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'The Learned Eye. Regarding Art, Theory, and the Artist's Reputation. Essays for Ernst van de Wetering'

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Rembrandt and Rhetoric

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

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

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

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

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

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

Rembrandt and the passiones animi or 'lijdingen des gemoeds'

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

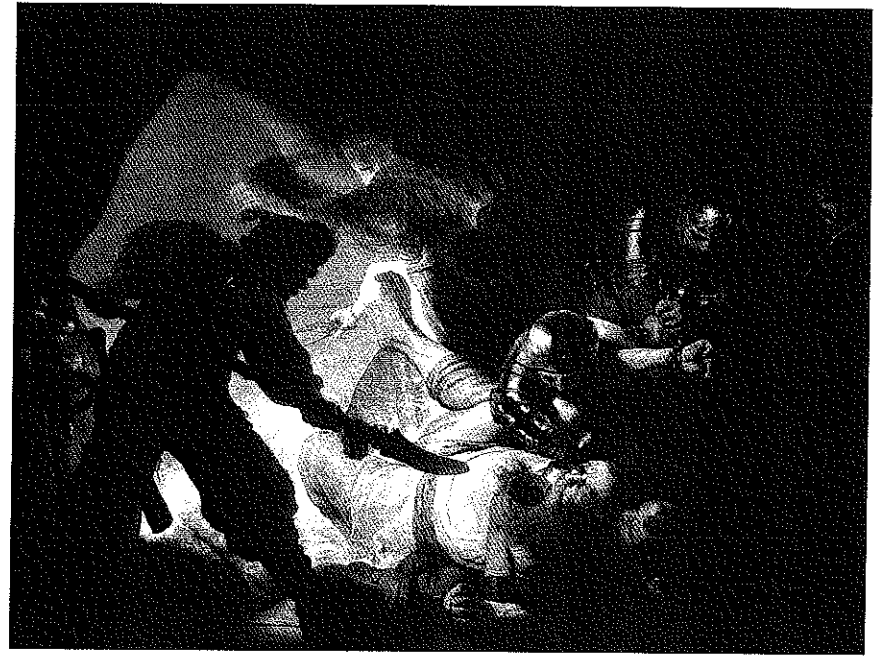


FIG. 3 – Rembrandt, *The Blinding of Samson*, canvas, 236 x 302 cm, Frankfurt am Main, Städelsches Kunstinstitut, inv. no. 1383 Photograph © Joachim Blauel – Artothek

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

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

The Ornate Rembrandt: 'den verzierlijken Rembrandt'

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

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

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

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

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



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

stoffe and spill the whole workmanship, taking away all bewtie and good liking from it.⁷²

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

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

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

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

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

Conclusion

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

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

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

NOTES

- * This article is a spin-off from my dissertation research on Van Hoogstraten's *Inleyding tot de Hooge Schoole der Schilderkunst* (1678) funded by NWO (the Netherlands Organisation for Scientific Research). For their comments on my use of rhetoric, I thank Lex Hermans and Caroline van Eck; for any possible mistakes, I am the only one responsible. For a first reading of this article I thank Eric Jan Sluijter.
- 1 For Van Hoogstraten as an exponent of 'classicism' see J.A. Emmens, *Rembrandt en de Regels van de Kunst* (diss. 1964), in: *Verzameld Werk dl. 2*, Amsterdam 1979; this view of Van Hoogstraten as a 'classicist' and therefore not representative of the older masters of the 'Golden Age' has proven very tenacious and was still recently expressed by Christopher Brown in his *The Dutchness of Dutch Art. First Golden Age Lecture*, 26 sept. 2002, Amsterdam 2002, p. 22: 'At the end of the seventeenth century Samuel van Hoogstraten, Gerard de Laresse, Andries Pels and Jan de Bisschop all attack the popular art of the earlier part of the century and promote classical ideas in art [...] they were attacking the prevailing conventions in the name of a new movement, classicism.'
 - 2 Van Hoogstraten describes in his treatise how discussions in the studio took place between the master and his pupils, as well as between his pupils. As he describes this, the discussions largely followed rhetorical topoi. Van Hoogstraten's discussions with Fabritius, that the painter should be in love with the art of painting (*Inl.* p. 11), Furnerius's remark on the painter's knowledge of history (p. 95), and Fabritius's sentiments on the selective imitation of most noble parts of nature (p. 181), are all topoi recurring in poetics and rhetoric. On the title page of chapter II, devoted to the Muse of Rhetoric, Van Hoogstraten depicts two persons discussing a painting. For Van Hoogstraten's experiences in Rembrandt's studio, see the in many respects still valuable article of W.R. Valentiner, 'Rembrandt and Samuel van Hoogstraten', *Art in America*, 18/3, (1930), pp. 123-143.
 - 3 The main study addressing the issue of rhetoric in the context of Dutch art is G.J.M. Weber, *Der Lobtopos des 'lebenden' Bildes. Jan Vos und sein "Zeege der Schilderkunst"* von 1654, Hildesheim 1991; for rhetorical aspects of art theory see in particular Miedema's commentary on Van Mander's works in H. Miedema (ed.), *C. van Mander, Den grondt der edel vrij schilderconst*, Utrecht 1973.
 - 4 See for the situation in the Republic: J. Jansen, 'Het geslaagde spreken: welsprekendheid als beroepsbekwaamheid in de zeventiende eeuw', *De zeventiende eeuw* 1 (2002), pp. 31-42. On rhetoric in education, see P.N.M. Bot, *Humanisme en onderwijs in Nederland*, Utrecht & Antwerpen 1955.
 - 5 Van Hoogstraten may, just like Rembrandt, have visited the Latin school. It is likely that Van Hoogstraten was, together with his brother Frans, trained in the principles of humanist education and had at least an elementary knowledge of Latin, although his education is not to be established with certainty. Samuel stayed in contact with many of the members of the Latin school in Dordrecht, who went to the university in Leiden when he set out as an apprentice in Rembrandt's studio, and he was an important figure in their literary experiments; see M. Spies, *Dordrechtse 'roman'-tiek in de zeventiende eeuw, lecture Amsterdam Center for the Study of the Golden Age, March 7th, 2002* (see: [cf. uba.uva.nl/goudeneeuw/archief/2002/colloquium-7mrt2002.rtf](http://cf.uba.uva.nl/goudeneeuw/archief/2002/colloquium-7mrt2002.rtf)). Van Hoogstraten's painting treatise may have developed from the collection of quotations he already started on during his years at the Latin school. For earlier work on Rembrandt and rhetoric see, mainly on the concepts of aemulatio and the affects, S. Grohé, *Rembrandts mytbologische Historien*, Köln 1996, esp. pp. 64-73, and the essay on Rembrandt's use of the *genera dicendi*, as reconstructed by Ernst van de Wetering in his essay on Rembrandt's self-portraits in *A Corpus of Rembrandt Paintings*, vol. IV (forthcoming).
 - 6 Van de Wetering draws an outline of the learned coterie of humanists and their intellectual ideals surrounding Rembrandt's studio in Leiden in E. van de Wetering, 'Rembrandt's Beginnings – an Essay', in: E. van de Wetering & B. Schnackenburg (eds.), *The Mystery of the Young Rembrandt*, Kassel, Amsterdam & Wolfartshausen 2001 (exh. cat.), pp. 22-57, esp. pp. 27-32. That Van Hoogstraten felt attracted to these ideals is also testified in his early self-portrait, now in Rotterdam, where he has depicted himself while reading. On the intellectual culture surrounding Rembrandt see also A. Golahny, *Rembrandt's Reading. The Artist's Bookshelf of Ancient Poetry and History*, Amsterdam 2003. For Van Hoogstraten's literary achievements, see Thissen, P., *Werk, netwerk en letterwerk van de familie Van Hoogstraten in de zeventiende eeuw: sociaal-economische en sociaal-culturele achtergronden van geleerden in de republiek*, Amsterdam & Maarssen 1994, esp. pp. 52-71.
 - 7 On the rhetorical framework applied in the *Inleyding* see H.-J. Czech, *Im Geleit der Musen. Studien zu Samuel van Hoogstratens Malereitratat 'Inleyding tot de Hooge Schoole der Schilderkunst: Anders de Zichtbaere Werelt.'* (Rotterdam 1678), Münster 2002, esp. pp. 208-209, 222-225. Van Hoogstraten compares painting to the different liberal arts, among which rhetoric, *Inl.* p. 346; he compares composition in rhetoric and painting on pp. 190-191.
 - 8 Van Hoogstraten refers in his *Inleyding* to several of Cicero's works, among whom *Orator. De Oratore, De Officiis, Tusculanae Disputationes*, and to Quintilian's *Institutio Oratoria*; but also to the *Orationes* of the Greek rhetorician Dio Chrysostom (1st c. AD).
 - 9 Van Hoogstraten refers in the *Inleyding*, p. 42, to Julius Caesar Scaliger, *Exotericarum exercitationum*, Paris 1652, CCLXVII, pp. 339-340, 347-350; for the other authors see the apparatus in Czech, *Im Geleit der Musen* (see note 7).
 - 10 Van Hoogstraten probably used Junius' own Dutch translation, *De Schilder-konst der Oude*, Middelburg 1641. On Junius' adaptations of classical rhetoric, see C. Nativel (ed.), *De Pictura Veterum. Edition du livre I*, Genève 1996. I will cite from the English edition of 1638: Aldrich, K., Fehl, P. & Fehl, R. (eds.), *Franciscus Junius, The Literature of Classical Art: Vol. 1. The Painting of the Ancients: De Pictura Veterum, According to the English Translation (1638)*, Berkeley, Los Angeles & Oxford 1991.
 - 11 Other rhetorical terms like *imitatio, varietas, gratia*, and *modus* will be treated in my dissertation. For a first result of my research see my 'Schilderkunst als "zuster van de bespiegelende wijsgeerte": de theoretische status van het afbeelden van de zichtbare wereld in Samuel van Hoogstratens *Inleyding tot de Hooge Schoole der Schilderkunst, De zeventiende eeuw* 2 (2002), pp. 172-184, and 'Imitatie in Samuel van Hoogstratens *Inleyding tot de Hooge Schoole der Schilderkunst*' (publication in consequence of the congress *Imitation in the Renaissance*, Amsterdam, April 23rd 2004), in *De Zeventiende Eeuw* 2 (2005).
 - 12 For an elaboration on this theme see C. Nativel, 'Partes orationis et partes pingendi: Rhétorique antique et peinture au XVIIe siècle dans Le De pictura veterum de Franciscus Junius', *Acta Conventus Neo-Latini Torontonensis, Proceedings of the Seventh International Congress of Neo-Latin Studies (Toronto 8 August to 13 August 1988)*, Binghamton 1991, pp. 529-538.
 - 13 *Inl.* p. 75.
 - 14 Emmens, *Rembrandt* (see note 1), p. 89, pp. 119-120.
 - 15 *Inl.* p. 109.
 - 16 Van Mander calls the passions 'rechte Kernen oft Siele die Const in haer heeft besloten', and adds the scholium: 'D'Affecten uytbeelden, Siele der Consten'; Van Mander, *Den grondt* (see note 3), VI, 55. Junius also calls passions the 'soul of art', *Schilder-konst der Oude* (see note 10), p. 221, p. 281, p. 289. Leonardo already spoke on the passions in a comparable way; see Weber, *Lobtopos* (see note 3), p. 196. About the significance of the passions for early modern art theory, from Alberti to

- LeBrun, a lot has been written. I refer only to N. Michels, *Bewegung zwischen Ethos und Pathos. Zur Wirkungsästhetik italienischer Kunsttheorie de 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts*, Münster 1988, in which the author shows how the passions gained in importance in the art theory from Alberti onwards to the beginning of the seventeenth century; his research did not cover the rest of this century.
- 17 B. Vickers, *In Defence of Rhetoric*, Oxford 1989, p. 37.
 - 18 Quintilian, *Inst. Orat.*, 3.5.2.
 - 19 I borrow Philip Sohm's phrase, in his *Style in the Art Theory of Early Modern Italy*, Cambridge a.o. 2001, p. 137.
 - 20 'Si vis me flere, dolendum est primum ipsi tibi'; Horace, *Ars Poetica*, 3.99-102. Compare Alberti, *Della Pittura*, ed. Grayson, Bari 1980, 2.41: 'Piangiamo con chi piange et ridiamo con chi ride et dolianci con chi si duole'.
 - 21 't Is niet genoeg, dat een beelt schoon is, maer daer moet een zekere beweeglijkheit in zijn, die macht over d'aenschouwers heeft; Gelijck Horatius van het dichten zingt: Een schoon gedicht zal mij niet licht beroeren./Maer vriendelijckheit kan hert en ziel vervoeren./Men lacche, of ween', d'aenschouwer raekt op't spoor: /Dus wilt gy dat ik schreye, schrey my voor', *Inl.* p. 292.
 - 22 '[G]eheel den komediant leeren nabootsen', in order to be 'voor een spiegel, om te gelijck vertooner en aenschouwer'; *Inl.* p. 110. Van Hoogstraten gives the example of the actor Polus, who when he had to play Elektra, first dug up the bones of his own son; *Inl.* p. 109.
 - 23 See C. White & Q. Buvelot (eds.), *Rembrandt by Himself*, London, Den Haag & Zwolle 1999-2000 (exh.cat.), cat.nos. 20-23. The etchings are dated 1630.
 - 24 S. Alpers, *Rembrandt's Enterprise*, Chicago 1988, pp. 38-46.
 - 25 'Zoo moogt gy ook, als u eenigen druk overkomen is, u met de konst troosten, en als u iets behaeglijx voorkomt, zoo is't tijdt, dat gy aenmerkt wat innerlijke gevoelcheden en uiterlijke bewegingen deeze lijdingen veroorzaken'; *Inl.* p. 109.
 - 26 Junius also regards painters that devote themselves to the passions as 'rechte Konstenaers' or 'gheleerde kloecjaers', in contrast to 'gemeyne dozijnwerckers'; *Junius, Schilder-konst der Oude* (see note 10), p. 222.
 - 27 'Dewijl dit onderwerpen zijn, de meer dan een dierlijke beweging in hebben, zoo zijn de konstenaers, die hiertoe een rechte bequaemheyd hebben, alderdunst gezaeyt', *Inl.* p. 87.
 - 28 'Maer hier is een Poëtische geest van noode, om een ieders ampt zich wel voor te stellen. Die deeze niet en gevoelt, tree vry terugge; want hy en zal de zaek niet machtich zijn; ten waer hem eenich Godt of Poët de hulpige hand bood', *Inl.* p. 110.
 - 29 As Weber's *Lobtopos* (see note 3) demonstrates, the rhetorical theory of the 'living image' was largely based on the passions.
 - 30 '[E]en volmaekte Schildery is als een Spiegel van de Natuer, die [...] op een geoorloofde, vermakelijke en prijslijke wijze bedriegt'; *Inl.* p. 25. The equation of the theatre with a mirror occurs in Cicero, *Oratio in Pisonem*, 29.71, *De finibus*, 5.22.51, en *De re publica*, 2.42.69. Its most famous repetition in the early modern period is made by Shakespeare, *Hamlet*, III, 2.
 - 31 For the confronting attitudes concerning rhetoric's use see Vickers, *In Defence of Rhetoric* (see note 17); for the appreciation of deceit in the early modern period in general, I refer to G. Schröder, *Logos und List. Zur Entwicklung der Ästhetik in der frühen Neuzeit*, Königstein 1985.
 - 32 See E.J. Sluijter, "Horrible nature, incomparable art": Rembrandt and the depiction of the female nude', in: J. Lloyd Williams e.a., *Rembrandt's Women*, Edinburgh 2001 (exh.cat.), pp. 37-49, p. 41.
 - 33 'Maer om op den rechten wech te komen, en zekker te gaen, zoo moet een konst-oeffenaer zich tot de leevende natuer keeren, en zien, hoe ver het hem in de bewegingen geoorloft is te gaen'; *Inl.* p. 294.
 - 34 Junius, *Painting of the Ancients* (see note 10), p. 208; compare the Dutch edition: 'dat een fijn ende bequaem Konstenaer boven alle dingen nae een natuyr-kondighe ervaerenheyd behoort te trachten: [...] min dat hy 't ghevoelen van soo veel teghenstrijdighe ghesintheden der naturelicker Philosophen in sijne eenigheyd besighlick soude siften, om daer uyt den rechten aerd van allerly harts tochten ende beweghingen volmaectelick te verstaen: Dit en is de meyninghe niet: Want wij het ghenoegh achten dat hy door een daghelicksche opmerckinghe uytvinde hoe de menighvuldighe gheneghenheden ende beroerten onses ghemoeds 't gebaar onses aenghesichts dus of soo veranderen ende ontstellen. [...] Een wijs ende verstandigh aenmerker der dinghen diemen behoort nae te volghen, houdt sijne ooghen geduyrighlick geslagen op die menschen onder welke hy leeft; achtende dat hem de lesse, die hy te leeren heeft, in elck bysonder mensche, als in een klaer en leesbaer Boeck, op't aller duydelickste voorghespelt is', Junius, *Schilder-konst der Oude* (see note 10), p. 221.
 - 35 Compare Junius, *Schilder-konst der Oude* (see note 10), p. 220.
 - 36 *Inl.* p. 110.
 - 37 't Gedenkt mij dat ik, in zeker aerdich geordineert stukje van Rembrandt, verbeeldende een Johannes Predicatie, een wonderlijke aendacht in de behoorden van allerleye staaten gezien hebbe: dit was ten hoogsten prijslijk', *Inl.* p. 183.
 - 38 C. Huygens, *Fragment eener autobiographie*, ed. J.A. Worp, s.l., s.a. p. 77. Huygens composed the manuscript in the period 1629-1631.
 - 39 R. de Piles, *Abregé de la Vie des Peintres*, Paris 17152 (16991), p. 423: 'Il scavoit fort bien qu'en Peinture on pouvoit, sans beaucoup de peine, tromper la vûe en representant des corps immobiles et inanimes; et non content de cet artificé assez commun, il chercha avec une extrême application celuy d'imposer aux jeux par des figures vivantes.'
 - 40 L.H. ten Kate, *Verhandeling over het Denkbeeldige Schoon der Schilders, Beeldbouwers en Dichters*, Amsterdam 1720 (HS 1436 UBA), pp. 7-8: '[hij geeft] door een kunstige verdeeling van licht, om dezelve beter te doen uitblinken, gewoonlyk aan zyne eenvoudige beelden spreekende vrolykheden en gemoedsbeweegingen, verzeld van eene gemaklyke en ongemaakte houding'.
 - 41 G. Vossius, 'De Graphice, sive arte pingendi', in: *De Quator Artibus Popularibus, Grammaticae, Gymnasticae, Musicae, & Graphicae, liber*. Amsterdam 1690 (1650'), § 19, p. 70, uses *Pathopoiios* as a synonym for 'Affectus effingens': 'Hinc Graphice Callistrato, ubi Aesculapii statua describit, vocatur "ethopoiios technè", ars mores effingens. Ac poterat similiter "pathopoiios" (affectus effingens) dicere.'
 - 42 See also White & Buvelot, *Rembrandt by Himself* (see note 23), p. 219.
 - 43 *Inl.* p. 299, see also p. 110. Comp. Van Mander, *Den grondt* (see note 3), VI 65, p. 509, p. 511, with a reference to Pliny.
 - 44 Quintilian, *Inst. orat.* vi.ii.32: 'Intersequitur 'enargeia' quae a Cicerone illustratio et evidencia nominatur, quae non tam dicere videtur quam ostendere; et adfectus nonaliter, quam si rebus ipsis intersimus, sequuntur.'
 - 45 Junius, *Painting of the Ancients* (see note 10), p. 265. Junius translates Quintilian's Greek term *enargeia* by *energia*, making no distinction between the different, although related, Greek terms *enargeia* and *energeia*. He thereby expresses his conviction that *enargeia* and *energeia* are overlapping concepts. In the Dutch version, the problem is evaded by leaving out the term altogether: 'Dies plaghten oock dieghene allerley herts-tochten te nae haeren eyghenen lust ghemackelick te ghebieden, die dese verbeeldinghen recht-wel begrijpen, sonder yet te verswijmen 't welck tot de waere omstandigheden behoort. Waer op dan d'uytdruckelickheyd ofte duydelickheyd plaght te volghen, die ons de gantsche saecke soo hlyckelick voor d'ooghen stelt, als of wy de nacckte vertooninghe der dinghen selver aenschoulen.' Junius, *Schilder-konst der Oude* (see note 10), p. 291. On the concepts of *enargeia* and *energeia* see Michels, *Bewegung* (see note 16), p. 61, p. 182.

- 46 See the lemma on *energia* in the glossary to Junius, *Painting of the Ancients* (see note 10), p. 379. For the interrelationships between the concepts of *energeia* and *energeia* in the theory of painting, see V. von Rosen, 'Die Energeia des Gemäldes. Zu einem vergessenen Inhalt des Ut-pictura-*poesis* und seiner Relevanz für das cinquecenteske Bildkonzept', *Marburger Jahrbuch für Kunstwissenschaft* 27 (2000), pp. 171-206.
- 47 On Heinsius' adaptation of Aristotelian poetics see J. Konst, *Woedende wraakgierigheid en vruchteloze weelachten. De hartstochten in de Nederlandse tragedie van de zeventiende eeuw*, Assen 1993.
- 48 'Het zy nu, datmen een enkel beelt, of veele te zamen voor hebbe, men moet toezien, datmen alleenlijk een oogenblikke beweging, welke voornamentlijk de daed der Historie uitdrukt, vertoone; gelijk Horatius zegt: Breng yder werkstuk, zoo 't behoort, slechts enkel een eenweezich voort. Op dat het werk eenstemmich den toezinder, als een anderen omstander verrukke, van een felle daed doe schrikken, en door het zien van iets blygeestichs doe verheugen: of dat hy door eenich aengedaen ongelijk met meedelijden bewoogen worde; en in een rechtvaardige daed zich vernoegt bevinde'; *Inl.* p. 116.
- 49 On the concept 'eenweezich', see also Van de Wetering, *Rembrandt. The Painter at Work*, Amsterdam 1997, p. 253.
- 50 On the related concepts of *energeia*, *illustratio*, *evidentia* see Quintilian, *Inst. orat.* VI 2.32.
- 51 '[D]aer moet een zekere beweeglijkheyt in zijn, die macht over d'aenschouwers heeft [...]. Zoo is't ook met de Schilders, zy beroeren 't gemoed niet, zooze deeze beweeglijkheyt overslaen', *Inl.* p. 292.
- 52 Dolce uses the term *energia*; see M.W. Roskill, *Dolce's Aretino and Venetian Art Theory of the Cinquecento*, Toronto 2000 (1968), p. 128. Gauricus uses *energetikoteron* to describe the 'moving' powers of vivid representation; Gauricus, P., *De Sculptura* [1503], *Introduzione, testo latino, traduzione e note a cura di P. Cutolo, saggi di F. Divenuto, F. Negri Arnoldi & P. Sabbatino*, Napoli 1999, De statua 1.3.
- 53 Junius, *Painting of the Ancients* (see note 10), p. 53; compare the Dutch edition: 'Greg. Nysenus na een wijdtloopigh en gantsch beweghelick verhael van Isaacks Offerhande, heeft dit daer en boven daer by gevoeght. Ick hebbe menighmael, seght hy, d'af-beeldinge deser geschiedenisse in een Schilderye met weenende ooghen aanschouwet, soo krachtighlick was de gantsche Historye door de Konst voor ooghen gestelt.' Junius, *Schilder-konst der Oude* (see note 10), p. 49. He refers to St. Gregorius Nycenus, *De Deitate Filii et Spiritus Sancti Oratio*; the topos was repeated in the tradition of art theory and especially popular with authors of the Counter-reformation such as Gilio, Paleotti and Molanus; compare e.g. G. Comanini, *Il Figino*, Mantova 1591, p. 310.
- 54 'Tu Artifex, quid quaeris amplius? delectantur spectans multitudo, ducitur Pictura, gaudet, dolet, ridet, miratur, et, Pictura quosuis affectus inspirante, ad misericordiam aut odium inducitur.' Junius, *De Pictura Veterum* (ed. Nativel, see note 10), book I, chap. 5, par. 4, p. 370. This passage is left out of the Dutch translation.
- 55 On the issue of the peripety in Rembrandt's histories see A. Blankert, *Ferdinand Bol 1616-1680. Een leerling van Rembrandt*, Den Haag 1976, pp. 41-45.
- 56 *Inl.* p. 75.
- 57 See note 55.
- 58 Van Hoogstraten describes the contrary emotions of a dying mother, still wanting to take care of her child: both 'moederlijke voorzorge' and 'kommer en droefheyt', *Inl.* p. 109. He praises the sculptor Demon who made the 'Genius' of the city of Athens: an example of 'strijdige driften' in one statue, *Inl.* p. 111.
- 59 Huygens, *Fragment eener autobiographie* (see note 38), p. 78: '[Rembrandt] uno in homine collegit singula et universa expressit'.
- 60 Huygens, *Fragment eener autobiographie* (see note 38), p. 7.
- 61 The RRP thinks that the offering to Huygens was the Samson (another possibility would be the Danaë in the Hermitage). J. Bruyn e.a., *A Corpus of Rembrandt Paintings vol. III*, Den Haag 1989, p. 192 ff.
- 62 J.C. Scaliger, *Poetices libri septem*, 1.6.
- 63 For the most recent discussion of this letter see J. Bruyn, 'Wat bedoelde Rembrandt in zijn derde brief aan Constantijn Huygens over diens huis te zeggen?', *Oud Holland* 112 (1998), p. 251 ff.
- 64 Compare Miedema's interpretation in Van Mander, *Den grondt* (see note 3), XII 2f, p. 495.
- 65 '[D]en verzierlijken Rembrant, nae de dood van mijn Vader Theodoor mijn tweede Meester'; *Inl.* p.25.
- 66 See the index to Miedema's edition of Karel van Mander, *The Lives of the Illustrious Netherlandish and German Painters*, Doornspijk 1995.
- 67 M. Hazard, 'An Essay to Amplify "Ornament": Some Renaissance Theory and Practice', *Studies in English Literature 1500-1900*, 16 (1976), pp. 15-32; and by V. Biermann, *Ornamentum. Studien zum Traktat 'De re aedificatoria' des Leon Battista Alberti*, Hildesheim/Zürich/New York 1997. The interpretation of the term ornament as a fundamental category for Italian art theory of the Cinquecento, as undertaken by H. Wohl, *The Aesthetics of Italian Renaissance Art. A Reconsideration of Style*, Cambridge/New York/Melbourne 1999, is not relevant to this discussion.
- 68 The four *virtutes dicendi* are *latinitas*, *ornatus*, *perspicuitas* (or *evidentia*), and *decorum*.
- 69 Alberti: 'ornamentum autem afficti et compacti naturam sapere magis quam innati', quoted in Biermann, *Ornamentum* (see note 67), p. 144.
- 70 'Quem deum, ut ita dicam, inter homines putant? Qui distincte, qui explicite, qui abundanter, qui illuminate et rebus et verbis dicunt, et in ipsa oratione quasi quemdam numerum versumque conficiunt – id est quod dico ornate', Cicero, *De oratore* iii.xiv.53, ed. and trans. E.W. Sutton and H. Rackham, London 1942, vol. 2, p. 42.
- 71 Quintilian, *Inst. orat.* viii.iii.6, quoted by Junius: 'De manhaftige schijn-staetelickheyt, ghelijckse voornaemelick in de rechtschaepene rustigheyt van een onverseerde kloekheyt bestaet; soo moet se haer meeste cieraet socken in de ghesonde verwe van een onghekrenckte sterckte, sonder sich met de vertaerde glattigheyt van hoogh-verwighe blancketsels in't minste te behelpen, seght Quintil. VIII.3', Junius, *Schilder-konst der Oude* (see note 10), p. 273.
- 72 Puttenham, G., *The Arte of English Poesie*, ed. G. Willock and A. Walker, Cambridge 1970, p. 138.
- 73 So Lodovico Dolce assures the painter to use natural colouring by referring to Propertius' criticism of his lover's make-up; see Roskill, *Dolce's Aretino* (see note 52), p. 299; cf. Propertius, *Ellegies* 1,2 vv. 21-22. 'Scd facies aderat nullis obnoxia gemmis, Qualis Apelleis est color in tabulis.' Compare Dolce's use of *ornatus* in respect to Titian: 'Non ha dimostrato Titiano nelle sue opere vaghezza vana, ma proprietà convenevole di colori: non ornamenti affettati, ma sodezza da maestro, non crudezza, ma il pastoso e tenero della natura', p. 184.
- 74 Cicero, *De oratore*, iii.xl.161, vol II, p. 126: [translatio] *lumen affert orationi*'. Quintilian calls metaphors the 'lumina orationis', *Inst. Orat.* viii.v.34.
- 75 Cicero, *De oratore*, iii.xliii.170, vol II, p. 134 'quod maxime tanquam stellis quibusdam notat et illuminat orationem'.
- 76 *Inl.* p. 217. Ornament and incarnate are connected in the letter written in Raphael's name to pope Leo X: 'senza ornamento [...] l'ossa del corpo senza carne'; Alberti also makes this connection, and treats incarnate colouring in books VI-IX of *De re aedificatoria*, which are devoted to architectural ornament. See Biermann, *Ornamentum* (see note 67), p. 145.
- 77 'De bloote Teykening (zegt Plutarchus) heeft nergens nae zulk een bewegende

- kracht, als de verwen: gemerkt dezelve, door het bedroch van een levende gelijkenisse, alleen machtich zijn ons gemoed te ontroeren', *Inl.* p. 226.
- 78 Junius, *Painting of the Ancients* (see note 10), p. 252; compare the Dutch edition: 'd'over-veruwde figuren evenwel, gelijkse de verscheydene eyghenschappen ende werckingen van eenen levendighen gheest klaerder aydrucken, soo plaghense met eenen oock ons ghesicht door d'aenlockelicke lustbaerheyd van menigherley treffelicke veruw-cieraeten seldsaemlick te beguychelen', Junius, *Schilder-konst der Oude* (see note 10), p. 274.
- 79 Van Hoogstraten praises Rembrandt's skills in incarnate, *Inl.* p. 228, and colouring (*Rembrandische verwen*), p. 291 and p. 268.
- 80 Reflected light was putatively Rembrandt's 'true element' ('Wonderlijk heeft zich onzen Rembrandt in reflexeeringen gequeeten, jae het schein of deze verkiezing van 't wederom kaetsen van eenich licht zijn rechte element was'), *Inl.* p. 273.
- 81 *Inl.* p. 306 For an analysis of Rembrandt's tonal qualities and his use of lighting in relation to the remarks in Van Hoogstraten's *Inleyding*, see E. Van de Wetering, 'Het licht van het ware', *Kroniek van het Rembrandthuis* 1-2 (2001), pp. 3-10. As is noted by A. Golahny, *Rembrandt's Paintings and the Venetian Tradition* (diss.), Ann Arbor 1984, Van Hoogstraten has greater attention and appraisal for painterly qualities such as brushwork and tonal values than any other Dutch writer on art, which might be well explained from his experiences in Rembrandt's studio.
- 82 S. Slive, *Rembrandt and his Critics*, Den Haag 1953, p. 70.
- 83 J. van den Vondel, *Werken*, X 630: 'Dus baert de schilderkunst ook zoons van duisternisse/Die gaerne in schaduw verkeeren, als een uil/Wie't leven navolgt kan versierde schaduw missen/en als een kint van 't licht gaet in geen scheemring schuil'; quoted by Slive, *Rembrandt and his Critics* (see note 82), p. 70.
- 84 '[Z]oo krachtich, dat, nae zommiger gevoelen, al d'andere stukken daer als kaarteblaren nevens staen', *Inl.* p. 176.
- 85 'Rembrand en Jan Lievensz, welker manier wel niet geheel te verwerpen is, voornamentlyk die van den eersten, zo ten opzichte van zyne natuurlykheid, als oock zyne uitsteekende kragt. [...Some people ask:] was'er ooit een Schilder die de natuur in kracht van coloriet zo na kwam, door zyne schoone lichten, liefvelyke overeenstemming, zyne zeldsaame en boven gemeene gedachten, enz. [...] En is zulks niet genoeg om de geheele waereld te verlokken[?]' G. de Lairese, *Groot Schilderboek*, Haarlem 1740 (first ed. 1707), I, p. 325.
- 86 Colouring and to a lesser extent clair-obscur are in the tradition of art theory often appreciated for their affective powers; see J. Gavel, *Colour. A Study of its Position in the Art Theory of the Quattro- and Cinquecento*, Stockholm 1979, esp. pp. 153-155; and M. Cencillo Ramírez, *Das Helldunkel in der italienischen Kunsttheorie des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts und seine Darstellungsmöglichkeiten im Notturmo*, Münster 2000, p. 68-78. Van Hoogstraten echoes this traditional sentiment especially when he deems clair-obscur an attribute of the Muse Melpomene, whom he also names the *Treurdichtster*, the muse of tragedy.
- 87 The structure, general nature, and details of this theory of painting rooted in rhetoric will be elaborated on in my dissertation (see note 11).
- 88 These words are used for example by Huygens, *Fragment eener autobiographie* (see note 38), p. 60, with the marginal reference 'M. An. Seneca, Praef. in Controversias'.
- 89 A. Ellenius, *De Arte Pingendi. Latin Art Literature in Seventeenth century Sweden and its International Background*, Uppsala/Stockholm 1960, p. 77.