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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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



*Ubi stat nuncium quod virginis ora jerebat  
 Mente Acidaliæ cupida deum uocantem ora.* *Ipse opus author amans in imagine figurat eburnæ  
 Mater Acidaliæ cupida deum uocantem ora.*

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



*Id. Iuueni I. Saenredam sculpsit  
 R. de Ganshou excudit. 1613*

*Hæc memini nocuisse atque oblectasse uolentes.*

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



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



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

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

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

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

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



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



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

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



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

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

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

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

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

#### NOTES

- 1 See H. Leeftang and G. Luijten (eds.), *Hendrick Goltzius (1558-1617). Drawings, Prints and Paintings* (exh. cat. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam; The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; The Toledo Museum of Art, Toledo [Ohio], 2003-2004), Zwolle & Amsterdam 2003.
- 2 Roelof van Gelder in *NRC Handelsblad* 11/3/2003, Clare Henry in *Financial Times* 9/6/2003; Holland Cotter in *New York Times* 27/6/2003.
- 3 Karel van Mander, *Het Leven der Doorluchtighe Nederlandsche en Hoogduytsche Schilders*, in: *Het Schilder-Boeck*, Haarlem 1604, fol. 286r and 286v respectively. Van Mander describes Goltzius' first nude, his *Danaë* of 1603 as being 'miraculously fleshily' ('wonder vleeschachtigh'). See below (notes 6-7) about Van Mander's account of Goltzius' transition to the art of painting.
- 4 See O. Hirschmann, *Hendrick Goltzius als Maler 1600-1617*, Den Haag 1916, pp. 30-31; E.K.J. Reznicek, 'Het begin van Goltzius' loopbaan als schilder', *Oud Holland* 75 (1960), pp. 30-49, esp. 33-34; E.K.J. Reznicek, *Die Zeichnungen von Hendrick Goltzius*, Utrecht 1961, vol. 1, p. 223; H. Miedema (ed.), *Karel van Mander. Den Grondt der edel vrij schilderconst*, Utrecht 1973, vol. 2, p. 528; H. Miedema (ed.), *Karel van Mander, The Lives of the Illustrious Netherlandish and German Painters. With an Introduction and Translation Edited by Hessel Miedema (6 vols.)*, Doornspijk 1994-1999, vol. 5, p. 212; L. Nichols, 'Brushes and Oil Paint. The Paintings 1600-1617', in: Leeftang and Luijten, *Goltzius* (see note 1), pp. 266-267. Other reasons that have been proposed: poor health and a failing eyesight (especially Reznicek 1960, pp. 30-31), which seems unlikely considering the many very detailed drawings Goltzius still made after 1600 (see for instance, as late as 1614, Reznicek, *Zeichnungen* [see note 4], vol. 2, figs. 442 and 443, drawn in the technique of engraving). Nichols points especially to the 'career-long penchant for creating works of art in a tonal mode, quite often in actual color'. This, however, does not explain his abrupt move to painting late in his career; in that case one would have expected Goltzius to have done this many years earlier. Nichols also sees the penworks as a kind of transition to the paintings. However, these are made at the same time as his early paintings, and the use of colour in those works is restricted to a few touches of red and yellow in the Philadelphia penwork only (cat. no. 99).

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

- 5 Van Mander, *Den grondt* (see note 4), fol. 8r-v.
- 6 Van Mander, *Leven* (see note 3), 294r (*Lives*, vol. 1, pp. 431-432): '[...] hy Plaetsnijden en Druckerij verlatende, beclaegde zijnen verloopen tijt, welcken hem docht t'onnuttigh daer in door the hebben ghebracht'. ('[...] abandoning engraving and printing, he lamented the time he had wasted, which he felt he had spent uselessly in those techniques').
- 7 Van Mander, *Leven* (see note 3), fol. 294r (*Lives*, vol. 1, pp. 434-435): '[...] den beolyden Pinceel, met verwen te wercken en te schilderen, als wesende het opperste der Const, en den alder bequaemsten middel, om de Natuere in allen deelen met uytbeeldinghe ten alder ghelijcksten nae te comen'.
- 8 Nichols in Leeftang and Luijten (ed.), *Goltzius* (see note 1), pp. 266-267.
- 9 Van Mander, *Leven* (see note 3), fol. 285v (*Lives*, vol. 1, p. 400-401): 'Tek acht niet, dat yemant so vast en veerdigh is, een beeldt, jae een gantsche Historie, uyt der handt, sonder yet te bootsen, te trecken ten eersten met de Pen, met sulcken volcomentheyt, en suyverlijck te voldoen, en met so grooten geest. Hier mede laten wy zijn constige Pen berusten, en den Monarch in haer te handelen blijven, en moghen van zijn schilderen verhalen.'
- 10 Van Mander discussed the penworks also in the context of the art of drawing, before he starts his account on Goltzius as a painter. In the catalogue of the Goltzius-exhibition the penworks were treated as part of Goltzius' painted production, in ch. X 'Brushes and oil paint', instead of ch. IX 'Pen Works, Sketches, Chalk Drawings 1587-1614' (in the installation in the Rijksmuseum they rightly got their own room; in the Metropolitan Museum, however, they were exhibited between the paintings). This seems to me fundamentally wrong. Also see above, note 4.
- 11 Van Mander, *Leven* (see note 3), fol. 285v (*Lives*, vol. 1, pp. 400-401): 'Goltzius comende uyt Italien, hadde de fraey Italische schilderijen als in eenen spiegel soo vast in zijn ghedacht ghedruckt, dat hyse waer hy was noch altijts gestadich sagh: dan vermaecte hem de soete gracelijckheyt van Raphael, dan de eyghen vleeschachtigheyt van Corregio, dan de uytstekende hooghselen, en afwijkende verdreven diepselen van Tiziana, de schoon sijdekens en wel gheschilderde dinghen van Veroneso, en ander the Venetien, dat hem de Inlandsche dinghen soo heel volcomen niet meer conden voldoen. Het was den Schilders eenen lust en voedsel, hem hier van te hooren spreken: want zijn woorden waren al gloeyende carnatien, gloeyende diepselen, en derghelijcke onghewoon oft weynigh meer ghehoorde verhalingen. Teyckende hy yet, de naecten sonderlingh mosten met de cryons hun verwen hebben; soo dat hy eyndlijck tot den Pinceelen en Oly-verwe hem heeft begheven, doe hy maer twee Jaer van het suyghen oft borst ghewendt oft gespeent was, doch zijns ouderdoms 42 Jaer, Ao. 1600.'
- 12 Van Mander, *Leven* (see note 3), fol. 116v: 'Maer ghelijck als de Son ander Hemelsche lichten passeert in claarheyt: also uytmuntende in excellentie gaet dit de ander te boven: hy dat ick uyt den mondt des goet oordeelenden Goltzius hebben verstaen, die dit te Room wesende te zien quam, alwaer straex zijn Const-lievende ooghen nae toe ghetrocken waren, met grooten lust en vermaken, hem seer verwonderende in die seer fraey handelinghe, en de schoon gloeyentheyt des colorrens.'
- 13 See the letter from Johann Tilmans to Count Simon IV zu Lippe, concerning the acquisition of a painting by Goltzius for Rudolph II as early as 1603. Tilmans wrote that 400 Kaiser's guilders have already been offered for one of Goltzius' first paintings, the *Christ on the Cold Stone*, that was in the possession of Jacob Matham (who seems to have taken care that the prices were being pushed up by showing



- himself unwilling to sell); see L. Nichols, 'Hendrick Goltzius – Documents and Printed Literature Concerning his Life', in: R. Falkenburg, J.P. Filedt Kok and H. Leeftang (ed.), *Goltzius Studies. Hendrick Goltzius (1558-1617)*, Nederlands Kunst-historisch Jaarboek 42-43 (1991-92), Zwolle 1993, p. 95; and Nichols in Leeftang and Luijten, *Goltzius* (see note 1), p. 282.
- 14 According to Van Mander it was the same disease from which he suffered before his travels to Italy. Van Mander, *Leven* (see note 3), fol. 284r (*Lives*, vol. 1, pp. 394-395): '[...] gantsch uyt drooghende, soo dat hy etlijke Jaren Geyten-melck heeft ghedroncken, en heeft moeten suyghen Vrouwen borsten, ...' ([...] became completely dehydrated so that he had to drink goat's milk for several years and had to suckle women's breasts', and earlier: fol. 282v. (*Lives*, vol. 1, pp. 388-389: '[...] heeft suleken swaermoedicheyt ter herten toegangh laten hebben [...] een uytteerende sieckte oft teeringhe geraeckt [...]. De Doctoren deden wel vlyt hem te helpen, doch was al vergeheefs, dewijl dese swaermoedigheyt te seer in hem was ghewortelt' ([...] he allowed such melancholy to enter his heart [...] he got a wasting sickness or consumption [...]). The doctors did their best to help him but it was in vain because this melancholy was too deeply rooted in him.').
- 15 In the life of the brothers Van Eyck the metaphor is used to state that Italy has now to send her *Pictura* to Flanders to suckle from new breasts (Van Mander, *Leven*, fol. 199r; *Lives*, vol. 1, pp. 54-55); in the first chapter of the *Grondt*, pupils have to suckle the breast of the virgin Minerva, the virtuous goddess of wisdom and intellect and as such patron of the arts (*Grondt*, fol. 5r [I, 49]), and he ends the first chapter by saying that he himself has suckled from many different breasts (*Grondt*, fol. 7v [I, 84]; see also Miedema, *Grondt*, vol. 2, pp. 422-23). In the life of Dirck Barendsz., this painter is introduced as an example of the artist who suckled 'from the full and overflowing breast of the most perfect instruction', because he went to Venice and worked in the studio of Titian (*Leven*, fol. 259r; *Lives*, vol. 1, pp. 294-295). Since Van Mander mentions twice Goltzius' suckling women's breasts, he appears to have been fascinated by this cure and he seems to relate the sexual implications to the image of *Pictura* as a beautiful, seductive woman, an image with which he begins the *Grondt* (*Grondt*, fol. 1 r-v [I, 3-4], fol. 2r [I, 13], as well as that of *Pictura* as a nurturing mother, with which he opens the Preface (*Grondt*, 'Voorrede', fol. \*iiii, the first sentence).
- 16 W. Melion, 'Karel van Mander's "Life of Goltzius": Defining the Paradigm of Protean Virtuosity in Haarlem around 1600', *Studies in the History of Art* 27 (1989), pp. 113-133. Also: W. Melion, *Shaping the Netherlandish Canon. Karel van Mander's Schilder-Boeck*, Chicago & London 1991, pp. 43-48.
- 17 Van Mander, *Leven* (see note 3), fol. 284r (*Lives*, vol. 1, pp. 394-395): '... heeft oock seer wonderlijck hem ghewent verscheyden handelingen der beste Meesters nae the bootsen, alsnu Hemskercken, Frans Floris, Blocklandts, dan Fredericks [Federigo Zuccaro] en cyndlinge des Spranghers [...]'.  
 18 W. Melion, 'Vivae dixisset virginis ora: the discourse of color in Hendrick Goltzius's *Pygmalion and the Ivory Statue*', *Word and Image* 17 (2001), pp. 153-175, esp. p. 163.  
 19 L. Dolce, *Dialogo della pittura intitolato L'Aretino* (Venice 1557), in: *Trattati d'arte del Cinquecento: Fra Manierismo e Controriforma*, (ed. P. Barocchi), vol. 1. M.W. Roskill, *Dolce's Aretino and Venetian Art Theory of the Cinquecento*, New York 1968, pp. 5-61 and Melion, 'Vivae' (see note 18), p. 162-165.  
 20 Roskill, *Aretino* (see note 19), pp. 184-185. Also see: D. Rosand, 'Titian and the critical tradition', in: idem (ed.), *Titian, his world and his legacy*, New York 1982, pp. 15-21.  
 21 Van Mander, *Leven* (see note 3), fol. 284v (*Lives*, vol. 1, pp. 396-397): '... ses stucken, die hy uyt Italien gecomen wesende dede: want bedenkende wat hy over al voor handelingen hadde ghesien, heeft met eenighe handt verscheyden handelingen van zijn inventie ghe-toont [...]'.  
 22 See about this series: Leeftang in: Leeftang and Luijten, *Goltzius* (see note 1), pp. 210-215. Also see Melion, 'Defining the Paradigm' (see note 16).  
 23 Melion, 'Vivae' (see note 18), p. 165.  
 24 E.J. Sluiter, 'Venus, Visus en Pictura', in: Falkenburg, *Goltzius Studies* (see note 18), pp. 335-396, reprinted in an English translation in: E.J. Sluiter, *Seductress of Sight. Studies in Dutch Art of the Golden Age*, Zwolle 2000, pp. 86-159, 306-321.  
 25 Van Mander, *Leven* (see note 3), fol. 298v-299r (*Lives*, vol. 1, pp. 452-455; also see Miedema's comments: *Lives*, vol. 6, pp. 107-110). G.T. Faggin, 'Frans Badens (Il Carracci di Amsterdam)', *Arte Veneta* 23 (1969), pp. 131-145. Very little is known about Badens' life, apart from what Van Mander tells us. Van Mander complains bitterly that, out of modesty, Badens did not want to give him much information. Miedema, *Lives*, vol. 6, pp. 107-110.  
 26 Van Mander, *Leven* (see note 3), fol. 298v: 'Onse Const hebben wy cortlijck in onse Nederlanden ghesien in beter ghestaltenis toenemen en veranderen, besonder in de coloreringhe, carnation, en diepselen, meer en meer zijn gheworden afghescheyden van een steenachtige graeuwicheyt, oft bleecke Vischachtighe, coudachtighe verwe: want de gloeyentheynt in lijf-verwe en vleeschachtighe diepselen zijn nu heel seer in ghebruyck gheworden. Hier toe heeft oock geen cleen behulp ghedaen Francesco Badens.'  
 27 Van Mander, *idem*, fol. 298v (*Lives*, vol. 1, pp. 452-453): 'Thuys gecomen, also hy t'Amsterdam was d'eerste, die de jongste schoon maniere hier in 't Landt bracht, des noemden hem de jonge Schilders den Italiaenschen Schilder: want hy een seer schoon vloeyende en gloeyende maniere heeft, wesende een uytnemende Meester, beyden in te schilderen Historien, tronien, en Conterfeytelen.'  
 28 Both mentioned by Van Mander as in the possession of Badens: Van Mander, *idem*, fol. 285r-v (*Lives*, vol. 1, pp. 398-401). About the Philadelphia penwork: see Nichols in Leeftang and Luijten, *Goltzius* (see note 1), pp. 275-77. One could even imagine that this magnificent work, made around 1600, was given to Badens as an expression of gratitude for teaching him the art of painting.  
 29 For the complete text see Nichols, 'Documents' (see note 13), pp. 113-114 and O. Hirschmann, 'Balthasar Gerbiers eer ende claght-digt ter eeren van Henricus Goltzius', *Oud Holland* 38 (1920), 104-125. The passage concerned: 'Hy was sijn liefsten vrient, noyt d'Amstel hy betrat / Oft Badens d'eerst van al hem yv'rich wil'com bat.'  
 30 Faggin, 'Badens' (see note 25), pp. 140-142, attributed several paintings to Badens. Some of them seem to be plausible attributions, but nothing can be proved. For good reproductions of five attributed paintings, see: J. Briels, *Vlaamse schilders in de Noordelijke Nederlanden in het begin van de Gouden Eeuw*, Antwerpen 1987, figs. 70-72. and J. Briels, *Vlaamse schilders en de dageraad van Hollands Gouden Eeuw*, Antwerpen 1997, figs. 77 and 78. I myself added the attribution of a large painting of the *Lovemaking of Venus and Adonis*, in 2002 in the possession of the art dealer Albrecht Neuhaus in Würzburg, reproduced in the catalogue of *The European Fine Art Fair Maastricht* 2002, p. 286, with the mention of an expertise by Albert Blankert (which was based on my information); this is the kind of painting, very close to the paintings by Goltzius, that one would imagine as a work of Badens on the basis of Van Mander's information, the types of works mentioned in other sources and the known drawings.  
 31 Faggin, 'Badens' (see note 25), p. 138: *Apelles Painting Campaspe*, dated 'Roma 1596' (black and red chalk with brown and grey washes and some touches of oil paint), and *Venus and Adonis*, signed and dated 'a roma 1596' (black and red chalk with brown wash and white highlights on coloured paper); both reproduced in: P. Taylor, 'The Glow in late Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century Dutch Paint-

- ings', in: E. Hermens (ed.), *Looking through Paintings. The Study of Painting Techniques and Materials in Support of Art Historical Research*, Leiden 1998 (*Leids Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* XI), pp. 160-161, FIG. 2 and plate 1. Faggin mentions a third drawing with dancing nude men, in the Albertina in Vienna; it is not signed, but has an old attribution to Badens (FIG. 151 in Faggin's article). Apart from the drawings, there is a print by Egbert van Panderen after a painting by Badens, representing S. Jeremy (Faggin, FIG. 153).
- 32 Van Mander, *Leven* (see note 3), fol. 198v (*Lives*, vol. 1, pp. 52/53), describes a *Bathsbeba Bathing*, portraits, 'many masquerades and banquets by night' and a painting with 'two lovers in the Italian style'. Faggin, 'Badens' (see note 25) mentions no less than eighteen descriptions of paintings by Badens in 17th-century sources. Apart from the ones mentioned in the text, also: *S. Andrew, Nativity, Sacrifice of Marcus Curtius, Banquet of the Gods, Saturn and Apollo, Venus, Juno and Minerva, Head of a Woman, Amorous Couple* and two *Merry Companies*.
- 33 Taylor, 'Glow' (see note 31), pp. 162-165. Taylor demonstrates convincingly what must have been meant by the 'glowing' flesh colours, showing that the technique of Badens and Goltzius were probably similar and must have been introduced by Badens; however, even Taylor does not ask the question who taught Goltzius the art of oil painting.
- 34 Taylor, *idem*, *passim*. Taylor shows that Rubens used a similar technique directly after his return from Italy, for instance in his *Samson and Delilah* of 1609 (National Gallery); whether this was due to direct influence, indirect influence or common influence is not clear (from the paintings we know, Goltzius' *Danaë* in Los Angeles seems to be the earliest example showing this technique of depicting 'glowing' flesh fully developed). Taylor also points out that, remarkably, no similar technique with a red underlayer seems to have been used by Italian artists. Titian, Veronese, Correggio, 'all painted with brown shadows, which would certainly have seemed striking to northern eyes', as Taylor says. He considers this technique as 'one of those creative misunderstandings in the history of art: in their attempts to capture the warmth of the Italian style, Badens and Goltzius went too far, and so created a new manner.' (Taylor, 'Glow' (see note 31), p. 169).
- 35 See for these two paintings, *Christ on the Cross with Mary, St. John and the Magdalene*, ca. 1600, and *Christ on the Cold Stone with Two Angels*, 1602; Nichols in Leeftang and Luijten, *Goltzius* (see note 1), pp. 280-283; for the second painting also: Reznicek, 'Het begin' (see note 4), pp. 35-38.
- 36 See M.K. Komanecky et al., *Copper as Canvas. Two Centuries of Masterpiece Paintings on Copper, 1575-1755* (exh. cat. Phoenix Art Museum, Phoenix, Phoenix; Nelson-Atkins Museum, Kansas; Mauritshuis, The Hague), Oxford & New York 1998.
- 37 See above, note 13.
- 38 E.J. Sluijter, 'Emulating Sensual Beauty: Representations of Danaë from Gossaert to Rembrandt', *Simiolus* 27 (1999), pp. 4-45, esp. pp. 25-39. The catalogue entry by Nichols in Leeftang and Luijten, *Goltzius* (see note 1) is disappointing.
- 39 See Sluijter, 'Emulating' (see note 38), pp. 25-26 with further references.
- 40 Van Mander, *Leven* (see note 3), fol. 286r (*Lives*, vol. 1, pp. 402-403): 'dit naeckt is wonder vleeschachtrigh en verheffende gheschildert, en van grooter studie in omtreck en binne-werck.'
- 41 Sluijter, 'Emulating' (see note 38), pp. 26-28.
- 42 Sluijter, *idem*, pp. 14-18.
- 43 Sluijter, *idem*, *passim*.
- 44 Sluijter, *idem*, pp. 39-45 and E.J. Sluijter, "'Horrible nature, incomparable art": Rembrandt and the depiction of the female nude', in: J. Lloyd Williams (ed.), *Rembrandt's Women* (exh. cat. National Gallery of Scotland, Edinburgh; Royal Academy, London, 2001), Edinburgh 2001, pp. 36-45.

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