Frans Halsmuseum and in the sculptures that embellished Rubens' garden gate, together with Minerva he stands for the ideal of the imaginative and "eloquent" painter.

75 Compare the print with Minerva after Goltzius of 1596 – possibly engraved by him as well (B. [Saenredam] 62; Strauss 328) – in which Minerva can be seen in the background with the Muses while Pegasus flies away.

76 Hirschmann 1920, 14-15.

77 Goltzius made an engraving of the musical competition between Apollo and Pan, dated 1590, undoubtedly one of his most ambitious prints, of which a (rather large) drawing exists; Reznicek 1961, no. 107. It will not be a coincidence that in this invention, deviating from Ovid's story, Minerva and the Muses have been added.

78 Van Mander, *Leven*, 297v: "een stucxken, met voor aen eenige Indiaensche kieck-hoornen en schulpen, waer op rusten oft ligghen eenighe Zee-Goden, en Godinnen, in't

verschiet de Zee, en in't cleyn Andromeda, daer Perseus haer verlost."
79 Sale Leiden, 31 August 1765: "Andromeda chained to a rock in the background, in the foreground are nude women" (Andromeda aan een rots gekluisterd in het verschiet, op de voorgrond naakte vrouwtjes), dated 1606.
80 A. Bloemaert, (dimensions unknown), sale Budapest, 28 April 1939, no. 53, ill. For a summary of a number of Andromeda images from the School of Van Poelenburch (especially by Van Cuylenburgh), see Sluijter 1986, 81, note 3. The poses of these Andromedas – usually depicted seated – seem to take prints by Agostino Carracci as their point of departure.
81 According to Anne Lowenthal, one of the two may be a free copy by Peter Wtewael, the original being the 1611 work in the Louvre. Interesting in this connection is that in any event, one, or also possibly both paintings appear in an inventory of Wtewael's direct descendants and thus remained in the possession of his own family. See Lowenthal 1986, cat. nos. A-59 and B-4. In these works Wtewael complied entirely with the traditional type; the anonymous print after Goltzius (for example, Andromeda's pose) and Saenredam's engraving after Goltzius (for example, the monster) seem to have been his immediate point of departure. Lowenthal's reference to Titian and the print by Fontana (see above note 58) is beside the point. In the second version was introduced a motif that we know from the many representations of St Sebastian: both arms are tied above the head. In contrast, Wtewael's own drawing (Lowenthal 1986, cat. no. A-14) has the same pose as the Andromeda in a drawing by him (Lowenthal 1986, fig. 84).
82 Sluijter 1986, part 2, *passim*.
83 Ovid/Vulgare 1497, Chapter 8; Anulus 1552, 30.
84 On this print and its relationship to compositions by Titian, see Wethey 1975, vol. 3, cat. no. 11.
85 *The Illustrated Bartsch*, vol. 3 (Commentary), 323. The type of nude figure is close to that found in prints from around 1583-84. The figure of Diana, however, displays striking similarities to Venus in the famous *Venus and Mars* print by Goltzius of 1585, which was his first truly Sprangerian invention; Reznicek 1961, no. 105. Given the inscription – the same Latin verses by N. van Wassenaar as are found in Jan Saenredam's print after Moreelse of 1606 (fig. 53) – the invention must have been engraved only much later by a mediocre engraver.
86 *Metamophorses*, Book II, 455-456. Sluijter 1986, 34, esp. 34 note 10. Incidentally, a fountain is mentioned in Ovid's *Fasti*, Book II, 165-166.
87 *Metamorphoses*, Book III, 158-160. Sluijter 1986, 30, 35, esp. 30 note 10 and 35 note 1. Goltzius' grotto motif appears to be derived from an *Actaeon* by Dirck Barendsz which was engraved by De Gheyn (see Filedt Kok 1990, 385, no. 328).
88 Jan Saenredam after Hendrick Goltzius, dated 1599 (B. 15; Hollstein, vol. 23, no. 7). A fourth invention exists only in a large drawing of 381 x 509 mm (Private Collection, Switzerland); see Reznicek 1993a, 48, no. K108a, fig. 28. Reznicek dates the drawing to after 1600. The composition combines motifs from his earlier inventions, especially from the one in the Metamorphoses series (e.g. the nymph undressing in the foreground and Callisto's pose) and from the one of 1599 (the nymphs surrounding Callisto and Diana).
89 Goltzius may have been inspired by the print in Aneau's (Anulus') emblem book of 1552 (see note 83 above). Particularly the nymph stepping forward indicates knowledge of this illustration.
90 A source of inspiration for Titian may have been Ludovico Dolce's translation of 1553 (*Le Trasformationi...*, Venice 1553, 44). There, the sentence in question has a somewhat more excited character ("Ma le nimfe le fur subito intorno/ Etosto le spogliar l'habito adorno") than Ovids laconic "dubitandi vestis adempta est." (Ovid's text: *Metamorphoses*, Book II, 460-464).
91 Ovid/Florianus 1566 (ed. 1619), 18r: "... ende die wijle haer d'ander ontcleeden soo bleef sy alleen fantaserende ende versuchtende staen, soo datse die ander selve quaemen ontcleeden, ende ontcleedt hebbende, sagen sy wel watse bedreven hadde. Dus stont daer die arme Calisto onder hare geselinnen heel beschaemt, ende hadde geirne haren buyck met haere handen gedect. Maer Diana, die sake wel aenmerckende heeft tot haer geseyt: Gaet ghy van hier, ghy en sult ons badt met uwen onsuyveren lichame niet comen besmetten, siet dat ick u van deze daghen af nimmermeer in mijn geselschap meer en bevinde." Ovid's text: *Metamorphoses*, Book II, 460-464.
92 This recurring gesture can simultaneously be understood as pointing, punishment and dismissal. It is noteworthy that Titian probably intended this gesture as a command to disrobe, as appears in a letter to Philip II in which he describes his work as "Callisto pregnant with Jupiter's child being disrobed near the fountain by the nymphs at Diana's command" (see Waterhouse 1952). This description covers his painting, but is at odds with Ovid's text in which no mention is made either of a command to disrobe Callisto, or of a fountain. In addition to the fact that this gesture conveys both admonishment and punishment, the pictorial function – the connection between the Diana group and the group of nymphs – will also have contributed to the popularity of this motif. It became also a traditional motif in representations of Actaeon.
93 J. Matham after Cornelis Cornelisz van Haarlem, dated 1599 (B. 94; Hollstein, vol. 11, no. 199). Cornelis's grisaille of the same subject is in Berlin (Gemäldegalerie).
94 J. Saenredam after P. Moreelse, dated 1606 (B. 115; Hollstein, vol. 23, no. 78). This composition was also engraved in reverse by J.Th. de Bry (Hollstein, vol. 4, no. 9). For the still extant grisaille sketch, see De Jonge 1938, no. 11a, ill.

95 The Diana group is reminiscent of the print by Saenredam after Goltzius, but also contains elements taken directly from Titian/Cort (the nymph leaning on an outstretched arm, the addition of a second nymph behind Diana, and the drapery). In the Callisto group, the figure of Callisto turned towards Diana is reminiscent of Goltzius' Metamorphoses illustrations, wile the nymph addressing Diana and the nymph behind Callisto are derived from the print by Saenredam after Goltzius.
96 C. de Passe I (Hollstein, vol. 16, De Passe suppl., no. 270 ad.) and the print from Ovid/De Passe 1607, no. 18. De Passe also produced a print with this scene after G. Behm (Hollstein, vol. 15, no. 401).
97 Sluijter 1986, 35-37, 76-79, 132-133.
98 For Rembrandt's brilliant merging of both subjects, see Sluijter 1986, 90-94 and 195-197.
99 For a summary of these commentaries, see Sluijter 1986, 187-190.
100 Sluijter 1986, 191-192.
101 It is rather exceptional that in the depiction of this episode, based on merely five lines in the *Metamorphoses*, without any artifice the narrative core and the most important elements of the fable – the loss of virginity, the discovery and the punishment – were clearly presented in the image. In this, it distinguises itself strongly from the illustration of Actaeon in which various stages of the story had to be fused.
102 On the interpretation of representations of Callisto, see further Sluijter 1986, 192-195.
103 Sluijter 1986, part 2, *passim*, esp. Chapter 5.

Notes to Chapter Three

* This article was published earlier in Dutch in *Bulletin van het Rijksmuseum* 39 (1991), 386-399. It was written for Pieter van Thiel upon his retirement as director of the Rijksmuseum's Department of Paintings.

1 Hendrick Goltzius, *Vertumnus and Pomona*, monogrammed and dated on a stone at the right: HG (in ligature) 1613. Purchased in 1906 by Fr. Muller & Co. for Nfl. 360; inv. no. A 2217.
Jan Tengnagel, *Vertumnus and Pomona*, signed and dated on the stone under Pomona's foot: JTengnagel. fecit A°. 1617. Gift of D.H. Cevat, 1977; inv. no. A 4699 (see *Bulletin van het Rijksmuseum* 26 [1978], 31).
2 Sluijter 1986, 43-48, 61-62, 83-86, 109-114, 116-120, 243-264; figs. 79-90, 109-110, 140-142, 148-174.
3 On the rare sixteenth-century representations (Antonio Fantuzzi after Rosso, Francesco Melzi and a tapestry series), see Sluijter 1986, 380-383, notes 43-3 and 44-3.
4 Bernard Salomon's series of illustrations (the first in which the subject appears) was printed in a French and Dutch edition: Ovid/Salomon 1557 (pages unnumbered, the 160th print). Solis' prints were first published in Ovid/Posthius 1563 (print no. 160). The first translation by Johannes Florianus (Blommaerts) appeared in 1552 and was unillustrated (Ovid/Florianus 1566 [ed. 1619]). The first edition with 178 woodcuts was Ovid/Florianus 1566; as far as I know, the Rijksprentenkabinet owns the only copy of this book in the Netherlands. However, there are legions of later republications with all 178 woodcuts (1595, 1608, 1615 [both an Antwerp and a Rotterdam edition], 1619, 1631, 1635 and 1650; on this, see Boschloo *et al.* 1980, 32-43). On the *Vertumnus and Pomona* woodcut by Salomon, see further Sluijter 1986, 380-382, notes 43-3/4.
5 Bloemaert's painting seems to have been made in the late 1590s; in any case, it can be dated several years earlier than the 1605 print on stylistic grounds.
6 *Metamorphoses*, Book XIV, 635-636: "fearing some clownish violence, she shut herself up within her orchard and so guarded herself against all the approaches of men" (vim tamen agręstum metuens pomaria claudit/ intus et accessus prohibet refugitque viriles).
7 *Metamorphoses*, Book XIV, 654-656 and 659. Ovid/Florianus 1566 (ed. 1619), 268v-269r: "Ten lesten verbant hy sijn hooft met een huyve, ende quam aldus steunende op een stoxcken inde gelijckenisse van een oudt wijfken inden hof...en is neffens haer int groene gaen sitten." (Florianus' translation).
8 Cartari's description of Pomona also mentions the sickle as her primary attribute: "in mano una piccola falce....;" Cartari 1566 (ed. 1647 [facs. 1963]), 125-126.
9 *Metamorphoses*, Book XIV, 661-686; Ovid/Florianus 1566, (ed. 1619),269r.
10 Ovid speaks only of heavily laden fruit trees (*Metamorphoses*, Book XIV, 660), which Florianus translated as "trees with apples" (bomen met appelen). Though related to "pomus" (fruit tree), "pomarium" (orchard) and "pomosus" (rich in fruit), Pomona's name probably more readily evoked associations with the apple (the Italian "poma" and French "pomme"). See also Van Mander's explanation of her as the "apple and fruit goddess" (Appel en Fruyt-Goddinne). Presumably because of this, he – as the first and only author to do so – makes the connection with the three apples of Hercules as a symbol of virtue (Van Mander, *Wtlegghing*, 115v). See further on this Sluijter 1986, 243.
11 *Metamorphoses*, Book XIV, 657, 687-688 and 761-764; Ovid/Florianus 1566 (ed. 1619), 268v and 271r.
12 On the carnation as a symbol of marriage (still current, although now men rather than women wear carnations at weddings), see Van Thiel 1967-68, 98-99 and Smith 1982, 61-63. Even discounting the many portraits of a woman holding a carnation, a considerable number of women's portraits include identical pots with staked carnations.
13 In the tradition of illustrated series intended for popular, vernacular publications, classic goddesses and

nymphs were always fairly decently dressed. Not until Goltzius' series of illustrations were they mostly depicted nude, in keeping with the decorum of the 'academic' tradition in painting and sculpture. Incidentally, Goltzius never produced the illustration of *Vertumnus and Pomona*. See Sluijter in this volume, "'Metamorphoses'", 36-40.

14 Ovid mentions only that Pomona experienced passion equal to Vertumnus' love when he revealed himself in all his glory (*Metamorphoses*, Book XIV, 770-771).

15 "Atque laborantes aspergere fontibus hortos,/ Tortus ibi cucumis, tumidoque cucurbita ventre/ Lente iacet, pronaque inclinat brassica caule." The complete text is in Sluijter 1986, 503, note 247-5. The sentence quoted is most reminiscent of a passage in Virgil's *Georgics*, Book IV, 121-122.

16 *Bulletin van het Rijksmuseum* 37 (1989), 103-104. To date, the only impression that was known in the literature (in Göttingen) was lost during the Second World War. In 1605 Saenredam also made an engraving of *Vertumnus and Pomona* after Cornelis Cornelisz van Haarlem. In that print they are shown as an amorous couple (B. 38; fig. 138), a scene which, with but a few exceptions, was virtually never depicted (earlier by monogrammist I.F. after Bandinelli [B. 503] and by Caraglio [B. 16]). Matham made an engraving after Goltzius, in which both figures are simply represented as gods with their respective attributes (B. 286).

17 See note 10 above.

18 As far as I know, this motif, which would appear to be a sexual allusion due to the context in which it is frequently seen, is first encountered in Lucas van Leyden's *Milkmaid* of 1510 (B. 11).

19 Hendrick Goltzius, *Vertumnus and Pomona*, 1615, canvas 69.5 x 102 cm, Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum (color reproduction on the cover of *The Burlington Magazine* 133 [October 1991]).

20 For an argument supporting Goltzius' knowledge of the etchings by Tempesta (only published in book form in Antwerp in 1606) when he made his designs for his *Metamorphoses* illustrations between 1588 and 1590, see Sluijter in this volume, "'Metamorphoses'", 299 n. 37.

21 In addition to the second version of *Vertumnus and Pomona* (see note 19), compare in particular Goltzius' *Jupiter and Antiope* of 1612 (fig. 124); *Venus and Cupid Spied upon by a Satyr* of 1616 (Paris, Musée du Louvre); *Venus and Adonis* of 1614 (Munich, Alte Pinakothek); *Juno and Mercury* of 1615 (Rotterdam, Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen); and *Lot and his Daughters* (Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum). The even greater width of the *Vertumnus and Pomona* in the Rijksmuseum could be related to the fact that a strip at the top of the canvas was probably removed at some point (see Van Thiel 1989, 138, note 8); going on the version of 1615, this would have been a narrow strip extending to just above Pomona's crown.

22 This pose derived from classical antiquity is first encountered in Northern Europe in Dürer's so-called *Das Meerwunder* (c. 1489; undoubtedly a mythological scene); the pose of the reclining women in this scene is remarkably similar to that of our Pomona. It recurs later in Lucas van Leyden's *Venus and Cupid* of 1528 (B. 138), and Maarten van Heemskerck's renowned *Venus and Cupid* of 1545 (Cologne, Wallraf-Richartz Museum). The Venetian tradition – popularized by the then legendary Titian in his many depictions of Venus – would have been the greatest impetus for Goltzius to adopt this type in his art, particularly in his paintings. Of course, variants of nudes leaning on an elbow are found earlier in prints by or after Goltzius (particularly in his *Metamorphoses* series). However, they are more emphatically reminiscent of the Venetian type as of his first painting with a female nude, the *Danaë* of 1603 (Los Angeles, County Museum of Art; see fig. 121); see Sluijter 1999, 26-27. With regard to the position of the upper body, the nude in the *Allegory* in the Oeffentliche Kunstsammlung in Basel (1611; see fig. 80) is an immediate precursor of Pomona; cf. also a drawing of *Venus Spied upon by a Satyr* (Vienna, Albertina; Reznicek 1961, cat. no. 124).

23 It is worth recalling that, according to Van Mander, Goltzius brought back from Italy the "sweet gracefulness" (soete gracelijckheyt) of Raphael, the "natural fleshiness" (eyghen vleeschachticheyt) of Correggio, the "plastic highlights and deep-retiring, rubbed back shadows" (uytstekende hooghselen en afwijckende diepselen) of Titian and the "beautiful silks and skilfully painted things" (schoon sijdeckens en wel gheschilderde dinghen) of Veronese and other Venetian masters (Van Mander, *Leven*, 285v); with this enumeration Van Mander would seem to have had the paintings of female nudity in mind. See also note 22 above.

24 This suggestion that the reclining nude is turning outward, away from a figure angled behind her, had earlier been depicted with greater emphasis by Goltzius in his *Antiope* (1612; see fig. 124), whereby the confrontation with the nude body (in a subject dealing more explicitly with lust) has an even more immediate, almost shocking character – an aspect Goltzius tempered somewhat in his painting of Pomona. Incidentally, the great compositional affinity between Goltzius' *Vertumnus and Pomona* and Rubens' *Jupiter as Diana with Callisto* of 1613 (Kassel, Gemäldegalerie) is worth noting here. The placement in the picture plane, the position of both figures in relation to each other, and the arrangement along a single dominating diagonal are very similar. However, the elliptical undulating movement so beautifully uniting Rubens' figures – and remaining entirely 'inside' the picture space – clearly demonstrates the difference between the brilliant young artist in the process of creating something new, and the old artist daring to experiment with new compositional principles.

25 Noteworthy is that in the illustrations by Salomon, Solis and Tempesta, the stick is also positioned such that it seems to indicate the figure's actual gender. In Goltzius' second version of *Vertumnus and Pomona* (fig. 59), Vertumnus has placed the stick between Pomona's legs, while she casually holds a conspicuously large sickle.

26 On the frequent emblematic use of the image of the tree and the vine (beginning with Alciati), as well as the symbolism of the vine and the bunch of grapes, see Sluijter 1986, 252-254 (with additional references).

27 For my interpretation of this humorous painting, see Sluijter in this volume, "Venus, Visus and Pictura,"150-153; and Sluijter 1999.

28 This costume is found earlier, for example, in market scenes by Joachim de Beuckelaer with various young women selling fruit and game (for example, see the large market scene in Naples, Museo di Capodimonte; Verbraecken [ed.] 1986, 117). Lastman used exactly the same costume for his flirtatious shepherdesses of 1619 and 1624 (see figs 153 and 155). Parenthetically, Lastman's role with respect to the theme of *Vertumnus and Pomona* is unclear. A painting of this subject by Lastman is mentioned in an eighteenth-century sale (The Hague, 18 May 1785, no. 175, copper 18,9 x 24.3 cm); this could, however, be Tengnagel's painting (measured within the frame).

29 In addition to the position of the figures in the picture plane with a view of the garden at the right, the fact that in the print the conversation is so markedly accentuated with gestures leads one to suspect that it served as a source of inspiration.

30 What at first sight appeared to be an ornament, proved to be – though difficult to discern – clearly recognizable signs of the zodiac. W. Hoeben pointed this out to me during a careful examination of the painting.

31 Naturally, the most common explanation of the myth of Vertumnus and Pomona is that of the changing of the seasons (the many guises of Vertumnus, the god of change in nature. When the couple is finally united, Spring reigns and nature bears its fruits; the old woman stands for Winter). Something along these lines is described in virtually all of the *Metamorphoses* commentaries, with the exception of those by Dell' Anguillara and Van Mander (including the *Ovide Moralisé, Ovidio Vulgare*, Fraunce, Sabinus, Renouard, Du Ryer) (see Sluijter 1986, 243-244). This explanation of the story as a whole cannot, however, be explicitly linked to the image of the conversation between the old woman and Pomona, and says little about the connotations of the depictions thereof. However, in his painting, Tengnagel integrated in a refined fashion the story's most obvious, inherent idea, namely that of the four seasons.

32 For a discussion and reproductions of these *Vertumnus and Pomona* scenes, see note 2 above. Immediate successors of the Tengnagel type include a painting by Adriaen van Nieulandt (Sluijter 1986, fig. 110), and a work attributed to Sybrand van Beest (not in Sluijter 1986). The focus on the old woman attempting to persuade the intently listening (and clothed) Pomona is continued in a drawing by Rembrandt and a series of related paintings from Rembrandt's School (Sluijter 1986, figs. 148-159). One of Abraham Bloemaert's later depictions of this theme, of which Frederik Bloemaert consequently made a print as *Odoratus* (smell) for a series of the *Senses*, also follows Tengnagel's conception (Sluijter 1986, fig. 89). For Bathsheba, see Sluijter 1998d.

33 See Sluijter 1998d. The old woman first appears in seventeenth-century Northern-Netherlandish *Bathsheba* scenes in an etching by Johan Bara of 1603. Van Mander mentions an earlier *Bathsheba* with "an old procuress" (een oude coppelersse) by Frans Badens (Van Mander, *Leven*, 298v).

34 Apart from the many sixteenth-century brothel scenes with old procuresses and prostitutes – beginning with the woodcut by Lucas van Leyden of around 1517 (B. Woodcuts 20) – an old woman speaking to a young woman in a scene *not* based on narrative texts is first found in a 1604 kitchen painting by Pieter van Ryck (Braunschweig, Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum). This scene of an old woman addressing a voluptuous maiden surrounded by rapidly spoiling meat and fowl has much in common with the theme of Vertumnus and Pomona.

35 This is emphatically the case in scenes with numerous vanitas attributes (skulls, hourglasses, etc.), as in paintings by Adriaen van de Venne, Hendrik Pot, Jacob Duck, Pieter Codde and Jan Miense Molenaer. However, even without such explicit emphasis, paintings with this combination still automatically convey notions of transience. See also note 34 above; and Sluijter 1986, 453-454 (notes 119-5, 120-1 and 2) and 251-252, 260-261, 263.

36 That not only Van Mander (see note 33 above), but also Philips Angel refers to "an old, and experienced women in the art of love, or a procuress" (een oude, ende wel-ervaren Vrouwe in de Minnekunst, ofte een Koppelersse) (Angel 1642, 50: in a description of a *Bathsheba* by Lievens) makes it clear how obvious it was to consider the image of such an old woman as a procuress. As there is no mention in the biblical story of how Bathsheba was informed of David's wishes, the inclusion of an old procuress served to visualize how the young woman was persuaded of his love.

37 Naturally, this is primarily based on a passage from the Song of Solomon (4:12, 13, 16): "A garden locked is my sister, my bride...with all choicest fruits...Let my beloved come to his garden, and eat its choicest fruits." For variations by Cats, see Sluijter 1986, 253-254 and accompanying notes.

38 For various examples, see Sluijter 1986, 249-250 and 504. These could be joined by many others, including the dedication to *Apollo* 1615, A3, and the sonnets, 98, 103.

39 This is the only time I have come across an allusion to Vertumnus and Pomona in this context (namely in *Bloemhof* 1608): "Daerom geen soete tijt bequaem/ Laet onbeqaem passeren,/ Daer menich minnaar aengenaem/ U elck om t'seerst begeeren .../ Wanneer het gulden haer vergrauwt/ Toocht geen Pomone wesen,/ Dan sal Vertumnus als verflaut/ Voor t'oude Besien vreesen." The automatic implication in the paintings that the young woman will eventually become like the old woman (Vertumnus) is here humorously incorporated: the suitor/ Vertumnus will no longer pursue his beloved (as he did in the guise of an old hag) when she becomes an old woman.
40 See Sluijter 1986, 249 (with additional references). This emblematic text is no. XLIII in *Liefdes-zinne-beelden* (in Rodenburgh 1619): "Als smeken en ghebeden niet verwerven moghen,/ Als traenen, weenen, zuchten, knaghingh en gheklacht,/ Het hert des Nymph niet ken beweghen tot medoghen/ Iae aengheboden dienste kleenste werdt geacht,/ Gheeft liefde list'ghe raedt aen die ghetrouw beminnen,/ Ghelyck de lievert deed om Pomona te winnen." In this book, the first 60 emblematic texts describe the Petrarchan progress of love, but within a didactic context. This one is incorporated in a series dealing with all of the actions related to the stubbornness and indifference of the beloved and the suitor's perseverance. Rodenburgh's amorous didactics are ultimately concluded in *Houw'lykx Zinnebeelden* (all these emblematic texts were published without *picturae*).
41 In my opinion, neither the allegorical explanations in the real *Metamorphoses* commentaries, including those by Van Mander, do not play any significant role in the interpretation of these paintings of *Vertumnus and Pomona* (see also note 31 above). On these explanations of the Vertumnus and Pomona fable, see Sluijter 1986, 243-245.
42 On the aforementioned paintings, see Sluijter 1986, 54, 62. For the sometimes vehement criticism on the use of mythology, *idem*, 335-339 (Appendix I.5).
43 On this, see Sluijter 1986, 265, 295-312.
44 For my interpretation of Goltzius' approach to female nudity and its erotic effect, see Sluijter in this volume, "Venus, Visus and Pictura."
45 See Schonaeus' dedication of the first print in the so-called *Meesterstukjes* of 1594: "Ut mediis Proteus se transformabat in undis,/ Formose cupido Pomone captus amore:/ Sic varia Princeps Tibi nunc se Goltzius arte,/ Commutat, sculptor mirabilis, atque repertor" (Like Proteus amid the waves, consumed by a covetous love for the beautiful Pomona, assumed various guises, so too does Goltzius, the miraculous engraver and designer, change appearance with his multifaceted artistry, for you, Sire); and Van Mander, *Leven*, 285r (following the account about the "masterpieces" [meesterstukjes]): "All these things mentioned together prove that Goltzius is a rare Proteus or Vertumnus in art, because he can take on different shapes of all possible styles" (Al dees verhaelde dinghen t'samen bewijsen, Goltzium eenen seldsamen Proteus oft Vertumnus te wesen in de Const, met hem in alle ghestalten van handelinghen te connen herscheppen). See also 284r: "...that from his youth he has not only striven to follow beauty, that is the various forms of Nature, but he has also admirably applied himself to imitate the various manners of the best masters" (...dat hy van jongs aen niet alleen en heeft de schoonheyt oft verscheyden ghedaenten der Natueren gesocht nae te volghen: maer heeft oock seer wonderlijck hem ghewent verscheyden handelingen der beste Meesters nae te bootsen).
46 *In Idea de' pittori, scultori e architetti* (1607), quoted in Reznicek 1961, vol. I, 222.
47 See Sluijter in this volume, "Venus, Visus and Pictura," 144-151.
48 For the sentences cited, see note 45 above. This motif is in keeping with the metaphor used by Van Mander concerning the necessary love for Pictura, who is like a beautiful and seductive woman; no effort should be considered too great to reach her (Van Mander, *Grondt*, IV and 2r [Chapter I, 4]; and that, "whosoever neither seriously loves [the art of painting], nor seeks it out, will not find it]" (wiese [de schilderkunst] niet ernstigh bemint, noch en soeckt, die vintse niet) (Van Mander, *Leven*, 143v).
49 For a (in my opinion) related phenomenon in Goltzius' various *Andromeda* scenes, see Sluijter in this volume, "'Metamorphoses'", **xx-xx**.

Notes to Chapter Four

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1 B. 100. The print belongs to a group of engravings by Saenredam published many years later by Robert de Baudous (who evidently acquired a large number of plates from Saenredam's workshop). In addition to a group of prints that had once been published earlier (B. 2-5 and 27 by Saenredam himself; B. 26, 28, 29 and 30 by J. Razet; B. 45-50 and 68 by Goltzius or Saenredam; B. 116-118 only proofs without an address), there are a number of which, just like fig. 66, no earlier printings are known: B. 59-61 (1616) and B. 102 (1615); information provided by Huigen Leeflang. There are also examples of B. 100 (fig. 66) that were undoubtedly printed and published later, with the address of Johannes Jansonius rather than that of De Baudous ("excudit 1616" was left intact).

2 Goltzius and Saenredam collaborated from around 1590 to around 1601. The last date on engravings by Saenredam after designs by Goltzius is 1601; see B. 80, 81-83 and 87-90. On the stylistic affinities with prints and drawings that can be dated around 1600, see notes 23, 81, 82, 83, 120 below and figs. 90-91.
3 The identification of the nude model as Venus is further elaborated in the following paragraph.
4 See notes 53-59 below.
5 Müller Hofstede 1984, 243-289, see 266-268. Raupp 1984, 293-301. More concise discussions of the print are found in Kauffmann 1943, 139-140; Putscher 1971, 165; Gallwitz/Költzsch (eds) 1969, no. 17; Hofmann (ed.) 1987, no. VII, 24 (a totally unfounded interpretation).
6 Raupp's interpretation is considerably less rigid than Müller Hofstede's and displays correspondences with my approach, particularly in the emphasis on the ambivalence with respect to seeing and painting (important observations by Raupp will be referred to in the notes).
7 Müller Hofstede 1984, 267-268.
8 Müller Hofstede 1984, 267: "Sinnaufschliessend sind hier die Flug des Adlers zur Sonne und der Ikarussturz ins Meer rechts im Hintergrund des Stiches." Also curious is Müller Hofstede's belief that Goltzius made the drawing in 1616 and that it was engraved by Saenredam in the same year (p. 266), and that the disposition of the figures in the background was somewhat different in "Goltzius' verschollener Vorzeichnung" (Müller Hofstede 1984, 286, note 229). Nothing is known about a preliminary drawing by Goltzius.
9 Van Mander, *Leven*, 286v: "... in de kennis der Natuere, als natuerlijck Philosooph, niet onervaren."
10 Schrevelius 1648, 380 (kindly mentioned by Huigen Leeflang): "Dese [Goltzius] hebbe ick van alle wetenschap hooren discoureren, behalve van de Musijck, daer inne hy selfs most bekennen onbedreven te wezen. En dit moet ons niet vreemt duncken dewijle wy alle niet alles vermoghen."
11 Tierie 1932, 3-4. Drebbel married Goltzius' sister Sophia in 1595. In 1603 Goltzius and Drebbel bought a house together in the Jansstraat (Reznicek 1961, vol. I, 118, note 2). Furthermore, Drebbel would have learned engraving from Goltzius.
12 See Tierie 1932, 21-25 about Drebbel's friends.
13 "Haec memini nocuisse atque oblectasse videntes." Goltzius had nothing to do with the execution of this caption. There is a proof without a caption, but with the address of De Baudous (Paris, Fondation Custodia; information provided by H. Leeflang), which indicates that the caption was possibly executed at the request of De Baudous. Hence, I am not suggesting that this line reflects Goltzius' own intentions, but only that the unknown author provided a verbal addition which, in my view, appears to agree in several respects with Goltzius' intentions.
14 For a discussion of the series of *The Five Senses* by and after Goltzius, see Veldman 1993, 306-314.
15 On this (and on the significance of the preceding series by Georg Pencz), see primarily Nordenfalk 1985, 135-154.
16 The cat (as a replacement for the medieval lynx) in the two *Visus* prints by A. de Bruyn; the radiant sun in the prints by Cort after Floris, A. de Bruyn and R. Sadeler after M. de Vos. See Nordenfalk 1985, fig. 1a (C. Cort after F. Floris), fig. 6a (A. de Bruyn), fig. 7a (A. de Bruyn), fig. 9a (R. Sadeler after M. de Vos), fig. 10a (P. Cool after M. de Vos), fig. 12a (A. Collaert after M. de Vos), fig. 14a (A. Collaert after M. de Vos), fig. 16a (M. de Bruyn after M. de Vos), fig. 17a (J. de Backer).
17 Nordenfalk 1985, 146-147, figs. 17a-e.
18 Van Mander, *Leven*, 61v: "... she is descended from Narcissus...what could rhyme better with the lovely countenance of this youth reflected in the crystal clear fountain, than an image painted with great artifice, excellently done from life, by the expert hand of an ingenious artful painter?" (datse haer afcomst heeft van Narcisso...wat mach beter rijmen op de schoon gestaltenis deses Jongelings in de Cristallinige clare fonteyne schaduwende, dan een constich geschildert Beelt uytnemende wel na t'leven gedaen, van een geleerde hant eens Const-rijcken Schilders?). These lines are based on a passage in Alberti's *De Pictura*, which Van Mander probably adopted from Rivius' German version of 1547 (see Miedema 1981, annotations of 61v, lines 27-37). The passage was even quoted later by Van Hoogstraten (Van Hoogstraten 1678, 25). Van Mander himself added: "I myself wonder as I am writing, how appropriate this is, finding that our art already [is] a reflection of true nature, and comparable to the semblance of being" (Ic verwondere my self al schrijvende, hoe wel dit te pas comt, bevindende onse Const alree een schaduwe van t'rechte wesen, en den schijn van het zijn vergeleken).
19 B. (Goltzius) 1. Georg Pencz depicted the sun, the moon and the stars in the window in the background of his *Visus* print (B. 106).
20 Nordenfalk 1985, fig. 21.
21 B. (Saenredam) 95-99. On Goltzius' drawings, see Reznicek 1961, nos. 167-171.
22 A clear interaction was already present in Van Noort's invention: the man embraces Tactus, who kisses him, accepts a wine bowl from Gustus, and looks into a mirror held up by Visus.
23 Reznicek gives a date of around 1600 (Reznicek 1961, no. 173, fig. 346). The pose of the left arm is very close, while the hand and the position of the fingers are identical.
24 B. (Amman) 5.4. Visus holds the mirror in one hand, and spectacles in the other. Hollstein 513 (C. de Passe the Elder): in addition to the hand mirror and eagle, an armillary sphere, spectacles and two masks now surround the woman, while in the background are an amorous

couple, a stage with actors and spectators, and dancing figures.
25 Compare the doves, for example in B. (Saenredam) 57 (fig. 102), 63, 66 (all representing Venus and Cupid).
26 Müller Hofstede does not explain why he identifies the left figure as an astrologer and the right one as an astronomer. For him, the astrologer is, naturally, the symbol of "übel beleumundeten Pseudo-Gelehrsamkeit" and "Torheit" (referring to the known examples of astrologers in Sebastian Brant's *Narrenschiff*, Andrea Alciati's emblem "In Astrologus" and Joris Hoefnagel's monkey as an astrologer). Accordingly, because of the astrologer, the other scholar must also be designated "in malo" (Müller Hofstede 1984, 267-268, and notes 227, 228). While Raupp calls both figures astronomers, he also sees them as "Sterngucker", referring to De Jongh 1976, no. 15, in which the same examples mentioned by Müller Hofstede were earlier noted.
27 See Mout 1982, 161-189. Mout demonstrated that the arcane sciences, including astrology, were an integral part of the humanistic universe and enjoyed a rebirth at the court of Rudolf II. Goltzius' brother-in-law, Cornelis Drebbel, who was active for some time in Prague, in addition to being an inventor and alchemist, professed to be a practicing *magus* (Mout 1982, 179).
28 B. (Goltzius) 205. For an earlier portrait of Van Deventer, see B. (Goltzius) 204.
29 See B. (Drebbel) 6 (*Geometry*; measuring the globe with a compass and the astrolabe) and 7 (*Astronomy*, holding an armillary sphere). The attitude to these sciences in the captions is unreservedly positive. For the armillary sphere and measuring the globe in representations of the Liberal Arts, see B. (Saenredam) 10 and B. (Anonymous after Goltzius) 17. Compare also, for example, the *Geometry* and *Astronomy* by C. Cort after F. Floris (Van de Velde 1975, figs. 275, 276).
30 Van de Velde 1975, fig. 74 (the armillary sphere as the only attribute of Intelligentia); Sambucus 1564, 74.
31 For the various readings of this painting (none of them satisfactory), see Ten Doesschate-Chu (ed.) 1987, no. 35.
32 B. (Saenredam) 74. See also Goltzius' drawing, Reznicek 1961, no. 114, fig. 282. That "die typenmässige Gestaltung" of the scholars is equally no argument for viewing them in a negative light appears also from this representation of the children of Jupiter, in which the assembled scholars wear similar attire and head coverings and have little beards.
33 Veldman 1986, 195-224.
34 Virtually identical sundials and sun clocks are found in the *Astronomy* by Cornelis Cort after Frans Floris (Van de Velde 1975, fig. 276).
35 B. (Clock) 1 (*Visus*). Goltzius also depicted the sun and the moon on the chest of the much later *Astronomy* (B. [Drebbel] 7) in a similar fashion.
36 Raupp 1984, 295: "...eine komische Figur von der Rederijkersbühne...Der Arzt der im 17. Jahrhundert als *pisbesiender* gemalt wurde, ist stets der betrügerische Scharlatan und Quacksalber" (with a reference to De Jongh 1976, nos. 30, 59, 61, 63).
37 Van de Velde 1975, fig. 283 (P. Galle after F. Floris, *Panacea*); Reznicek 1961, no. 162 (*Panacea*).
38 Veldman 1980, fig. 26.
39 Amman/Sachs 1568 (ed. 1973), 17.
40 B. (Anonymous after Goltzius) 12-15. In the first print, with the doctor as a 'divine' figure, who looks at the urinal.
41 Vaenius 1607, 146. Doctors also appear in three other emblems in this book, always with a urinal and none in a negative context (110, 114, 118). Müller Hofstede cites the above-mentioned emblem precisely to illustrate the low standing of the doctor (see also Müller Hofstede 1977, 55). However, the motto ("Cuique suum studium") and the text of the emblem emphatically place the occupations "the painter, craftsman, poet, and doctor" (Den schilder, ambachtsman, Poeet, en Medecijn), on a single line under the heading "honor through diligence" (eer door vlijt), which everyone must seek in their own fashion.
42 B. (Saenredam) 114. Should uroscopy already have evoked generally negative associations at the time (Raupp), it would be truly remarkable for the urinal to have been depicted as one of the attributes of the doctor in this portrait, amply provided with pretentious symbolism.
43 Royalton-Kisch 1988, no. 36.
44 Tierie 1932, 17, note 3. This was passed on to Peiresc by Kauffler, Drebbel's son-in-law and assistant: "... d'invention, qui procedoient de la vivacité de son esprit, sans ayde ny lecture de livres qui'il a tousjours mesprisé, tenant pour maxime que la verité et l'excellence des sciences consiste en la cognoissance des secretz de la nature, dans laquelle elles sont toutes, et qui'il estoit desja fort avancé en aage, qui'il n'entendoit point de latin en ne le scavoit pas parler, et il l'a apris de luy mesme sans qu'aucun le luy aye enseigné. Il vit tout à faict en filosofe, ne se soucie que des observations...." I think that in this context one cannot justify forwarding yet again the opinion of the approximately one generation older Coornhert (from *Zedekunst dat is Wellevenskunste*, 1589), that knowledge gained from observation is not true knowledge (a point of view greatly emphasized by Miedema and also cited by Raupp and Müller Hofstede).
45 Here, the motif referring to geometry (measuring the globe) is in the service of astronomy (this is a celestial globe). The incorporation of all of these references to astronomy is understandable both from the notion that the sun, moon and stars were already attributes of Visus, and the fact that the established attribute of Visus, the eagle, could also be connected with astronomy (see the above-mentioned prints of *Astronomy* by Cort after Floris, in which the eagle serves as the animal attribute, and of the *Children of Jupiter* by Saenredam after Goltzius (fig. 81) with astronomers/mathematicians under the wings of the eagle).
46 Veldman 1977, 115 ff.
47 B. (Saenredam) 78. See also the drawing: Reznicek 1961, no. 146, fig. 284.
48 See the engraving by Harman Jansz Muller after M. van Heemskerck and the woodcut by H.S. Beham or G. Pencz. In the latter, the painter, the doctor and the astronomers are grouped together in the left middle ground (Veldman 1980, figs. 26 and 32 respectively).
49 Van Mander, *Wtlegghingh*, 127r: "... de rede en t'licht, dat tot de kennisse der dinghen aenleydet." See note 193 below.
50 Van Mander, *Wtbeeldinge*, 133v.
51 Reznicek 1961, nos. 195, 196, 197, figs. 354, 355, 428.
52 Van Mander, *Wtbeeldinge*, 131r: "eenen veerdighen snellen geest." Noteworthy in this respect is Van Mander's mentioning that Goltzius was called "the Jupiter of art" (den Juppiter in de Const); Van Mander, *Leven*, 284r.
53 R. 196; Visscher 1614, 97 (vol. 2, no. XXXVI; motto: "Without equal" ["Ane Weergaey"], Pers 1614, no. XII; motto: "It is not given to everyone" ['T is een yder niet gegeven]).
54 Van Mander, *Grondt*, Chapter 13, 14. Van Mander is referring to Pliny's description. For Pliny's text mentioning that the phoenix has gold-coloured feathers around the neck, see Van Mander/Miedema 1973, vol. 2, 611.
55 Van Mander, *Wtbeeldinge*, 131r: "men ghelijckt by desen Vogel oock de Sonne."
56 *Ibid.*: "The phoenix stands for excellence: one also tends to call excellent men of learning or art Phoenix, because they are singular, and have no equal" (Met den Phoenix wort verstaen d'uytnementheyt: oock pleeghtmen uytnemende Mannen in Gheleertheyt oft Const te heeten Phoenix, om datmen maer eenen, oft zijns gelijck niet en vindt). Roemer Visscher: "... indicating such learned or artful men, who excel or surpass all others...in the work that belongs to their profession" (... geduydt op sulcke gheleerde ofte konstrijcke mannen, die daer exelleren ofte uyt-munten boven alle andere...in het werck daer zy professie af doen). Pers: "A learned man is a rare bird" (Een geleert Man is een seltsaem voghel).
57 Van Mander, *Grondt*, Chapter 7, 47 (see also Van Mander/Miedema 1973, vol. 2, 528-529): "..., end' hem doen kennen,/ Voor eenighen Phoenix met goltsche pennen,/ En wat metael sal t'eenich golt niet wijcken,/ Ofte wat licht d'eenighe Sonne ghelijcken,/ Dien hy eenich is toeghewijdt bequame,/ En draeght van den Victory-boom den name." (the Greek word *phoinix* means palmtree, the symbol of victory). And see note 54 above.
58 B. (Goltzius) 172. See also the bird's head in the cartouche above the other portrait of Goltzius by Matham (B. 23), which should also perhaps be understood as phoenix. The 1628 etching by Jan van de Velde (?) after Goltzius (B. [Anonymous after Goltzius] 92) of *Unequal Lovers* in the style of Lucas van Leyden, in which the same phoenix's head and the monogram HG can be seen at the right under a shield, should also be mentioned. Ampzing 1628, 355. Gerbier even referred to Goltzius/Phoenix three times; see Hirschmann 1920, 113, 114 and 117.
59 B. 171 (Huigen Leeflang brought this print to my attention). The bird's head in grandfather Jan Goltz's seal should probably not be seen as an eagle (Reznicek 1961, vol. 1, 47), but as phoenix. Precisely the golden feathers (see note 53), also mentioned in this connection by Van Mander (see note 56), could have been the reason that phoenix already served as an emblem of the Goltz family.
60 See note 18 above.
61 P. Rubens and J. Brueghel I, *Allegory of Sight*, dated 1617, Madrid, Prado, inv. no. 1394 and *idem*, *Allegory of Sight and Smell*, *c.* 1617-18, Madrid, Prado, inv. no. 1403.
62 Widely diverging exceptions include the painter executing a portrait at the left in a workshop in the print by H. Collaert after J. Stradanus (*Color Olivi*), no. 14 in the series *Nova Reperta*; the curious drawing by Marcus Geeraerts of a painter rendering a woman with a compass and globe, while Mercury – standing behind the easel – taps him on his head with his caduceus and his wife and children pull at him; and, naturally, Dürer's prints in his *Unterweysungen* (Gallwitz/Költzsch [eds] 1969, nos. 20, 23, 40, 41).
63 Van Heemskerck's work, which originally hung in the Haarlem St Bavo, was in the Prinsenhof, next to the Haarlem Town Hall, as of 1581.
64 Ampzing 1628, 355-356: "... op een ladder daer by klimmende by sijn leven menigmael quam besien, betuygende dat hy sich in 't gesicht van de selve niet en konde versadigen." Ampzing added this passage to the biography of Van Heemskerck which was taken from Van Mander.
65 On this print, see Van de Velde 1985, 127-134 (fig. 6).
66 B. 113. See Raupp 1984, 193-200 (Die Kopfwendung als Attribut der "Pictura").
67 Van de Velde 1985, 131.
68 See also note 1573 below. Cupid is constantly present in portrayels of Apelles and Campaspe to indicate that Apelles is in love (one of the best-known representations of this is Primaticcio's fresco in Fontainebleau and the print after it: B. [Master IOV] 2).
69 Müller Hofstede 1984, 267 (referring chiefly to representations of monkeys with spectacles) and Raupp 1984, 297. Raupp allows the possibility of an ambivalent meaning: an art-theoretically positive and a morally negative significance of the spectacles.
70 See note 24 above.
71 Raupp 1984, 297, believes that the resemblance to St Luke (his age, the spectacles) points to a morally negative meaning: "... anstelle der Göttesmutter malt dieser Künstler eine heidnische Liebesgöttin."

72 Van Mander, *Leven*, 80r/v: "In excellent art, this Venus would have surpassed even the aforementioned: but this was his ultimate achievement, that which he practiced with the brush: because, death did not allow him to finish it: as if nature could no longer bear to yield in beauty to the dead paints"(Dese Venus soude in uytnemende Const noch de eerste overtroffen hebben: maer dit was zijn uyterste macht, die hy met de Pinceel heeft geoeffent: dan de Doot liet niet toe dat hy 't voleynden mocht: gelijck of Natuere niet langer lijden woude, in schoonheyt te moeten wijcken de doode verwen...). Van Mander adds that through his work, however, Apelles has overcome death; because he could give life to dead paint, so his name has been kept alive and become immortal.

73 See Sluijter in this volume, "In Praise of the Art of Painting," 211-212. Ripa/Pers 1644, 258 (Konst/Arte [= art]): "... that art is shown as aged" (...dat de Konst bedaeght wort afgebeelt), because of the necessary experience; and 374 (Disegno/Ontwerp, Schets [= design]): "... because often one will only be able to convey this knowledge of the subject perfectly at the height of old age" (... om datmen dickwijls dese kennisse van 't ontwerp nimmermeer volmaekt krijght, als op 't laeste van d'Ouderdoom). Angel 1642, 26 suggests (in his *paragone* discussion) that "an old and experienced artist, would be able to make his best works, while a sculptor cannot" (een oudt en wel-ervaren Konstenaer, wanneer hy het beste aen den dach soude brenghen).

74 Müller Hofstede 1984, 267.

75 Van Mander, *Wtbeeldinge*, 133v: "... but it [the mirror] traditionally stands for falseness, displaying only the semblance of true essence, but not truth itself: for what is to the right it shows to the left, and what is left to the right" (...doch wort hy [de spiegel] van outs gehouden voor valsheyt, vertoonende slechs den schijn van t'waer wesen, maer de waerheyt selfs niet: want al wat rechts is, toont hy op slincks, en wat slincks is, rechts).

76 Raupp 1984, 297 already noted that there is a considerable difference between the angle of the painter's gaze and the angle at which the figure is represented on the panel, by which a contrast with the fleeting reflection is emphasised.

77 Van Hoogstraten 1678, 275 (see also Alpers 1983, 58-59). Following the familiar anecdote about Giorgione's nude, who is reflected from three sides, he adds: "Something similar is shown in a print by Goltzius, where Venus kneeling, is shown in a mirror, as well as on the panel of a painter, who is painting her" (Van Goltzius gaet ook iet dergelijx in print uit, daer Venus, geknielt zittende, van gelijken in een spiegel, als meede in het tafereel van een Schilder, die haer afmaelt, vertoont wort). Precisely because the "Giorgione anecdote," which was so well-known from the *paragone* discussion, mentions the three different views of the body (from the front, the back and the side), I think it unlikely that this was Goltzius' intention.

78 This terminology is derived from Van Mander, *Leven*, 61v (see note 18 above), who used it in a comparison between a mirror image and a painting.

79 Raupp 1984, 300-301: "Dieses Spannungsverhältnis von Spiegelbild und künstlerischem Abbild gehört zu den wichtigsten Momenten für das Verständnis von Goltzius' *visus*-Allegorie. Ihren Kern bilden die zwei Arten visueller Mimesis, die sowohl ihrer Kunsttheoretischen wie in ihrer moralischen Bedeutung augelegt werden." A good discussion of the comparison between the image of the painting and the image of the mirror in the literature on Italian art is: De Vecchi 1990, 63-70 (about Alberti, Leonardo, Paolo Pino). Compare note 18 above (Van Mander's version of Alberti's account concerning Narcissus' reflection as the origin of the art of painting).

80 Gillis Coignet's painting of 1579 (fig. 89) could have been seen and copied in a drawing by Cornelis Cornelisz, who studied with Coignet for a year or two before 1581-82. On Titian's composition (*c.* 1552-55; Washington, National Gallery) and the various versions, variants and copies, see Wethey 1975, 68-70, nos. 51-53 and L. 24-27. Wethey assumes that Coignet's painting is a copy of a lost variant from Titian's workshop (*idem*, no. L. 26). Because of the cupid looking at the viewer, Coignet's painting most resembles another lost version that Van Dyck copied in his Italian sketchbook (*idem*, L. 27, fig. 126), which, however, has two cupids. The version copied by Rubens concerns yet another lost example with two cupids, in which Venus is more clothed (*idem*, fig. 132). Another example with a single cupid (though not looking out from the image) is in a print by Lucas Vorsterman (*idem*, fig. 215). Compare also no. 131 (with a single cupid).

81 Reznicek 1961, no. 77, fig. 364, dated 1602, and B. (Matham) 115. Given the great stylistic similarity, the *Allegory of Visus* (B. 100; fig. 66) could not have originated much earlier than the *Mary Magdalene*. Stylistic comparison of the two prints is complicated by the fact that they are by two different engravers. Precisely those elements in Mary Magdalene's pose which deviate from that of the Venus in the *Allegory of Visus* – the more frontal stance of the upper body and the position of Mary Magdalene's arms (with one hand on the breastbone, the other extending to the hip) – correspond with Titian's variation on the classical *Venus pudica* pose in his Venus before a mirror mentioned above. Naturally, Goltzius was also familiar with the classical "pudica" pose from his own observation (compare Reznicek 1961, nos. 247, 248, figs. 180, 181), yet he appears here to have been more inspired by Titian's variant. The suggestion that the kneeling *Venus Doidalsas* was a classical source for the pose of Goltzius' Venus in the *Allegory of Visus* (Raupp 1984, 294), is untenable. With respect to the upper body, the *Venus Felix* drawn by Goltzius (Reznicek 1961, nos. 210, 211, figs. 155, 166), is closer to the Venus in his *Allegory of Visus*. Goltzius relied on a famous composition by Titian for earlier representations of biblical beauties: *Susanna* (1583; B. 12) and *Mary Magdalene* (1582; B. 57), are inspired by Cornelis Cort's engraving of *Mary Magdalene* after Titian.

82 Reznicek 1961, no. 368, fig. 391, dates it to around 1605, but without argumentation. The drawing, however, could well have been made a few years earlier. Goltzius had used this kind of inclined profile previously, for instance in a *Minerva* (Reznicek 1961, no. 137, fig. 274, about 1596; see also B. [Saenredam] 56) and a *Venus and Cupid* (Reznicek 1961, no. 122, fig. 279, second half of the 1590s; see also B. [Saenredam] 68; fig. 106). Given the greater stylization of form and the proportions of the face and neck, both clearly originated a few years earlier than the Venus in the *Allegory of Visus* (B. 100; fig. 66). Moreover, the model for Cupid's face appears to have been a portrait drawing of a boy's head from around 1600 (Reznicek 1961, no. 380, fig. 294).

83 Reznicek 1961, no. 173, fig. 346, about 1600 (*Visus*). Compare Reznicek 1961, no. 120, fig. 302 (*Venus and Cupid*), second half of the 1590s (our fig. 92); Reznicek 1961, no. 427, fig. 395, (*Nymph*) dated 1605. Compare also the *Helen*, dated 1615 (our fig. 93), and the *Mary Magdalene*, dated 1610, New Haven (CT), J. M. Montias Collection, both reproduced in Stechow 1970, figs. 10 and 11.

84 The attribution was made by Benesch. An attribution to Jacob Matham appears untenable (see Van Luttervelt *et al.* 1955, no. 517).

85 Louis de Caullery, *Venus, Ceres, Bacchus and the Five Senses*, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no. A 1956; Van Thiel *et al.* 1976, p. 165.

86 C. de Passe II, Hollstein, vol. 16, 143, in Heyns (1617). For the date (1617), see Meeus 1991, 127-143, esp. 132.

87 Hooft/Porteman 1983, 36-40.

88 Venus is the goddess most cited by Van Mander in his mentions of works of art in the *Leven* (see Miedema 1981, 220). Later, she is also the most frequently mentioned goddess in Leiden inventories, for example (see Fock 1990, vol. 5a, 20).

89 Jan Gossaert, *Venus/Vanitas*, Rovigo, Accademia dei Concordi. On this painting, see Silver 1986, 32-33, fig. 32.

90 Jacob de Backer, *Venus and Cupid* (with an old woman holding a mirror above Venus' head, masks on the ground and Troy burning in the background), Paris, Private Coll. (ill. in *Wallraf-Richartz Jahrbuch* 35 [1975], 243, fig. 18). Pieter Isaacsz, *Venus/Vanitas*, dated 1600, Basel, Oeffentliche Kunstsammlung, inv. no. 370; see Ten Doesschate-Chu (ed.) 1987, no. 49. This is a paraphrase of Titian's reclining Venus with a young man playing a lute. Isaacsz found it necessary to add putti conspicuously blowing bubbles, a peacock feather fan, a mirror and – redundantly – a paper with the word "vanitas". The added arms of Mars here also refer to Venus' seductive powers.

91 Sluijter 1988c, 150-161 and Sluijter 1988d, 146-163 (with additional literature). The painting by Van Bijlert (not in the above-mentioned articles) shows a Venus (with Cupid) looking in a mirror and an old woman who stands behind her looking on (Troyes, Musée des Beaux-Arts).

92 Goodman 1983, 426-442. The image of a woman with a mirror could even be used in emblematic representations for "Bellezza feminile" (Ripa) or "Pulchritudo foeminea" (Peacham); *idem*, 436.

93 Sluijter 1986, 275-277. Many typical examples can be added to those cited in Sluijter 1986.

94 Van Mander, *Grondt*, Chapter 6, 26: "Men bevonde des begeerlijkcheyts legher/ te wesen de ooghen."

95 Nordenfalk 1985, 138, and his notes 28, 29, 36.

96 "Ne forsan splendens rerum te fallat imago,/ Inycias oculis frena pudica tuis" (To prevent the glittering semblance of things from deceiving your eyes, keep your eyes under control with chaste reins).

97 "Viderat Actaeon non sana mente Dianam/ Seu fors illa fuit, seu magis illecebrae/ Visus habet crimen (quam multos perdidit ille!)/ Compescat fraenis hunc nisi Cura suis."

98 "Dum male lascivi nimium cohibentur ocelli,/ In vitium praeceps stulta iuventa ruit."

99 Sluijter 1986, 171-178, 275-277.

100 On the representations of Actaeon and Paris, see *idem*, 168-187, 210-224 and 278-280. On Susanna and Bathsheba, the most popular representations of nudes, respectively, see Sluijter 1993a, 38-46, and Sluijter 1998d, *passim*.

101 On this, see Sluijter 1986, 270-275. A number of citations can be added to those in Sluijter 1986. For example, with respect to the late sixteenth century, see H. Bastingius, *Verclaringhe op den Catechismus der Christelijcker Religie*, 1594 (ed. F.L. Rutgers 1893), 618: "... the dishonest paintings of unseemly, damaging acts, in which women and men are represented naked: while nature, common decency, and God's holy word teach and affirm that this is improper and very damaging. It is true that they utter no words, but in their own way they do speak loudly, through the eyes (the windows of the heart), which thus let in all sinfulness" (... de oneerlicke Schilderien, van ombehoorlicke schadelicke daden: waerin Vrouwen, ende Mans naect voorgestelt werden: daer nochtans de nature, gemeene eerbaerheyt, ende Gods H. woort leeren, ende betuygen, sulcx ombetamelic, ende seer schadelic te zijn. Tis waer sy en spreken geen woorden, maer op haer maniere spreken sy wel luyde, door de oogen [de vensteren des herten] ende brengen daer door alle onreynicheyt inne). Several other new examples are cited in Kosten 1988). For the quotes cited in this sentence, "voetsel van qua'e lust en fieltsche sotterny" and "Verleyd-ster van 't gesicht," see Camphuyzen ed. 1647, 3 and 215 (see the Introduction in this volume, 11-12).

102 This was repeated extensively by the counter-reformatory scholar Molanus (Louvain 1570); see Freedberg 1971, 241. On the relevant passages in Erasmus' *Christiani matrimonii institutio*, see also Panofsky 1969, 209-212.

103 "Men doet een naeckte vrouw sich tusschen minnaers baden/ Tot kancker van goe seen' en schoubaer oogh-fenijn/ En dat sal noch Susann', een kuyssche vrouwe sijn;" and "En om door geyl vermaack de oogen te gerijven/ Soo stelt gy mans en wijfs met moeder naackte lijven." The quotes are from "Tegen 't Geestig-dom der Schilder-konst, Straf-Rymen. Ofte anders Idolelenchus." This long poem, a translation of Geesteranus' "Idolelenchus," was first included in *Stichtelycke Rijmen*, Rotterdam 1644 (quoted from the Amsterdam 1647 ed., 215-230, the quotes on pp. 218 and 225). The first edition of 1624, 176, however, already included the poem "Aen I.G. over zyn Idolelenchus of Beelden-straf," in which Camphuyzen expresses his full agreement with Geesteranus' poem and praises him for his courage in criticizing the so very popular art of painting. Of course, Camphuyzen's vehemence is unusual and springs from a specific milieu; nevertheless, it is the most fiery – and therefore the clearest – expression of a frequently occurring thought which would have been generally known.
104 Van Mander, *Grondt*, Chapter 13, 16: "The colors in youthful human figures,/ particularly in women, wondrously arouse desire./ The heart of many a one swims in a sea of pleasure,/ Who when looking thinks that the Graces play on the mouths, cheeks, and sweet eyes of women,/ For whom many a brave hero in fierce wars has succumbed/ Through which the power of color is evidenced" (De verwen in jeuchdighe Menschen beelden,/ Sonderlingh der Vrouwen, doen wonder pooghen,/ Menichs herte swemt in een Zee van weelden,/ Die siende dunckt of de Gracikens speelden,/ Aen monden, wanghen, en lieflijcke ooghen/ Der Vrouwen, om welcker in fell' oorloghen/ Menich stout Heldt den hals heeft moeten buyghen,/ Waer uyt der Verwen cracht is te betuyghen). For the reference to Paris, see note 150 below.
105 "Thou should, nevertheless, avoid lecherous images,/ Painted for the people in the service of pleasure:/ All that the bold brush extracts from empty heads/ Has taunted many an eye and tarnished many a heart:/ To paint in detail the downfall of Loth or David,/ Causes – I do not know how – the lascivious senses to stray;/ A bull, a traitorous swan, which violates young maidens,/ Has frequently impressed lust upon the minds of youth" (Gy des al niet te min vermijdt de geyle beelden,/ Geschildert voor het volck ten dienste van de weelden:/ Al wat het stout pinceel uyt lugten hoofde treckt/ Heeft menig oog getergt, en menig hert bevleckt:/ Een Loth, of Davids val ten nausten af te maelen,/ Doet ick en weet niet hoe, de losse sinnen dwaelen;/ Een stier, een valsche swaen, die jonge maegden schent,/ Heeft dickmael aen de jeugt de lusten ingeprent). Cats 1625 (quoted from Cats ed. 1712, 387).
106 *Idem*, 388: "En laet dan oock de kunst u geensins hier bewegen,/ Want even in de kunst daer is het quaet gelegen;/ Hoe dat in dit geval de schilder hooger sweeft/ Hoe dat hy dieper quetst, en harder nepen geeft;/ Hoe dat hy naeder weet het leven uyt te drucken,/ Hoe dat hy verder kan de gansche tochten rucken/ Tot ick en weet niet wat, gewis de beste geest/ Doet hier het slimste quaet en hindert aldermeest."
107 Freedberg 1971, 229-245. Molanus' tirade (Louvain 1570) is largely based on passages from Erasmus' *Christiani matrimonii institutio* (see note 102 above).
108 "Venus, Cupido en sulcken ghespuys/ Naeckt in de cameren te hanghen..."; "Maer dat sij Cupido met sijnen schichte,/ Lucretia, Venus oft een haer nichte,/ In haer cameren stellen puer moeder naeckt,/ Dwelck tot onsuverheden mach trecken lichte;" Bijns/Bogaers/Van den Helten 1975, 106, 118, 124. See also Freedberg 1982, 133-153.
109 "Der ghedachten molen drayt onophoudelyck. Werpt daar inne het kaf der schilderijen vande naackte Venus, wat magh zy anders malen dan vierighe onkuysheyd, brandende begheerten ende heete minne?;" and "Brengt in 't gedacht een schone Venus naakt/ Wat zal 't doch malen dan onkuise brand?/ Blust dezen vonk, eer gij in vlammen raakt!/ Dit vierig beeld wast uit met snelder hand,/ Maakt vast verbonden met uw verstand,/ Dat het uw oog van lust afkeert,/ Want lusts aanzien teelt kwa begeert." The first quote is from Coornhert 1589 (ed. 1942), 31. The second one is cited in Brom 1957, 90.
110 "... wat maelt gy sulcke leden/ Die reden en natuer te decken ons gebien,/ En voedt onkuyschen brant in 't hert der jonge liên'?/ In naeckten is by u de meeste konst gelegen./ Maer waerom is uw hert tot God niet meer genegen?;" Ampzing 1628, 375. On Goltzius, see 360-364.
111 Such criticism was voiced by various reformatory movements as well as the counter-reformatory side. Thus, it would appear to have had validity, certainly in religious circles.
112 Bredero/Minderaa/Zaalberg 1984, 247. See also Sluijter 1986, 208, 272. Bredero exchanged Terence's Jupiter and Danaë (see note 203 below), for the subjects mentioned here.
113 *Nova Poemata* 1624, 111 (in the section "Clucht-refereynen"). The earliest known edition is the third one of 1624.
114 For an extensive analysis of one of these poems (with references to others), see Porteman 1986, 301-318. See also Sluijter 1986, 272-274.
115 On the perception of the image as 'living' when it arouses sexual feelings, see Freedberg 1989, Chapter 12. "Arousal by image", *passim*. The motif of 'error', of inadvertently mistaking the image as real/living, recurs in virtually all of the poems on nude representations said to arouse lust. Naturally, the topos of the artistic image as being real or living had a long tradition in poems on images. However, the way it was used in these poems makes it clear that it was more than a cliché and indicates an essential aspect of looking at such pictures – namely bringing them to life through sight while simultaneously realizing that they are but paint – which arouses a sexual response. For example, Jan Vos' poem (Vos 1726, 336) on a "A Cimon and Ephigenia by Bakker at A. van Bassen's" (Cimon en Efigenia van Bakker bij A. van Bassen): "Van Bassen, stand firm; the nymph that you see sleeping,/ Has not been created by the brush, but by nature /... She burns us now that she is asleep; but if she were to awaken/ She would reduce us to ashes: because the eye inflames the heart" (Van Bassen hou toch standt; de Nimf die gy ziet slaepen,/ Is niet door 't groot penseel, maar door Natuur geschapen /... Zy brandt ons nu zy slaapt; indien zy wakker wardt/ Zo maakt z'ons heel tot asch: want 't oog ontsteekt het hart). Or Vondel in a poem on "Bleker's triumphant Venus painted for his Majesty" (Blekers triomfeerende Venus geschildert voor zijn Hoogheit) (Vondel, vol. 8, 639), in which Venus 'adresses' to the princess, saying: "Should my nudity with its lively rays/ Pierce His Majesty's heart, this will not cause your heart pain./ Because he who has no hold on paint and life's semblance,/ Will, incited by glowing heat, take revenge upon you" (Indien myn naecktheit met haer levendige stralen/ Zijn Hoogheits hart doorstrael', dat maecke uw hart geen pijn:/ Want die geen vatten vint aen verf en levens schijn,/ Zal, aengeterght van gloet, zyn wraeck op u verhalen). See also notes 118, 167, 189, 190, 199 below.
116 Bredero/Stuiveling *et al.* (eds) 1983, vol. 2, 140. On this, see also notes 158-160 below.
117 Van Thiel 1983, 128-195, no. 6, fig. 14. Compare also, for example, a *Venus* by Moreelse, who laughingly turns to the viewer and spurts her "venus milk" out of the picture, as it were (dated 1628, present location unknown, photograph at the RKD). Guercino included a cupid aiming his arrow at the viewer two decades later in a *Venus, Mars and Cupid*, dated 1633, Washington, National Gallery of Art.
118 Naturally, something like this would only rarely have been written down; only Sir Dudley Carleton's statement concerning a *Susanna* by Rubens (see note 186 below) and the playful poems by Vos and Vondel give us some idea. Unfortunately, I know of no Dutch utterances like Aretino's to Federigo Gonzaga warmly recommending a *Venus* by Sansovino and giving assurances that she would fill all who looked at her with desire (Verheyen 1966, 183). Also relevant is Ludovico Dolce's opinion of Venus in Titian's *Venus and Adonis*: "I swear...that there is not to be found a man...who seeing it would not believe it to be alive; nobody so chilled by the years, or so hard of constitution, would not feel warmed, touched and feel his blood move in his veins...if a marble statue [of Venus] could so stimulate with its beauty, penetrating the marrow of a young man, that he left a stain, now what would he do before this which is of flesh, which is beauty itself, which seems to breathe?" (cited in Valcanover *et al.* 1990-91, 267). See also note 203 below (Giovanni della Casa on Titian's *Danaë*).
119 See the disquisition on this by the famous English doctor A. Laurentius (1599), cited in Veenstra 1968, 147 and 107-109 (to the effect that love penetrates through the eyes, moves through the veins to the liver where it arouses a burning desire).
120 Reznicek 1961, no. 11, fig. 345, dated shortly before 1600; furthermore *idem*, no. 10, fig. 288 and B. (Saenredam) 40, dated 1597 (our fig. 99). See also B. (Saenredam) 15, after A. Bloemaert (in this print from a series of four engravings of *Adam and Eve in Paradise*, the cat is present only in *The Fall*, near Eve), and B. (Saenredam) 35, after Cornelis Cornelisz (compare also Cornelis' painting of *The Fall*, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, with a cat and a monkey embracing one another). In these representations of Adam and Eve, the cat lying in the foreground undoubtedly also refers to sensual seduction. Compare, for example, the pronounced inclusion of a cat in the foreground in one of the *Lascivie* by Agostino Carracci (B. 136; our fig. 126). On the cat as an attribute of a whore, see Renger 1970, 130; see also De Jongh 1968-69), 47. The word "kat", or cat, could also indicate a loose woman (*WNT*, vol. 8, 1783), as could "poes", or pussy cat. Incidentally, the word "poes" can stand for female genitals (not as a metaphor, but as an independent word with its own origins and used as such in the seventeenth century, see *WTN*, vol. 12, 2989).
121 Unlike in the earlier paintings of *Venus and Cupid* by Gossaert (1521; Rotterdam, Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen), Van Heemskerck (1545; Cologne, Wallraf-Richartz-Museum) and Blocklandt (Prague, Narodni Museum), the first two of which bear moralizing texts.
122 With respect to prints after Goltzius: B. (Saenredam), 57 (our fig. 102); B. (Saenredam) 63 (our fig. 101) with the Judgement of Paris in the background; B. (Matham) 295 (our fig. 100); B. (Matham) 161 (our fig. 103), with the Judgement of Paris in the background; see also Reznicek 1961, no. 123, fig. 320, not engraved.
123 B. (Saenredam) 66; B. (Goltzius) 257. See also B. (Matham) 25.
124 For example, B. (Saenredam) 68 (also under B. [Matham] 161): "Aligero magnas armata Cupidine vires/ Cypris habet, summos nec timet illa Deos" (Armed with the winged Cupid, the Cyprian [Venus] has great power and fears not the most powerful of the gods). B. (Saenredam) 51: "Quid non designat munita Cupidine Cypris/ Cui coeli virtus, dementaque cuneta ministrant" (What can the Cyprian [Venus] not bring to pass armed with Cupid. She who has power over heaven and who is served by all of the elements). B. (Anonymous after Goltzius) 26: "Quam perfecta Venus quam pulchra sit omnibus illi/ partibus effigies ista tabella docet./ Hinc ea quod cunctis sit amabilis atque petita/ Non mirum nato non alinea diis." (How perfect Venus is and how beautiful her image is on all sides, is shown in this representation. Therefore it is no wonder

that she is loved by all, and sought after by her son and is no stranger among the gods). It should be noted that the Cyprian Venus was perceived as the goddess of earthly sensual love.

125 B. (Saenredam) 77. Caption: "Accendo iuvenum curas ego mater amoris,/ Adiuvat et natus vibrans sua tela Cupido" (I, the mother of love, cause the torments of love among the young, and my son Cupid helps by shooting his arrows).

126 Van Mander, *Wtbeeldinge*, 126v: "die Venus in onkuyshyt dienen, worden gebloot van rijckdom en eere."

127 Van Mander, *Wtlegghingh*, 28v-31r. Van Mander states that: "Having described this diversity, it is still the most common view..." and then goes on to tell about Venus of Cythera, born from the sea, and of Cyprus, the one of earthly love (30r). And finally as the "natuerlijke", or natural, explanation (31r): "Ultimately, Venus is no more than the hidden desire and lust, who ensures procreation" (Eyndlijck nu, Venus en is niet anders als de verborgen begeerlijckheyt en lust', die zorgdraagt voor de voortplanting).

128 Van Mander, *Wtlegghingh*, 29v, also mentions (disapprovingly) a number of these expressions: "Hence, [ranking] among other things the filthy sin of unchasteness or adultery is called Venus' work or the work of a heavenly goddess, and the adulterers, whores and scoundrels, Venus' children, Venus' animals and urchins" (Alsoo dat onder ander de vuyl zonde der onkuysheyt, oft des overspels, wort Venus werck oft t'werck van een Hemelsche Godinne geheeten, en de overspelers, hoeren en boeven, Venus kinderen, Venus dieren en wichten).

129 Raupp 1984, 297: "... Bild des Malers...der nicht nur *imitator* von *bellezza* und *grazia* ist, sonder auch von *voluptas* und *luxuria*."

130 Van Mander, *Grondt*, Chapter 1, 3, 4, 13; *Leven*, 143v, 268v (on these passages, see Van Mander/Miedema 1973, vol. 2, 357 and 365). See also the dedication *iiir, where painting is presented as the collector Wijntgis' dear girlfriend.

131 Van Mander, *Leven*, 268v, 274r/v. See also 143v (the biography of Da Udine): "Painting is almost like a beautiful woman, who is very jealous of her admirers and followers" (De Schilder-const is genoech gelijck een schoon Vrouwe, die over haer Liefhebbers oft naevolgers seer jeloers is); 239v (the biography of Frans Floris): "Frans being passionately in love with art" (Frans op de Const vlijtich verliefd wesende).

132 Van Mander, *Leven*, 274r.

133 In this can perhaps be seen an allusion to the erotic features in many of Spranger's works. On eroticism in Spanger's work, see DaCosta Kaufmann 1985, 29-46.

134 The print's inscription reads "Amor Fucatus", the caption: "Nectar in ore sapit, latet imo in corde Venenum,/ Dum subit, & blando syrmate fallit Amor./ Sic laruis tegitur facies: sic fucus inumbrat/ Corvora: sic resonas Vox imitatur odas." (In the mouth it tastes like nectar, but poison is concealed deep within, when Amor creeps up and deceptively administers his purgative. Thus his face is covered with masks, thus his body is sprinkled with white powder, thus does he imitate melodious sounds).

135 In the biography of Hans von Aachen, Van Mander (*Leven*, 289r) talks about "the lovely food for the eyes, the beautiful Pictura" (den liefflijcken ooghen-cost, de schoon Pictura) who entertains princes and highly placed persons. More likely is illustrated here a similar thought, which almost as a matter of course seems to lead to a fusion of Pictura and Venus.

136 Signed Fridrich Moll and dated 1612 (private coll. Bryn Mawr, Penn.), mentioned by DaCosta Kaufmann 1982, 119-149, note 44.

137 DaCosta Kaufmann 1982, 123-130. See also notes 146-149 below.

138 Van Mander, *Wtlegghingh*, 29v: "born from the foam of the sea, who had Cupid with Mercury" (gheteelt van t'schuym van der Zee, welcke by Mercurio hadde Cupido), and 30v: "because eloquence is befitting of love: this is why Mercury is called the companion of the Graces, and Cupid Mercury's son" (om dat de welsprekentheyt in de liefde voeghlijck is: daerom wordt Mercurius haer gheselle onder de Gratien geheeten, en Cupido Mercurii soon). On Venus and Mercury, see also note 148 below.

139 Van Gelder 1975, 117-119.

140 Van Mander, *Wtbeeldinge*, 126v: "de Roos die haest vergaet, beteyckent den wellust der liefden, die haest vergaet," and *idem*, *Wtlegghingh*, 30r: "Sy [Venus] wort gemaeckt met een Perel-moeder oft schulp in de handt."

141 Hooft/Porteman 1983, 36-40. The print was attributed to Pieter Serwouters by H. van de Waal.

142 Compare Hooft/Porteman 1983, 37-39. The laurel into which the chaste Daphne was transformed became the attribute of Apollo and therefore of poetry. Placing Venus on the pedestal under Pictura – as her 'attribute'- refers, it seems to me, to Pictura's 'entertaining' role as a charming 'seductress of the eyes' and as Venus' 'accomplice'.

143 The drawing by Aegidius Sadeler, in which the subject of the painting is unidentifiable, is in the Printroom of Leiden University.

144 Compare also the large painting by Jan Brueghel I and Rubens of an art cabinet, with an allegory of Sight (simultaneously an allegory of Pictura, in this case combined with Smell on the left side), in which the *Judgement of Paris* is the most remarkable painting and set above the rest: J. Brueghel I and P.P. Rubens, Madrid, Prado. Müller Hofstede 1984, 275-277, also interpreted this scene of Paris "in malo", as the vain and foolish "Glötzen", which stood for the reprehensible voluptuousness of the senses. One would have to be wearing highly distorting lenses, indeed, to see Rubens' representation of the *Judgement of Paris* – the most striking picture in this allegory and specially invented and painted in by Rubens himself – as a strict didactic moralization and as displaying an art form meant to be negatively viewed (see also Sluijter 1986, 219 note 6). In my view, also in this case, it functions primarily as a model of what Visus and Pictura together are capable of in selecting and representing that which is most beautiful (and in which showing the body from all sides – as an extension of the *paragone* debate – plays a role). Other representations of art cabinets in which the Judgement of Paris occupies a significant place include: Gonzales Cocques, The Hague, Mauritshuis and Frans Francken II, Mannheim, Reiss-Museum.

145 Sluijter 1986, 210-224, esp. 218-220, and 278.

146 In itself the caduceus can be understood as a symbol of the power of eloquence (Valeriano Bolzani 1611, 157). The caduceus is the preferred attribute of rhetoric in illustrations of the Liberal Arts (for example, B. [Drebbel after Goltzius] 4). In the caption *Mercury and his Children* (B. [Saenredam] 78; our fig. 117), Mercury is emphatically presented as the god of eloquence and of the arts: "The charm of my eloquent tongue is my recommendation to the gods and I teach primitive mortals the arts." (Me Dys commendat facundae gratia linguae,/ Et varias rudibus monstro mortalibus artes). That Mercury and his caduceus held special meaning for Goltzius is evident not only from his device and this painting, but from other works as well (see notes 148 and 193 below). His posthumous portrait by Matham (B. 22) is flanked by *Disegno* on one side and Mercury as the representative of *Spirito* (written above his head) on the other. On Mercury's role as patron of the arts and as the ideal of the 'eloquent' artist in representations of the arts in the Rudolphine circle see DaCosta Kaufmann 1982. To see Mercury as representing practice (De Jongh 1971, 161), or conversely as the theory of painting (Levy 1985, 170-171), does not seem entirely proper in my view.

147 DaCosta Kaufmann 1982, 130 and fig. 8; and Peter-Raupp 1980, vol. 2, 225 (see also vol. 1, no. C 10). The artist is known only from this drawing (Cologne, Wallraf-Richartz-Museum). DaCosta Kaufmann read the signature as Roseau, however, Rozlau is probably the correct reading (see the catalogue mentioned above). See also the article by Peter-Raupp (1980, 224-225) for a few interesting German seventeenth-century drawings in which erotic inspiration on the part of the artist plays a role.

148 A "Mercury and Venus" is mentioned in an inventory of 1669 (Hirschmann 1916, no. 50). For this subject, compare the print by Jan Muller (after Spranger), *Mercury and Venus* (B. 68), in which the inscription refers to Mercury as god of seductive eloquence in the service of Venus, as well as to Paris' selection of Venus: "As Bacchus' rummers lead to Venus' stealthy deeds, so too does the eloquent tongue with its song. The model of this art is the Cyllenic messenger, as [Mount] Ida [the place where the Judgement of Paris took place] has experienced, eternal through its living waters" (Ad Veneris furtum faciunt ut pocula Bacchi,/ Sic facit et plectro lingua diserto suo./ Exemplum est huius cursor Cyllenus artis,/ Ut nouit viuis Ida perennis aquis). On Mercury and Venus, see also notes 136-138 above.

149 E. de Jongh interpreted this drawing as the Calumny of Apelles (De Jongh 1971, 161-165); a representation I fail to see in it. For a comparable placement of Venus and Juno, see De Passe's prints (1602) in his *Metamorphoses* series (Sluijter 1986, fig. 17) and the drawing by Hans Speckaert (Vienna, Albertina; ill. in De Bosque 1985, p. 224), chiefly in the animated poses of the goddesses. In this regard, see also the print by C. Galle after Aegidius Sadeler (our fig. 112). Perhaps the apple (presently a white spot in an, in my opinion, extended hand), once had a now lost red or gold glaze (whereby the subject would have been easier to identify). On this point, however, I am not entirely sure. Albert Blankert believes it to be a study with no specific subject (verbal communication).

150 Van Mander, *Grondt*, Chapter 1, 61-63: "Sy oordelen meest met Paris ten dwaesten,/ t'Schilders Houwlijck is veel van sulcker moden,/ Schoonheyt ghelijckt haren sin wel ten naesten, /...). See Sluijter 1986, 168 and 211.

151 Van Mander, *Leven*, 77r.

152 Van Mander, *Leven*, 79r: "Maer alsoo Apelles de volmaeckte schoonheyt eens Menschen lichaems en gedaente eender schoonder Vrouwen beter kende als Alexander, soo werdt hy met oncuysscher liefden te crachtelijcker bestreden en verwonnen, in haer stadich aen te sien alsoo hy met schilderen doende was." On the source, see Van Mander/Miedema 1977, under 79r: "et voyant qu'Apelle mesmes se trouva frappé du mesme dart qui'il estoit, il la luy donna."

153 For example, the paintings by Joos van Winghe in which Cupid triumphantly holds up an arrow (Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, nos. 950 and 951). In a probably Flemish drawing from the beginning of the seventeenth century, a figure of Minerva tries to stop Cupid from shooting his arrow (Düsseldorf, Kunst-museum, no. F.P. 4811; Raupp 1984, fig. 96). See also note 68 above.

154 Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet, no. 1939:18, Boon 1978, no. 327. Boon retains the old attribution to Pieter Isaacsz, though with great reservations. In Raupp 1984, 196, fig. 97, it is attributed to Werner van den Valckert. This attribution is appealing, primarily given the fact that the painter's face displays a certain likeness with Van den Valckert's self-portraits (see Van Thiel 1983, figs. 12 and 41). However, there are insufficient stylistic grounds for determining whether this drawing is by his hand.

155 Jan Wierix, in the series compiled by Hieronymus Cock and Domenicus Lampsonius entitled *Pictorum Effigies*, which appeared in 1572 (Raupp 1984, 18-23).

156 For example Pieter Codde, *Self-Portrait before the Easel* (with Venus and Cupid), Rotterdam, Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen; Adriaan van der Werff, *Self-Portrait with a Painting of his Wife as Venus*, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum; Frans van Mieris II, *The Three Generations* (Venus and Cupid on the easel), Leiden, Lakenhal. See also Van Hoogstraten 1678, where in the title print of the second book ("Polymnia") the painter is shown rendering Venus and Cupid.
157 B. (Saenredam) 78. On the drawing, see Reznicek 1961, no. 146, fig. 284. For the pose of Venus and Cupid, compare primarily B. (Anonymous after Goltzius) 26 and Reznicek 1961, no. 122, fig. 279 (engraved by Saenredam, B. 68; our fig. 106).
158 See note 116 above. The reason for inventing this scene is undoubtedly related to the transition from the preceding part, the *Amoureus liedt-boeck*, to the *Aendachtigh liedt-boeck*. It certainly does not seem correct to call the print "Die Bekehrung des Gerbrand Adriaensz Brederoo" (Raupp 1984, 287-288, fig. 178, following J. Emmens). See Van Thiel in: Stuiveling *et al.* (eds) 1983, 109-111. See also note 160.
159 Bredero 1622, frontispiece of *Aendachtigh Liedt-boeck*: "Wanneer de mensch bedenckt sijn Ydelheit met leet,/ En leent demoedig 't oor der Deugden heilge leering,/ Hy Venus oorloff geeft, en 's weerelds prael vertreed/ En offert dankbaer Gode het wierook van bekeering."
160 I disagree with Van Thiel's interpretation (see note 158) that there is no question of denouncing the art of painting in this scene. According to Van Thiel, painting, together with poetry, stands for the virtuous (religious) artistic endeavors of the painter/poet. First, the position of the easel in the picture makes it more than clear that the man is turning away from it, and the fleeing Venus is surely meant as the "model" for the nude on the easel. Second, the nude on the easel is not a Mary Magdalene (there is nothing in her pose indicating either prayer or atonement and there is no evidence of an ointment jar near her; instead she holds a large wineglass to her lips). The skull at the lower left transforms her into the ultimate image of transient beauty and temptation. It is precisely the art of painting that is presented as the representative of amorous and seductive amusements and of vanity in general, or: "Painting is the foolish mother of all vanities" ('t Malen is der ydelheen algemeyne malle Moer) and "Seductress of sight ... spellbound by all that is transient" (Verleyd-ster van 't gezicht dat sich verstaart op 't sterffelijck) (see the Introduction in this volume, 11-12).
161 Van Mander, *Leven*, 203v. See Waterschoot 1986, 148.
162 Becker 1972-73, 123. On the fact that erotic stimulation from the image is coupled with seeing it as 'living': see note 115 above.
163 Van de Venne 1623, 60. In the margin: "The eyes [are] a sweet temptation" (De ooghen een soeten-aen-lockers): "The eyes of my beloved have captured me/ The eye of my lust has hanged me;/ The eye is a snare that can betray anyone,/ The eye pulls and tempts, and makes me stand still;/ The eye is a site and displayer of pondering,/ The eye is a door and a window of feigning;/ The eye is never satisfied, desire is never sated./ So long as man is involved with art and love" (De oogen van mijn lief die hebben my gevangen/ De ooge van mijn lust die hebben my verhangen;/ De ooge is een strick die yder can verraen,/ De ooge trect en loct, en doet my stille staen;/ De ooge is een post en toonder van gepeynsen,/ De ooge is een deur en venster van het veynsen;/ De oog is noyt vervult, 't gewens is noyt versaet./ Soo lang men met de cunst en min-sucht omme-gaet).
164 *Nova Poemata* 1624, 101-106: "Dus haer boesem blanck ghebaent/ Met twee borstjens wat ghereesen./ Voort de rest van lijf en leen/ Van haer navels soete dopje/ Van haer maeghde bloemens knopje/ Ick verswijge hier om reen." This poem is signed by a certain I. de Neeff, an Amsterdammer enrolled in the Faculty of Arts at Leiden in 1608 and 1609 (see *idem*, introduction by J. Becker, 9).
165 *Nova Poemata* 1624, 183-186. A girl "from the guild of loose women" (vande gilde) asks the painter to paint her from life. She recounts that she once also had had a glass engraver, "He was a pouncer but you are a rubber" (Dat was een stoter maer ghy zijt een wrijver), whose tool was much stiffer, "For he depicted me twice in a single hour/.../He also made me wet with his paint/ So that my shirt stuck between my legs" (Want hy conterfeyte my eens tweemael in een uyr/.../Hy maeckte my also nat met zijn pintuer/ Dat my 't hemt cleefde tusschen mijn bien). She was, however, pleased with the painter, "For I have a liking for your painting/ And no master has ever been able to capture me so well ["mij geraken" can mean "capture my likeness", but also "bang me"]/ After life as you did in this hour/ And no matter how you rubbed I never heard my cloth [canvas/ skirt] rustle/ So softly and nicely did you handle it" (Want ick hebbe in u conterfeyten goede smaecke/ En noyt meester kont my so net geraken/ Naet leven als ghy tot deser stont hebt gedaen/ En hoe ghy wreef noyt hoorde ick mijn doeckjen kraken/ So sacht en fraey cont ghy daer mede ommegaen).
166 Camphuyzen ed. 1647, 224: "Een vleyend oog bedroch, 't welck naackt t'aenschouwen geeft,/ Hoe dat hy is in 't hart die 't maeckt en die het heeft."
167 This is particularly apparent when a clear relationship is established between the immorality of the painter and the immoral model; see note 211 below (Schrevelius' account of Torrentius). The fascination with the fact that the painter had before him an 'immoral' nude model was playfully incorporated into poems, for example by Vos and Vondel. In a poem on a painting of Susanna, Jan Vos wrote (Vos 1726, 330): "In order to make this chaste one appear real, art/ Painted her after Unchastity itself, to be true to life,/ One need not fear the poison of her mind/... / The brush never displays more than physical appearances" (Om deze kuische te doen lyken, heeft de kunst/ Haar naar d'Onkuisheidt zelf gemaalt, om 't eerlyk weezen,/ Men hoeft niet voor 't vergif van haar gemoedt te vreezen/... / 't Penseel vertoont nooit meer dan uiterlyk gelaat). Vondel, too, playfully refers to the relationship between painter and model in a poem on a painting of Susanna (Vondel, vol. 5, 506), and he states that the painter is to blame that the painting rouses the viewer's desire, because, "... he lit his brushes with sunbeams/ From eyes, out of which love appeared to him alive" (... hy zijn penseel ontvonckte aen zonnestralen/ Van oogen, daer de Min hem levende uit verscheen). A certain fascination with the nude model in relation to the portrayal of nudity may also be inferred from the fact that Van Mander found it necessary to remark that Pieter van Vlerick painted a Venus of which, "it was said that as far as the nude was concerned, he helped himself with his wife" (daer men seght, dat hy met het naeckt zijner Huysvrouwen hem hadde beholpen) (*Leven*, 252v). The more naturalistic the image, the more problematic the relationship became, because the 'presence' of the model thus became more intrusive. In 1862, Disdéri described nude photographs as: "those sad nudities which display with a desperate truth all the physical and moral ugliness of the model paid by the session" (quoted by Freedberg 1989, 354). On the fact that nude models frequently were prostitutes and generally considered indecent, see Dudok van Heel 1982, 70-90, and Dudok van Heel 1981, 214-220, in which is described the fact that a painting of Mary Magdalene could be seized in a divorce case to 'prove' a relationship between the owner and the model, the prostitute Maria de la Motte.
168 On this caption, see note 13 above.
169 Hooft/Porteman 1983, 41-45. Ovid's opening verse of the *Ars Amatoria* "Me Venus artificem tenero preafecit Amori" became a popular topos in love and marriage literature and is found, for example, in sophisticated variations in prefaces by Heinsius (who presented himself as both teacher and victim) and Hooft (who serves as Cupid's 'secretary') in their collections of amorous emblems (1601 and 1611, respectively).
170 In Matham's representation of *The Prodigal Son in a Brothel* after Goltzius (B. 173), the bottom section of the bench in the foreground ends in dolphin heads. Images with dolphins on fountains (mostly with Venus and Cupid) in scenes containing references to the arousal of lust, include a *Carousing of the Prodigal Son* by Matham after Pieter van Ryck (B. 196) and representations of *Susanna* by Goltzius (his painting in Douai and B. [Saenredam] 42) and after Cornelis (B. [Matham] 92 and B. [Saenredam] 36).
171 See notes 44 and 109 above.
172 Hooft/Porteman 1983, 47-48.
173 In Goltzius' device, the cherub's head stands primarily for honor. In the metaphors by Ketel described by Van Mander, it connotes both honor/praise (in its most elevated form: Van Mander, *Leven*, 276r), and virtue (Van Mander, *Leven*, 277r).
174 Van Mander, *Leven*, 285v: "alle zijn voorgaende Pen-wercken te boven [soude] gaen."
175 Compare Renger 1976-78, 198 and Kocks 1979, 117. See note 177 below.
176 This phrasing is derived from Van Mander's description (Van Mander, *Grondt*, Chapter 7, 48) of an earlier drawing of the same subject (Reznicek 1961, no. 129, fig. 224): "Vinde-wijn, Gheve-lust, Sorghe verlieser" (Bacchus), "Overvloedt" (Ceres), and "Lust blasende 't vuyr" (Cupid). Compare the captions to the prints of *Sine Cerere...* representations, which are variations on the theme that Venus' power is immeasurable due to the help of her companions Bacchus and Ceres. The artist is able, as it were, to contribute to her power by presenting her seductive beauty (via the highest sense, in contrast to Bacchus and Ceres who serve only the lower senses). Miedema's astonishing suggestion that Ceres and Bacchus should be read as the sacral combination of bread and wine, in other words that the biblical ritual is a condition of heavenly love, conflicts in virtually all respects with the character of Goltzius' *Sine Cerere...* representations; Van Mander/ Miedema 1973, vol. 2, 530.
177 Renger and Kocks incorrectly identified the burins in Goltzius' hand as a compass, which partially led them to the moralizing interpretation (see note 175 above). That these are burins was already observed by Kuznetsov (1972-73, no. 43). Huygen Leeflang kindly drew my attention to this.
178 Respectively dated 1613, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, and 1615, Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum. See Sluijter 1986, 45 and 255-256, and in this volume "Vertumnus and Pomona", 71-85.
179 B. (Goltzius) 15. See the dedication by C. Schonaeus: "Like Proteus amid the waves, consumed by a covetous love for the beautiful Pomona, assumed various guises, so too does Goltzius, the miraculous engraver and designer, change appearance with his multi-faceted artistry, for you, Sire" (Ut mediis Proteus se transformabat in undis,/ Formose cupido Pomone captus amore:/ Sic varia Princeps Tibi nunc se Goltzius arte,/ Commutat, sculptor mirabilis, atque repertor).
180 Van Mander, *Leven*, 285r, following the account of the *Meisterstiche*: "All these things mentioned together prove that Goltzius is a rare Proteus or Vertumnus in art, because he can take on the different shapes of all possible styles" (Al dees verhaelde dinghen t'samen bewijsen, Goltzium eenen seldsamen Proteus oft Vertumnus te wesen in de Const, met hem in alle ghestalten van handelinghen te connen herscheppen). See also 284r: "... that from an early age he has not only striven to follow beauty, that is the various forms of Nature, but he has also admirably applied himself to imitating the various styles of the best masters" (...dat hy van jongs aen niet alleen en heeft de schoonheyt oft

verscheyden gehedaenten der Natueren gesocht nae te volghen: maer heeft oock seer wonderlijck hem ghewent verscheyden handelingen der beste Meesters nae te bootsen). On the significance of this metaphor in connection with Goltzius' art, see Melion 1990.

181 In *Idea de' pittori, scultori e architetti* (1607), quoted in Reznicek 1961, vol. 1, 222.

182 Sluijter 1986, 43-48. Works dated earlier include only the book illustrations, the print by Saenredam after Bloemaert of 1605 (B. 27), the print by Saenredam after his own invention known from a single example, also of 1605 (*Bulletin van het Rijksmuseum* 37 [1989], 103, fig. 4) and a painting by Bloemaert of the late 1590s; see in this volume "Vertumnus and Pomona", 71-85. After Goltzius, it was depicted endlessly and became the most popular mythological subject in the Northern Netherlands (Sluijter 1986, 61-62, 83-86, 109-114, 116-120, 243-264).

183 In the Amsterdam painting, this is emphasized by Vertumnus' familiar overture and the 'witticism' of the stick between Vertumnus' legs and Pomona's terrifying sickle (see Sluijter in this volume, 77-79).

184 See for the quotation, note 180 above. Compare the motif of the lover – inherent to the story and in keeping with the Petrarchan mode – who with unfailing diligence goes to great lengths to conquer the object of his love (on this, see Sluijter 1986, 243-252, and in this volume, p. xx) with Van Mander's warning that should one wish to obtain the alluring Pictura, no efforts are too great (Van Mander, *Grondt*, Chapter 1, 4) and that "he who does not fervently adore [the art of painting], nor seeks it out, will not find it" (wiese [de schilderkunst] niet ernstigh en bemint, noch en soeckt, die vintse niet) (Van Mander, *Leven*, 143v). See also in this volume, 58-59, where it is suggested that Goltzius' illustration of the Andromeda theme contains implicit ideas about the artist and the depiction of beauty.

185 Douai, Musée de la Chartreuse, dated 1607; Vergnet-Ruiz (ed.) 1970, no. 80.

186 McGrath 1984, 84.

187 "Wilt al vrolijcke historien zoecken die in schilderie lieflijck staen." See for the complete text of the letter, Nichols 1993, 98. Naturally, this does not apply to *Susanna and the Elders*, an all too familiar subject that Goltzius could have devised on his own. However, it does say something about a certain preference (see also Sluijter 1986, 290 note 2, and McGrath 1984, 89 note 74: "Presumably he had erotic themes particularly in mind," (a view which seems to me correct).

188 Respectively, *Lot and his Daughters*, dated 1616, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum (see Van Thiel 1989, 124-140); *Venus Spied Upon by a Satyr*, dated 1617 (Brejon de Lavergnée *et al.* 1979, 63, ill.; not *Jupiter and Antiope*, as the painting is still called).

189 Sluijter 1993. On the theme of the 'bringing to life' through seeing, see notes 115 and 167 above. One should also remember Cats' view that the closer the painter comes to nature, the more 'dangerous' a painting becomes (note 106 above). Precisely with respect to nude (erotic) scenes, Van Mander frequently underscores the "as-good-as-real" quality, for instance "a beautiful very lifelike Susanna" (een schoon seer levende Susanna) (Van Mander, *Leven*, 280v, Geldorp Gortzius), "a Danaë...figures like life" (een Danae...beelden als t'leven) (Van Mander, *Leven*, 279v, Ketel), etc. See also the following note, and Dolce on Titian in note 118 above.

190 Van Mander, *Leven*, 286v: "als t'leven,...dit naeckt is wonder vleeschachtig en verheffende geschildert." Compare the terms Van Mander used in connection with (erotic) nudes by Correggio and Titian, for example: "... a nude Leda and...Venus, of such smoothly applied paints, and flesh-like depths, that it appears not to be paint, but living flesh" (... een naeckte Leda en...Venus, van sulck gladdich coloreren, en vleeschige diepselen, dat het geen verwen, maer levende vleesch geleeck te wesen) (Van Mander, *Leven*, 116r); "... a sleeping nude woman, who seems alive" (... een slapende naeckte Vrouw, die schijnt te leven) (Van Mander, *Leven*, 175r). According to Van Mander, Goltzius appears to have fully applied what he had learned in Italy in his first large nude, including "the natural fleshiness of Correggio, then the plastic highlights and deep-retiring, rubbed-back shadows of Titian" (de eyghen vleeschachticheyt van Corregio, dan de uytstekende hooghselen, en afwijckend verdreven diepselen van Tiziaen; Van Mander, *Leven*, 285v). See Sluijter 1999, 26-35.

191 For a discussion of Danaë in Italian and Dutch art, see Sluijter 1999.

192 See above note 156.

193 Van Mander, *Wtbeeldinge*, 127r: "...God of commerce, of profit, and virtually all of the arts...the reason, and the light that leads to the knowledge of things" (...Godt der Coopmanschap, des gewins, en schier van allen Consten...de reden, en 't licht, dat tot kennisse der dingen aenleydet).

194 Nichols 1985, 158.

195 Van Mander, *Wtlegghing*, 39r/v: "... that through riches and gifts...one can do and achieve anything: for undoubtedly Jupiter has charmed and deceived his beloved and her maidservant with lavish gifts of gold:... that cherished and coveted gold quenches everything, and is victorious..." (... dat men door rijckdommen en geschencken...alles uytrichten en te weghe brengen can: want onghetwijffelt Iupitter dees zijn vriendinne en haer Voedster, met groote gaven van goudt heeft becoort, en bedrogen:... dat over al lief en begeerde goudt alles dempt, en overwint...). Van Mander goes on at length that nothing can withstand this and even "stains the pure and steady hearts or chests" (de suyver en stadighe herten of borsten bevleckend) and undermines "shame, virtue, faith, honor and good conscience" (schaemte, deught, trouw, eer en goede Wetten). Van Mander derived this reading from Horologgi's explanation in Dell' Anguillara's translation of *Le metamorfosi di Ovidio* (Venice 1563, ed. 1584, 76). Furthermore, see the emblem, "Quid non pervium?" by Otto van Veen (Vaenius 1607, 126), passages in Houwaert's *Pegasides pleyn* (1582) (Danaë is disgraced through avarice; cited in Sluijter 1986, 331-332) and Rodenburgh 1619, XXXIX ("Seduced by Gold" [Door Goud verleidt]), which make it clear how obvious this explanation was. For a full discussion, see Sluijter 1999.

196 Seeing Danaë as the image of the courtesan would appear to have been obvious (see also note 204 on this page and note 41 on p. 341). Striking in this respect is a sixteenth-century Italian text (cited in Laurer 1987, 158) in which a courtesan extensively compares herself to Danaë, beginning with the words: "Even if sometimes I became infatuated, whoever wanted to have me for his Danae had to rain like Jove into my lap in the form of gold" (English translation from Laurer 1987).

197 On the stereotype of the old procuress who was introduced into countless representations of lovely seductresses without this being called for in the story, and who also embodies transience as well as affording a pictorially interesting contrast, see Sluijter 1986, 119 note 5, 120 notes 1-2, 251-252, 260-261, 263.

198 In addition to an interesting account of the painting's many peregrinations, the representation was interpreted as a moralizing warning in Broos 1990, 243. Moreover, as usual, Van Mander's explanation of the myth is understood as the meaning of the painting. It is also suggested that the painting expresses the "Eer boven Golt" device as a moral, although how this could be remains a mystery to me.

199 Vondel, vol. 5, 496: "On Bleker's Danaë for Sir van Halteren" (Op Bleker Danae voor den Heere van Halteren) and Vondel, vol. 10, 630: "On the same Venus by F. de Koning" (Op de zelve Venus door F. de Koning). In the latter poem there is no confusion between a painting of Danaë and one of Venus, as has often been supposed. It is a painting of Venus, whom Vondel compares to Danaë so that he can present the owner as Jupiter, who is seduced by the *painting*, and for which he is willing to spend a great deal of money: "Behold this delightful work, a living apparition/ of Venus who sleeps here and does not resemble a painting/ nor paint, but rather flesh and blood. Jupiter descends, crazy about the beauty of such perfection,/ not in his own form, but as a shower of gold./ While Zeuxis' clever brush deceives birds,/ Here the chief of the gods is deceived by a painting,/ Hence the art of painting reached its summit" (Bezie dit heerlyk stuk, een levende vertooning/ Van Venus die hier slaept en geen schildry gelykt/ noch verf, maar vleesch en bloet. Jupijn komt neergestegen,/ Verslingerd op het schoon van een volschapenheid./ Niet in zyn eigen schijn, maer als een gouden regen./ Heeft Zeuxis kloek penseel de vogels zelf verleit,/ Hier wort het hoofd der goon door schildery bedrogen,/ Zoo wort de schilderkunst allengs in top voltogen).

200 "Wat sluit geen gouden sleutel open!/ De snoeplust vreest geen scherpe wacht/.../Maer vindt er niets dan verf en doeck." Vondel, vol. 5, 495-496.

201 Van Mander, *Leven*, 72r: "Schilder, Schilder-Const liefhebber, mijnen besonderen goeden vriend." *Het leven der...Italiaensche Schilders* is dedicated to Ferreris. It is noteworthy that in this dedication to this banker, Van Mander compares money and art, concluding the passage with the words: "Anyone who considers money or precious metals of no use, may also deem the Art of Painting small and unworthy..." (Dies isser yemandt, die gheldt, oft de beste metalen onnut oft ondienstigh acht, mach oock de Schilder-const cleen, en onweerdigh achten...).

202 On the not particularly elevated practices of one of Ferreris' Leiden colleagues, Sion Luz, see Versprille 1957, 106-118. In addition to being "a clever but fraudulent businessman," Luz was a "great gentlemen and connoisseur" with an important collection. Van Mander mentions various paintings in both collections. Luz's included Bloemaert's spectacular *Death of the Children of Niobe*.

203 The subject has a long tradition as the model of an immoral representation that arouses lust. In Terence's famous *Eunuchus*, Jupiter and Danaë were mentioned as the subject of a painting that had stimulated a rapist (see Sluijter 1986, 272), which was cited three times by Augustine, repeated by Molanus (Freedberg 1971, 78-243), and later mentioned again by Van Beverwijck and Van Hoogstraten (Sluijter 1986, 272 note 3), to demonstrate the powerful effect of such works. Amusing in this connection is Giovanni della Casa's view of Titian's *Danaë* recorded in a letter to Cardinal Alessandro Farnese of 1544: "...a nude which would bring the devil upon Cardinal San Silvestro; and that which your Most Reverend Lordship saw in the rooms of the Lord Duke of Urbino [the *Venus of Urbino*] is a Theatine nun next to this one" (cited in Valcanover *et al.* 1990-91, 267). For a full discussion, see Sluijter 1999.

204 Van Mander, *Leven*, 279v-280r: "Danaë, die op een schoon cierlijcke bedstede light naeckt met de beenen van een," and "Vroutgen, condt ghy dit aldus maken? Ghy sult den cost wel crijgen." In addition to the scabrous intimation that Danaë was equated with Ketel's wife and both were seen as whores, one can furthermore read that the wife is identified with the maker who earns money with it, as well as with the model who receives money for it ("maken" can mean "cause", "perform"and "to play the role of". This "farce", the peasant sees "thus speculating" (aldus speculerende) the painting as an "Annunciation to the Virgin" (Engelsche groet): Cupid as the angel and Danaë as Mary "with his boorish mind, he left none the wiser" (en trock also met al zijn grof verstandt, even wijs henen). This

second part is a mockery of the late medieval explanations in a Christian theological sense (as, for example, in the *Ovide Moralisé*, where the story is read as an allegory of the immaculate conception), to which Van Mander – and already for more than a half century many with him – was fiercely opposed (Sluijter 1986, 315 and 285 note 1).
205 See in this volume "Metamorphoses", 49-69. On the fact that Goltzius added erotically tinged episodes to the traditional subjects in his designs for the *Metamorphoses* series, see 31-32.
206 Obviously, given the substantial editions of prints (which because of the nature of the medium are always somewhat less compelling than paintings) the concept of art lovers in the case of prints is broader than that for paintings.
207 In the *Künstlerstammbuch* by Gottfridt Müller, dated 1618; Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Kupferstichkabinett, no. 79-A-8 (Van Thiel 1983, no. T2, fig. 19).
208 Freedberg 1989, Chapter 13: "The senses and censorship."
209 See notes 189 and 190 above for several of Van Mander's descriptions of nudes that seem 'alive'.
210 De Roever 1888, 150-151 and Nichols 1993, 98. In a letter of 1605 to Van Weely about a piece "with the pen" that he was working on Goltzius wrote: "... doing so with a lust, which is incited all the more by the slanderers" (... doende met een lust, die mij te meer aangedreven wordt van de clappers), and he advised to "pay no heed to what people say, since my doings are neither dishonest nor contagious; if my detractors do not understand what I do, then they are not worthy of understanding it" (... leyt niet aen wat de luyden seggen, als maer mijn saeck niet oneerlijck noch besmetelycken is; al de snappers en verstaen myn doen niet. Sy syn oock niet werd datsent verstaen). This is predominantly interpreted as relating to the case of the alchemist/swindler Leonard Engelbrecht (Reznicek 1961, vol. 1, 118-119; the relevant archival material is in Bredius 1914). However, I think that it is about his work as an artist. Precisely his mention of "slanderers" in connection with the execution of a work "with the pen" – all of the pen paintings about which we know something (see also Van Mander's descriptions) have to do with scenes with 'mythological' female nudity – could suggest that this slander was fostered by such works. Gerbier also seriously indicts scandal-mongers (Hirschmann 1920, 108-110, 117). Furthermore, see Goltzius' painting of *Mercury with a Palette* (fig. 114) where a personification of slander is emphatically added.
211 See above, note 167, and particularly Schrevelius' remark on Torrentius, a negative image of whom is given in the very first sentence where the painting of nudes from life (even referring to Apelles!) is mentioned: "not the least of painters, Johannes Torrentius was however infamous: he was a second Apelles, as he could paint nude women who presented themselves to him like whores" (Johannes Torrentius is ook onder de Schilders de minste niet geweest, maar infaam: hy was een twede Apelles, als hy naakt Vrouwen mocht schilderen die haar ten toon stelden als Hoeren), a subject he returns to somewhat later as additional proof of Torrentius' godlessness: "... his indecency in painting nude women grew daily, he led an Epicurian life; thereby offending many citizens" (... zijn onkuischeid in naakte Vrouwen schilderen, nam dagelyks toe, hy leide een Epicureus leven; waarin veele Burgers geergerd waren...). See Schrevelius 1648, 445.
212 Bredius 1914, 143. She confesses that she "never had any intimate contact with the other party" (noyt eenige vleeschelyke bekentenisse met haar comparante...heeft gehad) and that everything she had said earlier "in defamation" (tot deffamie), was incited by Claes Thomasz, silversmith, his wife and daughter.
213 Miedema 1976, 266, with reference to Van Mander, *Wtbeeldinge*, 124r, who writes that in ancient times men illustrated the gods nude in order to show that "... the power of the Gods was naked, and visible to all alike, and that they were nude and pure of all misdeed, righteous of heart, and unsullied by deceit and guile, which Man had to imitate and equal" (... de macht der Goden was naeckt, en openbaer voor een yeghelijck, en datse waren bloot en suyver van alle misdaet, oprecht van herten, en onbevleckt van list en bedrogh, waer in de Menschen hun mosten nae bootsen, en ghelijck wesen). While this is an appropriate contemporary justification for the painting of nudity, it is hard to reconcile with the many (mythological) depictions of nudes, which are primarily about inimitable (amorous) (mis)behaviour of the gods. One could also quote a passage discussing the nude in quite a contrary sense (Van Mander, *Wtbeeldinge*, 126v): "Venus was often shown entirely nude: for those who serve Venus in unchastity, are stripped of riches and honor" (Venus was veeltijts heel naect gemaect: want die Venus in onkuysheyt dienen, worden gebloot van rijckdom en eere). All in all, little headway is made with these quotes (see also Sluijter 1986, 281 note 1).
214 This is not so much a classical nymph pose, as Miedema underscores, but rather a classical 'sleep' pose, which was endlessly embroidered upon in the sixteenth and seventeenth century (for the literature, see Miedema 1976, 265, note 22, 23). Naturally, having a model assume a familiar, classical pose seems an obvious thing to do. Think of early nude photography from the mid-nineteenth century, in which nude models were generally placed in poses familiar from famous works of art (including this classical slumbering pose, chiefly referring to Giorgione/Titian). Acceptance was gained by adopting them into a 'canonized' category. This does not necessarily imply that by doing so the erotic function was thus invalidated.
215 For illustrations, see Meiss 1976, figs. 209 ff.
216 Matham's *Venus Spied upon by Satyrs*: B. 17 (our fig. 96) and 193 (after Rottenhammer), Van den Valckert's *Venus Spied Upon by Satyrs*, 1612 (Van Thiel 1983, no. E 6, fig. 7); Matham's *Cimon and Ephigenia*: B. 59, and Goltzius' *Jupiter and Antiope* of 1612 (our fig. 124); see note 186 above. Also the *Sleeping Venus with Satyr* by De Gheyn (*c*. 1603), described by Van Mander (Van Mander, *Leven*, 294v), probably had the same pose.
217 B. (Caraglio) 12. Compare as well the striking similarity in the pose of the head and the arms in Goltzius' later painting of *Jupiter and Antiope*. That Goltzius knew this print is evident from the fact that he included the exceptional theme of Mercury Approaching Herse Lying on a Bed (a scene not described by Ovid in his *Metamorphoses*) in his own *Metamorphoses* illustrations (see Sluijter in this volume, 32 and fig. 15). The same emphasis on the genitals is also evident in other prints in this series: *Jupiter and Antiope* (B. 10), again in a sleeping pose; this print, too, appears to have been a source of inspiration for Goltzius *Vulcan and Ceres* (B. 13) and *Venus and Mars* (B. 15). Apart from Caraglio, a comparable emphasis on the genitals is found in the work of Hans Sebald Beham: *Joseph and the Wife of Potiphar* (B. 14 [II]), *Death and a Sleeping Woman* (B. 146 [I]), *Night* (B. 153 [II]), *A Bathing Woman Looking in a Mirror* (B. 257 [I]) *Three Woman Bathing* (and B. 208 [III]). These are all titillating prints with unchaste women, and are frequently provided with moralizing captions; see also Zerner 1980, 85-90. Compare also the so-called *Satyr Mason* by Carracci (B. 136; our fig. 126; see also note 120 above). It cannot be determined whether Goltzius knew this print. A representation of a nude woman with legs spread open and a satyr holding a plumb line above her genitals is also found in a print by Hieronymus Wierix of 1578, "Mundanus Homo" (kindly brought to my attention by Huigen Leeflang). The verse below refers to the dangers of lecherous women, and begins with the line "Never did man reach the bottom of this loose woman" (Noyt en vondt man den grondt dees lichte vrouwe). Is the motif of the satyr with the plumb line related to lust's plumbless depths?
218 Surprisingly, Reznicek – who was the first to publish the drawing and who was contested by Miedema because he called it an "intimate drawing" – later followed Miedema (Reznicek 1993a, 129, and 1993b, 80). Because of the moralizing text accompanying Beham's *The Night* (see the preceding note), he even supposed that the drawing could best be understood as a moral warning against the libido, and he believed that it "demonstrates that drawing after a live model did not preclude the artist from infusing his invention with allegorical or symbolical meaning."
219 On this phenomenon, see Freedberg 1989, Chapter 1, who refers to the many lofty interpretations of Titian's *Venus of Urbino*. In fact, in such cases it is continually argued that the response was based on purely artistic/intellectual criteria (see also Ost 1981, 129-149). Freedberg points out that the roots of 'neutralizing' sensual nudes through rationalization is found already in Vasari (see also pp. 329-220 and 348). In this light – making them justifiable and respectable via elevated verbalizations – could also be considered the moralizations that accompany the earliest mythological nudes by Gossaert in the form of legends, and which reached a climax in moralizing inscriptions in prints (on this, see McGrath 1984). Such texts are still fairly regularly read as the 'meaning' of the image (by which I do not mean to suggest that they do not contain an aspect of this meaning). That at the time such expressions could even be seen as feeble verbalizations is well expressed by Camphuyzen in his bitterly negative view: "Yet it still has its use [you say]. One can explain [the image],/ One can reveal all of life, name and deed in word,/ But [oh!] what explanation and what praise can safely withstand,/ The things displayed which by their very nature shame the mind?" (Nochtans 't heeft mee (segt gy) sijn nut. Men kan 't uytleggen,/ En leven naem en dat al 't saem doen sien, door seggen./ Maer (och!) wat uytleg en wat lof kan veylig staen,/ By toonsels die 't genmoet uyt eygen aert beschaen?) (Camphuyzen ed. 1647, 224).

Notes to Chapter Five

* This article was published earlier in Dutch in P. van den Brink (ed.), *Het gedroomde land. Pastorale schilderkunst in de 17de eeuw in Holland*, Utrecht/Zwolle 1993, 33-57.

1 B. 91 (Anonymous after Goltzius). Published by Jacob Matham (and later once again by Jodocus Hondius; Matham may also have been the engraver). The form and structure of the faces and limbs of the figures indicate a date shortly after 1600 and before around 1606. Compare the maid in the 1603 drawing of *The Fat Kitchen* with the female figure in this print (Reznicek 1961, fig. 369).
2 In Alison McNeil Kettering's outstanding book – the first and only standard work on pastoral representations in the Netherlands, a study that obviously served as the point of departure for this essay (1983) – emphasis is placed on the 'Utrecht' depiction of shepherds and shepherdesses emerging around 1620 and the simultaneous rise of narrative representations (from *Il Pastor Fido* and *Granida*). Because the limited number of earlier prints and paintings with non-narrative pastoral idylls of an entirely different nature was less adequately addressed, full attention is devoted to them in this essay. To be sure, most of the pastoral images extensively analyzed here are also briefly discussed in Kettering's book (mainly in Chapter 6), due to her omission of a chronological structure no insight is gained into the earliest development of the theme in the Netherlands.
3 In reading Marion Leesberg's study on Karel van Mander's relationship with Goltzius, an article that appeared simultaneously with this essay, I realized that

while trying to gain insight into the earliest history of the pastoral representations in the Netherlands, I had neglected a painting by Van Mander, namely the *Arcadian Landscape with Shepherds Making Music*, dated 1596 (Munich, Wittelsbacher Ausgleichsfonds), (Leesberg 1993, 420-422, fig. 302). In the foreground of Van Mander's landscape is a shepherd playing a bagpipe and a shepherdess singing, with at either side a standing and a sitting shepherd listening, while at the left is another seated shepherd couple playing a flute and a harp. It is a true pastoral scene dating somewhat earlier than the *Coridon and Silvia* invention after Goltzius. My argumentation, however, is not fundamentally affected by the omission of this painting, as Goltzius' invention remains the first representation concentrating entirely on an amorous pastoral couple. Moreover, the types and poses of the shepherds in Van Mander's landscape correspond entirely with those of the figures in the woodcuts that Goltzius made at the same time for Van Mander's translation of Virgil's *Bucolics* and *Georgics*, which appeared in 1597 (see note 25 below). As Leesberg also supposed, Goltzius must have been the inventor of these types which were adopted by Van Mander (see, among others, the relationship with the already earlier illustrated biblical shepherds by Goltzius in figs. 129 and 130, and the shepherds in his drawn landscape of 1593 in Chatsworth, mentioned in note 30 below). It is obvious that in making this painting, Van Mander was directly inspired by Virgil's *Eclogues*. Notable, however, is Van Mander's addition of shepherdesses making music with the shepherds – an element not found in the *Eclogues*, in which the women are only sung of and not physically present. In introducing shepherdesses as the companions of the Arcadian shepherd, Van Mander anticipated Goltzius' invention.

4 In the *Eclogues* II and VII, both strongly inspired by Theocritus' *Idylls*. For an analysis of the *Idylls* by Theocritus and the *Eclogues* by Virgil, see Kegel-Brinkgreve 1990, Chapters 1 and 3.

5 On Silvia, see also note 38 below.

6 The first pastoral songs appeared in *Bloem-hof* 1608. When a shepherd in these songs bears a name, it is Corydon; his lover is Lydia in one instance (5) and for the rest is anonymous and called a "nymph" or "field-goddess" (velt-goddin) (26).

7 *Cupido's lust-hof* 1613, 27, 111, 149. The songs in which Corydon and Silvia occur almost always have a marked erotic character. Evidently, it was so obvious that they were a couple who requited each other's love that in a song in *Minne-plicht ende kuysheyts-kamp* (Amsterdam 1625), a lamenting shepherd named Damon sings, "Oh, if only I were Corydon being loved by Silvia" (Och was ick Corydon van Silvia ghevrijt) (in the "Geestige Liedjes", unpaginated).

8 In two prints of a shepherd and a shepherdess after Jan van Bijlert are found the names of Corydon and Silvia (McNeil Kettering 1983, figs. 44 and 45); in Bloemaert's 1628 painting of a shepherdess with a letter can be read a part of Corydon's lament about Silvia fleeing from him (McNeil Kettering 1983, fig. 107); in a painting by Jan van Bijlert a singing shepherd and shepherdess hold a sheet of music with the words: "Macht Coridon/ an Silvia" (McNeil Kettering 1983, 58; and McNeil Kettering 1977, fig. 13); and finally there is the shepherd couple (by Crispijn de Passe II), with which begins *Le miroir des plus belles courtisanes de ce temps* (Amsterdam 1630) with the names of Corydon and Silvia (McNeil Kettering 1983, fig. 48).

9 Genesis 4:2: "And again, she bore his brother Abel. Now Abel was a keeper of sheep and Cain a tiller of the ground." On the many references to Abel in late medieval pastoral literature, see Cooper 1977, 71, 90, 139, 159.

10 Luke 2:6-20. On the Annunciation to and Adoration of the Shepherds in the late medieval pastoral tradition, see Cooper 1977, 4, 91, 107, 114.

11 Cooper 1977, 50-55, on the medieval conventions both in the description and illustration of shepherds; the trousers, boots or a sort of legging these shepherds wear under their tunics had now disappeared, however. The tunics itself, like the bagpipe and naturally the shepherd's staff remained fixed attributes.

12 Compare, for instance, an *Adoration* by Jan Muller after Bartholomeus Spranger (B. 65) and various Annunciations and Adorations by Wtewael, where shepherds with related attire (and also female companions), are frequently encountered adorned with a wide-brimmed hat and sometimes with very loosely draped clothing (Lowenthal 1986, nos. A 6-9, 17, 41, 42 and cat. no. 56). This is clearly a more classical type than the far more boorish shepherds in the many Adorations by the Bassani (on this, see also McNeil Ketttering 1983, 41), which in other respects were certainly important for Joachim Wtewael's compositions (the latter type is found in Dirck Barendsz large 1565 *Adoration*, Gouda, Catharinagasthuis).

13 Hollstein, vol. 2, no. 4. The print is engraved after an altarpiece of 1612 (Paris, Musée du Louvre; Roethlisberger 1992, 156-164).

14 Jacopo Sannazaro (the author of the first pastoral novel in the vernacular) did something similar in a religious poem in Latin in *De Partu Virginis* (1526), where the shepherds were called Lycidas and Aegon (also derived from Virgil). Their song paraphrases the fourth *Eclogue*, which was long seen as a prefiguration of the coming of Christ (Rosand 1988, 63). See also Cooper 1977, 4, 107, 191, on what she calls "Nativity eclogues".

15 Smits-Veldt 1989, *passim*, and especially 392 and 396-397. For instance, in addition to large quantities of erotic-pastoral poetry, Krul also wrote religious pastoral poetry. A somewhat comparable phenomenon is the "Shepherd's song" (Harder-liet) by Revius, which is an emulation of Daifilo's song in Hooft's *Granida*, and in which one of the shepherds of Bethlehem sings of God's birth.

16 "Felices animae, custodia fida bidentum,/ Seu fueris Corydon, seu Meliboeus eras!/ Vosque ô felices Galataea et parva Amarylli,/ Ternaque turba comes, Bucula, Aselle, Canis!/ Vos primi, humanas Lapsum vidistis in oras/ Straminea infantem crate iacere Deum./ Vos primi, venerati hominemque Deumque fuistis./ Quis nolit simili pascere nocte greges?" (Contented souls, faithful guardians of sheep, you Corydon, or you Meliboeus, and you, too, happy Galatea and small Amaryllis, and you too, the threesome that accompanies you, little cow, donkey and dog! You were the first to see the child who descended from above to the domain of man, the God lying in a reed basket. You were also the first to worship the God and the man. Who would not wish to tend the flock in such a night?).

17 See Kegel-Brinkgreve 1990, 317-340 for an analysis and a characterization of Sannazaro's *Arcadia* (first published in 1502). Already in the foreword in this first pastoral novel, Sannazaro makes a direct connection via the flute of Virgil's Corydon, which he is about to play, with the bucolic tradition of Virgil's *Eclogues* (Kegel-Brinkgreve 1990, 316-317).

18 *Metamorphoses*, Book I, 682-712.

19 See the illustrations by Bernard Salomon (1557), Virgil Solis (1563), Antonio Tempesta (*c.* 1585?), Hendrick Goltzius (1589) and Pieter van der Borcht (1591). On this see Sluijter 1989, 114-125, esp. 122-123.

20 This is a print of 1583 engraved by Goltzius himself (B. 157) and a print by an anonymous engraver after an invention in Goltzius' *Metamorphoses* series (no. 17 in the first series of 20, engraved in 1589). On this series, see Sluijter in this volume, "'Metamorphoses'", 23-47, and figs. 32 and 34.

21 Ovid/Florianus 1566 (ed. 1619); first illustrated edition Antwerp 1566. In the meantime, five editions of this translation had appeared in 1600, which would be the only one until 1643, and then reprinted various times until 1650 (see Sluijter 1986, 306-312 and 341, with additional references). Fol. 16v (ed. 1619): "and...made his pipe of it" (ende...er sijn pijpken af maecte), rather than: "and so the pipes, made of unequal reeds fitted together by a joining of wax" (atque ita disparibus calamis conpagine cerae/ inter se iunctis...) (*Metamorphoses*, Book I, 711).

22 In the countless later seventeenth-century prints and paintings of this subject, Mercury is rarely, if ever, shown with a syrinx. All of the artists, thus, followed the traditional pictorial imagery rather than the original text (on this subject, see Sluijter 1986, 63-66 and 106-109). Curiously, even in all of the illustrations of *Midas Judging the Musical Competition with Apollo* (except Tempesta's) Pan has a simple flute; this is also the case in the illustrations by Goltzius and Karel van Mander of this scene. Only in a few later paintings, for instance a late work by Bloemaert, a painting by Lastman and a work attributed to Moeyaert do we find a syrinx (on this subject, see Sluijter 1986, 56-60).

23 *Metamorphoses*, Book II, 679-707, line 682: "a pipe made of seven unequal reeds" (dispar septenis fistula cannis).

24 *Metamorphoses* series (anonymous after Goltzius), second series, no. 16; engraved in 1590. In a very early work by Cornelis van Poelenburch (Florence, Galleria degli Uffizi), which at first sight seems to be a purely pastoral scene with one of the rare instances of a shepherd playing a syrinx, upon closer scrutiny proves to be Apollo, for in the background are the tiny figures of Mercury and Battus. As far as I know, this scene with Apollo as a music-making shepherd is hardly illustrated in paintings; although we do find the scene from the same story (in the illustrations in the background), in which Battus is turned to stone by Mercury (see Sluijter 1986, 63).

25 Virgil/Van Mander 1597. It has been suggested on several occasions that the 14 woodcuts were by Goltzius, although Van Thiel allowed the possibility of their being designed by Van Mander (Van Thiel 1989, 3). N. Bialler convincingly gives the invention of these prints to Goltzius. She also noted that the execution of the woodcuts varies; for example, that of the second *Eclogue* (our fig. 134) is far weaker than the lovely woodcut for the first *Eclogue* (our fig. 133; Bialler 1992, nos. 35-48).

26 Virgil/Van Mander 1597, 8: "T' was Pan die eerst van al ghevonden heeft,/ Dat men met wasch meer pijpen t'samen cleeft." Virgil, *Eclogues* II, 22-33: "Pan primum calamos cera coniungere pluris/ instituit...," and 37-38: "est mihi disparibus septem compacta cicutis/ fistula,...."

27 In *Compendium Virgilianorum*, Utrecht 1612 (Hollstein, vol. 16, 62-63, 231 ad).

28 For example, see the many shepherds with flutes (sometimes bagpipes) in the illustrations in McNeil Kettering 1983; not one of them has a panpipe. The only exception are the shepherds in songbook illustrations of 1608 and 1615 discussed below, and one shepherd by Johannes Moreelse, Van den Brink (ed.) 1993, cat. no. 39.

29 For the text of this poem, see Virgil/Van Mander 1597, iv, and Bialler 1992, 158, note 1.

30 Earlier he made a drawing with a landscape with staffage that undoubtedly characterizes it as a pastoral (Chatsworth, dated 1593; Bialler 1992, fig. 84). In the middle ground are two small shepherd figures which are closely related to the shepherds in the illustrations, while in the foreground walks a woman (shepherdess?) dressed as a nymph. It is not clear what Goltzius' visual or literary inspiration could have been for this vague pastoral staffage. Apart from the technique, I see no connection with the Venetian 'Arcadian' concept of landscape, as Reznicek suggested (in Brown 1986, 59). See also note 3 above.

31 For instance, see the peasant addressing the kitchen maid in the drawing mentioned above in note 1 (engraved by Matham, B. 166). See also the print of a peasant making love with his sweetheart by Adriaen Matham after Goltzius

(B. 2), in the inscription referred to as a "huntsman" (weyman), and the print by Jacob Matham after Goltzius (B. 301), with two farmers gardening; see also the shepherds dressed as farmers in Matham's print after Karel van Mander with an illustration of *Meridies* (B. 177, in a series of the times of the day), who even wear the same caps. Curiously this real peasant garb is never worn by shepherds in Adorations and Annunciations.

32 On Raimondi's print and its emulation in the Netherlands, see Sluijter 1986, 24-29. Moreover, in these representations the Phrygian cap was only rarely adopted in the Netherlands; one of the few examples is the illustration by Crispijn de Passe of 1602 (Sluijter 1986, fig. 17; and much later by Lairesse, *idem*, fig. 212). In Wtewael's many representations of the *Judgement of Paris*, for example, when not bareheaded, Paris usually wears the wide-brimmed hat also worn by the shepherds in the artist's Annunciations and Adorations. With respect to Apollo with the flock of Admetus, it is striking that in his illustration of this scene Goltzius does not include the Phrygian cap, but rather a somewhat unusual hat with a turned-up brim (our fig. 132).

33 See note 24 above.

34 Goltzius also used this pose for the tiny shepherd in the background of the woodcut probably made shortly before (our fig. 141; *c.* 1597-1600; see Bialler 1992, cat. no. 50 and also note 50 below) with a landscape in which a rustic couple rest under a tree (not clearly identifiable as a shepherd couple), and we also encounter him in a landscape that Frisius engraved after Goltzius in 1608 (B. 1). There a rustic shepherd leaning on a staff speaks with a seated young woman. On the classical antecedents, see for instance the Roman sarcophagus reliefs mentioned in Freedman 1989, 48. In the eighth *Eclogue* line 16, Virgil writes that the shepherd Damon sings his lament leaning on his staff ("incumbens tereti...olivae"). This became one of the stereotypical shepherds' poses in many landscapes with shepherds by Paulus Bril and Cornelis van Poelenburch, among others, and is also found in works by Esaias van de Velde.

35 Giorgione and Titian, *'Concert Champêtre'*, Paris, Musée du Louvre; see Freedman 1989, 112-113. On the attribution problems and for references to the many interpretations of this enigmatic work, see Wethey 1975, vol. 3, 10-15.

36 In sixteenth-century Italian art, too, there was no specific role for women as the lover of the shepherd, despite the fact that since the middle of the sixteenth century the amorous altercations of shepherds and their paramours served as the driving force behind the pastoral plays. Titian's amorous couples in his *The Ages of Man* (*c.* 1515, Edinburgh, National Gallery of Scotland), and his late *Nymph and Shepherd* (*c.* 1570-1575, Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum) – representations with amorous couples in a distinctly Arcadian setting – are also exceptional in Italian art. The first, however, is in no way a pastoral *pur sang* (there is absolutely no indication that the young couple in the foreground are shepherds), though they do afford a poetic image of love, youth and simple joy in natural harmony. In the second painting the male figure seems to be characterized by his clothing as a shepherd, although the most elementary attribute, the shepherd's staff, is missing. This painting, however, remained an exceptional case. The atmosphere of this erotic, yet intensely melancholy pastoral with a flute-playing shepherd and a nude nymph (Panofsky's interpretation of the figures as Paris and the nymph Oenone, whose love affair would soon end, is entirely in keeping with this ambience), has nothing in common with the Dutch couples, with the exception of Bloemaert's pastoral of 1630 (our fig. 157; see note 105 below), which suddenly with respect to the composition and mood seems to reflect something of this.

37 To the extent that it can be discerned the same attire is worn by the pair of tiny nymphs in the background of the *Eclogues* illustrations, and the shepherds' goddess Pales (in the illustration to the third book of the *Georgics*) is also dressed in this fashion (Bialler 1992, 141, fig. 47); the latter, however, also wears a large hat and thus anticipates the clothing of the later 'Utrecht' shepherdesses. This clothing is perfectly rendered in the Pales (and not Ceres, as McNeil Kettering incorrectly calls her, 1983, fig. 196) by Crispijn de Passe I in his Virgil illustrations of 1612, which is based on Goltzius' Pales (Hollstein, vol. 16, 62-63, 231ad, no. 8).

38 On Torquato Tasso's *Aminta*, among others, see Verkuyl 1971, 27-30; and Kegel-Brinkgreve 1990, 344-350. The latter supposes that the name of Tasso's Silvia was inspired by Petrarch's shepherd/poet Silvius (in his *Bucolicum Carmen*), who, in turn, has much in common with Corydon in Virgil's *Eclogues*.

39 From this it is clear how various traditions became intermixed. In the French *bergerie* tradition, which is certainly significant for the Dutch pastoral songs (see notes 53, 58, 60 below), flesh-and-blood shepherdesses play an important role. The nymphs and field goddesses, as well as the names of the shepherds and their loves, however, belong to the Arcadia of the classically inspired Italian pastoral. That these beloved women were 'nymphs' could even result in a reference to a 'difference in station' with the shepherds in the Dutch songs, as is evidenced in two songs in the *Bloem-hof* (1608), 22 and 36 (see also note 62 below); the latter motif is also present in the lament of the nymph Onoene (Ovid) (see note 79 below).

40 *Metamorphoses*, Book X, 554-559 (translation from Ovid/Loeb 1976-77, p. 103): "... and see, a poplar, happily at hand, invites us with its shade, and here is grassy turf for couch, I would fain rest here on the grass with you. So saying, she reclined upon the ground and on him, and, pillowing her head against his breast, and mingling her kisses with her words, she told the following tale" ("...ecce,/ opportuna sua blanditur populus umbra,/ Datque torum caespes: 'ibet hac requiescere tecum'./ (et requievit) 'humo' pressitque ent gramen et ipsum/ inque sinu iuvenis posita cervice reclinis/ sic ait ac mediis interserit oscula verbis.)"

41 Hendrick Goltzius, *Landscape with Venus and Adonis*, dated 159(6?), Vienna, Albertina (Reznicek 1961, no. 407, fig. 251). As Reznicek noted, the landscape was strongly influenced by Muziano (who was recommended as a model by Van Mander). The disposition of Venus and Adonis recurs frequently in paintings by Cornelis Cornelisz.

42 On the portrayal of Venus and Adonis, see Sluijter 1986, 37-43, 121-128, 225-242. In Northern Netherlandish paintings before 1600, couples making love in nature are found primarily in scenes of the Assembly of the Gods (i.e., for the Marriage of Peleus and Thetis) and related representations of Mankind before the Deluge. Paintings in which a scantily clad lovemaking couple is the main theme were produced by Mannerist artists only after 1600, and from the start Venus and Adonis was the favorite duo.

43 Sluijter 1986, 225-242, and 268 ff.

44 The depiction of this scene, the happy ending of the story, is highly exceptional. On the more usual scene from the story of Vertumnus and Pomona, see Sluijter 1986, 43-48, 61, 62, 83-86, 109-114, 116-120, 243-264, and Sluijter in this volume "Vertumnus and Pomona", *passim*.

45 On illustrations of this subject, see Bolten 1984, 23-41.

46 *Eclogues* I, 1-2: "Tityre, tu patulae recubans sub tegmine fagi." Virgil/Van Mander 1597, 1: "Al ligghend' hier sacht onder t' wijd' bevangh,/ Des Bueckentoys, ghy Tityr,...."

47 Van Mander, *Grondt*, 37v (Chapter 8, 42): "Laet Tytire met t' Pijpken vreucht bedrijven,/ By Amaryllis, zijn liefste der Wijven,/ Onder den Bueckeboom sittend' in rusten,...."

48 *Cupido's lust-hof* 1613, 32: "Den vrijer onder t' groen geboomt/ zijn lust in t' minnen nau betoont." Here, the accompanying print shows a contemporary couple making love under a tree. Such a representation occurs in other songbook illustrations as well. However, it is striking that a 'modern' amorous couple situated in nature would never become an independent theme in painting.

49 Coornhert (1608?): "Ode horatii, 2 lib. Epo. Beatus Ille. Vertaelt", A VIIv-A VIIIv: "Int groene gras rust hy, bevryt van quaden/ Een oude Eyck beschaut hem met veel blaren." Coornhert made the first Dutch translation of Horace's second epode, which was included in the first edition of 1575 of the songbook mentioned above. A number of translations subsequently followed in rapid succession (by Jan van Hout, Abraham van der Myl, Pieter Jansson van Schagen, and adapted by Van Borssele in his *Strande* and *De Binckhorst*). On the blending of the *laus ruris* and the shepherd's ode to a simple existence, in which the moral dichotomy country-city/court is central, see Smits-Veldt 1986, 182-88; and Smits-Veldt 1989, 389-391.

50 On this woodcut, see Bialler 1992, cat. no. 50 (see also note 34 above). The rustic figures serving as staffage in this landscape are often called a shepherd couple; nothing, however, indicates that this was Goltzius' intention. The stick in the man's hand could give cause for this, yet it is a simple straight stick (should this have been intended as a shepherd's staff, Goltzius would surely have shown it as such), one frequently held by figures active in a landscape setting. From this, however, it is clear how vague the boundary is between a rustic and a pastoral idyll; both seem to have been introduced into Dutch art by Goltzius.

51 The shape and placement of the buildings in the background are reminiscent of a few woodcuts of landscapes with bucolic staffage by Domenico Campagnola, for example *Landscape with a Couple Gathering Fruit* (B. 5; *c.* 1540-45; see Rosand/Muraro 1976-77, no. 30; see also nos. 27, 28 and 29). Goltzius will certainly have been familiar with woodcuts by Domenico Campagnola; on his influence on Goltzius's landscape drawings, see Reznicek 1961, 173 and 179.

52 Rosand sees the depictin of a city in the background as an essential part of the pastoral landscape (Rosand 1988, 48: "...as a foil to the natural setting, defining its character of escape, confirming its difference"). The opposition of nature and town/court was already implicit in the classical bucolic literature, but the moral superiority of the simple shepherd's existence became increasingly emphatic in the sixteenth-century pastoral (Kegel-Brinkgreve 1990, 384-388). Precisely in Dutch pastoral literature of the first half of the seventeenth century this opposition seems to have been particularly outspoken (more so than in Italy), partly as a result of the French *bergerie* tradition Smits-Veldt 1986, 175-188.

53 According to Kegel-Brinkgreve, the highly un-Virgilian motif of requited love that entered into the sixteenth-century pastoral is due primarily to the conventions of comedy, as well as the motif of the Golden Age that permeated the sixteenth-century pastoral as of Sannazaro (on the Golden Age motif, see note 95 below). Moreover, contented love – and the important role of the shepherdess – were already part of the preceding French *bergerie* tradition (Cooper 1977, 62-66; and Kegel-Brinkgreve 1990, 420), which was seminal for the development of Dutch pastoral poetry in the beginning of the seventeenth century (Smits-Veldt 1986, 175-182).

54 For an extensive analysis of the pastoral scenes in *Ithys* and its place in the pastoral tradition, see Smits-Veldt 1986, 158-188. *Ithys* was first published in 1615 and subsequently in a revised version in 1618 and 1619 (Smits-Veldt 1986, 85-89).

55 Coster, *Ithys*, ed. 1618, act four, scene two, verse 1145 ff.: "Een weynichjen gherust Grusella bij de eycken/ En boomen-bladerrijck die d'anderen toe-reyken/ Haer telghen wijt ontspreyt, bekleedt met frisse groent./.../ Wat zoudt ghy Daphnis toch! ghy staet in licht en brandt./.../ Brand' ick, ick brande dan door 't minnelijcke lloncken/ Van u gezicht, dat onuytblusselijcke voncken/ Wt oogh' in ooghe dreef, en

stremde ziel aen ziel:/ Midts dat u vyer in mijn brandt-ziecke zieltjen viel/ Dat niemant wederom dan ghy alleen kent blussen." This scene was added to the 1618 edition. Smits-Veldt correctly noted the relationship between this scene and the pastoral scenes by Lastman discussed below (Smits-Veldt 1986, 159, note 77). However, there is no question of a direct literary source of inspiration given that both the print by Goltzius and the earliest pastoral representations by Lastman date earlier. Smits-Veldt notes, though incorrectly, that the poets preceded the visual artists: Goltzius' print and Van Mander's painting (see note 3 above) are, after all, earlier than the earliest Dutch pastoral poetry. What the relationship between the beginning of the pictorial and literary pastoral in the Netherlands was will probably never be precisely determined.
56 On these motifs in love emblems, see Hooft/Porteman 1983, 166-170 (annotations of Hooft's: "A part of the body that I nurture, has ensnared me;/ That is the eye: through this wound the arrow pierces my heart" (Een lidtmaet dat ick voed, my in den strick verwart;/ Dat's 't ooch: door dese wondt vaert my de pijl in 't hart); and Vaenius: "The heart is consumed and disintegrating in the lover's body,/ From the rays emanating from his Love's eyes" (In 's minnaers lijf sijn hert verteert, en gaet te niet,/ Door stralen van sijn Lief, die wt haer ooghen spruyten). On the obsession related to lust being aroused through the eye, see in general Sluijter in this volume "Venus, Visus and Pictura", 118-123. The later 'Utrecht' shepherdesses looking so insistently at the viewer, direct their love-arousing 'rays' at the observer of the image.
57 *Bloem-hof* 1608, 5 ("Courante"): "Coridon met groote lusten/ Seyt tot sijn Velt-goddin/ Lydia waert uwen sin/ Dat ghy mijn Liefde blust?/ Dat wy mochten met gheneught/ Slyten onse jonghe jeught./.../ Doet u blancke bouten [armen] open/ En ontfangt u trouwe knecht/ Die u met een hert oprecht/ Met zijn leven wil becoopen./.../ Lydia begonst t'onfoncken/ En vertoonde een ghesicht/ Met soo minnelijcke licht/ Met soo merckelijcke loncken." This songbook also includes pastoral songs varying greatly in nature and deriving from differing traditions. In the last part under "several edifying moralizing poems" (eenige stichtelycke Moralische leerlyke Dichten), for example, is an outspoken didactic-moralizing "Shepherd's song" (Herder-liedt; p. 67).
58 *Apollo* 1615, 25 ("Pastorelle of herder-Sangh"). The song appears again in Boudewijn Jansz Wellens, *T' Vermaeck der Ieught*, Leeuwarden 1616, 137 ("Song, with the conversation between Coridon a shepherds and Silvia, a nymph" [Liedt, waar in t' samen-spreken van Coridon een Herder, en Silvia, een Nymphen]). On the appellation "Pastorelle", a bastard term that first appears in *Apollo* and would seem to indicate a connection with the "Pastourelle" in the French *bergerie* tradition, the oldest type of pastoral literature in vernacular, which since the fourteenth century had as its most important motif the portrayal of rural love; see Smits-Veldt 1986, 175.
59 *Apollo* 1615, 25: "Ghy Coridon met u ghedicht/ Betovert d'herderinnen,/ Ghy Silvia met u ghesicht/ Betovert d'Herders sinnen." Although in the title of the poem in Wellens' edition, Silvia is still spoken of as a nymph (see preceding note), in the text mention is first made of shepherdesses (for another quote from the same poem, see note 80 below).
60 Smits-Veldt was the first to refer extensively to the importance of the French *bergerie* tradition stemming from the Middle Ages for this Dutch pastoral poetry; influence from Italian pastoral literature seems to have been relatively limited (Smits-Veldt 1986, 175-182). Earlier, Kettering also briefly referred to this tradition as a source of inspiration, correctly noting that this had never been researched (McNeil Kettering 1983, 132). On the fact that Goltzius preceded the Dutch poets, see note 55 above (Smits-Veldt held the opposite view, incorrectly).
61 Cooper 1977, 51-55; Smits-Veldt 1986, 178.
62 *Bloem-hof* 1608, 36
63 Undoubtedly the lion's share of these songs are laments on love by tormented lovers, who are the defenceless victims of a hopeless passion for a beloved who remains entirely unmoved. On this Petrarchan motif, which played such an important role in both the songbooks and the love emblems so very popular at the time, see Hooft/Porteman 1983, 21 ff.
64 *Bloem-hof* 1608, 36: "T' is wel waer, ick ben van zeden/ Een gheboren Boeren knecht;" "Niemant draeght soo trouwe min,/ Also ick tot mijn Velt-goddin;" and "Venus quam soo menich werven/ Tot Adonim t'herder kint."
65 McNeil Kettering (1983, 51), sees this licentious type of shepherdess driving her flock close to the city (here The Hague) – a motif that was further elaborated upon and accentuated by Cats – as a literary pendant to the Utrecht courtesan shepherdess.
66 Heinsius 1616, 46: "Corydon die weyde schapen/ Vast aan 't water van den Rijn/ Daer de beste weyden sijn."
67 *'t Amsterdamse Fluytertje* is the second part of E. Pels, *'t Lof van Cupido*, Amsterdam 1626.
68 Smits-Veldt 1989, 394-396.
69 On this lovely songbook, see Keersmaekers 1985. The illustration belongs to a poem that begins with the verse: "The farmer comes to chat/ To get into the arms of the girl/ Lamenting that fire caused by passion/ Consumes his heart" (Den Boer comt couten, om inde bouten/ Van 't Meijsken te raken/ Beclaeght dat hemt 'tvier, door mins bestier/ Het herte doet blaken).
70 Two of the prints in this songbook are signed by Claes Jansz Visscher; the print of the shepherd couple, however, must be by another, somewhat less gifted artist. The engravings in *Den Nieuwen Lust-hof* may be by or after David Vinckboons, who signed the title print.

71 Very related is a 'modern' couple seated on the ground at the far right in an *Outdoor Party* of 1610 by David Vinckboons (Vienna, Gemäldegalerie der Akademie der bildende Künste).
72 *Apollo* 1615, 16 (8). Coster, *Ithys*, III.4, verses 1002-1037. See Smits-Veldt 1986, 161, 122.
73 Compare, for instance, Goltzius' *Spring* (engraved by Jan Saenredam, B. 119), which is represented as a 'modern' amorous couple – again under a large, verdant tree – engaged in singing. It is one of the many examples in which can be seen how the illustration of a pastoral idyll is interwoven with the visualization of concepts such as love, youth, harmony and spring.
74 Hollstein, vol. 2, 249-261. These prints probably date from the early 1630s. In a series of the seasons also by Frederik Bloemaert after Abraham Bloemaert (Hollstein, vol. 2, 240-243), *Spring* is portrayed by a shepherd with his flock (the other seasons are represented by a young farmer, a hunter and a peasant).
75 See note 58 above.
76 Apollo and Daphne appear in other title prints as well, for instance that of Hooft's *Emblemata Amatoria*, where they are depicted on the pedestal on which stands *Poesia* (on this title print, see Hooft/Porteman 1983, 36-40 and Sluijter in this volume, "Venus, Visus and Pictura", 134 and fig. 111).
77 On Lastman's mythological representations, which in subject, appearance and narrative style are clearly distinct from the Mannerist generation (all of the subjects with many nudes so popular with that generation are not adopted by him), see Sluijter 1986, 52-61.
78 An identical gleaming skirt is also worn by – in both cases a somewhat more richly clad – Nausicaä in Lastman's early *Odysseus and Nausicaä* of 1609 (Braunschweig, Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum) and by Ephigenia in the *Orestes and Pylades Disputing at the Altar* of 1614 (Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum).
79 Ovid/Van Ghistele 1607, 29v (first edition Antwerp 1553, before 1600 six Antwerp reprints; first Northern Netherlandish edition: Rotterdam 1600, there reprinted in 1607 and 1615): "Peyst [bedenkt] hoe ic my om u altoos verneert [vernedert] hebbe,/ Also ghy int velt laecht omtrent uwe Schapen,/ Onder eenen boom daer ick met u gheboeleert hebbe,/ Ende zachtelijc int groene gheslapen." This is a relatively free translation of: "... servo nubere nympha tuli!/ saepe greges inter requievimus arbore tecti,/ mixtaque cum foliis praebuit herba torum" (*Heriodes* V [Oenone Paridi], 13-15).
80 *Apollo* 1615, 26: "Sy ruildent om sijn Herdersstaf,/ Hy om de bloeme schoone,/ Waer meed' hy wou, waer meed' sy sou,/ Hem kroonen, hy haer loonen." This is the same erotic poem from which I already cited above (see note 59 above).
81 On the flower wreath as a common sign of love in the pastoral world in the *bergerie* tradition, see Cooper 1977, 75; Smits-Veldt 1986, 179; and as an already long existing symbol for both female virginity and the female genitals, see McNeil Kettering 1983, 58, 97. An earlier Northern Netherlandish depiction of a couple holding a flower wreath – and clearly intended as a licentious duo – is in Van Mander's *Man Before the Deluge* (Frankfurt, Städelsches Kunstinstitut). A related type of visual metaphor like that in Lastman's painting was used by Rembrandt (but then more pointedly) in his famous etching of 1642, where the angle at which the shepherd holds the flute with respect to the floral wreath leaves little to the imagination (McNeil Kettering 1983, 95-99; and McNeil Kettering 1977, *passim*; see also note 107 below). After Lastman, we still often encounter the motif of the woman crowning a young man with a wreath (a crowning scene is part of the story of Amaryllis and Mirtillo in *Pastor Fido*). It also figures in non-pastoral representations, for instance in two paintings of Venus and Adonis by Ferdinand Bol, while in a painting by Van Baburen a prostitute crowns a lute player (St Petersburg, Hermitage).
82 Naturally, these animals are indigenous to Arcadia. However, nanny goats and billy goats (and the satyr with his goat's legs) traditionally represent an image of lust; see, among others, Van Mander, *Wtbeelding*, 129: "With the goat, including the satyrs, is meant unchastity" (Met de Geyt, de Satyren oock daer onder begrepen, wort d'onkuysheyt beteyckent) (the image of the goat gnawing green shoots is by Van Mander even equated with the whore defiling young men). On the goat, see Chastel 1975, 146-149. Also in Titian's late painting (in Vienna) of a pastoral couple interpreted by Panofsky as *Paris and Oenone* (see note 36 above and note 105 below), a goat nibbles foliage in the background.
83 That this woodcut after Titian was the immediate source is evident, because in Lastman's work of *c.* 1612 discussed below (fig. 151), the young man carrying a large milk pail is clearly visible. Lastman used the motif of the woman milking a cow once again in 1612 in the background of his *Dismissal of Hagar* (Hamburg, Kusthalle).
84 Hollstein, vol. 33, no. 31. See also Freedberg 1980, 35, who correctly sees this print as an evocation of the world of Virgil's *Georgics* and Horace's "Beatus Ille" transferred to Holland. That also in this case Titian's woodcut was the immediate source is clear from the woman carrying a milk pail (she replaces the young man).
85 Van Mander, *Grondt*, 37v (Chapter 8, 42): "Hier latet Boersch Meyskens handen ontstijven/ De Melck-fonteynkens langs de groene kusten."
86 Van Mander, *Grondt*, 37v (Chapter 8, 42): "Daer Tytire met t' Pijpken vreught bedrijven,/ By Amaryllis, zijn liefste der Wijven,/ Onder den Bueckeboom sittend' in rusten,/ En met soet geluydt zijn cudde verlusten." While elements in this passage are strongly reminiscent of the pastoral paintings by Lastman (discussed below), I in no way intend

to suggest that these lines were the immediate source of inspiration for Lastman (Sutton quoted these passages earlier in connection with the painting of *c.* 1612 discussed below, see note 92). In Van Mander, these lines are part of a list of rustic staffage, which includes ploughmen, mowers, hunters and fishermen, as well as activities on the water, on roads and in houses throughout which he weaves this most pastoral motif. The total effect thus differs entirely from what is represented in Lastman's paintings. In fact, there is greater justification for asserting that the etching by Jan van de Velde mentioned above appears to be an illustration of Van Mander's passage.

87 Van Mander, *Grondt*, 19r (Chapter 5, 46-48): "Maer saghen [de herders die naar Pales' tempel kwamen] boven de poorte geschildert/ Heuvels en bosschen, met boomen verwildert./ Daer sachmen weyden in de groene beemden/ Veel kudden verspreyt,.../ .../ En de Herders eenighe sachmen slappen/ De stijve Ulder, van melcke gheswollen,/ Ander de ghelockte vliesen ontwollen./ Eenigh' op Sackpijpen sachmen daer spelen,/...." Incidentally, Van Mander here translates Sannazaro's "Sampogna", by which is meant the panpipe, with "bagpipe" or "sackpijp".

88 Van Mander, *Grondt*, 19v (Chapter 5, 54): "Aen hebbend' een Geyten huyt, dat hem voechde,/ Onder t'slincke schouder, nae Herder stijlen...", and *Idem*, 20r (Chapter 5, 57): Hier by was oock Paris, en had begonnen/ In een Olmeboom schorss' Enone schrijven/ Met een seyssen, maer wesend' overronnen [verrast]/ Van dry Goddinnen, en haddet niet connen/ Gants eyndigen, maer alsoo laten blijven,/...."

89 Sutton interpreted the painting as portraying the moment when Paris deserts Oenone (in Sutton [ed.] 1987, cat. no. 55). The pose of the young shepherd, incidentally, is surprisingly close (in reverse) to that of the Adonis figure in the print by G. Ghisi after T. Ghisi (B. 42) of *Venus and Adonis* (in which the latter clearly is not fully participating in the lovemaking), however there the pointing gesture is missing. This striking gesture is found in a few paintings of the courtship of *Mars and Venus* by Cornelis Cornelisz, in which Mars' extended arm seems to be meaningless and intended solely to suggest conversation, while affording an attractive contraposto in the composition.

90 On Lastman's highly narrative manner of depicting mythological stories (in which many elements in the texts that could clarify the story in the image are meticulously illustrated), see Sluijter 1986, 52-61.

91 On the moralizing explanations of the story of Paris, see Sluijter 1986, 210-218.

92 Sutton dates the painting to about 1609-1614 (in Sutton [ed.] 1987, 372-373). Astrid Tümpel dates it around 1612 (Tümpel/Schatborn *et al.* 1991, 88-89, no. 2).

93 The caption to this print after a painting in a series of four scenes on love by Agostino Carracci reads as follows: "Come la palma indicio è di vittoria/ Cosi d'Amore conveniente è il frutto/ Quella dolcezza; da cui vien produtto/ Il seme, onde Natura, e'l ciel si gloria". On this series of paintings and the prints after them, see Kurz 1951, 221-233; see also Bolten 1984, 27-32.

94 Bolten 1984, 23-41.

95 In Italian pastoral literature, the Golden Age motif first comes clearly to the fore with Sannazaro. For him, however, it is a time past which is nostalgically remembered in Arcadia. The best-known use of the motif is the Golden Age choir in Tasso's *Aminta*, where the praises are sung of the ideal of natural love free of later imposed social conventions (particularly the tyranny of 'honor') and was enjoyed unhampered. It is a love which the shepherds in Tasso's Arcadia felt should also reign in their domain. In his emulation of Tasso's Golden Age choir, Guarini (*Pastor Fido*) introduced a Christian moral: his ideal love in the Golden Age is one of natural virtue and absolute faithfulness to one person in a time still untainted by the evil of adultery (Kegel-Brinkgreve 1990, 339, 350, 356-360, 386-387). The ideal of natural love in harmony with nature (Tasso) or the ethical ideal of virtuous love (Guarini) – both intended to contrast with that of their own time – were fixed themes in the pastoral literature, inspired by the works of Tasso and Guarini. Scaliger's opinion of the pastoral (see below), corresponds primarily with the atmosphere of Tasso's Golden Age choir. In the French *bergerie* tradition, the joyful, spontaneous, reciprocal love of the simple shepherds in an idyllic nature had already long been an important motif that had much in common with the Golden Age ideology (Cooper 1977, 62-68). In erotic Dutch pastoral songs – with shepherds who are difficult to compare with their stylized and philosophical Italian colleagues – many different elements appear to come together. On this, and the moral function that this natural, reciprocal love as a part of happy, harmonious well-being could receive chiefly in plays (which, incidentally, also appears in the *bergerie* tradition), see Smits-Veldt 1986, 158-204; and Smits-Veldt 1989, *passim*; see also note 97 below.

96 See Kegel-Brinkgreve 1991, 372, with a complete translation of this passage.

97 Coster, *Ithys*, second act, fifth scene: "In hem [de door haar beminde herder] leeft noch den ouden mensch." Smits-Veldt 1986, 106-108.

98 *Apollo* 1615, 118-119 (108/105): "Een Herdertjen dat my vierich [vurig] vrijt)." On the moral instruction given here, as well as the complex interweaving of many traditions (including the Horatian "Beatus Ille" motif) and the links with Stoic notions, see Smits-Veldt 1986, 158-204.

99 Smits-Veldt 1989, *passim*.

100 In the inscription to a print after Bloemaert of *Vertumnus and Pomona* (1605), the description of the gourds, cucumbers and cabbages (in the foreground in the print) have an unmistakable erotic charge; see Sluijter in this volume "Vertumnus and Pomona", 74-76, and fig. 57.

In various paintings of Vertumnus and Pomona and, for instance, of Judah and Tamar, such a gourd is also emphatically present (Sluijter 1986, 248, 255 note 4). One could also compare a painting with a pastoral couple by Lambert Doomer (Oldenbourg, Landesmuseum), in which a categorically erotic joke is included (see note 107 below); the large gourd in the foliage, and the goat lying in the foreground in this painting seem, moreover, to be immediately derived from Lastman's pastoral of around 1612.

101 See, for instance, Crispijn de Passe's print of the moment when Abimelech discovers that Isaac and Rebecca are not brother and sister, but rather as man and woman with each other (Hollstein, vol. 15, 855, in a series of illustrations *Liber Genesis*, Arnhem 1612).

102 Compare, for instance, the couple in the foreground of *Venus and her Children* by Saenredam after Goltzius (B. 77), in Goltzius' series of *The Children of the Planets*.

103 It is assumed that the first painting of this type of carefree 'courtesan'/shepherdess originated in 1622 (McNeil Kettering 1983, 34, 48). However, a shepherdess by Moreelse dated 1617 recently surfaced (see Domela Nieuwenhuis in Van den Brink [ed.] 1993, cat. no. 42). This type of seductive shepherdess seems on the one hand to have roots in representations of Venetian half-length courtesans and on the other hand the seductive female half-length figures of Mary Magdalene, Lucretia, Judith, etc. that were so popular in the Netherlands in the sixteenth century. In the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century we also run across various half-length figures of Venus (which Moreelse, incidentally, portrayed in virtually the same way as his shepherdesses), both in paintings and in prints. The suggestive glance directed at the beholder is a recurring motif in all of these works.

104 Hollstein, vol. 3, nos. 324-337.

105 Present whereabouts unknown, formerly Dortmund, Collection Jozef Cremer.

106 Equally notable is that this work, as far as I know the only one in Dutch painting, can be seen as a distant but unmistakable echo of the pastoral couple painted by Titian at the end of his life (Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum; see also note 36 above). Given the similarity of the subject on the one hand – the nude reclining figure seen from the back with a flute-playing shepherd -, and the absence of actual formal relationships with Titian's painting on the other, it seems more likely that Bloemaert knew the painting from a description rather than having ever actually seen Titian's composition (for instance, by means of a copy). Bloemaert used this nude figure on more than one occasion (for instance, a *Venus*, formerly art dealer Erasmus, Berlin, photograph RKD); Poelenburch also varied this figure in his *Cimon and Ephigenia* (see Van den Brink [ed.] 1993, cat. no. 49). She could have been inspired by an engraving of a sleeping Venus in a landscape by Giulio Campagnola (*c.* 1508-09) – this print is also frequently mentioned as the inspiration for the nymph in Titian's late pastoral.

107 Lambert Doomer later took this a step further in a painting in which a grinning shepherd teaches a shepherdess to play his flute (Oldenbourg, Landsmuseum), a metaphor that also occurs in suggestive erotic songs. The manipulation of a flute (but then aimed at the flower wreath of the shepherdess) is found in Rembrandt's 1642 etching and in a somewhat more sophisticated painting by Flinck (McNeil Kettering 1983, 95-99; and McNeil Kettering 1977, *passim*; see also note 81 above).

108 On the licentious couples of an entirely different nature by, among others, Moreelse, Honthorst and Van Bylert – often as pendants, and also joined on some occasions – see McNeil Kettering 1983, Chapters 3 and 4; on the relatively scarce couples at mid-century and the increasing numbers of couples by late seventeenth-century painters, see *idem*, Chapter 6.

109 See note 43 above.

110 McNeil Kettering 1983, Chapter 7.

111 On this fascinating subject (a very Dutch predilection), which shares the motif of the observation of a female nude by a male protagonist with many other – in this time – popular subjects, was written an outstanding master's thesis by Nicôle Spaans, who also authored the extensive entries on two paintings with this subject in Van den Brink (ed.) 1993, cat. nos. 38 (Van Poelenburch) and 49 (Van Loo).

Notes to Chapter Six

* This study was published earlier in Dutch as a book in the *Zeven Provinciën Reeks*, Hilversum 1993.

1 Sluijter 1988a, 24-28.

2 Angel 1642, 56: "die noyt ghenoegh ghepresen Gerrit Dou."

3 Emmens 1968; Miedema 1973 and *idem* 1989; Chapman 1986; Sluijter 1991 and Sluijter 1997.

4 After its publication, this essay (printed as a little book in the *Zeven Provinciën* series) was reviewed by Hessel Miedema; see Miedema 1994. In 1996, Michael Hoyle and Hessel Miedema published an English translation of Angel's treatise, see Angel/Hoyle/Miedema 1996. See Miedema's introduction to this translation for his present, altered view of Angel's place in the history of art theory, which now agrees more with mine.

5 Orlers 1614, 259; ed. 1641, 352: "in gelijcker maten ende wijse...niet ledich [is] geweest in het voeden ende op te brengen van vele ende verscheyden Constenaren: insonderheyt in het voortbrengen van vele vermaerde ende treffelicke Schilders." "... overschoone ende onwaerdeerlicke Schilderien..." "... Loff ende Tijdt-Boecken opgeschreven ende gheregistreert te worden."

6 The only earlier city description of a Northern Netherlandish town, Pontanus' Latin *Rerum et urbis Amstelodamensium Historiae* (1611), also included only biographies of scholars and painters (a Dutch translation appeared in 1614, the same year as Orlers' work). Both were undoubtedly modelled on Hadrianus Junius' *Batavia* of 1588. There, too, only scholars and artists were described as "Hollandica ingenia" (Junius 1588, 234-240). A Dutch translation of Guicciardini's *Descrittione dei tutti paesi bassi* of 1567 appeared in 1612 shortly before Orlers' book, and must have been an important stimulus to the above-mentioned authors (it had already been translated in German and French in the sixteenth century). While containing no biographies, it does enumerate a large number of Dutch painters – always with summary characterizations – for the first time. Guicciardini included them all in his description of Antwerp; for the other cities, he mentioned only scholars as distinguished men (Guicciardini 1567, 97-100; *idem*, 79-81). Junius, Guicciardini and Pontanus included engravers and sculptors as well. Like Van Mander in his *Schilder-Boeck*, Orlers limited himself strictly to painters.

7 For the sake of comparison, in Junius the 23 scholars take up five pages and the ten artists three pages (238-240); in Pontanus two scholars take up 11 pages and five artists only two (286-287). Orlers describes ten scholars in 11 pages (249-259), while the 12 painters are awarded 17 (259-276). Naturally, this was related to the fact that Orlers' biographies were taken from Van Mander, but he evidently found it unnecessary to shorten them (as did Schrevelius, for example). The biographies he added to the second edition are also relatively extensive.

8 Orlers 1614, 208; ed. 1641, 280: "... dese Const segghe ick, de welcke een Const ende wetenschap is die over de gantsche werelt by alle Natien ende Volckeren vermaert, bemindt, ende aenghenaem is, ende dien volghende een onuytsprekelicken lof by hooge ende lage Personen verdient heeft, [is] alhier binnen deser Stede niet alleen gebloeyt, ghewassen ende toeghenomen, maer is by eenige by naer tot volcomen wasdom gecomen."

9 Orlers 1614, 259; ed. 1641, 353: "Carel van Mander of Meulebeke, having been my friend in his lifetime" (Carel van Mander van Meulebeke, mijn vriendt in sijn leven wesende). One of the laudatory poems at the beginning of Van Mander's *Schilder-boeck* (**iir) is even by Orlers' hand (under his motto "Judge without discord" [Oordeelt sonder twist]).

10 Orlers may have been taking revenge on Guicciardini. The latter mentioned Lucas van Leyden as the only Leiden artist, and then not even with the painters but with the engravers, referring to him solely as "very artful in engraving" (seer constich in coper te steken). (Guicciardini 1612, 82). That must have hurt!

11 Van Mander, *Leven*, 211r-215r; Orlers 1614, 263-271. See note 170 below.

12 Orlers ed. 1641, 369: "onder de vermaerde Schilders gestelt ende getelt te werden." On the other hand, the biographies of scholars that Orlers added are derived entirely from Johannes Meursius' *Athenae Batavae* (1625) and included only one still living scholar, the anatomist Adriaen van Valckenburch.

13 The only city description to appear between Orlers' first and second editions was that by Samuel Ampzing on Haarlem (1628). In the course of the seventeenth century, after 1641, we have Theodoor Schrevelius, also on Haarlem, (1648); Olfert Dapper *et al.* on Amsterdam (1665), with only the painters earlier mentioned by Pontanus; Dirck van Bleijsweijck on Delft (1667); and Gerrit van Spaan on Rotterdam (1698). Samuel Ampzing's *Beschryvinge* of 1628 still has no biographies of contemporary painters, but only a brief, general ode (in poetic form). In contrast to Orlers, they are located in a chapter on the "The Trades of our City" (neringen onser Stad), which also mentions weavers, brewers, writing and arithmetic teachers, musicians, glass engravers and engravers (quite comically, a century later Houbraken was extraordinarily cross with Ampzing for having done this; see Houbraken 1718-21 [ed. 1753], vol. 2, 37-40). Schrevelius followed Orlers' model more closely and even stated that in Haarlem "for a few hundred years now, the very best painters have been cultivated here" (d'alderbest Schilders voor eenige hondert iaren herwaerts, hier op gequeeckt zijn), a comment, incidentally, which harks back to Van Mander (Schrevelius 1648, 359; Van Mander, *Leven*, 206r). Schrevelius' biographies of living painters, however, are far more summary than those by Orlers; he also briefly treated glass engravers and other professions, including merchants, bankers, textile manufacturers, etc. Some city historians did not include biographies of living painters (Olfert Dapper, Dirck van Bleijsweijck), while others omitted painters entirely (Johan van Beverwijck [1640] and Matthijs Balen [1677], both Dordrecht).

14 For this inventory, see Wurfbain 1976, 17-18. Orlers' collection did not include any very expensive paintings; few of the works in his inventory were taxed at amounts greater than 20 guilders. He would have undoubtedly found a painting by Dou too expensive. The highest value was set on two portraits by David Bailly (together 80 guilders), a large landscape by "P. de Potter" (42 guilders, probably Pieter) and two pendants by Jan Lievens (together 48 guilders). With respect to Leiden painters, he owned – in addition to paintings by the artists already mentioned – works by Jan van Goyen, Pieter de Neyn and Jacob van Swanenburch.

15 For Orlers' biography, see Nieuw Nederlands Biografisch Woordenboek, vol. 1, cols. 1391-1393.

16 Fock 1990, 23-27. In addition to Orlers' inventory mentioned in note 14, a good impression of this is gained from the very rich inventories of the Leiden citizens Jean François Tortarolis, Hendrik Bugge van Ring and François de le Boe Sylvius, where biblical and mythological scenes, landscapes, marines, still lifes and genre scenes by the most diverse masters are listed as being in the same room.

17 Orlers ed. 1641, 369: "his art which was gratifying and pleasant to art lovers" (zijn Const die alle Liefhebbers der selven behaechde ende aengenaem was) and 372 "paintings ... which ... were so pleasant to the art lovers and burgers" (Schilderien ... de welcke ... de Liefhebbers ende Burgeren zo aengenaem waren).

18 Orlers ed. 1641, 373: "to the amazement of all the art lovers of painting" (tot verwonderinge van alle Liefhebbers vande Schilder-conste), and "paintings, that were highly valued by all art lovers" (schilderien, die by alle Liefhebbers in groter waerden gehouden werden") [Van Goyen]; 375 "art lovers were greatly amazed by this" (de Const Lief-hebberen daerinne ten hoochsten verwondert waeren), and: "most highly delighted and pleased the burghers" (de Borgeren/.../ ten hoochsten behaechde ende aengenaem was) [Rembrandt]; 377 "those with an understanding of art were greatly amazed by them" (daer over de Const-verstandigen haer ten hoochsten zijn verwonderende) [Lievens].

19 Orlers ed. 1641, 378: "een yder deselve siende over de netheyt ende curieusheyt van dien hem moet verwonderen."

20 Orlers ed. 1641, 378: "by de Lief-hebbers vande konste in grooter waerden gehouden ende dier (duur) vercocht werden."

21 Orlers ed. 1641, 378: "een uytnemend Meester, insonderheydt in cleyne, subtile, ende curieuse dingen, 'tsy Persoonen naer het leven, Gedierten, Insecten ofte andere saken te Schilderen."

22 Orlers ed. 1641, 378: "inden Jare 1628, opten 14 Februarij, vijftien Jaren oudt sijnde, by den Konstrijcken ende wijtvermaerden Mr. Rembrant." To be precise, at this time Dou was only 14 years old. As Orlers mentions, Dou was born on 7 April 1613.

23 Orlers ed. 1641, 375: "een vande tegewoordighe vermaerste Schilders van onse eeuwe."

24 Van Leeuwen 1672, 191: "de uytstekende opkomst ende bloeyende voortgank van Frans van Mieris ende Pieter van Slingeland; in welker uytmuntenheid te verwagten is, dat sy haar Meester gelijk werden, ende waar het mogelijk, te boven sullen gaan."

25 Van Leeuwen 1672, 191: "den uytnemend klein-levend schilder"; "seer nette kleinheid"; "gelyk als eygen."; "van het leven nauwlijks is te onderscheyden."

26 Among others, see Sluijter 1988a, 15 and 26.

27 Chapman 1986, 247-248; Sluijter 1988a, 31; Miedema 1989, 189-190.

28 For biographical information on Angel's turbulent life, see Miedema 1989, 182-189.

29 Miedema 1987, 2; Sluijter 1988a, 31; and Miedema 1989, 190. In the seventeenth century, the economically strongest groups were still able to establish their own guild. In addition to painters these were chiefly workers in precious metals, book printers and glaziers. On the history of the Leiden Guild of St Luke, which was never considered as a fully-fledged guild by the municipal authorities, see Sluijter 1988a, 29-33; and Miedema 1989, 189-190.

30 Obreen 1877-90, vol. 5, 189: "'t welck jammer waer, want van outs Leijden van treffelijcke Mrs. vermaert is geweest." Further, see Sluijter 1988a, 29-33.

31 Angel 1642, 52 (where he laments that painters were not permitted to have their own dissection place for the study of anatomy): "onse Konst...Leyden [welcke een Voesterstadt is van alle groote Geesten] in meer vermaertheyt doet uytsteecken."

32 In her excellent article on Angel's title print, Perry Chapman notes the use of the title vignette of Isaack van Aelst's title print for Samuel Marolois' *Perspectiva*, 1637 (Chapman 1986, fig. 2). She was not aware, however, of the existence of the title vignette by Jacob Marcus (see, among others, the printer's marks on the title page of Heinsius' edition of Johannes Secundus, *Itineraria* of 1618, on the back page of his *Opera* of 1619, fig. 3, and on the title page of Clusius, *Summi Botanici* of 1619). Angel's title page, therefore, appears to evidence a substantially less erudite ingenuity than she believed (Sluijter 1991 [1997], note 50). On the enclosed garden as an image of national and local patriotism, see Chapman 1986, 239-244, with additional literature.

33 The representation in the left shield is not clear. More on this in the following note.

34 Miedema believes that the representation on the left shield is an armed arm (Miedema 1989, 191). It is not clear to me what exactly is reproduced, but Miedema might be right. He interprets this as possibly indicating "a somewhat bloated intention to vigorously defend the interests of art [that is to say of its practitioners]," which is related to the fact that he believes that the garden refers to painting's struggle to acquire a protected autonomy in the form of a guild (and not so much referring to national or local patriotism). While such a specific meaning may perhaps be attributed to this garden (also already suggested by Chapman 1986, 248), I think it likelier that the motif of Minerva standing in the garden in Jacob Marcus' title vignette – there, naturally, rife with national and local implications (she carries the arms of Leiden on the banner and those of Holland are on the fence) – is borrowed solely because it afforded such a nice opportunity (by changing the words *Ac. Lug. Bat.* into *Pictura*) to put Leiden painting on a par with Leiden scholarship as a source of local pride (as Orlers actually did), while at the same time evoking associations of local protection.

35 In the introduction of Chapter 12 (Orlers 1614, 208; ed. 1641, 280): "Desgelijcx soo heeft haer Leyden te roemen...de Const-rijcke Schilder-Const." See also the passage cited on p. 201: "in equal measure' (in gelijcker maten ende wijsee), etc. (Orlers 1614, 259; ed. 1641, 352).

36 See also Miedema 1989, 195 and 204.
37 Angel 1642, *2: "als wel op de ghebruyckelicke woorden die de Schilders onder den anderen ghebruycken."
38 On Angel's sources, see Miedema 1989, 194-196, and his commentary in Angel/Hoyle/Miedema 1996.
39 This part is based on the preface in Van Mander, *Leven*, 601-61v.
40 Angel 1642, 13: "hoe onse Konst van hant tot hant allencxkens gevordert is geworden."
41 Angel 1642, 13: "It was thus that our art ascended, step by step" (Dus is onse Konst van trap tot trap op gheklommen).
42 Published in Traudenius 1662, 17: "Zag Zeuxis dit banket, hy wierd al weêr bedroogen:/ Hier leit geen verf, maer geest en leven op 't paneel./ Dou schilder niet, ô neen, hy goochelt met 't penseel." The poem was earlier cited by Martin 1901, 60. Which painting it refers to is not clear. Dou's best pupil, Frans van Mieris, would also be compared with Parrhasius and Zeuxis (see Sluijter 1988a, 21). The familiarity of the anecdote is clear from, for example, the fact that even someone like the city historian Van Bleijswijck dishes it up, positing that some of the Delft painters may be compared with Zeuxis and Parrhasius (Van Bleijswijck 1667, 859).
43 This *Painter Smoking a Pipe in a Window* is not dated; a date around 1647, as given by Ronni Baer in her catalogue, seems the most likely. On this painting, see Sluijter *et al.* 1988, 98-100; and Hecht 1989, 40-45.
44 On the motif of the smoking painter, see Raupp 1984, 235-241 and my commentary on it: Sluijter 1990b, 295-298. On the fact that it is certainly not a self-portrait as so many, including Raupp, believed, see Sluijter *et al.* 1988, 98-100.
45 Such a comparison, a *laus ex comparatione*, is fully in keeping with a rhetorically constructed encomium. Angel certainly must have had some inkling of this; parts of the first half of his book also belong to the familiar rhetorical topoi of praise (Miedema 1989, 195; and compare Becker 1972-73, 115).
46 For an introduction to this, see Blunt 1962, 48-57; for some examples, see Klein/Zerner 1966, 4-16.
47 Angel 1642, 24-25. Virtually the entire passage on the sculpture *paragone* is taken from Jan de Brune the Younger's introduction in Junius 1641, ***4v-5v. "Semblance without being" (Schijn sonders sijn), however, is a term from Angel. De Brune used "seemingly beautiful and not real" (schoonschijnigh en niet waerachtigh). Angel's choice of words recall chiefly Van Mander's "semblance of being" (schijn van het zijn) (*Leven*, 61v; see further below, 252). Angel also makes numerous combinations with "schijn" or semblance. Naturally, De Brune's discussion harks back to the Italian *paragone* debate. His source cannot be definitely pinpointed, but this argument was used earlier in Bronzino's letter to Benedetto Varchi (Klein/Zerner 1966, 13). In the famous debate incited by Benedetto Varchi, Varchi himself gave a Solomonic judgement using related terminology. He places both arts on the same level because each body has two aspects: *sostanza* and *accidenti*. The sculptor represents chiefly the first, and the painter the second. The latter, the transient, incidental outward appearance, however, was very negatively viewed precisely in sixteenth-century Tuscan-Roman art theory and primarily connected to Northern art (see De Vecchi 1990, 64). Closely related to Angel's argument, but more sophisticatedly phrased, is Galilei's: "the farther removed the means by which one imitates are from the thing to be imitated, the more worthy of wonder the imitation will be." See Hecht 1984, 133.
48 He also adopted this from De Brune (see previous note). See, for instance, a similar enumeration by Van Mander at the beginning of the biography of Gillis van Coninxloo (*Leven*, 267v). The capacity to render all of the facets of the visible world was already adduced by various painters in response to Varchi's question about the primacy of the arts (see previous note), and remarkably by Vasari and Pontormo. For this occasion they, in fact, expressed a mimesis concept largely at odds with their own art and with Vasari's later theory. Leonardo, however, already discerned a distinction between the "scholarly" *via italiana* and Northern art relying on empirical observation of the various effects of light on different surfaces. On this, see De Vecchi 1990, 63.
49 The spectacular shield in the foreground, must have been one of Rembrandt's studio props: see Rembrandt's so-called *History Scene* of 1626 (Lakenhal, Leiden), where it is also shown in the foreground.
50 On these reliefs, see Sluijter 1988a, 36.
51 In his *paragone* discussion, Leonardo called the bas-relief that form of sculpture closest to painting and also the most difficult. This, he thought, indicated all the more clearly the inferiority of sculpture (Klein/Zerner 1966, 8 and 9).
52 Hecht referred to this earlier (Hecht 1989, 38).
53 Sluijter *et al.* 1988, 101-103; and Hecht 1989, 48-51.
54 Angel 1642, 26. This is an interesting variant of a frequently used argument in the Italian *paragone* debate, which concerned the fact that sculpture is less noble because it requires great physical labor – thus being more of a mechanical craft than a liberal art (Klein/Zerner 1966, 5 and 12). In the ideology of the latter, physical labor was fundamentally wrong. The so determining context of the liberal arts thus vanishes entirely in the argument used by Angel.
55 For a good account of *natura* and *ars* in connection with art cabinets painted in *trompe-l'oeil*, see Muylle 1992, 253-262.
56 Van Hoogstraten 1678, 11-12: "niet alleen schijne de konst te beminnen, maer dat hy in der daet, in de aerdicheden der bevallijke natuur uit te beelden verlieft is."

Van Mander (*Grondt*, 21 [Chapter 1, 13] and *Leven*, 143v and 268). On the motif of the erotic relationship between the painter and his art in the circle around Van Mander and Goltzius, see Sluijter in this volume, "Venus, Visus and Pictura," 131-144.
57 Angel 1642, 27-30. On this, see Sluijter 1991, 177-179 (Sluijter 1997, 79-80); see also Miedema 1989, 194-195.
58 Witstein 1980, *passim.*
59 Angel 1642, 28: "De waerde Schilder-Kunst verdient al grooter loff,/ Want boven haer vermaeck soo komter voordeel off./ Ick winne machtich gelt, ick maecke groote stucken,/.../ Hier drijf ick handel meed', en vry met groot ghewin,/ En dat's een dienstich werck voor huys en huysghesin."
60 Angel 1642, 30: "Soo ghy een Coompman lieft, Ick kan oock handel drijven,/ En kan noch door de Konst mijn saecken beter stijven."
61 Schenkeveld 1991, 26, 20-29 and 58-75 for both the ideology and the social position of the poet. See also the following note.
62 Angel 1642, 30: "Siet daer, door een Poët selfs de Schilder-Konst boven de Poësy gestelt."
63 Junius 1641, 242. See Emmens 1968, 161-174 on "theoretically" desirable positions with respect to honor and profit. For an account of the ideology of poets, see the references in the preceding note. With the exception of De Brune's preface, Angel appears to have had no interest in Junius' own text. Junius is even notably absent from Angel's list of authors who had written about art (Angel 1642, 32; however, he certainly took several names here from Junius)! Goltzius' famous device "Honor above gold" (Eer boven Golt) is entirely in keeping with the classic humanistic tradition and for Van Mander, too, the artist's true motivation was first and foremost the love of art (Miedema 1973, 212, note 144). Yet he is ambivalent about "gewin", or profit, which also affords social status (compare Van Mander/Miedema 1973, vol. 2, 346, 506 and Miedema 1981, 63, 264-267, 275-279). For an interesting discussion on the problems with the concepts of honor and profit and the pursuit of status with respect to Anton Mor and portraiture, see Woodall 1990, *passim.*
64 For a recent summary of the known information on the structure of the urban society and the social position of the artist in seventeenth-century Holland, see North 1992.
65 On Dou's father, see Martin 1901, 18-19. Gerrit inherited the houses in 1656 (Gemeentelijke Archiefdienst Leiden, Notarieel Archief, 844, notary C. van Berendregt, nos. 35-36, 25 March 1656). For the tax levied on the two-hundredth part of the capital, and "with the inheritance of his father" (met d'erffenisse van zijn vader) Dou was assessed at 45 guilders, the highest capital levy for a painter in this tax record (this would appear to be chiefly capital acquired through inheritance – the easiest to verify). Kohier 200ste penning 1666, 82 (GAL, Secretarie Archief II, 4231). In 1640 Dou purchased a house on the Galgewater (the present location of no. 6 Galgewater, formerly called the Korte Oude Vest), for 2,000 guilders (GAL, Belastingboek AII Noord Rapenburg, 283v and Rechterlijk Archief 67, Waarboek PPP, 189). At his death, Dou owned the three houses that he had inherited from his father and a capital of 19,500 guilders (Martin 1901, 83).
66 Obreen 1877-90, vol. 5, 197 (Van Staveren) and 198 (Dou).
67 On this (in addition to De Pape and Van Staveren may be mentioned Van Gaesbeeck and Van Swieten); see Sluijter 1988a, 33-34.
68 Sluijter 1988a, 34 and 37-38, with additional literature. See also note 77 below.
69 Von Sandrart 1675 (Peltzer 1925), 196: "He calculated the fee on the basis of the hours he spent on his work, which he recorded daily, so that for every hour he charged one Flemish pound [= 6 guilders]" (Den Tax seiner Arbeit rechnete er nach den Stunden die er daran gearbeitet und täglich aufgeschrieben, so dass er für jede Stund ein Pfund Flemsch ... gerechnet). In my view there is no reason to doubt this – in itself exceptional statement – by Sandrart, who must have known Dou. At the most, he may have exaggerated the amount; for example, Sandrart doubled the annual amount Dou received from Spiering – mentioned by Angel – to 1,000 guilders.
70 Angel 1642, 20-23. Timomachus received from Caesar "80 talents, which would be 48,000 gold crowns in our reckoning" and Aristides 100 talents "by our reckoning 60,000 gold crowns". Pliny had already mentioned the amounts, which were taken over by Van Mander (*Leven*, 87r and 71v, respectively). For Timomachus, Van Mander mentions that Varro stated that a talent is equal to 16,000 "penningen", or pennies, while Budaeus thought it was only 1,000. Elsewhere, Van Mander stated that a talent "is 600 crowns in our reckoning" (in the biography of Pamphilius; 72r). On the basis of this, Angel made his own calculations and in the case of Aristides included a currency conversion.
71 On Christina of Sweden's envoy and the paintings that he bought from Dou, see Martin 1901, 41-46.
72 Angel 1642, 23: "dat het niet alleen in voorleden eeuwen alsoo gheweest is, dat de Schilders om haer Konst geacht en ghe-eert sijn gheweest, maer dat het oock noch in dese onse eeuwe alsoo toe gaet."
73 Angel 1642, 22: "boven den loon van sijn arbeyt jaerlicx tot een onderhoudinghe gaff 400 goude Croonen."
74 On this painting, see Hecht 1989, 32-35, and my commentary on his interpretation: Sluijter in this volume, "On *Fijnschilders*...," 340 n. 14.
75 Alpers 1988, 94-95.
76 See note 59 above.
77 On this, and with additional literature, see Sluijter 1988a, 37-38; and Broos 1987, 111-118 (one of the works was

certainly the *Young Mother*, now in the Mauritshuis, The Hague).
78 Cited by Houbraken 1718-21 (ed. 1753), vol. 3, 33 (also in Traudenius 1662, 25): "Hoe DOUW! Zal Stuart u, de Vuurbaak der penceelen,/ Naar Withal sleepen, ai gaa niet in Karels Hof,/ Verkoop uw vryheid niet voor rook, voor wind en stof,/ Wie 's Vorsten gunst zoekt, moet voor slaaf en vleyer speelen." In Van Mander's *Leven*, the court is mentioned several times as a morally objectionable environment (Miedema 1981, 54-55), which, naturally, in many writings was a frequently recurring motif. It is striking that here, however, emphasis lies on the deprivation of freedom.
79 Von Sandrart 1675 (Peltzer 1925), 196 and 351. See also note 69 above. See also Sluijter 1988a, 24-28. In contrast to other authors (Wheelock 1978, *passim*), I do not think that Sandrart's comments on Dou are negatively meant.
80 We know that 22 of the 27 paintings by Dou that Johan de Bye owned in 1665 were in "a case" (een kas); four of these were painted on the exterior (for the inventory, see Martin 1901, 171-173). Of De le Boe Sylvius' 11 Dou's (inv. 1673), four had painted doors and two were in a "case" (cas) (see Lunsingh Scheurleer/Fock/Van Dissel 1986-1992, vol. 3a, 337). For example, the *Young Woman at her Toilette* (our fig. 199) from the Sylvius collection had painted doors (on this, see Sluijter 1988a, 152). Of the early works by Dou that Spiering purchased for Christina of Sweden, one was in a "black case" (chassis noir).
81 This painting, originally part of the cabinet of Johan de Bye, is said to have been bought at the beginning of the eighteenth century by the Elector Palatine for 30,000 gulden (!) and given to Eugene of Savoy.
82 This exceptional collection of works by Dou hung in a room specially rented for that purpose in the Breestraat (a contract to this effect was drawn up in 1665 with an inventory of the paintings) and, according to an advertisement of the same year in the *Haarlemsche Courant*, was open to all from 11 to 12 o'clock! On this, see Martin 1901, 72-76, 171-173, and Sluijter 1988a, 36-37.
83 For example, see the inventory of no one less than Jan Orlers "A silver ewer and basin worth about 300 guilders given to me in the year 1632 by Jan Francois Tartarolis" (Een silveren Becken ende lampet omtrent 300 gld. waerdich Ao 1632 mij vereert bij Jan Francois Tartarolis) (Gemeentelijke Archiefdienst Leiden, Weeskamerarchief 2049 G, November 1640). Martin also mentioned a ewer with which the Leiden burgormasters honored someone (Martin 1901, 80). In 1643, Pieter Cornelis Hooft received a silver ewer and basin from the stadholder for his *Nederlandsche Historiën* (Van Tricht 1980, 217). Dou's ewer is a late sixteenth-century specimen.
84 Compare the chain and the medallion presented by Ferdinand III, which Samuel van Hoogstraten incorporated in his *trompe-l'oeil* still lives (Brusati 1990-91, 180-181). The giver may have been one of the two very wealthy collectors, Johan de Bye or François de le Boe Sylvius (see note 80 above). The ewer recurs in two paintings owned by De Bye (in the *Sick Woman* and the *Trumpeter*, both now in the Louvre) and in a painting owned by Sylvius (the *Young Woman at her Toilette*, now in the Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen). It may also be seen in the lost triptych known only from a copy by Joseph Laquy (Rijksmuseum); all of these works are from the 1660s.
85 Brenninkmeijer-de Rooij 1990, 221 and 230 (*Idem* 1996, 50 and 60). The letter by Brueghel is from 1606, the remarks Borromeo made about the jewel and payment in his *Musaeum* from 1625.
86 See also Sluijter 1988c, 159-160. For an entirely different, and in my view incorrect and forced interpretation, see Snoep-Reitsma 1973, *passim*. The ewer and towel as a moralizing symbol of purity – and indicating an admonitory contrast between good and evil – does not seem applicable to me. That the ewer and basin can evoke *vanitas* associations (in Visscher 1614, no. LIII, a similar ewer is used as a symbol of vanity) naturally seems apparent, given the combination with the sick woman.
87 This awareness was gratefully seized upon in negative criticism on painting. In this criticism there is a recurring emphasis on the "vanity" of painting, which records that which is transient and thereby seduces the eyes (on this "seduction", see also note 103 below). This is most clearly expressed by Camphuyzen, see the Introduction in this volume, 10-12 and Sluijter 1991, 188-189 (Sluijter 1997, 85-86).
88 Sluijter 1998b, *passim*.
89 Something comparable is found in paintings by Pieter Claesz, for example, in which the reflection of the painter and his easel is seen in reflective surfaces that are part of a *vanitas* still life (Georgel/Lecocq 1983, 187-189; Sluijter 1988d, 146-150; Brusati 1990-91, *passim*; Sluijter 1998b, 184).
90 Angel 1642, 48. This is also taken from De Brune (in Junius 1641, ***5v [see note 47): "Wy...sullen de verslindinghe der sterflickheyt door onse Konst ontwarstelen, ende in spijte der breeck-neck aller dinghen (de doodt) overwinnen."
91 Angel 1642, 29: "Your sweet and youthful image I promise to convey/ To the ages that come after us, so artfully...Art and its power will bring you everlasting life/ Even though your life itself will long have run its course" (Ick sal dit aerdich Beelt van uwe jonghe daghen,/ Aen d'Euwe die ons volcht soo konstich overdraghen....Soo dat ghy door de Kunst als eeuwich leven sult,/ Schoon dat u levens tijt sal langhe sijn vervult).
92 Angel 1642, 25: "soo konnen de Schilderyen eenige honderde jaren duyren, het welcke ghenoech is."
93 For an extensive discussion of this painting, see Sluijter 1998b. I have no doubt that the young man too – just like the portrait he holds – is Bailly himself, but then as he once appeared. In addition to the fact that the passing of time is here literally represented, the image of the young man holding his portrait at a later age also shows that painting through the manipulation of various layers of the illusion of reality (the young man appears to be "alive", the old man a painted portrait, yet they are both equally paint on canvas) can also manipulate time.
94 Angel 1642, 26: "in soodanighe ghestalte als de Schilder dat gewilt heeft/ dat het hem verthoonen soude; sonder aen de wille van den gebruycker gehouden te sijn."
95 Worth noting is that earlier Lucas de Heere in a comparison with poetry (in a poem praising painting, the last refrain, of his *Hof* published in 1565), used the greater intrusiveness of sight as an argument in favor of painting: " It is not just mute poetry as the old tune says,/ But so eloquent that one notices [the impact of] something sooner/ Through a good painting, standing in house or church,/ than through words, by reading and writing (Z'en is gheen stom' Poësie naer t'oude lied,/ Maer zoo wel sprekende datmen eer yet can mercken/ Deur een rechte schilderye, staende in huus oft kercken,/ Dan dickmaels deur de woorden, d'lesen oft schrijven); and to this De Heere added that painting shows us as mirrors events from the past, passions and everything in nature (De Heere 1565 [ed. 1969], 109; see Becker 1972-73, 114-117). In De Heere's thinking, this effect has a function primarily in the service of didacticism, something entirely absent in Angel.
96 This thought was expressed by various classical authors (Aristotle, Horace, Quintilian), and is found in this time in many variations, mostly in negative criticism of painting (see, for example, Sluijter 1986, 270-277 and Sluijter in this volume, "Venus, Visus and Pictura," 118-123). In his introduction to Junius (which was an important source of inspiration for Angel), De Brune quoted Polibius in a positive sense: "The eyes are far more perceptive witnesses than our ears, Polibius said" (D'oogen sijn veel scherper ghetuygen seydt Polibius, dan wel onse ooren), and Quintilian, "A painting, a silent work, and always presenting the same appearance, penetrates the inner workings of our mind so deeply that it frequently surpasses the power of eloquence" (De Schilderye een stille-swijghende werck, ende altijdt den selvighen schijnhoudende, dringht soo diep in de binnenste beweginghen onses gehmoedts, datse menigh-mael de kracht der wel spreekenheyt selver schijnt te boven te gaen) (Junius 1641, ***4r; and 43-45). Angel gave a few anecdotes that "prove" the powerful effect of the image (also with derivations from De Brune and Van Mander) in an earlier part of his encomium; Angel 1642, 13-20. These pertain to the arousal of emotions, something which in the rest of his text, Angel appears to have had little interest in. See also the Introduction to this volume.
97 For opinions about the relationship between word and image among the literary elite, see Emmens 1956, *passim*.
98 Angel 1642, 24: "het Oogh 't eelste is van alle de vijff sinnen en dat het Ghesichte de verwe tot sijn voor-worpselen heeft."
99 "Maer [och!] wat uytleg en wat lof kan veylig staen,/ By toonsels die 't gemoet uyt eygen aert beschaen?" On Camphuyzen's extremely negative, and therefore highly enlightening view of painting, see Sluijter 1986, 274-275; and Sluijter 1991, 188-189 (Sluijter 1997, 85-86). See also the Introduction to this volume, 10-12; and note 103 below.
100 Sluijter 1986, 270-277 and primarily Sluijter in this volume, "Venus, Visus and Pictura," 118-123.
101 Angel 1642, 39, 40, 43, 54, 55. See also the following note. In fact, one was even safeguarded by Calvin's opinion that there was no objection to the function of non-narrative representations as being to please the eye. Calvin said that one was only allowed to represent things "...that the eyes can understand. Such as histories and stories that have a function in instructing and admonishing: or physical things, which are meaningless, and therefore can do nothing other than please the eye" (... die de oogen begrijpen kunnen. Als daer zijn Historyen en geschiedenissen, die eenig gebruik hebben tot leeren en vermaenen: of lichaemelijke dingen, die niets en beduiden, en derhalven niet anders kunnen doen, dan het ooge behaegen) (here in the quote cited by Van Hoogstraten 1678, 359). Elsewhere, Calvin wrote emphatically that man should enjoy the rich diversity of God's creation: "Did not the Lord bestow such great beauty on flowers, which presents itself to our eyes...and would it then not be permissible for the eyes to be struck by that beauty ... Did He not differentiate colors, so that the one is more pleasant than the other?" (*Institutie*, vol. 2, Book III, Chapter 10; quoted in De Klijn 1982, 46).
102 Van Mander also indicated that a great diversity of things are pleasing and amusing for the eyes, which he compares to bees in a field of flowers; see note 125 below. Naturally, Van Mander did not attach to this Angel's materialistic consequences.
103 The thought that all that is beautiful in a painting arouses "desire" (begheer-lust), was naturally expressed by Camphuyzen in a highly negative way; on this, see Sluijter 1986, 274-275; and *idem* in the Introduction to this volume, 10-12.
104 Angel 1642, *2. This phrase is from Angel's dedication to Overbeeck, whom he thanks for being allowed to visit his cabinet "to satisfy the desire of my inquisitive eyes" (om te versadighen de lust van mijn nieuwsgierighe ooghen).
105 Von Sandrart 1675 (Peltzer 1925), 195: "... alles was sonst in ein Lebens-grosses Bild an Zeichnung, Colorit, hohen Liecht, Schatten und Glanz gehörig, ganz verwunderlich und vollkommen in sehr kleine und Fingers lange Bildlein mit Olfarben gemahlt, so wunderbar, lebhaft, stark, gewaltig, mit guter Erhebung und Harmonie, dass niemals vor ihme einiger dergleichen kleine Stucke verfärtiget."

106 Von Sandrart 1675 (Peltzer 1925), 195: "ganz eine andere und zuvor niemalen gesehene Manier angenommen [habe]."
107 Miedema 1989, 197-204.
108 In the same time, this was vigorously forwarded by the philologist Junius in his *De Schilder-const der Oude* (the first edition in Latin appeared in 1637). This scholarly treatise influenced art theory later in the century (Emmens 1968, 67-69; and Ellenius 1960, 33-54).
109 Angel 1642, 37: "dat hy 't genomen onder het sijne soo soet vloeyende weet te voughen, dat het selve niet bemerckt en kan werden."
110 Angel 1642, 36: "tot loff van den Meester, daer het af genomen wert."
111 Angel 1642, 37: "De Rapen...sijn wel goede kost, wanneerse wel ghestooft sijn." By saying "the aforementioned great mind said" (seyt de voor-gemelde Geest), Angel makes it seem as if he is quoting Van Mander literally. However, Van Mander says that "Well-boiled turnips make good soup" (Wel ghecoockte rapen is goe pottage) (*Grondt*, 5r; Chapter 1, 46). That Dou would have portrayed this saying, as Emmens believed (Emmens 1968, 133-134), is based on a sophisticated, but unfortunately incorrect reading of the painting in question (Montpellier, Musée Fabre). To start with, the woman in this work is not scraping turnips, but parsnips.
112 Miedema 1989, 197; and Miedema 1973, 388-389 (in the latter is a somewhat different view of Angel's use of this concept).
113 Van Mander, *Grondt*, 5r (Chapter 1, 46): "Steelt, armen, beenen, lijven, handen, voeten,/ T'is hier niet verboden...."
114 For references to examples of competition in Van Mander's *Leven*, see Miedema 1981, 72-78.
115 Van Mander, *Leven*, 212r. Naturally included in both editions of Orlers' *Beschrijvinge*.
116 On these maidservants, see Sluijter in this volume, "On *Fijnschilders*...," 271-278.
117 Dou's *piskijkers* from the early 1650s are the earliest representations with doctors in Northern Netherlandish genre painting. The idea for Dou's astronomers and dentists also appears to come from this book; compare Amman, *Der Doctor*, *Der Astronomus* and *Der Zanbrecher* (Amman/Sachs 1568 [ed. 1973], 19, 21 and 60 respectively).
118 See Huygens/Heesakkers 1987, 85-86, for Huygens' keenly observed characterization of Rembrandt's early work in the autobiography of his youth.
119 Van Mander, *Grondt*, 27r (Chapter 6, 55); Chapter 6 of the *Grondt* is entirely devoted to the "The depiction of emotions, passions, desires and sufferings of man" (Wtbeeldinghe der Affecten, passien, begeerlijckheden en lijden der Menschen).
120 Strauss/Van der Meulen 1979, 161 ff.: "die meeste ende die natuereelste beweechgelickheyt." Compare also Van Mander, *Grondt*, 25v (Chapter 6, 35): "But to the *motus* [movement] of the exterior of the body,/ The changes and the motions of the limbs,/ We must attend, to the profit of our art/ So that everyone can easily see/ What our figures are undergoing or what they are doing" (Maer op den *motus* des Lichaems van buyten,/ T'veranderen en t'roeren der lidtmaten,/ Moeten wy achten, tot constigher baten/ Dat een yeghelijck mach lichtelijck mercken,/ T'gheen onse Beelden lijden, ofte wercken).
121 He does not even discuss this in his extensive instructions for the painting of histories (Angel 1642, 44-51). Earlier in his treatise, in his comparison with poetry, Angel mentions only the "distinction between emotions" (onderscheyt van de beweeginghe), when he discusses the immediacy of painting. See notes 94 and 96 above.
122 Van Mander, *Grondt*, 17r (Chapter 5, 25-26).
123 Van Mander, *Grondt*, 17v (Chapter 5, 27): "D'overvloet oft Copia veel vermijden,/ En in't weynich eensaem, weldoen verblijden."
124 Van Mander, *Grondt*, 17v (Chapter 5, 27-29).
125 Van Mander, *Grondt*, 17v-18r (Chapter 5, 32-33): "Soecken veel plaetsen om hen te vermeyden,/ Al waer hen lust met behaghen gheleyden,/ Behonghert om meer sien onder en boven,/ Als lecker Gasten, nae veelderley proven."
126 Angel 1642, 28: "een vloeynde ende eyghentlijcke by een voeghende gheest."
127 Testifying to this are numerous paintings, chiefly by Flemish fifteenth-century painters, with portraits, saints and Madonnas, from Jan van Eyck and Rogier van der Weyden to Quinten Metsijs. A particularly striking 'predecessor' of Dou's use of this motif is Petrus Christus' *Saint Eligius* of 1449 (New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art; Lehman Coll.).
128 This motif, too, is derived from Rembrandt. Compare the painting of a scholar in Stockholm dated 1631 that, though no longer accepted as an autograph work, is undoubtedly a composition by Rembrandt (Bruyn *et al.*, 1982-, vol. 1, C 17).
129 Also compare Jan Victors' *Girl Leaning out of a Window* dated 1640 (Paris, Louvre). In the case of such life-size figures, where the framing window functions solely to allow the figures to project forward in an illusionistic manner (an earlier example is Honthorst's *Violinist* of 1623 in the Rijksmuseum), the nature of the play with such motifs, however, differs fundamentally from Dou's 'miniature' world.
130 Angel 1642, 39-40.
131 In response to this, Miedema made the – for me incomprehensible – statement that one could only guess at what Angel was here proposing, given that the Leiden painters were not Caravaggists and "Gerrit Dou, also, is not notable for a powerful articulation of light and shadow" (Miedema 1989, 199).
132 Angel 1642, 39: "veel dinghen, die nauwelijcx door gheen Penceelen met verwen zijn na te bootsen seer eyghentlijck doen schijnen."

133 De Piles 1699, 439: "ses Ouvrages sont terminez comme la Nature même sans rien perdre de la fraîcheur, de l'union ni de la force des Couleurs non plus que d'intelligence du Clair-obscur." See also Félibien 1679, 52 and *idem*, 1666-88, vol. 4, 158. Von Sandrart 1675 (Peltzer 1925), 195.
134 Only two early window pieces form an exception: the 1647 *Grocer's Shop* in the Louvre and the above-mentioned *Old Painter at Work* (our fig. 164).
135 On Rembrandt's often discussed 'use' of Titian's *Ariosto* and Raphael's *Castiglione*, see Brown/Kelch/Van Thiel (eds) 1991, 218-221, with additional literature. Stephanie Dickey emphasized the striking connection with Dürer's *Self-Portrait* of 1498, in a lecture given at the Rembrandt Symposium in the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam 16/17 January 1992.
136 On the various aspects of Rembrandt's remarkable stance with respect to the spatial function of light and dark, see the excellent article by Ernst van de Wetering 1991, 12-39, esp. 32-33.
137 On this, see Bedaux 1992, 298-302. According to Van Hoogstraten (1678, 63), Dou painted a spinning wheel in this fashion. This is found, in any case, around 1655 in a painting by Maes.
138 Angel 1642, 41: "aenghesien wy na-bootsers van 't leven sijn, soo en moetmen om wat meerder moeyten [alsmen de natuerlicke dingen daer mede nader by komt] niet achter laten)."
139 Angel 1642, 43: "oock een meerder begheer-lust tot de Kunst soude verwecken."
140 Angel 1642, 54-55. *Toers* derived its name from the silk industry in Tours; *floers* was chiefly made in black (for example for widow's veils). Information kindly provided by Irene Groeneweg. Miedema (Miedema 1989, 203) noted that the rendering of fabrics was also extensively treated by Van Mander. In this, Van Mander displays the 'Northern' interest in depicting the appearance of various materials by distinguishing the shape of the folds and reflections, which had enjoyed a long tradition since Van Eyck. This interest is not reflected in Italian treatises.
141 Angel 1642, 55: "dese verscheydenheden op 't aengenaemste voor yders ooge."
142 Angel 1642, 55: "de schrale ruyge Laecken-achtigheyt, en de gladde Satijne effenheyt."
143 Van Mander, *Grondt*, 33v (Chapter 7, 53-55): "Met vlijtighen opmercken is te leeren,/ Hoe glansende Visschen, Tennen en eeren [tin en koper],/ Malcander de Reverberaty deelen,/ Exempel in lange Piers tafereelen."
144 Van Mander, *Grondt*, 33v (Chapter 7, 53-55): "... men meent te sien alderhande dinghen,/ Doch ist maer verwe, die hy wist te minghen."
145 See note 42 above.
146 Angel 1642, 53-54.
147 Angel 1642, 53: "doet de Meester daer noch al van 'tsijne te veel toe."
148 Angel 1642, 53: "eygentlicke 't leven na bij komt sonder nochtans de Meesters manieren daer in te konnen vinden die het ghemaect heeft."
149 Angel 1642, 53-54: "ongewoone over-een-kominge"; or "na-by-kominghe nae 't leven"; "eyghentlick, en niet min Veranderlick"; "Eeren-croon."
150 Cited by Martin 1901, 43: "... so en siet men nergend eenige verheventheyt van verwen, begintsel noch eynde aent heele werck en schijnt mer gewassen off als enen waessem daerop geschildert."
151 Angel 1642, 55-56.
152 Huygens 1987, 90-91. Huygens had great reservations regarding "the excessive enthusiasm of the greater public" that gaped at Torrentius' work, but nevertheless admitted that this painter appeared to be "a miracle" in the representation of "inanimate objects". Torrentius, however, is incapable of portraying people and other living creatures; something must have gone wrong with the divine inspiration some had attributed to him, Huygens notes mockingly.
153 Van Gool 1750-51, vol. 2, 4: "...hoe net en uitvoerig hy alles [ook] heeft uitgewerkt, [toch] straelt de zwierige lossigheit van zyn penseel overal in door."
154 Angel did this in the section where he discusses the need for a sure drawing hand, citing as an example the depiction of a *tronie* (Angel 1642, 37-38).
155 Montias 1987, Montias 1990, *passim* and Sluijter 1996, 38-46. That a painter produced a less expensive type of painting making use of a technique aimed at a rapid production process does not necessarily imply that he was, therefore, less appreciated. The great admiration for Jan van Goyen, for example, is evident from Orlers' exceptional praise.
156 This intriguing fact served as the point of departure for Alpers 1988.
157 On this, see Van de Wetering 1991, 26-33, which certainly stimulated the following description.
158 On these works, see Sluijter *et al.* 1988, 97-98; and Hecht 1989, 24-27. The woman is reading about the entry into Jericho in Chapter 19 of the Gospel of Luke.
159 Gombrich 1976, *passim*. Compare Van de Wetering 1991, 26 and 33.
160 In talking about Holbein, Van Mander mentions a "neat curious work" (net curieus werck) (*Leven*, 222). For a number of places where this occurs, see Miedema 1981, 147.
161 On Van Mander and Northern traditions, see Melion 1992. In Chapter 4, Melion treats a few, in his view fundamental, terms that Van Mander uses with respect to Northern painters, including "netticheyt", or neatness.
162 Van Mander, *Leven*, 210v: "netticheyt en den aerdt der Consten."
163 Van Mander's description is of *The Healing of the Blind of Jericho* (St Petersburg, Hermitage), then owned by

Goltzius. Van Mander, *Leven*, 212v/213r: "seer natuerlijck en eyghentlijck uytghebeeldt/ .../ soo net en eyghentlijck ghehandelt/ .../ alles natuerlijck in 't leven voor ooghen heeft." And: "wonderlijck los, aerdich, en overvloedich wel gheordineert en gheschildert/ .../ die natuerlijcke waerneminghe" (Orlers 1614, 267; ed. 1642, 360). Moreover, it is notable that with respect to this relatively small, square triptych Van Mander speaks of "a case with two doors "(een Casse met twee deuren) and somewhat later of "a case that can be closed" (sluytende kasken) with the Virgin and Child, thus with the same terminology encountered in inventories with paintings by Dou (see note 80).

164 Van Mander, *Grondt*, 48r (Chapter 12, 21). See also Miedema 1989, 203. Criticism of a "too great diligence and meticulousness" (te groote neersticheyt en sorgvuldichey) that "is sometimes detrimental", because it is lacking in "spirit and grace" (geest en gratie) is found in Van Mander as well in his biography of Apelles that was based on Pliny (Van Mander, *Leven*, 77v).

165 Van Mander, *Grondt*, 48r (Chapter 12, 21): "... door ooghen onversadich,/ T'herte vast cleven met lusten gestadich."

166 Van Mander, *Grondt*, 48r (Chapter 12, 22-25).

167 Van de Wetering 1991, 16-22.

168 Lucas clearly occupied an exceptional place for Orlers, as appears from the fact that in the introduction to his chapter on "Famous Men", after the sentence I quoted in note 8, he suggests that it is primarily Lucas whose work and name will never be forgotten. The nine pages devoted to Lucas' biography is exceeded only by those on the Emperor-elect Willem II and Floris V.

169 Van Mander, *Leven*, 201r: "They are mirrors, mirrors they are, nay these are not scenes" (T'sijn spieghels, spieghels zijnt, neen t'zijn geen Tafereelen) (in the *Ode op het Lam Gods [Ode to the Lamb of God]* by De Heere that he cites).

170 Van Mander, *Leven*, 61v: "alree een schaduwe van t'rechte wesen, en den schijn van het zijn vergeleken."

171 Van Hoogstraten 1678, 25: "Want een volmaekte Schildery is als een spiegel van de Natuer, die de dingen, die niet en zijn, doet schijnen te zijn, en op een geoorlofde, vermakelijke en prijslijke wijze bedriegt."

172 On various aspects of the mirror and reflection in Dutch art of this period, see Sluijter 1988d, *passim*; Sluijter 1988c, *passim*; Sluijter in this volume, "Venus, Visus and Pictura," 90-99, 111-112, 116-118; Brusati 1990-91, *passim*; and Muylle 1992, 259-261.

173 The painting may be the one described in Rembrandt's inventory as a "Courtesan preening" (Cortisana haer pallerende). While I reserve judgement as to whether Dou was consciously quoting Rembrandt's girl here – their pose displays a striking relationship – I do not consider it beyond the realm of possibility. On the relationship of Dou's painting to many seventeenth-century genre scenes with a young woman before a mirror, see Sluijter 1988c, *passim*.

174 See also Sluijter in this volume, "On *Fijnschilders*...," 273-277.

175 On the dating, see note 43 above.

176 Van Mander, *Grondt*, 48r (Chapter 12, 21): "haren welstandt verliest van verren."

177 Houbraken 1718-21 (ed. 1753), vol. 3, 7: "penceelwerk een grote kragt heeft, zelfs veer af."

178 On this, see above p. 210, where I noted that he undermined this illusion also in other ways.

179 Rembrandt's curtain undoubtedly has more than a purely illusionistic significance: see Kemp 1986, *passim*.

180 Sluijter 1990a, 28-33 for my refutation of the 'learned' emblematic interpretation of this painting by Jan Emmens and Eddy de Jongh, with references to the literature on this painting that has since appeared (particularly Gaskell 1982, *passim*, and Alpers 1983, 116-118 introduced interesting new ideas).

181 See the central panel of Bosch' *Haycart* in the Prado. The motif was taken up at the beginning of the seventeenth century in the Northern Netherlands in a print by Jan van de Velde II after an invention by Willem Buytewech (Hollstein, no. 136), with the inscription: "The people want to be deceived" (Populus vult decipi. T'volck wil bedroghen zijn). The quack, like the painter, belongs to the "Children of Mercury", god of eloquence and sharp wit, as well as of commerce and deceit: compare the painting by Sebastian Vrancx, *Harbor with the Children of Mercury*, reproduced in Honig 1998, fig. 1.

182 Just as people now in other languages can say that nonsensical utterances are "scheisse" or "shit", in the seventeenth century "dat is kakken", that is crap [kakken = to shit] meant "nonsense" or "bragging", and "te kakken zetten" could mean "deceive someone". Moreover, a related association may have been the "schijtjager", literally shit chaser or boaster (*WNT*, vol. 8, 1, 901 and 635; Van Sterkenburg 1977, 100 and 186).

183 On Dou's almost hysterical meticulousness, neatness and fear of dust (which will have been imperative in the making of such smooth paintings), see Von Sandrart 1675 (Peltzer 1925), 196.

184 Van Leeuwen 1672, 188: "binnen dese Stad [zijn] geboren ende opgekweekt, de vermaerste Schilders...van het gantse Land." See also note 13 above (on Van Mander and Schrevelius, who earlier said the same of Haarlem).

185 No history paintings are included among the works accepted by Ronni Baer. Only a few very early works whose attributions are contested, such as the *Tobias and Anna* in the National Gallery in London and the *Rest on the Flight into Egypt* (Sale New York, 12 January 1989, no. 43) – both rejected from Rembrandt's oeuvre and with great reservations attributed to Dou (but in my view certainly painted under Rembrandt's direct supervision) – have a text as their source (Bruyn *et al.*, 1982-, vol. 1, C 3 and C 6). Even in these works, however, we are not dealing with an action, but a situation.

186 Angel gives a nice example of this in his explanation of Rembrandt's *Wedding of Samson*, whereby he suggests that it is both historically sound and displays all manner of "natural" (natuyrlicke) actions. Accordingly, the guests portrayed who laugh, embrace, and drink wine, behave just like people "found in our contemporary feasts" (die in onse hedendaechse Feeste ghevonden werden), yet they distinguish themselves to such an extent that they could never be mistaken for present-day wedding guests (Angel 1642, 48).

187 Angel 1642, 50: "wel-ervaren Vrouwe in de Minnen kunst, ofte een Koppelersse ... ghemeenlick daertoe [voor liefdestransacties] ghebruyct."

188 Houbraken 1718-21 (ed. 1753), vol. 2, 5-6: "'s mans vernuft [zich] niet op grootse bespiegelingen [heeft] toegeleid, en zyn penceel tot het verbeelden van waardiger en pryselyker voorwerpen gezet heeft."

189 Emmens 1963, 127-128 and De Jongh 1967, 74 and *idem* 1976, 89.

190 Sluijter 1988a, 24.

191 Gaskell 1982, 16-18, and Raupp 1984, 277-279.

192 Angel 1642, 57: "Dat noyt dach voor-by mach gaen,/ Of daer werdt een treck ghedaen."

193 Angel 1642, 54: "die Eere-croon als verdient hebbende."

Notes to Chapter Seven

* This article is an adaptation of a paper given at the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam (12 January 1990) for a symposium organized by the University of Amsterdam in conjunction with the exhibition *De Hollandse fijnschilders*. It was published in Dutch in *Oud Holland* 105 (1991), 50-63.

1 Hecht 1989, 14. Central to Hecht's concept was providing an image of the history of the reception of painters who were highly esteemed in their own time, but reviled as of the nineteenth century. This had several striking consequences for the organization and coherence of the exhibition. For instance, Hecht does not wish to discuss "the ambivalent position of the always admired Ter Borch and Metsu vis à vis the so-called *Feinmalerei*." He does, however, aim to elucidate "just those qualities that distinguish the most important *fijnschilders* and the relationship between their works" (p. 14). However, this is an impossible task when one includes painters (Caspar Netscher, Eglon van der Neer), whose works largely depend on that by painters who have been omitted from the exhibition. The work of Caspar Netscher in particular, is far closer both thematically and stylistically to that of Ter Borch than of Dou or Van Mieris. Furthermore, in the catalogue entries Hecht give an evolutionary account from Dou to Van der Werff; roughly speaking, it is a good-better-best formula, in which Adriaen van der Werff's work, his training and vision of the art of painting is treated as the standard – one which the author also seems to have embraced as a standard of quality – and which was subsequently projected back on to the earlier painters (the outline of this approach is described in the Introduction, 14-18). In my view, this engenders a number of curious arguments; several generalizations forwarded by Hecht with respect to the cohesion of and development within this 'group' (for he treated them as a group), as well as to the qualities and characteristics of the individual painters make a very forced impression.

2 For example, the reviews by Ghislain Kieft in the *Volkskrant* and Roelof van Gelder in the *NRC/Handelsblad*, which enthusiastically received Hecht's concept of 'meaninglessness'. Yet, six years ago, the latter criticized the comprehensive genre exhibition in Philadelphia, London and Berlin (Sutton 1984) for paying too little attention to symbolism, etc.

3 Hecht 1989, 19.

4 Sluijter 1991 and reprint Sluijter 1997 (originally published in 1988).

5 For this, see Sluijter 1988b, 15-55, esp. 15-23. See also Sluijter in this volume, "In Praise of Painting," 233-258.

6 Van Leeuwen 1672, 191: "dewelke soodanige volmaaktheid...in seer nette kleinheid weet aan te brengen, dat sijn maaksels soo, gelyk als eygen werd, ende van het leven nauwlijks is te onderscheyden." Incidentally, this is entirely different from the "absolute illusionism" that Dou, according to Hecht, strove to attain. He perceives "the striving for absolute illusionism" and an "increasingly deceptive rendering of reality" as being typical of Dou (cat. no. 6). In my view, Hecht deals too coarsely with the concept of illusionism. Dou only rarely pursued true illusionism; as for instance, the *Ewer* in the Louvre depicted life-size in a real niche which, being the exterior of the *Sick Woman* (our figs. 165, 166), had a very special function. Most paintings of Dou, however, give evidence of a fascinating play with illusionistic motifs "in miniature". Hecht, however, lumps all forms of illusionism together, contending that the seventeenth-century concept of illusionism was not particularly exclusive (p. 46).) For this, see Sluijter in this volume, "In Praise of Painting," 210, 220, 244-258.

7 Angel 1642, 39: "met een wensch-begeerte, het oogh der Liefhebberen tot haer dinghen verrucken."

8 Hecht's rebuking art historians for their incorrect interpretations of the *Violinist* (Hecht 1989, cat. no. 6), as a result of the fact that the painting has been scrutinized "far too much on its own" (p. 48), is certainly quite remarkable in the case of this painting. He examines neither the use of the window motif and the relief, nor the subject as a whole – the combination of the violinist with the painter's studio – (see below) in relation to other works.

9 For the latter, see especially Hecht 1989, cat. nos. 2, 22 (our fig. 231), 34, 40, 44 (our fig. 236), 52, and the interpretation of fig. 9c (*The Cellar*) in cat. no. 9 (it is curious that in this playful scene, a didactic admonishment to practice temperance is suddenly discerned, while the painted exterior with a candle, watch, etc. is interpreted as the 'explanation' of the scene).
10 Quote from Hecht, in Hecht 1989, cat. no. 8, 56; from De Jongh, in De Jongh 1997, 22, originally published in 1971 (Hoetink/Van Thiel [eds] 1971, 143-194). See also phrases such as: "a meaning...which, after all, extended further than a...presentation of his ability" (cat. no. 4): a "meaningful explanation" (zinvolle verklaring), versus "only a...sampler of his artistic possibilities" (cat. no. 7): "to be understood as meaningful or even didactic" versus "nothing more than an attractive motif", and "no demonstrable significance...extending beyond what is actually visible" (cat. no. 12).
11 De Jongh 1971, 143-194; De Jongh 1997, 21-56, especially 21-22 (e.g. "reflection of reality" alongside "realized abstraction"); 52 ("symbolism" alongside "empty form"). For this, see also Bedaux 1990, 12-15; and Sluijter 1990a, 5-39, esp. 6-7.
12 See especially Hecht 1989, cat. nos. 1 (our fig. 196), 3 (our fig. 180), 4 (our fig. 207), 6 (our fig. 205), 7, 8 (our fig. 239), 12 (our fig. 238), 13, 23 (our fig. 221) and 25 (our fig. 229).
13 For this, see in particular Hecht 1989, cat. no. 12, 76 note 2; and cat. no. 48, 228, which will be discussed further below (see our figs. 224 and 238).
14 On the other hand, in Hecht 1989, cat. no. 2 (*The Hermit*; our fig. 171), all the details appear "not to have been determined by artistic considerations alone" (one wonders whether the depiction of the lectionary held by the old woman was, in fact, determined by this), a remark which is then followed by a somewhat exaggerated symbolic interpretation. The dead tree (in my opinion, the simplest possible reference to transience), stands for the dead wood of the tree of knowledge versus the regenerative wood of the crucifix (the consistently recurring dead tree is also, however, found in scenes of hermits in which the crucifix is absent). The omnipresent (and virtually never lit!) lantern, stands for the true light, etc. An examination of the many other scenes of hermits would have been useful.
15 Hecht 1989, cat. no. 6, 46-51. With respect to the works of Dou, this isolated consideration is also found in the entry on the *Old Woman* (cat. no. 1) mentioned above, in the entry on the painting in Karlsruhe, discussed extensively below (cat. no. 4), in cat. no. 2 (see note 21) and in cat. no. 3 (the *Student with a Violin in a Study*). According to Hecht, the latter painting (fig. 180) probably only conveys the image "of a student who is expected to be versed in science, music and the use of arms". However, the open book (with a print of an amorous couple) in no way attests to an interest in science. In cat. no. 52 (a *Student Drinking and Smoking* by De Vois), Hecht suddenly devotes almost exaggerated attention to the meaning of pipe smoking and drinking, and it is therefore surprising that he does not note the pipe and empty wine pitcher in cat. no. 3. Apparently, a stereotype has to be utterly self-evident, as in De Vois' *Student*. A comparison with the many other scenes of students with similar attributes (e.g., by Dou himself; see for example Martin 1913, 66) would have been useful.
16 Martin 1913, 69. Naturally, astronomers can be considered suitable subjects in so far as they appear in nocturnal scenes gazing out (at the sky). However, they are not always shown in night scenes and sometimes are not studying the heavens, but rather a globe or a book lying on the windowsill.
17 Martin 1913, 109 and 159 (here, even the grapevines around the window are missing).
18 Quoted from Angel 1642, 53-54. Angel's highest praise is that "never before had one heard of such approximation to life." See also Sluijter in this volume, "In Praise of Painting," 232, 244.
19 Hecht 1989, cat. nos. 4, 36-39. See also Hecht 1986, 173-187.
20 For example, see the prints, particularly by Jacob Matham, illustrated in Verbraeken (ed.) 1986, 191-195.
21 B. 165. Dou's kitchen maid also has several points in common with the maid in a print by Jan Saenredam after Goltzius (not in Verbraeken (ed.) 1986; B. [Saenredam] 102). Early seventeenth-century Dutch kitchen pieces are found in the oeuvres of Joachim Wtewael, Pieter van Ryck, Adriaen van Nieulandt, Willem van Odekerken, Floris van Schooten, among others. A painting like Floris van Schooten's fish-slicing kitchen maid surrounded by meat, fruit, poultry, pots and pans with a small boy standing next to her, as subject matter is very close to Dou (monogrammed, Heinz Collection; ill. in Wheelock [ed.] 1989, no. 33).
22 De Jonge 1938, figs. 167 and 170.
23 For examples, see the many illustrations in McNeil Kettering 1983.
24 See comments on the image of maidservants in Schama 1987, Chapter 6, esp. 454-460. Many stereotypes found expression in S. de Vries, *Seven Duyvelen Regeerende de Hedendaagsche Dienst-Maeghden* (The Seven Devils Ruling Present Day Maidservants; the first editions are undated, a fourth edition appeared in 1682). For a few examples from farces and comedies, see Leuker/Roodenburg 1988; and quotes in Böse 1985. In 1997, Malgorzata Sarnowiec began conducting research into the image of the maidservant in seventeenth-century Dutch art (Leiden University, Ph.D. diss. in progress).
25 De Lairesse 1707, vol. 1, 187: "d'onnozelheit des kinds, de gemaatigdheid der moeder en de losheid der meid." Rightly quoted by Hecht (p. 171) in connection with Netscher's *Interior with Mother and Child* (cat. no. 34).
26 "Venuswicht, Venusgoet, Venusdier, Venusbrok, Venus scholierken." Various examples can be found in quotes from Böse 1985. See also in this volume, "Venus, Visus and Pictura," **xx –xx**
27 Cats ed. 1629 (by A. van de Venne), no. XXVIII (in this edition prints differ from those in the better-known editions of 1618 and 1627).
28 On this painting (Leiden, Lakenhal), see De Jongh 1968-69, 45-47; and Sluijter *et al.* 1988, cat. no. 74. For examples of such views of women, see the literature cited in note 24 above, in particular the article by Leuker and Roodenburg 1988, 69-78. For example, see also Dekker/Roodenburg 1984, 243-266, esp. 258.
29 A *Maid Stuffing a Sausage* by Schalcken: Saint Louis, The Saint Louis Art Museum. The motif of stuffing a sausage occurs earlier. See the satirical print by an anonymous engraver after Goltzius of an old woman engaged in this activity, while a jester points at her and roars with laughter (B. 93).
30 Inscription on the back: "G. Dou fe. 1650 geschildert voor den Keurvorst van Ments en verzonden den 13 augustus" (G. Dou fe. 1650 painted for the Elector of Mainz and sent on 13 August), Paris, Louvre (R.F. 663); see Sumowski 1979-92, vol. 3, 1148, no. 529.
31 G. Schalcken, private coll. Maarssen (ill. on the cover of L. Noordergraaf, *Hollands welvaren?*, Bergen 1985). Incidentally, this gesture occurs earlier; see Verbraeken (ed.) 1986, 177, fig. 3 (after a lost Beuckelaer?), fig. 4 (A. van Beyeren, dated 1666), and a work by J. van Nieulandt of 1617 (Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, no. A 1788).
32 Various examples can be found in quotes in Böse 1985. On pp. 54-55, for example, in a song from *De Nieuwe Hofsche Rommelzoo* (1655), these are virtually all found at the same time, with the exception of the sting-fish (pieterman) which was actually used most frequently.
33 Quoted and translated by Otto Naumann in Sutton 1984, 185 (in cat. no. 33): "Je veux bien croire que vous estes/ savant en l'art friand d'apprêter les Ragoûts/ Mais je me sens encor plus d'appetit pour vous/ que pour les ragoût que vous faites."
34 Hecht 1989, cat. no. 23, 118-123. Here, too, many motifs can be traced to works by Aertsen and especially De Beuckelaer. The relationship between a maid and a young or old man in various works by Willem van Mieris and a print by Jan Saenredam after Goltzius (B. [Saenredam] 102) is striking; there, too, the interaction between the countryman and the maid, incidentally, is unequivocal.
35 The same gesture with one hand resting on a drake, the other pointing to a cock is also found in a work by H. van der Mij (falsely signed W. van Mieris), Antwerp, Museum Smidt van Gelder (Sluijter *et al.* 1988, cat. no. 49). For an early example, see the painting by J. Toorenvliet signed and dated 1667, Baden-Württemberg, Kloster Bebenhausen (Sluijter *et al.* 1988, 71, fig. 61).
36 W. van Mieris, signed and dated 1725, Museum Smidt van Gelder, Antwerp.
37 Naumann 1981, cat. no. 93. For an earlier work by Frans van Mieris with a plaice, see his *Inn Scene* in the Lakenhal in Leiden (Naumann 1981, cat. no. 15); on this painting, see also Sluijter *et al.* 1988, cat. no. 22.
38 Hecht takes notice only when the erotic jokes are highly explicit, as appears in note 4 of the catalogue entry under discussion (no. 23); and in cat. nos. 13 and 32. In Netscher's *Masquerade* (cat. no. 32), Hecht rightly asserts – prompted by a remark by Plietzsch – that the "modern feeling for art...is at odds with precisely that which the seventeenth-century art lover would have considered amusing." Hecht, however, often makes the impression of having such problems himself (see the discussion below on De Vois' *Hunter*). I agree wholeheartedly with his comment that seventeenth-century amusement "...[had] its own conventions, about which we might again and better inform ourselves better" (185 note 8, under cat. no. 37).
39 De Jongh 1968-69, 22-74. Of course, De Jongh gives only a selection, which can be supplemented by many more, pictorial and verbal, examples.
40 Hecht 1989, cat. no. 48, 226-228.
41 For some comments on the combination of an old woman and a young woman (in conjunction with the theme of Vertumnus and Pomona), see Sluijter in this volume, "Vertumnus and Pomona," 81-82; Sluijter 1998d, 51-56 (Bathsheba); and Sluijter 1999, 28-30 (Danaë). Most remarkable is the incredible number of scenes with a seductive young woman and an old woman (with obvious and frequent associations with a procuress, and whose combination literally embodied the notion of *vanitas*), in mythological themes including Vertumnus and Pomona, and Danaë; in biblical subjects such as Salome, Judith, and especially Bathsheba; and in countless genre scenes with fish, poultry or fruit stalls, in scenes of women making their toilette, brothel scenes, and so on. That one cannot discern whether the old woman in Van Slingelandt's painting is a procuress, as Hecht posits, seems irrelevant. In this context, the prevailing seventeenth-century stereotype of the procuress as an old woman would have been an obvious association.
42 Hecht 1989, cat. no. 49/50, 231. On Hecht's views on erotic humor, see note 38 above.
43 On the special role of partridges in an erotic context, see De Jongh 1968-69, 29.
44 Sale The Hague, 3 September 1737, no. 16. Naturally, the word *snaphaen* was also used in an ambiguous fashion. For example, see *WNT*, vol. 18, col. 1861: "hoe noemt ghy den snaphaen daer ghy mede nae Venus doelen schiet?" (1657) (How would you call the flintlock which you aim at Venus' targets?).

45 For identical footgear and comparable clothing, compare De Vois' *Actaeon* (Warsaw, National Museum).
46 Gaetghens 1987, p. 127, cat. no. 2.
47 McNeil Kettering 1983; and Sluijter in this volume, "The Entrance ...."
48 Hecht 1989, cat. no. 25, 130-133.
49 I state this on the authority of Irene Groeneweg (Kunsthistorisch Instituut Leiden), an expert in the field of seventeenth and eighteenth-century attire.
50 F. van Mieris, signed and dated 1675, Florence, Uffizi (Naumann 1981, cat. no. 102).
51 Hecht 1989, cat. nos. 22 and 32. For instance, these sleeves are frequently encountered in history pieces by Jan Steen. In a *portrait historié* of almost the same time by Lambert Doomer of *Hannah Presenting Samuel to Eli* (signed and dated 1668, Orléans, Musée des Beaux Arts), the woman portrayed as Hannah has exactly the same sleeves. Naturally, within such a context they connote nothing particularly frivolous, but do make clear that this type of costume served to remove the figure from reality.
52 Hecht 1989, cat. no. 22, 114-117 and cat. no. 20, 104-109.
53 The painting belongs to a series of women representing the Five Senses (this prostitute represents Touch).
54 Hecht 1989, cat. no. 44, 208-221. In addition to the paintings illustrated in Hecht's catalogue by Schalcken (The Hague, Mauritshuis), and Frans van Mieris I (Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum); and one by Willem van Mieris illustrated in De Jongh 1968-69, fig. 21, other young ladies with escaping birds are found in works by Carel de Moor and Philips van Dijk. More interesting variants of this theme include the painting by Frans van Mieris I of around 1678 of a weeping young lady, an empty box and a letter next to her, with an old woman wagging an admonishing finger (Great Britain, Private Collection; Naumann 1981, cat. no. 115), and the work by Jacob Toorenvliet, reproduced here (our fig. 237), likewise with a weeping young lady holding a letter and next to her an empty birdcage to which an old woman points; the escaped bird is still visible at the upper right.
55 Hecht 1989, cat. no. 12, 76. On the categorical distinction between intention and association, see earlier in this study. Hecht adds that he has been unable to find any proof of a deliberate effort to be unclear about the meaning. Given the long and undoubtedly very familiar pictorial tradition, I do not think that there is anything unclear about the general meaning of this scene, unless one believes that it should be ascribed a very specific meaning.
56 Naturally, it is not possible to discuss here the countless music-making (amorous) couples in prints, paintings, illustrations in songbooks etc. I shall mention but a few scenes with the combination of a young woman playing a harpsichord/clavichord/virginal and a young man playing the lute from the beginning of the seventeenth century: for example a print by Jan Saenredam after Goltzius (*Hearing* [B. 96], in the well-known series of amorous couples representing the Five Senses), or the title print by David Vinckboons of the first deluxe publication of an amorous songbook *Den Nieuwen Lust-hof* (1602). Van der Merck later used this combination in two series of amorous couples personifying the Five Senses, as did Jan Miense Molenaer who depicted a married couple in a family portrait representing both the Five Senses and the Ages of Man. Prior to Van Mieris, the subject of a standing woman playing the harpsichord with a young man seated next to the instrument and accompanying her is found in works by Pieter Codde (Sale Brussels, 5 March 1914, no. 76, ill.; photograph RKD) and one attributed to M.D. van Limborch (art dealer Goudstikker, Amsterdam, around 1940; photograph RKD). In these paintings they are the center of a larger youthful company. Van Mieris isolated the duo from such a scene, as it were. Following Van Mieris, this combination recurs in works by Steen, Metsu, Ochterveld, Van Slingelandt and Vermeer, in which the amorous relationship is frequently very evident (especially in scenes by Steen and Ochterveld, who are always somewhat more explicit).
57 Hecht 1989, cat. no. 8.
58 Of the many related paintings, the somewhat later works by Vermeer (both in London, National Gallery) are the best known. In both, Vermeer accentuates quite distinctly the 'availability' of the young women for the beholder/buyer. In one of the paintings, this is achieved through the inclusion of a painting by Van Baburen in which a financial transaction is taking place in the presence of a woman playing the lute; and in the other through the inclusion of a painting with Cupid holding up a *blank* card while directing his attention, like the sumptuously clad young lady herself, to the beholder. The card could, as it were, be filled with the name of the potential lover/beholder/buyer (the frequently cited emblem by Vaenius with a cupid holding up a sign with a 1, while trampling signs with other numbers, connoting the one and only, virtuous love, is irrelevant in my view).
59 For this interior arrangement and for other related paintings by Dou from this period, see Sluijter 1988c, 150-161. This article includes interpretations which, according to Hecht (p. 56 note 1), "[evoke] an exceptionally joyless image of seventeenth-century lovers of art and beautiful women" and gives "somber readings of arbitrary seventeenth-century paintings." My consideration of Dou's women before a mirror within the context of a series of scenes of women before mirrors on the contrary abrogates any arbitrariness, while there is no question of joylessness and somberness. The titillating tension between seduction and illusion frames the core of the interpretations proposed in this article. See also Sluijter in this volume, "In Praise of Painting," 253-255.
60 Incidentally, Hecht makes a peculiar comment about the tapestry drawn aside (found in this form in various other paintings by Dou in this period). He wonders "whether it should be considered as part of the interior depicted, or more likely in relationship to the dimensions of the painting itself". How such a heavy oriental tapestry can be seen on the same scale as the dimensions of the painting is a mystery to me.
61 Precisely in paintings in which such loveliness is so perfectly captured and the illusion is created that one can 'possess' it, that this all is but vain appearance also frequently seems to be implied (on this, see Sluijter 1988c, *passim*).
62 With respect to mythological scenes, see Sluijter 1986, part 2, *passim*, especially Chapter 5. Also discussed in connection with a number of genre scenes in Sluijter 1988c. See also Sluijter in this volume, "Venus, Visus and Pictura", Sluijter 1998d, and Sluijter 1999.
63 Leuker/Roodenburg 1988, *passim*.
64 On the seventeenth-century preoccupation with the notion that that which the eyes behold arouses desire (expressed by moralists in all sorts of ways and also applied to paintings), which to my mind says something about the popularity of erotically tinged subjects, see Sluijter 1986, 270-281; and, Sluijter in this volume, "Venus, Visus and Pictura," 118-123; and the "Introduction", 10-13.
65 This is clearest in the *Brothel Scene* by Van Mieris (cat. no. 13), in the paintings of ailing ladies by Van Mieris and Van der Neer (cat. nos. 11 and 27), and in Van Slingelandt's delightful little work, in which a vaguely smiling young lady feebly wards off the advances of a young man, who tries to tease her lapdog with a flute (cat. no. 47).
66 Van der Neer's *Judith* (cat. no. 28) who, to be sure, used her powers of seduction for noble purposes, and his *Circe* (cat. no. 29); Van der Werff's *Hagar* being presented by Sarah to Abraham lying in bed (cat. no. 58), and his *Stratonice* (cat. no. 62), who is offered to the lovesick Antiochus (this painting is not about some form of paternal love, as Hecht believes – the father can hardly even be distinguished – but rather about the unsettling effect of female beauty); and Schalcken's *Recognition of Constance* (cat. no. 39), where everything hinges on the exposure of a mole on her breast; and naturally the Venusses by Schalcken (cat. nos. 42-43). Of course, the pastorals by Netscher and Van der Werff also fit into this context (cat. nos. 36 and 57).

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