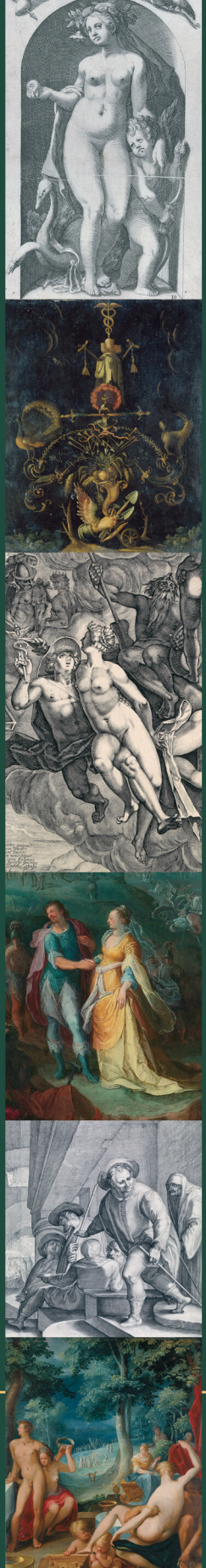

Karel van Mander and his *Foundation of the Noble, Free Art of Painting*

FIRST ENGLISH TRANSLATION, WITH INTRODUCTION AND COMMENTARY

WALTER S. MELION

Series Editor: WALTER S. MELION

Brill's Studies on Art, Art History, and Intellectual History 62

BRILL

Karel van Mander and his *Foundation of the Noble, Free Art of Painting*

Brill's Studies on Art, Art History, and Intellectual History

Editor

Walter S. Melion (*Emory University*)

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By

Walter S. Melion

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Johanni
Hunc lepidum libellum
Amoris perennis specimen
Humiliter et devote
D.D.
W.S.M.

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About the Author

Walter Melion is Asa Griggs Candler Professor of Art History at Emory University in Atlanta, where he directs the Fox Center for Humanistic Inquiry (Emory's institute for advanced study in the humanities).

He is author of three monographs and over eighty articles, co-author of two exhibition catalogues, and editor or co-editor of more than twenty volumes. He is editor of two book series: Brill's *Studies on Art, Art History, and Intellectual History* and *Lund Humphries' Northern Lights*. He was elected Foreign Member of the Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts and Sciences in 2010, Member of the Print Council of America in 2013, and was Chaire Francqui at the Université Catholique de Louvain in 2014–2015. Melion was awarded the 2016 Disinguished Scholar Award of the American Catholic Historical Association, and the 2019 Baker Award of the Michael C. Carlos Museum, and has been Scholar in Residence at The Newberry Library since 2017. He is president emeritus of the Sixteenth Century Society and current president of the Historians of Netherlandish Art.

His current projects include a digital, open-access edition of the exhibition catalogue *Through a Glass, Darkly: Allegory and Faith in Netherlandish Prints from Lucas van Leyden to Rembrandt* (forthcoming presently) and a monograph on 16th- and 17th-century Netherlandish manuscript prayerbooks organized around printed images.

Introduction
"'*Pictura's* Cornerstone': Karel van Mander and His *Foundation of the Noble, free Art of Painting*"

Written by Karel van Mander (1548–1606), a celebrated polymath known to his contemporaries as a painter, draftsman, print designer, poet, and art theoretician, the *Schilder-Boeck* (Book on Picturing) (1604), as its title-page clearly states, consists of six "parts" (*deelen*), each a book in its own right (Figs. 1 & 2). The titular print describes the overall structure as follows: "The *Schilder-Boeck*, in which First the foundation of the Noble, Free art of Painting Is Presented in Various parts to Youths desirous of learning; after which in three parts the lives of the renowned, illustrious Painters of ancient and modern times; finally, the commentary on the Metamorphoses of Publius Ovidius Naso, and therebeside the depiction of figures; all of it serviceable and useful to painters, Lovers of art, and poets, as also to all estates of men."[1] The book, as a whole and in its parts, is addressed

1 Translator's note: In addition to consulting the standard lexicographical sources, such as the *Dictionarium tetraglotton* (1562), *Thesaurus Theutonicae linguae* (1573), *Etymologicum Teutonicae linguae* (1599), Cotgrave's *Dictionarie of the French and English Tongues* (1611), and Hexham's *Groot woordenboek* (1648), I have made ready use of De Bo's *Westvlaams idioticon*, Stoet's *Nederlandsche spreekwoorden*, Verdam's *Middelnederlandsch handwoordenboek*, and, of course, the *Woordenboek van de Nederlandse Taal*, as well as Charles du Cange's *Glossarium mediae et infimae Latinitatis*, supp. G.A.L. Henschel, P. Carpentier, and J.C. Adelung, ed. L. Favre (Niort: 1883–1887; reprint ed., Bologna: 1982). I have also compared Van Mander's usage in the *Grondt* to that in his other publications, especially *De kerck der deucht* (ca. 1600). Full citations of these various works occur in the footnotes to this "Introduction" and endnotes to the poem's fourteen chapters.

Karel van Mander, *Het Schilder-Boeck, waer in Voor eerst de leerlustighe Iueght den grondt der Edel Vry Schilderconst in Verscheyden deelen wort Voorghedraghen. Daer nae in dry deelen t'leven der vermaerde doorluchtighe Schilders des ouden, en nieuwen tyds. Eyntlyck d'wtlegghinghe op den Metamorphoseon Pub. Ovidij Nasonis. Oock aerbeneffens wtbeeldinghe der figueren. Alles dienstich en nut den schilders, Constbeminders, en dichters, oock allen staten van menschen* (Haarlem, Paschier van Wes[t]busch: 1604). The full text of the 1604 edition of the *Grondt* is available through the Getty Research Portal—Internet Archive: https://archive.org/details/frick-31072001181868/page/n1/mode/2up (accessed April 2, 2022); a full transcription of the poem, again from the 1604 edition, can be found by consulting Digitale Bibliotheek van de Nederlandse Letteren: https://www.dbnl.org/

above all to these three communities of readers, some of whom were multiply representative: the art lover Bartholomeus Ferreris, one of Van Mander's dedicatees, had once trained with the painters Anthonis Mor, Pieter Jansz. Pourbus, and Frans Pourbus I, and another dedicatee, Melchior Wijntgis, was both a poet and an art patron.[2] Printed by Jacob de Meester in Alkmaar and published by Paschier van Wes[t]busch in Haarlem, the 1604 edition is a typographic magnum opus, its constituent elements carefully assembled: comprising more than 368 folios, inclusive of the inserted portrait print of Van Mander (engraved by Jan Saenredam after a lost painting by Hendrick Goltzius), the book displays multiple typefaces (predominantly Textura, Van den Keere, Roman, and Italic), two copper-plate and three letter-press title pages (the former designed by Van Mander and engraved by Jacob Matham), running headlines edited by Van Mander himself as well as catchwords painstakingly selected by De Meester, and a comprehensive index of commonplaces for Book I, the "Foundation" (most of them culled from Van Mander's marginal glosses), along with *indices nominum* for Books II–V.[3]

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tekst/mand001schi01_01/ (accessed January 5, 2022). The general reader may find it useful to concentrate on sections 1–4 and 7 of my introductory essay; sections 5 and 6 discuss more specialized issues: respectively, Van Mander's ekphrastic usage and his arguments for the close relation between history and landscape painting.

2 Painters, sculptors, glass painters, and printmakers, along with art collectors such as Peeter Stevens of Antwerp and *liefhebbers* (lovers of art) such as Cornelis de Bie of Lier and Antwerp, and also schoolmasters such as David Beck of The Hague, were the primary owners of the *Schilder-Boeck*, either the 1604 or the 1618 edition; see "Indicative List of Ownership of Carel van Mander's *Schilder-boeck*, 1604–1750," in A. de Vries, "Hondius Meets Van Mander: The Cultural Appropriation of the First Netherlandish Book on the Visual Arts System of Knowledge in a Series of Artists' Portraits," in H. Damm, M. Thimann, and C. Zittel, eds., *The Artist as Reader: On Education and Non-Education of Early Modern Artists*, Intersections 27 (Leiden and Boston: 2013), 259–304, esp. 300–301. In addition, the city councils of Haarlem and Maaseyck purchased copies, presumably to commemorate distinguished native sons. On Beck's fondness for the *Schilder-Boeck*, upon the contents of which he was often wont to speculate ("speculeerden een wijle in mijnen Vermander"), see D. Beck, *Spiegel van mijn leven. Een Haags dagboek uit 1624*, ed. S.E. Veldhuijzen (Hilversum: 1993), 54, 128; and De Vries, "Hondius Meets Van Mander," 264. On the form and function of Stevens's annotated copy, see J. Briels, "*Amator pictoriae artis*: De Antwerpsche kunstverzamelaar Peeter Stevens (1590–1668) en zijn constkamer," *Jaarboek van het Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten Antwerpen* (1980): 137–226.

3 On the typographical and bibliographical features of the *Schilder-Boeck*, see W. Waterschoot, "Karel van Manders *Schilder-Boeck* (1604): A Description of the Book and Its Setting," *Quaerendo* 13 (1983): 260–286.

Although the "Foundation," "Lives," "Commentary," and "Depiction" may initially have been conceived as self-sufficient entities, as some scholars have argued, the *Schilder-Boeck*, in its published form, has been forged into a compilatory whole, its parts mutually referential and fully concatenated, with Books I–IV, the "Foundation" and the three sets of "Lives," foliated sequentially.[4] Books V–VI, introduced by a second engraved title page, launch a second sequence of folios, and this indicates that the publisher, though his privilege granted by the States General of the United Provinces describes the *Schilder-Boeck* as a book in six parts, intended the final two parts to be marketable either paired on their own or together with the other four. Indeed, Books V–VI function like appendices to Books I–IV, whereas the form, function, and argument of the first four books are more thoroughly unified. They might best be characterized as an intertext consisting of a prefatory poem on the pictorial arts, the *Grondt der Edel vry Schilder-const* (Foundation of the Noble, free Art of Painting), followed by a sequence of three sets of painters' lives—first, ancient Greek and Roman masters, then Italian masters of the fourteenth through early seventeenth centuries, and finally, Netherlandish and German masters of the fifteenth through early seventeenth centuries—that variously exemplify the critical categories or, as Van Mander puts it, the "sundry constituent elements" ("verscheyden deelen") initially discussed in the poem's fourteen chapters. The "Lives" primarily concern mural or easel painting, with the Northern lives focusing almost exclusively on the latter, while also incorporating numerous digressions on glass-painting and printmaking.

The two further books that close out the *Schilder-Boeck* are the *Wtlegghingh* (Commentary), on the fifteen books of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* and their protagonists, and *Wtbeeldinghe* (Depiction), an iconographical lexicon of allegorical figures, in three chapters—the first on the pagan gods, the second on animals and things, the third on abstractions such as Peace, Concord, Fidelity, Friendship, Hazard, Occasion, Favor, and Poetry (personified by the Poet). Van Mander claims in the dedicatory foreword of Book V, the "Commentary," that he conceived it as a supplement to the *Schilder-Boeck*, for the purpose of enabling "painter[s] themselves better to comprehend their Ovidian scenes and to expound them for others," as it were ex post facto.[5] In the dedicatory preface of Book VI, the "Depic-

4 See, for example, J. Stumpel, "A Note on the Intended Audiences for Van Mander's *Schilder-Boeck*," *Simiolus* 35.1/2 (2011): 84–90.

5 *Wtlegghingh op den Metamorphosis Pub. Ovidij Nasonis. Alles streckende tot voordering des vromen en eerlijcken borgherlijcken wandels. Seer dienstich den Schil-*

tion," addressed to his close friend, the painter-poet Cornelis Ketel, he justifies the addition of this final part to the *Schilder-Boeck* by emphasizing that poets and painters, being "peaceable and reposeful" ("gherust en stil"), are alike predisposed first to ponder inwardly the "considered / imagined mental images" ("d'inbeeldinghen") which thereafter the "hands, like compliant servitors, must execute and accomplish."[6] The images of the pagan gods described and elucidated in chapter 1 of Book VI are to be appreciated as counterparts to the paintings that once adorned the ancients' public places, "gladdening their sense of sight."[7] And the hieroglyphic animals and things marshalled in chapters 2 and 3 are conceived as extensions of the kinds of symbolic appurtenance endorsed in chapter 5 of the "Foundation" (henceforth, *Grondt*), "On Ordonnance and the Invention of Histories."

1 The Intertextual Network of Dedicatory Epistles and Prefaces

The dedications and prefaces to the six books of the *Schilder-Boeck* demonstrate how the treatise as a whole constitutes a sort of intertext, in which the parts must be read side by side, indeed concertedly, if they are to acquire their full significance. Take the dedicatory epistles that inaugurate each book and together build an edifice of comparison between Ancients and Moderns: the men addressed, all of whom are characterized as *Maecenates* (generous

ders, Dichters, en Constbeminders, oock yeghelyck tot leering by een gebracht en gheraemt (Haarlem: Paschier van Westbusch, 1604), fol. *ij verso: "mijn Schilder-Boeck (als voeghlijck geselschap) beneffent: op dat, onder ander oorsaken, den Schilder zijn gheschilderde Ovidij historien self verstae, en anderen wete te beduyden." The foreword is dedicated to Gedeon Fallet, notary and city secretary of Amsterdam.

6 *Wtbeeldinge der figueren: waer in te sien is, hoe d'Heydenen hun Goden uytghebeeldt, en onderscheyden hebben: hoe d'Egyptsche yet beteyckenden met Dieren oft anders, en eenighe meeninghen te kennen gaven, met noch meer omstandicheden. Alles seer nut den vernuftighen Schilders, en oock Dichters, hun Personnagien in vertooninghen, oft anders, toe te maken* (Alkmaar: Jacob de Meester, for Passchier van Westbusch, 1604), fol. Qiii verso: "om dat den Schilder-gheest … geern gherust en stil is, om dat door zijn heymlijck werck d'inbeeldinghen in den ghedachten eerst hebben t'overlegghen […] wat daer nae de handen, als ghehoorsaem dienaren, hebben uyt te richten oft te doen." On this passage and the significance of the term "d'inbeeldinghen," see note 29 *infra*.

7 "Het eerst Boeck," in ibid., fol. Qiiij recto: "des Menschen verlustenden gesicht, sin, vroylijck comen vermaken."

patrons comparable in their generosity to Gaius Maecenas, famed supporter of the poets Horace and Virgil) and *liefhebbers* (lovers of art), make up an elite community of affluent, knowledgeable viewers, well versed in the visual arts and, in a number of cases, themselves practitioners of art, who confer on *schilderconst* a social prestige comparable to that which it enjoyed in ancient Greece and Rome. They testify to the existence of a Dutch social network, a nobility of accomplishment, united by a shared love of painting and collecting, and a respect for its foremost exponents—councilor and mintmaster of the States General (Wijntgis),[8] notary and secretary to the Fleet of Amsterdam (Jacques Razet),[9] painter and banker-pawnbroker (Ferreris),[10] beer brewers (Jan Mathijsz. Ban and Cornelis Geritsz. Vlasman, one of whom, Ban, was also a gold- and silversmith),[11] schoolmaster, city secretary of Amsterdam, and notary public (Gedeon Fallet),[12] and painter and poet (Cornelis Ketel).[13] Committed to the cultivation of *schilderconst*, these men treat love of the higher arts of drawing and painting as a prerogative, and in this respect, they resemble the ancient nobility of blood who likewise privileged these arts above all others. Concomitantly, four of Van Mander's dedicatees—Razet, Ferreris, Ban, and Vlasman—have amassed superlative painting collections that further bear witness to their devotion to *schilderconst* and underscore their affinities with the Ancients.

> [From the dedication of Book I to Wijntgis:]
> For had [the art of Painting] no such noble lovers, she herself and her artful practitioners, without climbing high or being raised in honor, would be reckoned amongst other handiworks and manual laborers, and would perforce remain dishonored and contemned amongst ignorant folk who lack understand-

8 On Wijntgis, see H. Miedema, *Karel van Mander, Den grondt der edel vry schilder-const, uitgegeven en van vertaling en commentaar voorzien*, 2 vols. (Utrecht: 1973), 2:324.

9 On Razet, one of Van Mander's closest friends, along with Hendrick Goltzius and Cornelis Ketel, as he avers in his poem *De kerck der deucht* (Haarlem: n.p., ca. 1600), see ibid., 2:90–93.

10 On Ferreris, see H. Miedema, ed., *Karel van Mander, The Lives of the Illustrious Netherlandish and German Painters*, trans. D. Cook-Radmore, M. Hoyle, J. Pennial-Boer, and C. Ford, 6 vols. (Doornspijk: 1995), 3:23–24.

11 On Ban and Vlasman, see ibid., 2:180–181.

12 On Fallet, see S.A.C. Dudok van Heel, "Onwaarschijnlijke verwantschappen van de familie Fallet," *De Nederlandsche Leeuw. Tijdschrift van het Koninklijk Nederlandsch Genootschap voor Geslacht- en Wapenkunde* 114 (1997): 167–176.

13 On Ketel, see Miedema, ed., *Karel van Mander, Lives*, 5:116–160, esp. 116–127.

> ing. But good fortune or merciful Occasion commonly ordains in every Century and time that several worthy, upright lovers be attached to our Art and her artful practitioners.…Protogenes, Painter of Caunus, had the Egyptian King Demetrius. Pamphilus and Melanthus had Aratus and Tholomeus. Apelles had Alexander, and Zeuxis the Agrigentians. Beyond these ancients, Jan van Eyck had Duke Philip of Charlois; Albrecht Dürer, Charles the Fifth; … Sprangher and Hans von Aachen, the Emperor Rudolph, and we have Melchior, my Maecenas, or better said, Apollo, to whom I altogether dedicate and offer up my slipshod poem, in likeness a mere lambkin.[14]
>
> [From the dedication of Book II to Razet:]
> My statement is confirmed all the more, in that you, noble Sir, love artful works above money and amass them, having much pleasure therein.[15]

In comparison with many ancient and modern counterparts, Dutch and Flemish *liefhebbers*, being favorably disposed toward *schilderconst*, one of the most peaceable of arts, will also be favorably inclined to sponsor the *Schilder-Boeck*, which pays homage not to the

14 "Aen seer Achtbaren, Erentfesten, en Const-liefdigen Heer Melchior Wijntgis: eerst Raedt, en generael Meester van der Munten der vereenighde Nederlanden: nu Meester van de Munt des Landts, en Graeflijckheyt Zeelandt, mijnen besonderen Heer en goeden vrient," in *Grondt*, fol. *iij v: "Want en hadde sy geen sulcke edel beminders, sy self, en haer constighe ghebruyckers, sonder in eeren opstijghen oft verheven worden, souden onder ander grove handtwercken en handt-werckers gherekent, in oneeren en verachtinghe midden t'onwetende verstandloos volck moeten blijven. Maer t'gheluck oft goedertieren Avontuere voeght gemeenlijck in alle Eeuwen oft tijden, dat onse Const, en haer constighe oeffenaers, eenighe treflijcke goede Liefhebbers zijn toeghedaen …. Protogenes, Schilder van Caunus, hadde den Egyptschen Coningh Demetrium. Pamphilus en Melanthus hadden Aratum en Tholomeum. Apelles hadde Alexandrum, en Zeuxis de' Agrigentijnen. Voort nae dese oude, Ioannes van Eyck hadde den Graef Philips van Charlois: Albert Durer, Carolum Quintum …. Sprangher, en Hans van Aken, den Keyser Rhodolphum, en wy hebben Melchior, mijnen Mecoenas, oft om beter seggen, Apollo, welcken ick mijn slecht onghehavent ghedicht, een eenigh Schaepken te ghelijcken, nu gantsch opdraghe en offere."

15 "Aen Eersamen, den Schilder-const-liefdighen, en den Schilders seer toeghedanen Heer, Iaques Razet, Notarius publicus, en Secretarius op de Convoye tot Amstelredam, mijnen besonderen goeden vriendt," in *Schilder-Boeck*, Book II, fol. 59v: "Mijn segghen wordt noch te meer bevestight, door dat V.E. zijn constighe stucken boven gheldt bemint, en veel overhoop byhoudt, als hebbende daer in sinlijckheyt."

military heroes lionized in olden days but instead to men illustrious for their pictorial deeds executed on panel or canvas.

> [To Razet:]
> And [my "Lives"] shall be more pleasing than were I to offer him in a learned and more artful style all the ancient, semidivine war heroes, with [their] oath-plighted, four-square battle arrays, forays, and conquests.[16]

> [From the dedication of Book IV to Ban and Vlasman:]
> (As I deem) there may well be some or many whom it surprises that I have made such a book, and expended so much effort and care on these matters, which any person perhaps, or certainly, might judge to be too low or trivial: thinking that only men famed for their weaponry and high deeds, were or are worthy of being described by the pen. Yea, that Marius, Silla, Catilina, and other such cruel devourers of men more deserve or ought to be preserved in memory, than our noble, artful, World-adorning spirits of ancient and modern times .... There are others, enough too, who learnedly and carefully promote the description of the years' times, or the Tragedies of our bloodied Netherlandish Theater, to which [task] I would not be suited.[17]

The prefatory poem on the etymology of the terms *schilder* and *schildery* (painter and painting), printed just before the dedication to Razet, performs a similar function: with reference to ancient soldiers' shields (*schilden*) painted with eponymous devices, the anonymous poet contends that less important than the martial instrumentalities of such armaments were their linguistic affordances; in representing its bearer's identity, to such an extent that the *schild* was hung up as a trophy, memorial, or epitaph of his past accomplishments, the shield

16 Ibid., fol. 59r: "En sal hem aenghenamer zijn, dan of ick hem aanbode in gheleerderen en constigheren stijl al d'oude half-Godtsche Krijghhelden met de ghestaefde viercantighe Slagh-ordenen, aenvallen, en bloedighe verwinninghen."

17 Cf. the passage, in "Preface to the Lives of the Renowned Netherlandish and High German Painters," in *Schilder-Boeck*, Book IV, fol. 198r, where Van Mander asseverates that his calling was to describe "Brush-strokes and Panels," not to compile a "Heroes' book" full of war and saltpeter's explosive cruelty: "T'is u werck niet, oft, ten voeght u niet, t'Helden-boeck den krijgh, oft t'salpeters krakende wreetheyt, maer wel Pinceel-streken en Tafereelen, te beschrijven."

became metonymic of the memorializing and aggrandizing functions of the pictures painted upon them. Hence, the incorporation of *schild* into *schilder* (not shield-bearer but painter or picturer) and *schildery* (not shield-bearing or shield-making but painting or picturing): *schild*'s warlike connotations are transmuted into the more peaceful ones associated with *schilderconst*.[18]

A third point of comparison between Ancients and Moderns has to do with their like concern for mastery over the full range of descriptive subjects and pictorial effects comprised by the imitation of nature. This comparative exercise takes us from the dedicatory texts to the prefaces proper. The "Preface on the foundation of the noble, free art of painting" concludes with a list of ancient subjects and effects that incorporates critical categories such as beauty, mimetic precision, invention, cleverness or wit, and grace, technical categories such as facility, fine coloring, good measure or proportion, skill at copying, and the ability to paint large or small things, facultative categories such as painting after the life what the eyes see and painting from memory, subject categories such as human figures, affects, animals, landscape, fruit and flowers, and, as a subcategory of these subjects, the moral quality of profundity. Van Mander then considers how this list has been assimilated and revived by the Italians and the Netherlanders: the widely diverse representational categories explored by the Ancients are reclassified and compressed, resulting in a new roster more closely resembling the specialized pictorial genres practiced by the generation of Dutch painters active just after (and partially trained by) Van Mander. That he designates these various categories, both ancient and modern, *verscheydenheden* speaks to his sense of his contemporaries, Netherlanders in particular, as heirs to a system of painting that, even while placing great value on "figures and Histories," yet acknowledges the collateral value to be found in skilled painting of other kinds of things. In making his case, Van Mander once again transposes from the register of war to that of art; although he initially analogizes painters to bold *principes* who persuade their troops to fight valorously, he ultimately encourages them to "achieve a singular mastery in our Arts, which he will attain without any danger, battle, or shedding of blood, if earnestly, with constant effort, he but avail himself of magnanimous

18 For a fuller discussion of this poem, penned by a poet whose motto was "Elck Man doe recht" (Let each man do what is right), see section 5, *infra*, of this "Introduction," "Ekphrastic Usage in the *Schilder-Boeck*," and notes 151–152, *infra*.

Nature."[19] The reference to Nature is meant not only to encourage painters to cultivate their natural abilities, their God-given gifts, but also refers to the many things that Nature gives the painter to see and describe. The ideal result would be a painter capable of portraying everything, but since such persons are few and far between, Van Mander counsels the aspiring painter to be pragmatic, to perfect in himself whatever seems capable of perfection:

> As Roman Leaders were formerly wont to do, who through artful exhortation could discern from the shaking of their soldiers' spears how their courage had been awakened and brought to life, so I adjure them to step forth intrepidly and take hold at first of the most special part of the Arts, namely, that they learn how to dispose a Human figure, and finally, that they also embrace all the concomitant parts [of the Arts], or otherwise, if Nature and Spirit are unwilling to permit, some special part, in order to become excellent at it: for it does not happen daily that a single person is empowered to learn, grasp, comprehend everything, or become proficient in all things.
>
> Thus one finds our Art to have proceeded since olden days or Ancient times: that one in one thing, and another in another thing has been an abler and better Master, as one will find in their lives .... One will also find the same varieties (*verscheydenheden*) amongst contemporary Italians and Netherlanders, here too many to recount: whereby the Young shall be taught to persevere in the Art, to seize that which Nature offers most readily. If not perfection in figures and Histories, so may it be Animals, Kitchens, Fruits, Flowers, Landscapes, Buildings, Perspectives, Cartouches, Grotesques, Night Scenes, Fires, Portraits after the life, Sea Pieces, and Ships, or to paint something else in this wise.[20]

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19 "Voor-reden, op den grondt der edel vry Schilder-const," in Van Mander, *Schilder-Boeck*, Book I, fol. * vi recto: "Maer boven al behoort oft behoeft yeder op t'uyterste yverigh en vyerigh te trachten, om d'eenighe opperste heerschappije onser Consten tot hem te trecken en te vercrijghen, waer toe men sonder eenigh ghevaer, krijgh oft bloetvergieten, gheraken can, als men maer ernstigh met stadighen vlijt de milde Natuere te baet comt."

20 See ibid., fols. *v verso-*vi recto: "Gelijck de voortijtsche Roomsche Hooftmannen plochten, die door constighe vermaninghen, aen t'spies-swicken der krijghslieden, hun vrymoedicheyt levende verweckt te wesen conden mercken: Soo bespreeck ick, datse overtsaeghdlijck toetreden, en aengrijpen voor eerst het besonderste deel der Consten, te weten, een Menschlijck beeldt te

The term *verscheydenheden* appears at least twice elsewhere in the *Schilder-Boeck*: in the "Life of Baccio Bandinelli," it refers to the "varieties of coloring and marking" ("verscheydenheden van coloreringen en vlecken") displayed by Baccio in his *Leda with Castor and Pollux*, painted to rival Michelangelo's *Leda*; counterposed to the terms "mixing and tempering" ("vermeninghen en temperinghen"), *verscheydenheden* implicitly refers to Baccio's compulsion to show himself as various in his technical abilities, emulous of Michelangelo yet singularly different from him.[21] In the "Life of Lucas van Leyden," the term refers to "varieties of facial types and costumes as per the Old Law/Testament" ("verscheydenheden van tronien en cleedingen na den ouden Wet"), to be seen in the master's prints, no two of which appear alike as regards faces and apparel ("al meest d'een d'ander niet ghelijckende"). This is why Italian masters make a habit of copying Lucas's prints, states Van Mander, who then deplores their efforts to conceal their indebtedness to Lucas.[22] By contrast, related terms such as *verscheydenheyt* (variety, rooted in concepts of difference,

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leeren stellen, oock eyndlijck alle ander omstandighe deelen t'omhelsen, oft immers als Natuere en Geest anders niet willen toelaten, eenigh besonder deel om daer in uytnemende te moghen worden: want het niet daeghlijcx gheschiet, dat een alleen alles vermagh, leeren, begrijpen, oft in alles uytnemende worden can.

"Sulcx bevintmen onder onse Const, van in den ouden oft Antijcken tijt te wesen toeghegaen dat d'een in d'een, en d'ander in d'ander geschickter en beter Meester gheweest is, gelijck men in hun levens sal vinden .... De selve verscheydenheden salmen oock vinden by den dees-tijdtsche Italianen en Nederlanders te zijn geweest, hier te lang te verhalen: waer by de Jeught gheleert sal wesen, om in de Const volherden, te grijpen nae t'ghene Natuere meest aenbiedt. Ist niet de volcomenheyt in beelden en Historien, soo mach het wesen Beesten, Keuckenen, Fruyten, Bloemen, Landtschappen, Metselrijen, Prospectiven, Compartimenten, Grotissen, Nachten, branden, Conterfeytselen nae t'leven, Zeen, en Schepen, oft soo yet anders te schilderen. Maer boven al behoort oft behoeft yeder op t'uyterste yverigh en vyerigh te trachten, om d'eenighe opperste heerschappije onser Consten tot hem te trecken en te vercrijghen, waer toe men sonder eenigh ghevaer, krijgh oft bloetvergieten, gheraken can, als men maer ernstigh met stadighen vlijt de milde Natuere te baet comt."

21 *Schilder-Boeck*, Book III, fol. 151v.

22 "Het leven van Lucas van Leyden, uytnemende Schilder, Plaet-snijder, en Glas-schriver," in *Schilder-Boeck*, Book IV, fol. 212r: "In dit, en al zijn ander printen, sietmen veel aerdige verscheydenheden van tronien en cleedingen na den ouden Wet, hoeden, mutsen, en hulselen, al meest d'een d'ander niet ghelijckende, sulcx dat groote Meesters van onsen tijdt in Italien met zijn dinghen hun grootlijck hebben weten te behelpen, zijn dingen met somtijden een weynich te veranderen in hun wercken ontleenende, en te pas brenghende."

distinction, diversity) and *verscheyden* (various, distinct, diverse, sundry) are ubiquitous throughout the *Schilder-Boeck*, which surely indicates that *verscheydenheden* derives from them, being the plural of one and the noun adjunct of the other. On this account, Van Mander's conception of the many "parts" of *schilderconst*—which the aspiring painter must cultivate, inasmuch as he is able, if he is "fully to avail himself of magnanimous Nature"—can be thought to originate from his embrace of variety as a key principle of art. By rooting the parts of painting in a notion of variety so capacious that it seems to denominate everything visible and paintable, Van Mander declares that he places a premium on the painter's all-encompassing powers of differentiation. Indeed, the beauty of nature, and therefore the beauty of *schilderconst*, as he affirms in chapter 5 of the *Grondt*, "Van der Ordinanty ende Inventy der Historien" (On the Ordonnance and Invention of Histories), comes from variety.[23]

The *Grondt* examines all the parts of painting enumerated in the Preface, some passingly, others, such as history, landscape, and animals (as well as affects), to which entire chapters are dedicated, at far greater length. As becomes clear from the mutual relationship of these chapters and their constituent topics, two subject categories—history and landscape—incorporate the greatest variety of describable things; Van Mander appraises their many points of connection and commonalities of theme in chapters 5 and 8, respectively, "On Ordonnance" and "On Landscape."[24] His conviction that the *verscheydenheden* in toto can potentially be comprised by history and, to the extent that history and landscape are profoundly complementary, also by landscape, perhaps derives from the conception of history he endorses implicitly in the *Grondt* and explicitly in his posthumous published translation of Ieronimus Benzonius, *De historie, van de Nieuwe Weerelt, te weten, de beschrijvinghe van West-Indien* (History of the New World, that is, description of the West Indies) (Haarlem: Paschier van Wesbusch, 1610) and his two poems in praise of Haarlem, the first published in 1610, the second earlier, in 1596, known today from an edition of two manuscript transcriptions of these poems, copied from these lost publications.[25] Both texts

23 *Grondt*, fol. 16v (marginal gloss to stanza 20): "Door de verscheydenheyt is Natuere schoon."

24 See section 6, *supra*, of this "Introduction," "*Landtschap* and *byvoechsel*: Karel van Mander on Landcape and History, Simulation and Dissimulation."

25 Ieronimus Benzonius, *De historie, van de Nieuwe Weerelt, te weten, de beschrijvinghe van West-Indien. Waer in verhaelt wert, van de eylanden ende zeen*

can be characterized loosely as chorographies, an historical genre that chronicles or, better, inventories a region's noteworthy events by setting them in the larger descriptive context of its topographical features, major edifices, manufactured and commercial goods, networks of trade, and its inhabitants' appearance, character, customs, and manners of dress. It is under the sign of this type of history, which subsumes narration into a discursive field descriptive in form and function, that the historical genus valorized in the Preface and the historical ordonnance championed in interlinked chapters 5 and 8 of the *Grondt* can best be understood.

The dedications to Wijntgis, Razet, Ferreris, Ban and Vlasman, Fallet, and Ketel, supplemented by remarks in the prefaces that directly follow, serve to convey a further analogy between Ancients and Moderns: in showing how a shared love of painting unites *liefhebbers* and *schilders*, just as it did in ancient times, how such men, then and now, are ruled by "the nature of our Arts, which seek out and love whatever is like them, that is, civility and friendship,"[26] and how both groups tend to gravitate appreciatively toward the technical and material aspects of *schilderconst* (i.e., "Brush-strokes and Panels"),[27] Van Mander posits a relation between mind and hand that privileges the latter, construing it as the bodily instrument whereby the mind's images are given material expression. Van Mander's conception of the hand's share in the mental process of fashioning images is essentially Aristotelian:[28]

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nieulicx gevonden, ende van den nieuwen steden die hy daer selfs ghesien heeft, ende tghene daer is ghebeurt te water ende te lande, in veerthien Jaren tijts, die hy aldaer gheweest is, ed. and trans. Karel van Mander (Haarlem: Paeschier van Wesbusch, 1610). On Van Mander's frequent use of information gleaned from Benzonius throughout the *Schilder-Boeck*, see B. Schmidt, "'O fortunate land!': Karel van Mander, 'A West Indies Landscape,' and the Dutch Discovery of America," *New West Indian Guide / Nieuwe West-Indische Gids* 69, no. 1/2 (1995), 5–44, esp. 15–18, 127–131. On the two "city-views" of Haarlem in verse, see K. van Mander, "Het beelt van Haerlem de stadt, waerin is te lesen haer gelegentheijt, aert, en out, heerlijck wesen." "Het tweede beelt van Haerlem. T' Stadt Haerlems beeldt, in welck men speurt met lesen: haer oudtheyt, aerdt, ghedaent' en heerlijck wesen." In J.D. Rutgers van der Loeff, ed., *Drie lofdichten op Haarlem* (Haarlem: 1911), 19–47.

26 "Aen Const-rijcken, cloecksinnighen Mr. Cornelis Ketel, Schilder en Dichter," in *Schilder-Boeck*, Book VI, fol. 123v: "want den aerdt onser Consten daer toe te edel is, soeckende oft lievende haers ghelijcke, dat is, beleeftheyt, en vriendtlijckheyt."

27 "Voor-reden op t'Leven der Nederlandtsche en Hooghduytsche vermaerde Schilders," in *Schilder-Boeck*, Book IV, fol. 198r; see note 17, *supra*.

28 On the Aristotelian psychology of soul that underlies the relation between

> And just as Plutarch says that friendship is the noblest [thing] in Nature, so is our *Schilder-const* glad to be familiar with so noble a virtue, in that *Schilder-gheest* (the Painter's spirit), like the Poet's, cannot endure the very toxic violent shocks [of Envy], but instead is pleased to be calm and still, since thought's considered / imagined mental images ("d'inbeeldinghen") through their secret operation must first deliberate and decide, as in the City Hall of a Bourgeois City, what the hands, like compliant servitors ("ghehoorsaem dienaren"), must then execute and do.[29]

The term *ghehoorsaem* (compliant, acquiescent, amenable) implies that the hands, more than mere instruments, are willing agents of the mind's power of imagination, through which the private mental images constitutive of its secret operations are transformed by manual skill into material images that are public and legible. As a matter of fact, Van Mander grants the hand a functional identity at once cognitive and executive everywhere in the *Schilder-Boeck*; the dedications and prefaces preview this tendency to valorize the hand's

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mind and body (and thus mind and hand) in *De anima* and *De motu animalium*, see R. Sorabji, "Body and Soul in Aristotle," *Philosophy* 49 (1974): 63–89; M.C. Nussbaum, "The *Sumphuton Pneuma* and the *De Motu Animalium*'s Account of Soul and Body," in Nussbaum, ed. and trans., *Aristotle's* De Motu Animalium (Princeton: 1978), 143–164; H.M. Robinson, "Mind and Body in Aristotle," *Classical Quarterly* (*N.S.*) 28 (1978): 105–124; C. Shields, "Soul and Body in Aristotle," *Oxford Studies in Ancient Philosophy* 6 (1988): 103–137; R. Heinaman, "Aristotle and the Mind-Body Problem," *Phronesis* 35 (1990): 83–102; and J. Sisko, "Material Alteration and Cognitive Activity in Aristotle's *De anima*," *Phronesis* 91 (1996): 138–157.

29 "Aen const-rijcken … Mr. Cornelis Ketel," in *Schilder-Boeck*, Book VI, fol. 123v: "En ghelijck Plutarchus vriendtschap seght te wesen, t'edelste in der Natuere, soo is onse Schilder-const geern gemeensaem met soo edel deught, om dat den Schilder-gheest, ghelijck oock des Poëten, geen soo giftighe beroeringhen en can verdraghen, maer geern gherust en stil is om dat door zijn heymlijck werck d'inbeeldinghen in den ghedachten eerst hebben t'overleghen en besluyten, als in een Borgherlijck Stadts Raedt-huys, wat daer nae de handen, als ghehoorsaem dienaren, hebben uyt te richten oft te doen." The term *d'inbeeldinghen* derives from the verb *inbeelden*, which In Latin signifies "to imagine, fashion in spirit, depict or observe in thought," and in French "to visualize to oneself, apprehend in memory, or to fantasize," in the sense of "to conceive a mental image." See A. Maldoets, C. Kiliaan, Q. Steenhart, and A. van Hasselt, *Thesaurus Theutonicae linguae. Schat der Neder-duytscher spraken* (Antwerp: Christopher Plantin, 1573), fols. Z2 verso-Z3 recto: "Inbeelden. Imaginer en soy, pourpenser, ou comprendre en sa memoire our penser par fantasie. Imaginari, depingere congitatione, animo fingere, cogitatione percipere."

agency. Praising Razet's large collection of paintings, for example, he calls them "silent voices … painted by various learned, artful hands."[30] In this formulation, art and erudition are as if lodged in the hands, which function as metonyms for the painters who wield them and, implicitly, for the "manners of hand" (*handelinghen*) representative of those same painters.

If the dedicatory epistles work collectively, as well as in tandem with the prefaces and subsequent lives, to put forward certain arguments about the nature and *modi operandi* of ancient and modern *schilderconst*, what sorts of questions do the prefaces conjointly pose? There are three: what is the nature of *schilderconst*; how does it relate to *poëterije* (poetry); and when did it originate, relative to other *consten* (arts)? The Preface to "Lives of the Ancient Illustrious Painters, Egyptian, Greek, and Roman" provides a succinct answer to the first question, which resonates with the fuller account developed in the *Schilder-Boeck* as a whole. *Schilderconst* consists in the shadowing forth of a verisimilar mirror image that captures the apparent likeness of some person(s) or thing(s). This processual definition, which ascribes to painting the power of fixing an "appearance of being" ("den schijn van het zijn") that would otherwise be as fleeting as a shadow, beyond the compass of memory, ultimately derives from Leon Battista Alberti's *De pictura* II.26, combined with Quintilian's account of the origins of painting in *De institutione oratoria* X.ii.7 and Pliny's in *Naturalis historia* XXX.15:[31]

> Some have subtly contrived [to say] that she arose from Narcissus, who was transformed into a flower, for she is the flower of all the Arts, so that the whole of the Fable of Narcissus can, not inopportunely, be explained in this wise: for what may better rhyme with the fine form of this Youth shadowed forth in the Crystal-clear fountain, than a Figure artfully painted and done

30 "Aen Eersamen, den Schilder-const-liefdighen … Iaques Razet," in *Schilder-Boeck*, Book II, fol. 59v: "Ghelijck van V.E. liefd' ter Schilder-const betuyghen veel spraeckloose luyden, daer V.E. huys vol van is: Ick meen gheschilderde, van verscheyden gheleerde constighe handen."

31 See *Leon Battista Alberti, On Painting: A New Translation and Critical Edition*, ed. and trans. R. Sinisgalli (Cambridge: 2011), 46. Van Mander consulted Dupinet's edition of the *Naturalis historia*; see *L'histoire du monde de C. Pline Second*, ed. and trans. Antoine du Pinet, 2 vols. (Lyon: Antoine Tardif, 1584), 2:658–659. On the origin stories in Pliny and Quintilian, see J. Overbeck, ed., *Die antiken Schriftquellen zur Geschichte der bildenden Künste bei den Griecken* (Leipzig: 1868), 67–69; and R. Rosenblum, "The Origin of Painting: A Problem in the Iconography of Romantic Classicism," *Art Bulletin* 39 (1957): 274–290, esp. 274.

> after the life by the learned hand of a Painter rich in Art? Even while writing this, I am astonished by how fitting this [contrivance] is, given that I do indeed find our Art to be a shadow of true being, comparable to the appearance of that which exists: for as some men write, this noble, Heaven-sent gift of nature is the daughter of Shadow. My witness is the learned Quintilian, whose opinion is that she originates from the shadows cast by the Sun, wherefore the Ancients are thought to have captured the head's chief features by outlining these shadows. Pliny, too, in his noted thirty-fifth book, chapter 12, recounts how the daughter of a potter, Deburates, being enamored of a Youth, drew with a coal the profile of his face shadowed by candlelight upon a wall, in order to have him ever before the eyes and in mind; from which [drawing] her father is thought to have made and baked the first face in clay relief. For which reason the art of Drawing (*Teycken-const*) ought to be celebrated for having been born before Sculpture: and on this account, Painting ought to have been produced by Phoebus or Vulcan, namely, from the shadows cast by the Sun or fire.[32]

These anecdotes also introduce one of Van Mander's most important collateral themes—the relation between *teyckenconst* and *schilderconst*—which is addressed in chapters 2, "Van het teyckenen, ofte

32 "Voor-reden, op het Leven der oude Antijcke Doorluchtighe Schilders," in *Schilder-Boeck*, Book II, fol. 61v: "Wort van eenige ooc aerdich versiert, datse haer afcomst heeft van Narcisso, die in een bloem is verandert, ter oorsaec dat sy de bloem van alle Coonsten is, dat daerom de gantsche Fabel van Narcisso niet ongevoeglijc op de selvige geduyt en can worden: want wat mach beter rijmen op de schoon gestaltenis deses Iongelings in de Cristallinige clare Fonteyne schaduwende, dan een constich geschildert Beelt uytnemenende wel na t'leven gedaen, van een geleerde hant eens Const-rijcken Schilders? Ic verwondere my self al schrijvende, hoe wel dit te pas comt, bevindende onse Const alree een schaduwe van t'rechte wesen, en den schijn van het zijn vergeleken: want by dat eenige schrijven, soude dese edel natuersche Hemel-gave de dochter zijn van de Schduwe. Mijn getuyge is den geleerden Quintilianus, wiens meyninge is, datse haren oorsprong heeft uyt de schaduwe die de Son geeft, waer naer de Oude de hooft-trecken genomen souden hebben, omtreckende dese schaduwe. Plinius ooc in zijn gemelde 35e. Boeck, Cap. 12. verhaelt van de dochter van een Potbacker, Deburates, welcke verlieft op eenen Iongeling, trock metter kole den pourfijl van zijn tronie, die van t'keerslicht schadude op eenen muer, om hem altijts voor oogen en in haer gedacht te hebben, waer op de Vader de eerste tronie soude van aerde verheven gemaect en gebacken hebben: waerom de Teycken-const de voor-geboorte tegen t'Beelt-snijden haer te roemen soude hebben: en volgens t'voor-verhaelde soude de Schilderije geteelt wesen van Phoebo oft Vulcano, te weten, uyt de schaduwe van Son oft vyer."

Teycken-const" (On drawing, or the Art of Delineating), and 12, "Van wel schilderen, oft Coloreren" (On painting well, or Coloring).

All six prefaces take for granted the close affiliation between painting and poetry, but the Preface to the *Wtlegghingh* draws the most explicit, if tried and true, parallels. The context for Van Mander's prefatory remarks is set in the dedicatory epistle, addressed to Gedeon Fallet. Here he borrows his chief points from Philostratus the Elder's introduction to the *Imagines* and Simonides of Ceos's comparison of painting to mute poetry, cited by Plutarch in *De gloria Atheniensium* III.346.[33] He begins by observing that painting, when it "exemplifies and describes the features and deeds of virtuous admirable Men," joins forces with history and poetry, since they, too, strive after truth and moral instruction.[34] He then narrows his focus exclusively to painting and poetry:

> For just as the Painter by means of brush-strokes gives past events to be known as if they were present, so does the Poet with beautifully voiced reasons and discriminating words: wherefore they but differ in the materials of representation and portrayal. Thus the writer who runs the course of his narratives in good form is thanked neither less nor more than the Painter who places his work before the eyes, bringing it skillfully to pass with soul-stirring figurations.[35]

Even the silence of painting is like poetry, in that the ancient Greeks, following Euripides's dictum, "Silence is the answer of the wise,"

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33 Philostratus argues that painting and sculpture are the most naturelike of human inventions, that painters have contributed no less than poets to humanity's accumulated knowledge of heroes and heroic deeds, that painterly symmetry of proportion partakes of reason, and that painting is as godlike as the seasons' "painted" meadows or the astral manifestations "painted" in the heavens; see *Elder Philostratus, Imagines*, ed. J. Henderson, trans. A. Fairbanks (Cambridge, MA: 1931), 2–3.

34 "Aen den achtbaren en edelen Heer, Mr. Gedeon Fallet," in *Schilder-Boeck*, Book V, fol. *ij recto: "Soo misdoen tegen de waerheyt der gheschiednissen, en Poeetsche leeringen, die de Schilder-const niet omhelsen … dewijle dese t'samen tot ghelijcken eyndt streckende, ons voorbeelden en beschrijven de betreckselen en daden der deughtsaem vemaerde Mannen."

35 Ibid.: "Want ghelijck met verwighe Pinceel-streken den Schilder t'voorleden ghelijck tegenwoordich geschiedende te kennen geeft: also doet den Dichter met schoon-talighe redenen en onderscheydige woorden: waerom sy maer verschillen in de stoffe der voorstellinghen oft uytbeeldinghen. Soo dat den Schrijver, t'beloop zijner vertellinghe in goeder ghestaltnisse uytvoerende, wort bedanct: min noch meer als den Schilder, die zijn stuck, met gemoedt bewegende beeldinghen aerdigh te weghe brengende, voor oogen stelt."

favored sayings that used the fewest words to express the richest meanings. Notable is the way Van Mander precisely distinguishes between the material means of representation and then goes on to imply that painting and poetry exercise a reciprocal claim on those means: well-executed narratives convey actions effectively when they partake of a "good form / formation" (i.e., visualize them); well-painted pictures move the beholder when they include *beeldinghen* (i.e., figurations / rhetorical figures). The goal shared by painters and poets, it would seem, is the effect of *enargeia*—vivid likeness, visual presence, sensory immediacy.

The Preface proper elaborates upon these parallels by insisting that Poetry is a visual art that operates in and through images. When it artfully praises virtue or condemns vice, it does so by making the two paths visible ("te schouwen"). Poetry achieves its salutary effects by picturing men to themselves in a form at once stirring and aspirational:

> Yes, [Poetry] is so entire that I am impelled to say that wise Poetic devices, profound and inspired poems, have an exceptionally potent and beneficial force, in that they gratify the heart by tickling the ear, sweetly picturing to Man a better image of himself, tempering his thought, taming desire and lust, making sense constant, stilling the heart, concentrating the spirt, refining morals, and finally curing the harmful sicknesses of the Soul: so that sound and pure in will, word, and work, armed with innocence, Manful, unmoved and unhindered, he may traverse the thousand-fold perilous, dire thieving woods, and the murderous, dark straying paths of this world, and at long last reach peace of spirit and rest of Soul.[36]

Scriptural poetry uses a different kind of image to produce a like effect, mixing visual elements incongruously to cue a saying's deeply

36 "Voor-reden," in ibid., fol. *iij verso: "Iae sy is soo veel, dat ick ben veroorsaeckt te segghen, dat de wijse Poeetsche versieringhen, diepgrondighe en vernuftighe ghedichten, hebben uytnemende wercklijcke en nutte crachten, dewijl oorkitteligh sy t'herte streelende, den Mensch soetlijck zijn beeldt beter verbeelden, zijn ghedacht matighen, begheert en lust temmen, sin stadighen, ghemoedt stillen, gheest beredenen, zeden gladden, en eyndlijck de schadighe Siel-sieckten ghenesen: om ghesondt en suyver in wille, woordt en werck, met onschult ghewapent, Manlijck, onberoert, en onverhindert den ghevaerlijcken duysent noodtschen roof-bosch, en moordighen donckeren wandel-padt deser Weerelt, te doorreysen, om eyndlijck tot de gheest-vredighe Siel-rust te gheraken."

symbolic, allegorical sense: as when, in Judges 9:8–15, the trees go to anoint a king; or, in 4 Kings 14:9–10, the thistle asks the cedar to give his daughter in marriage to the thistle's son; or, in 1 Chronicles 16:32–33, the seas roar and the fields rejoice, praising the Lord. In a similar fashion, the New Testament parables portray the word of God as if he were speaking in images; Van Mander paraphrases and partially elides the parables of the sower and the oversown cockle:

> Now one must yet consider what may otherwise be meant and imported. As elsewhere the word of God is portrayed (*afghebeeldt*) to us with a grain seed for sowing, the unenlightened with a pathway, the inconstant with stony ground, the eagerly desirous with thorns, the fearful of God with good soil, the Word with the Field, the Angels with the Reapers, the Last Judgment with the Harvest, Hell with the Bonfire, Heaven with the barn, good persons with Wheat, bad persons with cockles, as also, [respectively,] with Sheep and Goats.[37]

That Van Mander thinks of these poetic images as painted by other means, not with pigments but with words whose descriptive potential has been maximized, becomes even more apparent when he segues from Scripture to Ovid. Speaking about Ovid's *Verander-Boeck* (Book of Metamorphoses), he states: "There skillfully with keen observation every property [of things] and many-colored contrivances are with very great Art coupled together."[38] He likens the *Metamorphoses* to a "clear lustrous mirror of instruction placed before the [reader-viewer's] eyes," for the purpose of re-forming him, so that he finds himself "in form much improved, transformed, or reshaped."[39]

Poetry, then, is to be appreciated as a genus of image-making very closely paired with *schilderconst*, distinguishable from it only materi-

37 Ibid., fol *iiij recto: "Nu heeftmen doch te bedencken, datter wat anders mede ghemeent, en te kennen ghegheven wordt. Ghelijck ons elder wordt afghebeeldt t'woordt Gods met een saey-graen, den onverstandighen met den wegh, den onvolherdighen met steen-grondt, den gierighen met doornen, den Godtvruchtighen met goet landt, de Weerelt met den Acker, d'Enghelen met de Maeyers, het Oordeel met den Ougst, de Helle met den Oven, den Hemel met de schuere, de goede met Tarwe, de quade met oncruydt, oock met Schapen en Bocken."

38 Ibid., fol. *iiij verso: "Daer cloecklijck met groot opmerck alle eyghenschappen, en de veelwerwighe versieringhen met grooter Const aen een gheschakelt zijn."

39 Ibid., fol. *5r: "… ghelijckigen claer glandsenden spieghel der leeringhen, hem voor ooghen ghestelt van een Heydensch Poeet …. dat hy heel beter ghestaltigh ghemetamorphosijt, oft herschapen wesende, niet in hoogher

ally, through its reliance on words rather than pigments, brushes, and panels. This brings us to the third topic addressed by the prefaces—the origins of painting, as this pertains to its relation to its sister arts, such as sculpture, and to the liberal arts. Given Van Mander's conception of poetry as a kind of image-making, it perhaps comes as no surprise to find him arguing in the Preface to Book II that *schilder-const* must be at least as old as the Trojan War since Homer could not possibly have described the Shield of Achilles in so vivid, lively, and detailed a way, had painting not existed to guide him. Even if the shield was engraved and enameled rather than actually painted, the assumption of painting's priority over Homer's poetry would remain irrefragable:

> Now, even if one were to say that this work was engraved and baked with enamels, rather than painted, be that as it may, it were not possible to have brought into the work all the things recounted had the art of drawing (*Teycken-const*) not been in a state of great perfection: and if [drawing] was in great perfection, it were impossible for painting not to have already been brought forth alongside, and not imperfectly, as is well to be deduced .... Now, having taken this into consideration, one would think that Homer could not write so palpably and vividly about the art of Drawing or Painting ("Teycken oft Schilder-const"), had they not been common currency, known beforehand; and indeed, he could not have expatiated so fully about them had they not been richly and highly in practice and use, at the very least in his own time.[40]

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achtinghe ter Weerelt weerden noch liever conde hebben, dan een recht, treflijck, deghelijck, vroom-manlijck leven."

40 *Schilder-Boeck*, Book II, fol. 61r: "Of men nu seggen wil, dat dit werc niet en was geschildert, maer gegraven, oft metter hitten geamailleert, het mocht zijn so het mocht, ten was niet mogelijc alle de verhaelde dingen int werc te brengen, of de Teycken-const en most doe al in seer groote perfectie wesen: was sy in groote perfectie, so ist niet mogelijc of de Schilder-const most mede al gebaert en in wesen zijn, en ooc niet onvolcomen, als wel te ramen is .... Nu dit overgeslagen, is te bedencken, dat Homerus niet en conde schrijven so heel werckelijck en bescheydelijc van de Teycken oft Schilder-const, haddese te zijnen tijde, oft te vooren niet openbaer en in kennisse geweest, jae ooc niet so heel breet daer van, haddese niet rijckelijc en hooglijck in swang en gebruyc geweest, ten alderminsten in zijnen tijt." For a fuller discussion of Van Mander's theory and practice of ekphrasis—the rhetorical figure of heightened description, closely connected to *enargeia* as a kind of painting, see section 5, *infra*, of this "Introduction," "Ekphrastic Usage in the *Schilder-Boeck*."

Van Mander then extends his timeline back to the time of Lycurgus, 872 years before the birth of Christ, and finally hypothesizes that *schilderconst* may predate the Flood, since only 200 years after it, Belus, son of Nimrod, caused a figure to be made, which became the first idol. In short, painting must have been a clever invention of the Chaldeans and Egyptians, from whom it spread to the Greeks and the Romans who revered it as a "noble, free Art, not as a guild-regulated craft," and as a "silent sister of very spirited Poetry."[41] This extended defense of painting's venerable age and temporal priority to all other arts and crafts, with the possible exception of poetry, bolsters his opening assertion, in the Preface to the *Grondt*, that the "genius-begetting, noble art of Painting [is] the natural nursemaid of all virtuous Arts and sciences." This is why she was held in such high honor by ancient Greek and Roman "Lords and men of the highest learning." Van Mander then coyly, if modestly, adds: "But whether in or through this association our exceptional art of Painting now bestows through her worthy presence or company a greater honor upon the other Arts than she formerly received from association with them, what I feel about this I shall gladly keep quiet, that I not be chided by reproving eyes, or badly thanked, and in order not to foment many a dispute."[42] The *Grondt*, viewed through the closely woven web of dedicatory epistles and prefaces, can be seen formally to justify *schilderconst*'s ancient status and privileges, her liberal bona fides, which Van Mander, chapter by chapter, fully situates in the painter's entwined mind, heart, and hand.

41 Ibid., fol. 61v: "… gelijc sy een edel vry Const is … niet wesende gerekent onder den hantwercken oft Ambachten, dewijle sy de stomme suster is van de seer geestige Poeterije."

42 Ibid., fol. * iiij r: "De seer vermaecklijcke vernuft-barende edel Schilder-const, natuerlijcke Voedster van alle deughtsame Consten en wetenschappen … was by den meesten Heeren, en hoogh-gheleerden, oyt in seer hoogher eeren en weerden: …. Maer of nu in oft door dit t'saemvoeghen onse uytnemende Schilder-const, door haer weerdighe tegenwoordicheyt oft bycomst den anderen Consten niet meerder eere heeft toegelangt, dan sy van henlieder gheselschaps weerdicheyt weghen heeft ontfanghen, wat ick daer van ghevoele wil ick geeren verswijghen, om niet met dweersen ooghen te worden berispt, qualijck ghedanckt, oft veel tistenissen te veroorsaken."

2 The Sources, Title-Page, and Scope of the *Grondt*

Van Mander's conviction that *schilderconst* musters the *schilder*'s mind, heart, and hand, issuing from their confluent agencies, largely derives from Domenicus Lampsonius's efforts to codify a canon of Netherlandish masters in the print cycle he assembled in collaboration with the print publisher Hieronymus Cock. Titled *Pictorum aliquot celebrium Germaniae Inferioris effigies* (Some Effigies of Celebrated Netherlandish Painters), this series of *viri illustres* consists of portraits of deceased painters, starting with Hubert and Jan van Eyck and ending with Hieronymus Cock, who died before the *Effigies* was finally issued in 1572.[43] Lampsonius supplied the Latin epitaphs that accompany the mortuary images and function as a summary of each painter's character and achievements. Van Mander, who knew these prints intimately, translated many of the epitaphs, incorporating many of them as perorations to the lives of masters who had died before he penned the *Schilder-Boeck*.

Lampsonius, as Edward Wouk has recently argued, conceived of the *Effigies* as a Netherlandish version of the *Aeneid*: Virgil's poem recounts the origins of Rome, just as Lampsonius's concatenated epitaphs tell the story of Netherlandish art, which is seen to arise fully formed, as if already mature, when the Van Eycks promulgate the new medium and technique of oil painting.[44] At several points in the series, praise is lavished on masters who harmonize the workings of the mind, heart, and hand: for instance, the landscape painter Lucas Gassel of Helmond receives commendation for leading men's minds to embrace honesty and integrity and, in equal measure, for leading their hearts to love good things. In proof, Lampsonius credits Gassel's skillful hand with having engendered in him his own "love of *graph-*

43 On the *Effigies*, see J. Puraye, ed., *Dominique Lampson: "Les effigies des peintre célèbres des Pays-Bas"* (Bruges: 1956); T.A. Riggs, *Hieronymus Cock (1510–1579): Printmaker and Publisher in Antwerp at the Sign of the Four Winds* (New York: 1977), 192–194, 203; W.S. Melion, *Shaping the Netherlandish Canon: Karel van Mander's* Schilder-Boeck (Chicago and London: 1991), 143–145, 253, 289; J. Woodall, "'Dem dry bones': Portrayal in Print after the Death of the Original Model," in Woodall and S. Porras, *Picturing the Netherlandish Canon*, Courtauld Books Online: https://courtauld.ac.uk/research/research-resources/publications/courtauld-books-online/picturing-the-netherlandish-canon/ (accessed February 28, 2022), 45–52; and E. Wouk, ed. and trans., *The Life of Lambert Lombard (1564) and Effigies of Several Famous Painters from the Low Countries (1572)*, Getty Research Institute Texts and Documents (Los Angeles: 2021), 31–43, 52–55, 106–155.

44 See ibid., 32–33.

ice (picturing)."[45] Here as with many other painters in the series, Gassel proudly displays the tools of his art, tightly gripping a palette, brushes, and maulstick. Lampsonius calls upon Pieter Bruegel to "be blessed for your spirit, as you are blessed in your skill."[46] The Dutch cognate for the Latin *animo* is *gheest*, Van Mander's term of choice for masters notable for their ready wit and ingenuity of invention. Most remarkable is Jan van Amstel's epitaph: in a rejoinder to Michelangelo's disparaging dictum, publicized by Anton Francesco Doni in *Il Disegno*, that Netherlandish painters lack rational intelligence, having their brain in their hands, not their heads, Lampsonius turns disparagement into praise for Van Amstel's skilled art of landscape painting.[47] The aphorism may be true, avows Lampsonius, but the condition it describes is laudable: "It is said not without reason that the Italian has his brain in his head, but the Belgian has his brain in his active hand. Therefore, the hand of Jan favored painting fields well, rather than his head knowing how to paint badly either men or gods."[48] Whereas Michelangelo alleges that Netherlandish art is mindless, Lampsonius counters that Van Amstel's "active hand" is itself mindful, for it knows how to paint fields well and favors landscape over inaptly and ineptly painted history.[49] Lampsonius's reference to landscape as *docta* in the Herri met de Bles epitaph, and his designation of Gassel's hand as *docta*, speak to a notion of manual virtuosity that roundly informs Van Mander's many invocations of the "gheleerde hant" (learned hand) throughout the *Schilder-Boeck*.[50] Van Mander uses the phrase to bestow praise and honor on masters such as Hendrick Goltzius whose practiced burin-hand combines inordinate skill with facile grace, assiduity (*vlijt*) with spirit (*gheest*).[51] In the dedication of Book II to Razet, cited above, his collection of painted works by "various learned, artful hands" serves to

45 See ibid., 150.

46 See ibid., 146.

47 See Anton Francesco Doni, *Disegno del Doni* (Venice: Gabriel Giolito de Ferrari, 1549), fol. 16v.

48 See Wouk, *Effigies*, 130.

49 On the inverted use of Michelangelo's dictum in the Van Amstel epitaph, see ibid., 41, 130; and H. Perry Chapman and J. Woodall, "Introduction: The Netherlander Has Intelligence in His Hands," *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 59 (2009): 7–43.

50 See Wouk, *Effigies*, 41.

51 On Goltzius's *Marriage of Cupid and Psyche* after Sprangher as an epitome of his "gheleerde handt," see note 99, *infra*. Also see note 75, *infra*, on the "learned hand" of Frans Floris.

confirm his discriminating love of *schilderconst*.[52] The *Schilder-Boeck* as a whole greatly elaborates upon the apparatus of canon-formation promulgated by Lampsonius and Cock.

But what of the *Grondt*? Van Mander had several models ready to hand, such as the poems on art published by his former teacher, the poet-painter Lucas de Heere of Ghent, in *Den hof en boomgaerd der poësiën, inhoudende menigherley soorten van Poetijckelicke blommen* (Garden and Orchard of Poetry, Containing Many Sorts of Poetic Blooms) (Ghent: Ghileyn Manilius, 1565), which in turn inspired the civic administrator Marcus van Vaernewyck, likewise of Ghent, to include extensive notes on art in *Den spieghel der Nederlandscher audtheyt, inhoudende de constructie, oft vergaderinghe van Belgis* (Mirror of Netherlandish Antiquity, Containing the Construction, or Aggregation of Belgium) (Ghent: Gheeraert van Salenson, 1568).[53] In the Preface to Book IV, *Het leven der doorluchtighe Nederlandtsche, en Hoogh-duytsche schilders … Alles tot lust, vermaeck, en nut der Schilders, en Schilder-const beminders* (Lives of the illustrious Netherlandish and High-German painters … All for the pleasure, delight, and use of Painters and lovers of Painting), Van Mander mentions that he had tried in vain to get hold of De Heere's lives of esteemed Northern painters, written in verse, left incomplete, and now untraceable, "which not least would otherwise have been a great help to me, in those particulars that required great effort to track down and secure."[54] It is easy to imagine how De Heere's dual project of composing poems on art and versified lives of artists might have functioned as a prototype for the *Schilder-Boeck*'s more complex combination of a theoretical poem on art and three sets of parallel lives of painters, ancient, Italian, and Northern.

52 See note 30, *supra*.

53 On De Heere's *Hof en boomgaerd*, see W. Waterschoot, "Lucas d'Heere en Marcus Vaernewijck voor het Lam Gods," *Jaarboek 'De Fonteine'* 16 (1966): 109–118; and idem, "Inleiding," in Waterschoot, ed., *Den hof en boomgaerd der poësiën* (Zwolle: 1969), IX–XXIX. On Van Vaernewyck's *Spieghel der Nederlandscher audtheyt*, see L. Kleine Deters, "'Paintings that can give great joy to the lovers of art': Marcus van Vaernewijck's Notes about Art and Artists (1568)," *Simiolus* 42 (2020): 89–145, esp. 89–104.

54 See *Schilder-Boeck*, Book IV, fol. 198r: "My gedenckt, dat eertijts mijn Meester, Lucas de Heere, van Gent, in Rijm dese stoffe, van het leven der vermaerde Schilders, by der handt en aengevangen hadde: maer … is niet voor den dagh te verwachten, welck my andersins groot behulp te minsten hadde moghen wesen, daer ick nu met grooter moeyt veel dingen hebben moeten op speuren en becomen."

The more systematic format of Van Mander's *Grondt*, with its progression from a long opening exhortation that makes reference, both implicit and explicit, to literary works the aspiring painter should know as potential sources of invention, to chapters on the composition (or, as Van Mander puts it, "ordonnance") of history and landscape, to chapters on the painter's chief ornaments—varieties of animal, fabric, and well sorted or mixed colors—broadly follows the tripartite schema of classical rhetorical treatises, which generally move from invention (the speaker's selection of topics), to disposition (orderly presentation of those topics), to eloquence or elocution (ornamentation and amplification of those same topics). However, the emphasis Van Mander places on the process of amplification, on descriptive effects and ornaments, and on what might be termed feats of eloquent coloring suggests that the *Grondt* could better be compared to treatises on poetics, such as Matthijs de Caslelein's *De const van rhetoriken* (Art of Rhetorics) (Ghent: Jan Cauwel, 1555).[55] De Castelein's verse treatise invokes the rhetorical canons and figures of thought and speech associated with classical rhetoric and the Aristotelian and Ciceronian functions of *docere, delectare*, and *movere* (to instruct, delight, and move), but it attaches these parts and devices to the so-called "arts de second rhétorique" (arts of the second rhetoric), colorful elocution above all. Amongst a plethora of figurative expressions, description is favored as an affective device that engenders vivid, richly detailed images, making them seem as if palpably present.[56] In all these respects, De Castelein's poetic trea-

55 On De Castelein's *Const van rhetoriken*, see S.A.P.J.H. Iansen, "Speurtocht naar het leven van Matthijs Castelein: archivalia en onzekerheden," *Verslagen en mededelingen der koninklijke Vlaamse academie voor taal- en letterkunde* (*nieuwe reeks*) (1970): 321–446; D. Coigneau, "Matthijs de Castelein (1485?–1550)," *Jaarboek De Fonteine* (1985–1986): 7–13; M. Spies, *Rhetoric, Rhetoricians, and Poets: Studies in Renaissance Poetry and Poetics*, ed. H. Duits and T. van Strien (Amsterdam: 1999), 40–44; and W.S. Melion, "Parabolic, Periphrastic, and Emblematic Ekphrasis in Hans Bol's *Emblemata Evangelica* of 1585," in K.A.E. Enenkel and Melion, eds., *Landscape the Visual Hermeneutics of Place, 1500–1700*, Intersections 75 (Leiden and Boston: 2021), 23–85, esp. 25–28.

56 On the rhetorical effect of presence and its function in establishing a common ground for the spectator's imaginative involvement with a painting, see C. van Eck, *Classical Rhetoric and the Visual Arts in Early Modern Europe* (New York and Cambridge: 2007), 26–28, 73–83. On De Castelein, whose poetics subsumes the principles of classical rhetoric as codified in Cicero's *De oratore* and Quintilian's *Institutio oratoria*, see B. Ramakers, "Between Aea and Golgotha: The Education and Scholarship of Matthijs de Castelein (c. 1485–1550)," in H. de Ridder-Symoens, K. Goudriaan, J.J. van Moolenbroek and A. Tervoort,

tise on the art of poetry, surely well known to Van Mander, who was himself a gifted poet and rhetorician, might have offered a welcome exemplar, template, or gauge for his poem on *schilderconst*. After all, the *Grondt* is a poetic tour de force, replete with well-appointed and skillfully deployed figures—*apostrophe*, *ekphrasis*, *enargeia*, *metaphor*, *metonymy*, *paradox*, *paronomasia*, *personification*, *prosopopoeia*, *simile*, *synecdoche*, et al.—marshaled to argue for the high, indeed foundational status of the art of painting amongst the other visual arts, and for its close kinship with the liberal arts.

Equally pivotal for Van Mander was the theoretical preface to Giorgio Vasari's *Le vite de' piu eccellenti Pittori, Scultori et Architettori* (Lives of the Most Excellent Painters, Sculptors, and Architects), 3 vols. (Florence: Giunti, 1568). Titled "Introduzzione … alle tre Arti del Disegno, cioè Architettura, Pittura, et Scoltura," the preface explains how *disegno* (drawing, delineation) operates both as a principle of visual invention that launches the allied processes of painting, sculpture, and architecture, and as the practical means whereby such invention is made materially manifest.[57] The "Introduzzione" initiates the tripartite sequence of lives that chronicles the gradual improvement and, in the final of three ages, the perfection of the "three arts of *disegno*, namely, Architecture, Painting, and Sculpture," between the late thirteenth and the mid-sixteenth centuries. Van Mander transformed Vasari's theoretical preface into a comprehensive poem on painting and its parts, but like Vasari, he then

eds., *Education and Learning in the Netherlands, 1400–1600: Essays in Honour of Hilde de Ridder-Symoens* (Leiden: 2004), 179–199. On the didactic and argumentative functions of the types of poetry cultivated by Dutch and Flemish exponents of *Rhetorijcke* (the art of rhetoric), see A. van Dixhoorn, "Writing Poetry as Intellectual Training: Chambers of Rhetoric and the Development of Vernacular Intellectual Life in the Low Countries between 1480 and 1600," in ibid., 201–222; and F. Hemelaar, "For the Illustration of Rhetoric: Cornelis van Ghistele, Virgil, and the Ideology of Learned *Rhetorijcke*," in B. Ramakers, ed., *Understanding Art in Antwerp: Classicising the Popular, Popularising the Classic* (*1540–1580*) (Leuven: 2011), 131–150.

57 See "Introduzzione," in Vasari, *Vite*, 3 vols. (Florence: 1568), 1:10–66. On Vasari's Aristotelian understanding of *disegno* as knowledge of universal forms and as the graphic means that renders those forms to sight, see K.-E. Barzman, *The Florentine Academy and the Early Modern State: The Discipline of* Disegno (Cambridge: 2000), 143–180, esp. 149–150. On the "tre arti del disegno," see W. Kemp, "Disegno: Beiträge zur Geschichte des Begriffs zwischen 1547 und 1607," *Marburger Jahrbuch für Kunstwissenschaft* 19 (1974): 219–240; and C. Farago, "The Classification of the Visual Arts in the Renaissance," in D.R. Kelley and R.H. Popkin, eds., *The Shapes of Knowledge from the Renaissance to the Enlightenment* (Dordrecht: 1983), 23–47.

sutured his theoretical statement to sequences of lives in which the poem's critical categories are seen to play out. Vasari's three ages of Italian art became three distinct cultural histories of art—Ancient, Italian, Netherlandish—on the model of Plutarch's *Parallel Lives*, as Van Mander explains in the "Life of Apollodorus," in *Schilder-Boeck*, Book II: "Just as I, like the excellent Writer Plutarch, planned to compare the illustrious Men, Greek and Italian, one against the other, so should it serve, not unfitly, to set the Athenian Apollodorus opposite Michelangelo."[58] In *Grondt*, chapter 8, "Van der Reflecty, Reverberacy, teghen-glans oft weerschijn" (On Reflection, Reverberation, re-reflected luster, or re-reflection), he gives further information on the genesis of his multipart book. As there were three great schools of ancient painting—Attic, Ionian, and Sicyonian—so Van Mander treats the ancient Greeks and Romans, the Italians (Florentines, Romans, Venetians, and Lombards), and the Northerners (Netherlandish and High German) as representatives of three great schools of art, drawing an explicit parallel between the arts of Sicyon and that of Batavia (the term used by Tacitus in his *Germania* for the Dutch Rhineland, i.e., the Netherlands):

> Furthermore, in that *Pictura* is now as favorable to Batavia,
> As she formerly was to Sicyon,
> So has nature come to shake forth gifts from out of her lap
> Upon the harbor town of Haarlem.
> Into the bosoms of two residents living there;
> One of them by rights a Painter, whose
> *Plato's Cave*, wherein is Art of no common strain,
> Is to be found in Amsterdam.[59]

58 *Schilder-Boeck*, Book II, fol. 66v: "Dat ick, ghelijck den uytnemenden Schrijver Plutarchus, hadde voorgenomen, de doorluchtighe Mannen, Griecken en Italianen, tegen malcander te verghelijcken, soo en soude teghen Michelangelo niet qualijck dienen gestelt den Atheenschen Apollodorus."

59 *Grondt*, fol. 32v (chapter 7, stanza 45):

> Voorts ghelijck *Pictura* nu wel *Bataven*
> Soo ionstich is, als voortijts Sycionen,
> Heeft de Natuere ter Haerlemmer haven
> Comen uyt schudden den schoot haerder gaven,
> In de boesemen van twee die daer wonen,
> D'een is te recht een Schilder, van den gonen
> Is t'Amsterdam de Spelonck *Platonis*,
> In welcke dat Conste meer als ghewoon is.

Underlying the division of painting into three historical schools must be Quintilian's distinction between oratorical genres and styles, in Book XIII, chapter 10 of the *Institutio oratoria*.[60] First and foremost, Quintilian distinguishes between the Attic and Latin methods of argumentation and delivery.

This brief selection of key source texts makes all the more apparent the novel format and argument of the *Schilder-Boeck*. Nothing quite like his treatise had ever been published: a theoretical poem in fourteen chapters (Book I), followed by parallel histories of art (Books II–IV) that exemplify the critical categories introduced in Book I by embedding them in artists' lives, in turn supplemented by two smaller treatises on allegorical image-making (Books V–VI), both of which, by expounding upon the many mythopoetic figures that punctuate the *Grondt* and providing the rationale for Van Mander's method of personification, allow the reader to circle back to his symbolic usage throughout the *Grondt*. The mutual referentiality of the six books, the intercalation of topics and themes within and across them, justifies the characterization of the *Schilder-Boeck* as an intertext.

The title-page to the book at large consists of elements drawn from its several books, most of all from the principles set out in the *Grondt* (Fig. 1).[61] Above is the winged ox of the Guild of Saint Luke, with the guild's metadevice, three shields emblazoned upon a larger shield, hanging from its neck. If the ox signifies the labor of *schilderconst* (*Wtbeeldinghe*, chapter 2, fol. 128r), the seraphic head (identified in Book IV, "Life of Cornelis Ketel," fol. 276v, as a "Seraphinnen hoofd," "Seraphim's head," or alternatively, a "Lof-geest," "spirit of praise") alludes to the divine source of praiseworthy art, namely, to genius or native ability (*Grondt*, chapter 1, stanzas 1 and 7), which must be com-

60 Quintilian is omnipresent in the *Grondt*, perhaps most notably in chapter 6, "Portrayal of the Affects, passions, desires, and sorrows of Persons"; see there notes 2, 3, 26, and 45. On the form and function of the *Institutio*, see F.H. Colson, *M. Fabii Quintiliani institutionis oratoriae liber I* (Cambridge: 1924), xliii–lxxxix; on Quintilian's conception of the history and parts of oratory, see G. Kennedy, "Quintilian as a Critic," in *Quintilian* (New York: 1969), 101–122.

61 The second titlepage, which fronts Books V and VI, indicates, as do a number of surviving copies, that the publisher Paschier van Wesbusch occasionally marketed them separately. In this form, they could function for poets, painters, and emblematists as handy iconographical manuals. On the book's material construction, print run, and marketing, and on surviving copies, in various configurations, as Books I–VI, I–IV only, or V–VI only, see Waterschoot, "Karel van Mander's *Schilder-Boeck* (1604)," 273–274.

bined with diligent labor if the would-be painter wishes to achieve perfection. Flanking the ox, two putti distribute a palm frond and a laurel wreath, the signs of perfection duly honored. At right the personification of *schilderconst*, maulstick, brushes, and palette in hand, looks intently at the personification across from her, portraying her features after the life ("Life of Cornelis Ketel," fols. 276v, 278v, and 279v). This many-breasted figure, wearing a crenelated crown, raising a scepter, and leaning against a terrestrial orb, can be identified as both the mother goddess Cybele and the earth goddess Tellus, who jointly embody Nature (*Wtbeeldinge*, fol. 125v). The *Art of Painting* thus exemplifies the crucial importance of working after living nature, the "lodestar of picturing, its foundation stone and target" (*Grondt*, chapter 2, stanza 13).[62] The child who holds up Painting's panel or canvas, playing the part of her easel, turns either toward the putto crowning him with laurel or toward Nature: he stands for the "students of Art born of Nature" (*Grondt*, chapter 11, stanza 1: "Ghy der Natuer oorspronckscher Const Scholieren"), who "attend to the master's palette and brushes" (*Grondt*, chapter 1, stanza 48: "Hebt acht op Meesters Pallet en Pinceelen"), whose "labor yield[s] its sweet rewards" (*Grondt*, chapter 1, stanza 12: "Dan baert arbeydt versoetende profijten").

Below the topmost figures stand two further personifications: at the right, aligned with Painting and her laureate student, Fame sounds the trumpet of their worthy deeds, while holding stationary the trumpet of misdeeds (*Wtlegginghe*, fols. 99v–101r); that she looks leftward, as if staring at the titular text, signals that securing the fame of the pictorial arts, the art of painting in particular, and of its practitioners, was the chief aim of the *Schilder-Boeck*. As Painting gazes at Nature, so Fame may be gazing at the woman to her right, who draws or writes on a tablet, one sheet of paper curling over its top edge. Although she may be Clio, Muse of History, who would then allude to Van Mander's three sets of parallel "Lives" that chronicle the histories of Ancient, Northern, and Italian painting, she more likely personifies *teyckenconst*, the "art of Drawing [that] encompasses all things, holding every Art within her measured skeins," the

62 Miedema, in his analysis of the title-print, in *Karel van Mander, Grondt*, 2: 316, adverts to the liveliness of Cybele, noting that in portraying her, Painting enacts the definition of painting put forward in the "Life of Masaccio," in *Schilder-Boeck*, Book III, fol. 102r: "That the art of painting well, in respect of her perfect force, consists as a whole in the portrayal of natural and living visible things."

art of "trac[ing] letters and characters" amongst them (*Grondt*, chapter 2, stanzas 1and 2).[63] Aligned with Cybele-Tellus-Nature, one of her breasts brightly spotlit, she may also portray *teyckenconst* as the "kind-hearted wet-nurse" who gives rise to all other arts and nourishes them (*Grondt*, chapter 2, stanza 2).[64] The essential sisterhood of *teyckenconst* and *schilderconst*, explicated in the *Grondt*, especially chapters 2 and 12, is briefly but potently summarized in the dedication of Book III of the *Schilder-Boeck*, the Italian "Lives," to Van Mander's close friend and patron Bartholomeus Ferreris. He asseverates that much effort must be expended to learn both the one and the other since they are jointly indispensable for the cultivation of European culture:

> Worthy gentleman, and good friend, that there are many who in this present, all too ungrateful age claim with a minimum of discernment that commonplace operations are comparable with the very exceptional, heaven-sent gifts of nature, and expressly, that *Teycken-const* or *Schilder-const*, perfect at portraying nature, are not only easily learned and facile, but also quite unnecessary, comes from a coarse, perverse judgment. For inasmuch as in our populous Europe, people are accustomed to living civilly, honorably, and rationally, not as barbarians or beasts, so is nearly nothing more consequential and serviceable at mutually sustaining the small with the great, and the great with small, than the aforementioned *Teycken-const* or *Schilder-const*.[65]

63 *Grondt*, fol. 8v: "Want Teycken-const omhelsend' alle dinghen, / Houdt alle Consten in matighe stringhen." And ibid.: "Leerend' haer letters en caracten halen."

64 Ibid.: "Sy is een Voedster aller consten goedich."

65 "Aen Eersamen, seer achtbaren Heer, Bartholomeus Ferreris, Schilder, en Schilder-Const liefhebber, mijnen besonderen goeden vriendt," in *Schilder-Boeck*, Book III, fol. 72r: "Weerde Heer, en goede vriendt, dat by velen in dese tegenwoordighe al t'ondanckbaer Eeuwen, met te weynigh onderscheydt worden vergheleken ghemeen oeffeninghen met de heel uytnemende Hemel-gaven in der natuere, als in't besonder is de natuer-uytbeeldende volcomen Teycken- oft Schilder-const, meynende haer niet alleen licht-leerlijck, en doenlijck, maer oock gantsch onnoodigh te wesen, comt alleen uyt onverstandigh verkeert oordeel. Want aenghesien in onse volck-rijck Europa, niet Barbarisch, beestelijck, maer Borgerlijck, eerlijck, en vernuftigh de Menschen zijn ghewent te leven: Soo en isser haest niet behoeflijcker noch nutter, om cleen by groot, en groot by cleen onderlinghe te gheneeren, als de voorverhaelde Teycken- oft Schilder-const."

The reference to things great and small pertains not only to people of variable estate, the high-placed and the lowly, but also, as the dedicatory text goes on to argue, to the relation between the higher and lower arts, i.e., painting, glass-painting, and copperplate engraving on one hand, the skilled handicrafts on the other. I shall have more to say about this presently.

Together, the personifications that grace the title page make reference to the whole of the *Schilder-Boeck*, placing it under the sign of the tripartite Aristotelian rhetorical scheme of *natura/ingenium* (natural ability/genius), *ars/doctrina* (art as theory/instruction), and *exercitatio* (art as practical skill), respectively bodied forth by Nature, Painting and her student, and the activities of Painting and Drawing, for whom Nature functions in the title print as both the originating source and the object of representation. Codified by Cicero in *De oratore* II.162–178, and applied as a *tractatio* (systematic treatment) of the dramatic genres by Horace in *Ars poëtica* 408–412, this scheme provides the basic philosophical armature upon which Van Mander constructs his arguments about the nature, operations, and instruments whereby *schilderconst* is produced and perfected.[66] Far less conventional is his use of parallel construction to define the excellences of three pictorial traditions—the art of painting as practiced by the Ancients, the Italians, and the Netherlanders and High Germans, whose lives and works are compared in Books II–IV, in accordance with the theoretical criteria laid out in Book I. Van Mander adapted his method of argument-by-comparison from Plutarch's *Parallel Lives* and from the defense of analogical argument in Aristotle's *Rhetoric*, Cicero's *De inventione*, and Quintilian's *Institutio oratoria*, where these authors respectively advocate for the use of *paradeigmata* (paired paradigms), *collationes* (collatable exempla), and *similitudines* (evidentiary similitudes).[67]

66 On *natura, ars*, and *exercitatio* as poetic-rhetorical categories and their philosophical basis, see M.A. Grant and G. Converse Fiske, "Cicero's 'Orator' and Horace's 'Ars poetica,'" *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 35 (1924): 1–74, esp. 7, 50, 69. On the application of these categories by Dutch painters, see J.A. Emmens, "Natuur, onderwijzing en oefening; bij een drieluik van Gerrit Dou," *Album discipulorum aageboden aan professor Dr. J.G. van Gelder ter gelegenheid van zijn zestigste verjaardag 27 februari 1963* (Utrecht: 1963), 125–136; and on their application in the *Grondt*, see Miedema, *Karel van Mander, Grondt*, 2:315.

67 On these three methods of comparative argument, see S. McCormick, "Argument by Comparison: An Ancient Typology," *Rhetorica: A Journal of the History of Rhetoric* 32.2 (2014): 148–164.

Begun in the early 1590s, certainly no later than 1596, and finished in June 1603, as the dedication to Melchior Wijntgis records, Book I, the *Grondt*, was designed to supply the terminology whereby the practitioners of *schilderconst* could be described and evaluated in the subsequent three books: in addition to the chapter on *teyckenconst*, there are chapters on bodily *analogie/proportie* (analogy, proportion), figural *actitude* (attitude, disposition), *ordinanty/inventy* of histories (ordonnance, invention), *affecten* (affects), *reflecty* (reflection), *landtschap* (landscape), *beesten/dieren/voghels* (cattle, animals, birds), *laken/draperinghe* (stuffs, drapery), *sorteren der verwen* (sorting of colors), and *wel schilderen/coloreren* (painting well, coloring). Chapter 1, a long exordium, exhortative in tone, mainly dealing with the nature and circumstances of the painter's life and the mores of the workshop, initiates the sequence of fourteen chapters on the component parts of *schilderconst*.[68] Chapters 2–6 chiefly deal with the active human figure, the proportional arrangement of bodily members, the expressive coordination of the face and limbs, and the narrative distribution of multiple figures within an ambient or circumferential landscape setting.[69] Although color occasionally comes up as a topic, the emphasis falls on *teyckenconst*, how the figure and its circumstances may be delineated. Chapter 5 on history adumbrates chapter 8 on landscape, since Van Mander conceives of both subjects as mutually amplifying ornaments: embedded figural scenes enliven the landscape, and conversely, landscape mobilizes the eyes in ways that activate the figures. The transition from *teyckenconst* to *schilderconst*, from drawing in graphic media such as pen, pencil, chalk, pastel, or coal, to painting in oil colors occurs in chapter 7 on the dynamics of reflected light and color and how to represent them.[70] Chapters 8–10, on landscape, animals, and textiles

68 "Dat eerste Capittel": "Exhortatie, oft Vermaninghe, aen d'aencomende Schilder-jeucht" (Exhortation, or Admonition to up and coming young Painters).

69 "Het tweede Capittel": "Van het teyckenen, of Teycken-const" (On drawing, or the Art of Delineating); "Het derde Capittel": "Analogie[,] Proportie, oft maet der Lidtmaten eens Menschen Beeldts" (Analogy, Proportion, or measurement of the Parts of a Human Body); "Het vierde Capittel": "Van der Actitude, welstandt, ende weldoen eens Beeldts" (On the Attitude, decorum, and decorous motion of a Human Figure); "Het vijfde Capittel": "Van der Ordinanty ende Inventy der Historien" (On the Ordonnance and Invention of Histories); "Het seste Capittel": "Wtbeeldinghe der Affecten, passien, begeerlijckheden, en lijdens der Menschen" (Portrayal of the Affects, passions, desires, and sorrows of Persons).

70 "Het sevende Capittel": "Van de Reflecty, Reverberacy, teghen-glans oft weerschijn" (On Reflection, Reverberation, re-reflected luster, or re-reflection).

respectively, focus on the problem of how to paint animate things or entities whose fugitive and lively qualities, encapsulated by the term *gheestig* (spirited), make them difficult to capture pictorially. This is the context in which Van Mander most fully grapples with the distinction between painting *nae*[*r*] *t'leven* (after the life) and *uyt den gheest* (from the spirit).[71] Finally, chapters 11–14 examine colors, their material bases and representational uses, the methods of distinguishing amongst them, the modes of brushwork whereby they are applied, and the meanings, both heraldic and emblematic, that they have come to bear.[72] Chapters 2, 7, and 12 give special thought to the process whereby mimetic images are formed; 2 and 12 to the kinds and degrees of "handling," the manners of line or brushstroke best suited to confecting such images; 7 to the relation between natural and pictorial artifice; and chapters 7 and 9 to the optical appeal of paintings that exercise a persuasive, even deceptively mimetic effect upon the beholder. These topics and themes are discussed in the more detailed summary, "Précis of the Poem's Fourteen Chapters," that serves to round out my introductory remarks, and in the notes that accompany the prose translation of the *Grondt*.[73]

As will be evident from this brief chapter-by-chapter summary of the *Grondt*, Van Mander leavens general principles with an abundant supply of visual particulars that vividly exemplify assorted representational means and ends. In doing so, he made full use of the vast array of firsthand knowledge gleaned during his apprenticeships with the poet-painter Lucas de Heere in Ghent (ca. 1566–1567)

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71 "Het achtste Capittel": "Van het Landtschap" (On Landscape); "Het neghende Capittel": "Van Beesten, Dieren, en Voghels" (On Cattle, Animals, and Birds); "Het thiende Capittel": "Van Laken oft Draperinghe" (On Fabrics or Drapery).

72 "Het elfde Capittel": "Van het Sorteren, en by een schicken der Verwen" (On Sorting and combining Colors); "Het twaelfde Capittel": "Van wel schilderen, oft Coloreren" (On painting well, or Coloring); "Het derthiende Capittel": "Van der Verwen oorsprong, nature, cracht en werckinge" (On the origin, nature, force, and effect of Colors); "Het veerthiende Capittel": "Bediedinghen der Verwen, watter mede beteyckent can worden" (On the Interpretation of Colors, and what they can signify).

73 Although this is a prose translation, I have followed Rudolf Hoecker and Jan Willem Noldus in retaining the form, though not the meter or rhyme, of Van Mander's ingeniously wrought octaves; see Hoecker, *Das Lehrgedicht des Karel van Mander: Text, Übersetzung und Kommentar nebst Anhang über Manders Geschichtskonstruktion und Kunsttheorie*, Quellenstudien zur holländischen Kunstgeschichte 8 (The Hague: 1916); and Noldus, *Karel van Mander, Principe et fondement de l'art noble et libre de la peinture* (Paris: 2009/2009). Although I have tried, wherever possible, not to diverge from the line-by-line sense of Van Mander's verses, deviations ultimately proved unavoidable.

and the painter Pieter Vlerick in Kortrijk and Tournai (ca. 1567–1568), his study tour of Italy and long stay in Rome (1573–1577), his visit to Vienna where he and Bartholomeus Sprangher worked together on the triumphal arch marking Rudolf II's Joyful Entry into the city (1577), and his many years as an occasional, then a professional painter in Flanders (1577–1583) and Haarlem (1583–1603).[74] Throughout the *Schilder-Boeck*, Van Mander acknowledges the kinship of *teyckenconst* and *schilderconst* with the lesser arts and trades ("Const[en] oft Ambacht[en]"), whose artisanal bona fides these higher arts elevate not only through their close affiliation to the liberal arts, but also through the exceptionally high level of manual and technical skill they demand from their gifted practitioners.[75] Van Mander clearly expresses this point of view in the dedication of Book III to Bartholomeus Ferreris, cited above. In stating that Drawing and Painting have the power to couple the small with the great, the great with the small, and to nourish them both, he refers also to the ways in which the higher arts confer status on the lower:

> Hereby is very profitable coinage distinguished with effigies, coats of arms, and devices. Through this Mother of every ornament, all artful handiworks receive their highest, most perfect beauty, whether they be forged, cast, carved, incised, built, carpentered, masoned, woven, sewn, embroidered, draped, or wrought: accordingly, gold and silver, due to their subtle work-

74 On these biographical data, see Miedema, ed., *Karel van Mander, Lives*, 43–96. Van Mander moved from Haarlem to Zevenbergen House in Noorddorp near Heemskerk for about a year, between 1603 and 1604, there completing the *Grondt* (June 3, 1603), the Ancient "Lives" (June 8, 1603), the Italian "Lives" (August 31, 1603), and the *Wtlegginghe* (March 14, 1604). Having moved to Amsterdam in 1604, he there finished the Northern "Lives" (July 28, 1604) and perhaps also the *Wtbeeldinge* (n.d.).

75 On the terms *Const* and *Ambacht*, see notes 41–42 *supra* and 78–80 *infra*. In a felicitous turn of phrase, Annette de Vries has recently called attention to the "*Vergeistigung* of the hand" throughout Books I and IV of the *Schilder-Boeck*, in which, far from opposing mind and hand, Van Mander instead demonstrates how the skilled motions of the master's hand instrumentalize thought; see De Vries, "Hondius Meets Van Mander," 259–304, esp. 264. In "Life of Frans Floris, excellent Painter of Antwerp," fol. 239v, for example, Van Mander equates erudition with this master's well-trained hand, stating that early in his career, soon after he established his Antwerp workshop, Floris "displayed great diligence and excellence in art, by means of his learned hand ('geleerde handt')." De Vries further argues, correctly in my view, that Van Mander, in his Northern "Lives," insists on showing the many ways whereby innate ability is "materialize[d] in actual artistic performances"; see "Hondius Meets Van Mander," 287.

> manship, are bought at half again above their estimated worth, and a copperplate is weighed up against a silver one. Indeed, had one a plate made of the poorest material or lead, and 'twere surely covered over or painted by the admired Apelles, Parrhasius, or Zeuxis, then would it easily be worth its weight in fine coin of gold.[76]

Aligned with this conception of the relation amongst drawing, painting, and the other image-based arts and trades is the disclaimer issued at the close of the Northern "Lives": although he has focused here on painting, his original intention had been to include glass painters and copperplate engravers ("Glas-schrijvers en Plaet-snijders"), information about whom is instead dispersed throughout Book IV.[77] And at the start of the "Life of Joris Hoefnaghel," he states that the visual arts, like a trade, provide insurance against the vicissitudes of fortune, since they can be practiced for money; the willingness of the social elite to let their children train in a "Const oft Ambacht" is a positive trait peculiar to Netherlanders:

> I find that a better custom prevails among us Netherlanders than is in use with other peoples—namely, that parents, even when empowered by wealth, often get their children to learn one or other art or trade early in their youth; that can be wonderfully useful, especially in times of war and emigration. For we find that cruel fortune, the bane of this world, has less power over a skill than over riches, and that the art which one has learned in youth is often the last resort in necessity and a refuge of consolation, to avert the shipwreck of oppressive poverty.[78]

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76 *Schilder-Boeck*, Book III, fol. 72r: "Hier door wordt het seer gherijvigh gheldt met beelden, wapenen, en teyckenen onderscheyden. Door dese Moeder aller vercieringhen ontfanghen alle constighe handtwercken de hooghste en uyterste volcomen schoonheyt, het zy watter ghesmeedt, ghegoten, ghehouwen, ghesteken, ghebouwt, ghetimmert, ghemetselt, gheweven, ghenaeyt, gheborduert, betrocken oft ghewrocht wordt: also dat Goudt en Silver, om het aerdigh fatsoen, de helft boven zijn gheschattede weerde geern betaelt wordt, en een Coperen besneden plaet teghen Silver opgheweghen can worden. Jae datmen hadde van t'slechtste metael oft loot een plaet, die voor ghewis waer betrocken oft beschildert van den vermaerden Apelles, Parasius, oft Zeuxis, sy waer licht soo veel fijn gouden geldt weerdt, als sy swaer waer."

77 "On various Netherlandish Painters, living at the present time," in *Schilder-Boeck*, Book IV, fol. 300v.

78 Cited in Miedema, ed., *Karel van Mander, Lives*, 2:44; see *Schilder-Boeck*, Book IV, fol. 262r–v: "Een beter ghewente bevind' ick by ons Nederlanders,

Van Mander's joint investment in the high art of *schilderconst* and in the lower *consten*, which benefit from the influence of the painter's "clever wit" and higher faculties, sensible as they are to the "living images in [his] spirit, mind, and affection," shines through the synoptic comment about him in Arnoldus Buchelius's *Diarium*; having seen his tapestry designs in the Delft workshop of François Spierincx, Buchelius states: "This Spierincx was making much use of the designs and patterns of Karel Vermandre, citizen of Haarlem, excellent painter; whose genius, said [Spierincx], was so versatile that [Vermandre] might prescribe to masters of whatsoever art in what respect [their works] ought to be altered—to painters, sculptors, glass workers, tapestry weavers or embroiderers, architects, goldsmiths, textile makers."[79] However, Van Mander also expends considerable energy to demarcate the boundary between *schilderconst* and the lesser, if contiguous, arts and crafts, the *ambachten* and *handtwercken*. In the "Life of Pieter Vlerick," for instance, as part of a diatribe against guild organizations that treat painting no differently than "coarse handicrafts and trades such as weaving, furriery, carpentry, smithing, and suchlike," he laments:

> O Pictura, noble and supreme bearer of genius in Nature, mother of all embellishments and wet nurse of all noble virtuous arts, who is not obliged to yield before any of your fellow sisters called the liberal arts, who was valued so highly by the

als wel by ander volcken in gebruyck te wesen, dat de Ouders, of sy schoon machtigh van rijckdom zijn, hun kinderen veel tijts vroegh oft in hun jeught laten leeren eenige Const oft Ambacht, het welck besonder in tijt van krijgh, en vervluchten wonder wel te pas can comen: want wy oock bevinden, dat de quade avontuer oft ongeluck van dese Weerelt minder macht heeft over de Const, als over den rijckdom, en dat de Const, die men in zijn jeught heeft gheleert, dickwils den uytersten plicht-ancker in den noot, en een troostlijcke toevlucht wort, om d'ellendighe schipbreuck van de perssende armoede voor te comen."

79 See A. van Buchell, *Diarium*, ed. G. Brom and L.A. van Langeraad (Amsterdam: 1907), 461: "Utebatur hic Spieringius plurimum notatis et exemplis Karoli Vermandre, Haerlemiae habitantis, egregii pictoris; cujus tam versatile dicebat ingenium, ut cujuscunque artificii magistris, quod mutarentur, praescriberet, pictoribus, sculptoribus, vitrariis, tapetiariis sive phrygonibus, architectis, aurifabris, textoribus." On this passage, see Miedema, ed., *Karel van Mander, Lives*, 2:80. The reference to "clever/ready wit" ("behendich vernuft") and to the "innumerable living images" comprised by the *schilder*'s "spirit, mind, and affection" ("in uwen gheest, sin en gheneghen / … inbeeldinghen ontallijck") appears in *Grondt*, fol. 2r (chapter 1, stanza 10).

> noble Greeks and Romans and whose artful practitioners were so much welcomed and well received everywhere—and so gladly accepted as citizens by gentlemen and authorities. O, far too ungrateful present times, that on the insistence of clumsy bunglers has established in the towns such shameful laws and such envious regulations so that almost everywhere (excepting almost only Rome) a guild is made of the noble art of painting .... In Haarlem, where there have always been many noble spirits in our art, there are tinkers, tinsmiths, and old clothes traders included in the guild.[80]

Each chapter of the *Grondt* starts with a general definition of the pictorial category to be discussed, followed by a plethora of visual examples that become increasingly specific, thus assisting the reader visually to epitomize the category in question; many of the chapters also incorporate a more or less detailed, circumstantial treatment of materials and techniques, even though the *Grondt* is a treatise on the theory and practice of *schilderconst*, not a practical handbook or an illustrative drawing- or picture-book. Van Mander relies throughout on *ekphrasis*, the rhetorical figure of description, of which he was a consummate master, to adduce the images he wants his readers to fashion in their mind's eye. To enrich and intensify the process of visualization, and to ensure that his readers remember what they read, he eloquently musters the "colors" of poetry, applying the metrical and rhyme schemes of Italian *ottava rima*: his stanzas consist of eight lines, each line eleven syllables long, cadenced in "reghels mate"—a regular meter without caesura—and rhymed *ab aa bb cc*.[81]

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80 *Schilder-Boeck*, Book IV, fol. 251v: "O *Pictura*, edel en alder vernuft-barenste Const in der Natuere, Moeder aller vercieringen, en Voedster aller edel deughtsamer Consten, die geene uwer Mede-susters, die men vrye Consten noemt, te wijcken hebt, die by den edelen Griecken en Romeynen soo heel in weerden waert, en u constighe Oeffenaers over al soo heel welcom, wel ontfangen, en van den Heeren en Oversten soo geern voor Borgers aengenomen. O al te ondanckbaer tegenwoordige Eeuwen, datmen door aendringen van onaerdige brodders, sulcke schandlijcke Wetten, en dergelijcke afjonstige ordeningen, in den Steden plaetse heeft ghegheven, dat over al schier (sonder schier alleen te Room) van de edel Schilder-const wort een Gildt ghemaeckt .... Te Haerlem, daer altijt veel edel gheesten in onse Const zijn geweest, daer zijn de Ketel-bouters, Tin-gieters, en oude Cleervercoopers, onder het Schilders Gildt." See Miedema, ed., *Karel van Mander, Lives*, 1:265, and, on Van Mander's disparagement of *handt-wercken* in this context, 4:121.

81 On Van Mander's adherence to *ottava rima* and his slight divergence from its

3 Laying a Comparative Foundation for the *Schilder-Boeck*

The *Grondt*, as mentioned above, lays the groundwork for the sequential discussion of Ancient, Italian, and Northern art that follows in the parallel form of three sets of "Lives." Take the critical category *teyckenconst*, which is defined in chapter 2, first expansively as the representational source of every image-based art, including the full spectrum of liberal arts, such as grammar, which transmit knowledge by recourse to letter-forms; and then more specifically as the conveyance of thoughts by means "drawing, drawing over, drawing round all that [the sense of] sight may apprehend within the limits of the world."[82] By stanza 6, in anticipation of chapters 3–6, Van Mander has narrowed his focus to the human figure; in stanza 9, he states that if the student wishes to draw and shade figures well, he must first find a competent master and closely follow his manner of handling coal, chalk, or pen and ink; and in stanza 10, he shifts emphasis to tonal techniques of washing and hatching on gray- or blue-tinted paper. Stanzas 14–16 affirm that nature is the ultimate source of every graceful "action, attitude, [or] fine foreshortening," that invention, which Van Mander here equates with ordonnance (the disposition and distribution of human figures), results from drawing after nature and committing these drawings to the storehouse of memory, and that by drawing incessantly, not only from nature but also "from out of one's self" ("uyt zijn selven doen"), one will eventually become a revered master worthy of being imitated.[83] Stanzas 9 and 14–16 thus envision a pedagogical cycle leading from the *Meester* and his "goede manier" (competent manner) to graceful *Natuer*, and from nature, memory, and the self in concert, to a masterful manner capable of leading the next generation of students back to *Natuer*. This sets the stage for his account, in stanza 20, of the manner of line best suited to delineating the flexion of a mobile body, namely, the swelling and tapering

use of the caesura and rhyme scheme of ab ab ab cc, see Miedema, *Karel van Mander, Grondt*, 2:336–338.

82 *Grondt*, fol. 8v (chapter 2, stanza 4): "Bestaet in trecken, betrecken, omtrecken / Van alles watter binnen de bestecken / Des ghesichts ter Weerelt mach zijn begrepen."

83 *Grondt*, fol. 9v (chapter 2, stanza 15); see note 127 *infra*. Also see ibid. (stanza 16): "En sonderlingh moesten wy wel onthouden / T'ghene wy teeckenen om worden vroeder/ Want siet, Memoria is de Muses Moeder." See the notes to chapter 2 *infra*, especially notes 1 and 6, for a full discussion of the ways in which Van Mander's conception *teyckenconst* diverges from Vasari's *disegno*, as formulated in the 1568 edition of the *Vite*.

stroke that alters gradatim, thick to thin, which he presents as an epitome of grace. Complementarily, Van Mander briefly recounts the methods of rendering the body tonally or in color with a stylus made from chalk or pastel or a stump, and he closes as he opened, by placing painting in a lineage from drawing, and limning *schilderconst* as *teyckenconst*'s daughter.[84] Typical is the transition from a universal statement about the mimetic functions of *teyckenconst* to more particular discussion of selected objects and methods of representation (chapter 2 places emphasis on the human body) and of the materials and techniques whereby these objects may be portrayed convincingly, in ways that cleave close to nature even when they issue from "out of one's self."

Amongst the Greek and Roman painters, Apelles takes pride of place as the supreme master of *teyckenconst*, and Van Mander's explanation of how and why this is the case serves to establish the ancient pedigree of the kind of line, moving thick to thin, that he valorizes at the close of chapter 2. In the "Life of Apelles," the appraisal of *teyckenconst* turns on Pliny's famous anecdote about the contest waged between Apelles and Protogenes to determine whose command of "a dexterous fine line/stroke" ("eenen behendigen dunnen treck") was foremost.[85] Having called on the painter Protogenes in Rhodes, Apelles learns that he has just stepped out; finding an empty canvas on his easel, he leaves on it, as his calling-card, a finely brushed line in a single color. Returning home, Protogenes immediately recognizes the line as his rival's, saying that "no one but Apelles could have made with color and brush so fine or subtle a line as this."[86] He responds by painting an even finer line in a different color. Returning to the workshop and finding to his shame a line finer than his, Apelles takes a brush dipped in another color and paints a line so inimitably fine that it passes through the prior two. This third line, declares Van Mander, "clove the other two so deftly that no line more precise or subtle could possibly be executed."[87] Rendered in paint, executed in lines, these three hatches were appreciated by knowledgeable viewers as joint tokens of *teyckenconst* and

84 *Grondt*, fol. 10r (chapter 2, stanzas 20–21).

85 "Van Appelles, Prince der Schilders," in *Schilder-Boeck*, Book II, fol. 78r.

86 Ibid., fol. 77v: "want t'was (seyde hy) onmoghelijck, dat yemandt anders als Appelles soude connen maken met verwe en pinceel soo aerdighen dunnen treck als desen was."

87 Ibid.: "… hy de voorgaende twee trecken doorcloof soo behendich, dat het niet moghelijck en was netter noch aerdiger te doen."

schilderconst: "This panel was left by them unchanged as a memorial, with just these three strokes, to the wonderment of those who saw it, especially those who understood the art of Drawing or the art of Painting."[88] Van Mander calls attention to the hybridity of this collaboratively made picture, its liminal status, which freely oscillates between painting and drawing. The overlapping lines, each colored stroke thinner than the prior stroke, function like a fully resolved version of the swelling and tapering line canonized in chapter 2, its constituent elements made visible and distinct. Moreover, the lines have the force of signature strokes: Protogenes immediately recognizes Apelles in and through the line only he could have brushed, and then answers him in kind, with a line unique to *his* brush; in turn, Apelles responds with a line incontestably his. In this sense, the lines can be seen to advert to the process of drawing and/or painting "uyt zijn selven" (from out of oneself), likewise enunciated in chapter 2. Additionally, the almost symbiotic relation between *teyckenconst* and *schilderconst* that the lines disclose can be thought to evince another central theme of chapter 2: the filiation between these two species of pictorial practice. This is to say that the "Life of Apelles" takes up and exemplifies many of the chief features of *teyckenconst* introduced in the *Grondt*.

The "Life of Apelles," even while referring back to chapter 2, also inverts its method of argumentation. Whereas it begins with an assertion about the representational function and force of *teyckenconst* and concludes by articulating various media and instruments, along with a specific kind of line, the "Life" starts with an anecdote about individuated lines as indices of technical expertise, opening out into a discussion of their mimetic force and function. Soon after telling the story of Apelles and Protogenes, Van Mander hazards a guess about the representational rather than abstract nature of the lines in question:

> This is what Pliny says about it. But if I were freely to give voice here to my impressions: it seems to me that these were not simply drawn straight lines or strokes, as many nonpainters think, but rather the outline of a certain arm or leg, or indeed the profile of a face, or something of this sort, the which outline they

88 Ibid.: "Dit Tafereel is van hun beyden onverandert also tot een ghedachtenis laten blijven, met alleen dees driederley trecken, tot een groot verwonderen van die't sagen, sonderlinge voor de ghene, die van de Teycken-const oft Schilder-const verstandt hadden."

> had drawn very precisely, in some places crossing the other's line with different colors, dubbed by Pliny "cleaving through"; for there are learned persons who, lacking a good knowledge of our art, write and speak without a grasp of it. And my opinion is confirmed by what Pliny attests: those who understood *Schilder-const* were greatly astonished and amazed. Wherefrom may well be thought that these lines which the two most exceptional, lofty masters of our art competed against each another to draw were artful outlines rather than simple lines; for many a schoolmaster, calligrapher, or nonpainter could draw by hand a straight line, oftentimes better than the world's best painter, and for this be not much esteemed by the painters. To such an end, a yardstick or ruler may be used. But they who know about art admire and are moved whenever they see a subtle, artful outline drawn skillfully with exceptional understanding, wherein *Teycken-const* exists in the highest degree; but they would simply pass a straight line by, unremarked.[89]

As chapter 2 centers on drawing the human body in motion, so Van Mander assimilates Apelles's and Protogenes's mobile lines to hatches brushed to circumscribe a figure's limbs. In this respect, too, the "Life" extends, complicates, but also clarifies the content of chap-

89 Ibid., fol. 78r: "Dit is datter Plinius van ghetuyght, Maer als ick vryelijck hier van mijn gevoelen soude segghen, en dunckt my niet, dat dit waren slechte recht uytgetrocken linien oft streken, ghelijck vele meenen, die geen Schilders en zijn: maer eenigen omtreck van een arem oft been, oft immer eenich pourfijl van een tronie, oft soo yet, den welcken omtreck sy seer net hebben ghetrocken, en t'sommiger plaetsen door malcanders treck met de verscheyden verwen henen, dat hier doorcleven van Plinio sal gheheeten wesen: ghelijck de Gheleerde, die geen goet verstandt van onse Const en hebben, oock onverstandich daer van schrijven en spreken. En mijn meyninghe bevest ick hier mede, dat Plinius ghetuyght, datter de ghene die hun aen de Schilder-const verstonden, grootlijcx, in waren verwondert en verbaest. Waer door wel te verstaen is, dat het constighe omtrecken, en gheen simpel linien en waren, die dese soo uytnemenste opper Meesters in onser Const tegen malcander om strijdt ghetrocken hadden: want een rechte linie uyt der handt henen te trecken, soude menigh Schoolmeester, Schrijver, oft ander die geen Schilder en is, dickwils veel beter doen, als den besten Schilder van de Weerelt, en sulcx en wordt by den Schilders niet veel gheacht: want daer toe ghebruyckt men de rije oft reghel. Maer de Const-verstandige verwonderen en ontsetten sich, wanneer sy sien eenen aerdigen en constigen omtreck, die met een uytnemende verstandt behendich is ghetrocken, waer in de Teycken-const ten hooghsten bestaet: maer de rechte linien souden sy onghemerckt voorby gaen."

ter 2, showing that the *Grondt*, attuned as it is to contemporary pictorial practice, yet subscribes to Ancient norms.

Apelles's counterpart in Book III, the Italian "Lives," is Michelangelo, who, though he lacks his ancient forebear's "quality of grace" (*gracelijckheyt*) or "lovable charm" (*charis*), is as nonpareil as he in *teyckenconst*.[90] Paraphrasing Vasari's "Life of Michelangelo," Van Mander summarizes the nature, power, and scope of the master's *teyckenconst* in the capsule perorations on the Sistine Chapel ceiling and the *Last Judgment*. About the former, he says:

> In sum, this whole work has been made in such a way, and is of such a kind, as to be the vessel of light or lamp of our Art, sufficient to illuminate the whole world, which formerly for many hundreds of years was passably blind to the true art of Drawing. No painter need wish to see greater perfection in invention, foreshortening, attitudes, beauty of nudes, and draperies: for here Art in the highest degree is brought to the furthest limit, as well appears from the uttermost beauty of the nude figures, projecting very saliently, living and moving, varied in age, who display oaken wreaths to signify the golden age.[91]

His assessment of the *Last Judgment* makes even clearer what Michelangelo's *teyckenconst* entails: a single-minded focus on the human figure actively posed to enact every conceivable attitude.

> Then he gave himself over further to serve Paul III, completing the *Judgment* with much assiduity, in which with a great manner he truly focused on the nudes, that is, on the beauty, perfect proportion, and forms of the human body, in every sort of attitude, herein surpassing everyone else, leaving aside joyful

90 On Apelles's inimitable *gracelijckheyt*, see ibid., fol. 77v.

91 "Het leven van Michel Agnolo Buonarruotti, Florentine, Painter, Sculptor, and Architect," fol. 168r: "In summa, dit werck in't gheheel is soo ghedaen, en sulck, dat het is het licht-vat oft Lampe onses Consts, dat het ghenoechsaem is te verlichten de gheheele Weerelt, die te vooren in de rechte Teycken-const menich hondert Jaren is ghenoech verblint gheweest.

"Geen schilder behoeft te wenschen, in inventie, vercortingen, actituden, schoonheyt der naecten, en omhangsels, meer volcomentheyt te sien: want hier is de Const in haren hooghsten graet, en ter uyterste grens ghebracht, alst wel blijckt aen die volcomen schoon naeckte Beelden, seer verheven, levende en roerende, van verscheyden ouderdommen, die eenige eycken festonen, om de gulden eeuw te bewijsen, houden."

> coloring, and a thousand other pleasantries, with which other painters effect pleasing concinnity, and also graceful invention in the ordering of his History.[92]

In perfecting *teyckenconst* at the expense of "pleasing concinnity" ("vermackelijcken welstand"), in a way that sets him apart from every other painter, Michelangelo displays his resolute commitment to the principle of working "out of one's self." To demonstrate how total was his embrace of this precept, Van Mander recalls his warning to a young painter skilled at borrowing from other painters: the young man should instead "accustom himself to working 'uyt zijn selven.'"[93] Michelangelo is like Apelles and very unlike him: it becomes increasingly clear as the *Grondt* progresses, especially in light of chapters 5 and 7–14, that Michelangelo has excluded from his practice of *teyckenconst* and *schilderconst* virtually every descriptive pictorial ornament (*byvoechsel*)—not least landscape and the sensual depiction of human flesh—whose presence invites and rewards close viewing.

If Michelangelo departs from ancient precedent, Hendrick Goltzius and Bartholomeus Sprangher, his counterparts amongst the contemporary Northern masters, are lauded for their Apelles-like ability to combine *teyckenconst* with *gracelijckheyt*.[94] The many parallels between Ancient and Northern masters, first adduced in the Preface to the *Grondt*, where a list of Ancient pictorial specialties is followed by an analogous list of Northern specialties, reach their climax in the "Lives" of Sprangher and Goltzius, whom Van Mander portrays as latter-day counterparts to Apelles.[95] By calling attention to their supreme command of *teyckenconst*, Van Mander also compares them to Michelangelo, very explicitly in the case of Sprangher,

92 Ibid., fol. 170r: "Doe begaf hy hem voorts te dienen Paus Paulus de derde, voldoende met grooter vlijt het Oordeel, in welck hy eyghentlijck met een groote manier heeft ghelet op de naeckten, te weten, op de schoonheyt, volcomen proportie, en ghestaltenissen der Menschen lichamen, op alderley actituden, hier in allen anderen overtreffende, latende aen d'een sijde de vroylicke coloreringhe, en ander duysent aerdicheden, die ander Schilders tot vermakelijcken welstandt ghebruycken, en oock eenige gracelijcken inventie in't ordineren zynder Historie."

93 Ibid., fol. 172v: "… datmen hem soude ghewennen uyt zijn selven wat te maken."

94 On the "Lives" of Sprangher and Goltzius as correlates to the "Life of Michelangelo," see J. Müller, *Concordia Pragensis: Karel van Manders Kunsttheorie im Schilder-Boeck: Ein Beitrag zur Rhetorisierung von Kunst und Leben am Beispiel der rudolfinischen Hofkünstler*, Veröffentlichungen des Collegium Carolinum 77 (Munich: 1993), 189–190.

95 "Voor-reden, op den grondt der edel vry Schilder-const," in *Schilder-Boeck*, fols. *v verso–*vi recto.

about whose life, consecrated to drawing and painting in the service of Rudolf II, he writes: "his works shall answer to the purpose of children, like those of Michelangelo, and shall offer up his name to eternity in the Temple of Fame."[96] However, the quality of grace that permeates Sprangher's art, placing him in a lineage from Apelles, and setting him side by side with "Raphael who was graceful in all things," also differentiates him in this regard from Michelangelo whose *teyckenconst* lacked grace.[97] The implication is that Sprangher, who resembles Michelangelo *and* Raphael, thereby surpasses both. In truth, Van Mander attributes Sprangher's meteoric rise as a court painter to his Apelles-like grace, with which he was gifted by nature from his earliest years:

> In point of fact, from the very beginning a certain Apelles-like grace has played through all his works, so that his Venusian *Pictura*, being now joined by Harmonia, the daughter of Mars and Venus, through the unification of good coloring and sure, dexterous, ingenious drawing, is neither to be faulted with the least little thing, not a sandal's creak, nor at all to be surpassed. Whereby Sprangher well deserves to have been taken up in so worthy a degree by the Roman Caesar who, being as much a lover of art as the great Alexander, has too [in Sprangher] his Apelles.[98]

This laudation of Sprangher's inimitably graceful drawing, which has now been enhanced by (or, better, harmonized with) fine coloring is licensed by an epitome of his art, the *Banquet of the Gods* (*Marriage Feast of Cupid and Psyche*) executed in pen, ink, and wash and issued as an engraving by Hendrick Goltzius in 1587 (Fig. 3):

96 Ibid., fol. 274r: "… en zijn wercken sullen als des Michel Agnels hem tot kinderen verstrecken die zijnen name in den Tempel der Fame d'onsterflijckheyt sullen opofferen." Van Mander paraphrases Michelangelo, who is said, in "Life of Michelangelo," fol. 172v, to have called his works his true children when a priest chided him for having no offspring.

97 "Life of Raphael," fol. 121r: "… *Raphael* in alles gracelijck was." Grace is the primary theme of this "Life."

98 "Life of Bartholomeus Sprangher, Excellent Painter of Antwerp," fol. 274r: "Het heeft doch van aenvangh altijt een besonder Apellische gratie in al zijn dinghen gespeelt, welcke nu verselt met de dochter van Mars en Venus, Hermonia, door t'overeencomen van wel verwen, en vast cloeck versierich teyckenen, is zijn Venussche *Pictura* aen t'minste Toffel-craken niet te berispen, veel min te overtreffen. Also dat den Sprangher wel verdient in soo weerdighen graet aengenomen te wesen by den Roomschen Caesar, die Const-liefdich als den grooten Alexander, oock zijnen Apelles heeft."

> Apropos of his drawing, he handles the pen in so exceptionally subtle a way that one knows no one like him, and in this I too follow the judgment of someone known above all others for his pen-handling, the singular Goltzius, who has said to me that he knows of no one to match [Sprangher]. As we have seen from various works here in this land, above all that splendid and wondrously well ordonnanced banquet of the Gods, or wedding feast of Psyche, which the learned hand and artful burin of Goltzius brought into the light in the year 1585 [sic].[99]

Van Mander designed Sprangher's "Life" to exemplify several aspects of *teyckenconst* recounted in *Grondt*, chapter 2: first of all, the twin sources of *teyckenconst*—natural ability, gifted by nature, and practical application, whereby aptitude is honed; second, expertise gained by drawing with various tools and materials, first coal and chalk, then pen and ink, finally in black and white pigments on blue-tinted paper. Van Mander puts this succinctly in stanzas 3 and 10:

> The perfection of the art of Drawing must needs come forth
> From a sound understanding, and understanding
> Must [in turn] draw strength from practice, having taken root
> In a spirit endued by nature, which, being
> Ingenious and resourceful, fortifies [understanding] and
> deftly vivifies it.[100]

99 Ibid., fols. 273v–274r: "Aengaende zijn teyckenen, daer weetmen zijns gelijck niet, soo uytnemende aerdich hy de Pen handelt, en hier in volgh ick oock het oordeel van die het Pen-handelen boven anderen bekent is, besonder Goltzij, die my gheseyt heeft, niemant zijns ghelijck te weten. Also wy verscheyden dinghen hier te lande ghesien hebben, bysonder dat heerlijck en wonder wel gheordineert bancket der Goden, oft bruyloft van Psyche, welck de gheleerde hand en constigh graef-ijser Goltzij in't licht ghebracht heeft Ao. 1585." On the *Banquet of the Gods*, based on Apuleius, *Golden Ass* IV–VI, see M. Leesberg, comp., *The New Hollstein Dutch and Flemish Etchings, Engravings, and Woodcuts, 1450–1700: Hendrick Goltzius*, 4 vols. (Ouderkerk aan den Ijssel and Amsterdam: 2012), 2:312–315, no. 341.

100 *Grondt*, fol. 8v (chapter 2, stanza 3):

> Des Teycken-consts volcomenheyt moet drijven
> Wt ghesont vertandt, en aen crachten raken
> Moet t'verstandt door oeffeningh, en beclijven
> Door natuerlijcken gheest, die tot verstijven
> Edel vernuftich is, en snel ontwaken.

You may do it all: hatch and wash
As your spirit inclines, with fiery effort,
Hastening to set your hand to copying
With Coal or Chalk, on Paper gray as ash,
Or on pale blue [Paper], heightening
And deepening: ...[101]

A notable feature of the "Life of Sprangher" is the degree to which Van Mander emphasizes that he lacked a master worthy of instructing him: his abilities as a draftsman (and painter) are characterized as *sui generis*, emerging as they do from nature (i.e., from out of himself), where they lie dormant until practice and contingent circumstance bring them to light. Take the telling anecdote about the origins of Sprangher's facility with pen and ink, then with pen, ink, wash, and white heightening on blue-tinted paper. Thus far, Sprangher had only drawn in coal or chalk, but compelled by a commission from the Pope, who wished to see modelli for an entire Passion series, he experimented with pen and ink, to brilliant effect: "having never before drawn with anything other than coal or chalk, he executed the whole of it in white and black on blue paper, twelve pieces in all: thus did the Pope bring Sprangher to draw with the pen, as one compelled thereto."[102] Medium by medium, technique by technique, Sprangher achieves facility in every branch of *teyckenconst*, rising to every challenge he encounters, by converting natural ability into practical expertise. His seemingly effortless facility is the result of "natural spirit" ("natuerlijcken gheest," i.e., "spirit endued by nature") given practical expression (*oeffeningh*, "practice, exercise").[103]

101 Ibid., fol. 9r (chapter 2, stanza 10):
Ghy meught van als doen, artseren, en wasschen,
Nae den lust ws gheests met een vierich pooghen,
In het conterfeyten in handen rasschen,
Tot Kool' en Crijt, op Papier graeuw als asschen,
Oft een bleeckachtich blaeuw, om op te hooghen,
En op te diepen: ...

102 "Life of Bartholomeus Sprangher," in *Schilder-Boeck*, Book IV, fol. 271r: "noyt hebbende anders gheteyckent als met kool en crijt, heeft het doch den Paus te ghevolle ghedaen op blaeu papier oft van wit en swart, tot twaelf stucken."

103 On natural ability as a leading theme in the "Life of Sprangher" and its equivalent status there to nobility of blood, see Müller, *Concordia Pragensis*, 190–193. Natural ability allows Sprangher to succeed as a courtly draughtsman and painter, precisely by ensuring that he remains *sui generis*.

In the "Life of Hendrick Goltzius, excellent Painter, Copperplate Engraver, and Glass-Painter from Mulbracht," Van Mander confirms his friend and colleague's status as Europe's foremost draftsman, a paragon of *teyckenconst* without equal; with reference to glass-painting and its sister arts, painting and copperplate engraving, he states: "for this Art, like painting and copperplate engraving, grows or has its perfection from *Teycken-const*, in which I know no one better than he, or anyone who has climbed higher or grown taller in stature above the common judgment."[104] Goltzius, in everything he does as a *teyckenaer* (draftsman), exemplifies the best practices itemized in *Grondt*, chapter 2—for example, Van Mander's precepts about working after the twin paradigms of graceful nature and comely manner:

> Therefore, 'twere good to find an accomplished Master
> From the start, in order to accustom oneself to a comely manner.[105]
>
> 'Tis wondrous, the grace one sees Nature
> Pour forth into life, from every side;
> Here everything can be found that we might lack in ourselves ....[106]
>
> And this I have to say about [Goltzius], that from his youth onward he not only strove to follow the beauty or various forms of Nature, but also accustomed himself wonderfully to counterfeiting the various manners of hand (*handelingen*) of the best masters, such as Heemskerck, Frans Floris, Blocklandt, Federico Zuccaro, and finally Sprangher, whose spirited manner he fol-

104 "T'leven van Henricus Goltzius, uytnemende Schilder, Plaet-snijder, en Glaes-schrijver, van Mulbracht," fol. 386r: "want dese Const, so wel als schilderen, en Plaet-snyden, wast oock, oft heeft haer volcomenheyt uyt de Teycken-const, in welck ick nu zijn beter niet en weet, oft yemandt boven ghemeen oordeel hogher gheclommen oft opgewassen."

105 *Grondt*, fol. 9r (chapter 2, stanza 9):
Daerom een goet Meester waer goet ghevonden,
Voor eerst, om goede manier aen te wennen.
Also see note 120, *infra*.

106 *Grondt*, fol. 9v (chapter 2, stanza 15):
T'is wonder wat gracy men siet uytstorten
De Natuer in't leven, aen alle sijden,
Hier is al te vinden wat ons mach schorten ....
Also see note 127, *infra*.

> lowed very truly; and thereupon, he also engraved after him that splendid work, Sprangher's heavenly banquet, overflowing with sweet and delectable nectar, conferring on both the draftsman and the engraver a like immortality.[107]

The pleasing grace of Sprangher's manner, the praiseworthy "Apellische gratie" lauded in his "Life," here finds its appropriate expression in the "masterful force of Goltzius's burin-hand" ("t'vermoghen der Graef-ijsers"), marked as it is by the swelling and tapering line that *Grondt*, chapter 2 considers synonymous with grace.

Furthermore, Goltzius is much appreciated throughout his "Life" for his ability to work "uyt zijn selven," in ways that attest his protean imitative skill and technical invention. Van Mander acclaims his six-part series, the *Life of the Virgin* of 1593–1594, for its assimilation of Goltzius's hand to multiple hands in images that appear to have been invented by the masters whose manners Goltzius imitates, but are in fact new images invented by him, in this sense sourced from out of himself: "but omitting many things for the sake of brevity, I shall recount the six pieces he wrought, having just come back from Italy: for thinking upon the manners of hand he had everywhere seen, he with his single hand displayed various hands of his own invention."[108] Subsequently, he invents a new kind of pictorial image,

107 "T'leven van Henricus Goltzius," in *Schilder-Boeck*, Book IV, fol. 284r: "En dit heb ick van hem te segghen, dat hy van jongs aen niet alleen en heeft de schoonheyt oft verscheyden ghedaenten der Natueren gesocht nae te volghen: maer heeft oock seer wonderlijck hem ghewent verscheyden handelingen der beste Meesters nae te bootsen, alsnu Hemskercken, Frans Floris, Blocklandts, dan Fredericks, en eyndlinghe des Spranghers, welcx geestighe manière hy seer eygentlijck volgde: en sneet oock corts nae desen dat heerlijck stuck, t'Hemelsche bancket van Sprangher, overvloeyende van soeten en bevallijcken Nectar, den Teyckenaer en Snijder toelanghende ghelijcke onsterflijckheyt." Cornelis Kiliaan, *Etymologicum Teutonicae linguae sive dictionarium Teutonico-latinum* (Antwerp: Jan Moretus, 1599), 330, defines *naeboetsen* as "imitation by the action of the hand of someone else's deeds or words" ("imitari gesticulatione facta aut dicta alterius"); it carries the implied sense of impersonation or simulation.

108 "T'leven van Henricus Goltzius," in *Schilder-Boeck*, Book IV, fol. 284v: "maer ick sal om cortheyt veel overslaende, verhalen van ses stucken, die hy uyt Italien gecomen wesende dede: want bedenckende wat hy over al voor handelingen hadde ghesien, heeft met een eenighe handt verscheyden handelinghen van zijn inventie ghetoont." On the *Life of the Virgin*, see Leesberg, comp., *New Hollstein: Hendrick Goltzius*, 1:15–34, nos. 8–13; W.S. Melion, "The Meditative Function of Hendrick Goltzius's *Life of the Virgin* of 1593–1594," in R. Falkenburg, Melion, and T. Richardson, eds., *Image and Imagination of the Religious*

launching a novel method of *teyckenconst*, hybrid to such a fault, executed partly in pen, partly in oil-color, on primed canvas the size of a large painting:

> Hereafter, Goltzius had the idea of drawing with the pen on prepared canvas, for howsoever large the parchment sheets [on which he had previously drawn], they yet struck him as much too small, in respect of his great resolve and spirit. Therefore, he set about, drawing with the pen on canvas, [its surface] primed and quite large, the nude figure of a woman, with a laughing satyr nearby, very subtly and ingeniously done, and he also heightened it, touching the naked [limbs] in a few places with a bit of color, and then varnished it.[109]

This picture, thus described, recalls the painted lines of Apelles and Protogenes, which occupied a liminal place somewhere between painting and drawing; in point of fact, its hybridity is more entangled, for Van Mander, by appending it to his discussion of Goltzius's drawings on parchment, indicates that it is rendered, like them, in the manner of an engraving, with markedly swelling and tapering strokes of the pen. The work exhibits materials and techniques characteristic of a print, a drawing, and a painting, but is neither printed

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Self in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe (Turnhout: 2008), 379–426; and P. Wandrey, *Ehre über Gold: Die Meisterstiche von Hendrick Goltzius* (Berlin: 2018), esp. 123–344.

109 "T'leven van Henricus Goltzius," in *Schilder-Boeck*, Book IV, fol. 285r: "Hier nae quam Goltzio in den sin, op gheprimuerde oft van Oly-verwe bereyde doecken metter Pen te teyckenen: want hoe groot de Pergamenten waren, sy vielen hem nae zijn groot voornemen en gheest noch veel te cleen. Des gingh hy toe, en teyckende met de Pen op eenen paslijcken grooten gheprimuerden doeck een naeckt Vrouwen beeldt, met eenen lachenden Satyr daer by, seer aerdigh en versierigh ghedaen, en heeft daer oock op gehooght, en een weynigh de naeckten t'som plaetsen met verwe aengheroert, en daer op vernist." On this *pen-werck*, as Van Mander calls it, now identified as the *Venus with Satyr and Faun* (*Sine Cerere et Baccho friget Venus*) in the Philadelphia Museum of Art, see L.W. Nichols, "The Pen-Works of Hendrick Goltzius," *Bulletin of the Philadelphia Museum of Art* 88 (1992): 4–56; B. Welzel, "Das Schloß, darin sich Schicksale kreuzen: Hendrick Goltzius und sein Federkunststück am Prager Hof Kaiser Rudolf II," in N. Büttner and E. Meier, eds., *Grenzüberschreitung: Deutsch-Niederländischer Kunst- und Künstleraustausch* (Marburg: 2011), 139–148; and L.W. Nichols, *The Paintings of Hendrick Goltzius, 1558–1617: A Monograph and Catalogue Raisonné* (Doornspijk: 2013), 131–133.

nor merely drawn, or simply painted. Newly invented by Goltzius, this kind of image is as singular to him as the invention of oil colors and the mirrorlike technique they enabled were particular to Jan van Eyck.[110] It is in this specific sense fashioned quintessentially from out of himself. But like oil colors and, for that matter, copperplate engraving, this curious offshoot of *teyckenconst* also partakes of the status of a *novum repertum* (thing newly discovered), that community of technical inventions which were thought to distinguish the Moderns from the Ancients. The Ancients were masters of *teyckenconst*, but not in the way of the Italians, nor again in the way of the Northern masters, and certainly not in the way peculiar to Goltzius, who shares in the Apelles-like grace of Sprangher but also exceeds him on two fronts: his protean manner of imitation and his invention of a composite method of picturing, one part *teyckenconst*, one part *schilderconst*. The presentation of the critical category *teyckenconst* in *Grondt*, chapter 2, like that of *historie* in chapter 5, *reflexy-const* in chapter 7, *landtschap* in chapter 8, or *coloreren* in chapter 12, provides the discursive armature whereby these terms are meaningfully applied and inflected in the consecutive sequences of parallel "Lives."

4 Key Terms and Critical Categories

Although Van Mander's terminology is fully discussed in my annotations to the *Grondt*'s fourteen chapters, certain terms and categories require a more discursive treatment beyond the scope of a commentative note. In this section of the "Introduction," I examine his usage of the terms *schilder / schilderen* (painter / painting, to paint; picturer / picturing, to picture) and *manier* (manner, virtually synonymous with *handelingh*, handling), and of the categories *uyt zijn selven doen* ([to work] from out of oneself), *welstandt* (concinnity, decorum, well-being), *gheest* and *uyt den gheest* (spirit and [to work] from the spirit), and *wel schilderen* (painting / to paint well).

110 See Van Mander's account of the pseudo-alchemical invention of painting in oils by Jan, in "Het leven van Ian en Hubrecht van Eyck, ghebroeders, en Schilders van Maseyck," in *Schilder-Boeck*, Book IV, fol. 199v. On this "Life," see A. Stanneck, *Ganz ohne Pinsel gemalt: Studien zur Darstellung der Produktionsstrukturen niederländischer Malerei im* Schilder-Boeck *von Karel van Mander* (*1604*), Europäische Hochschulschriften 393 (Frankfurt am Main, Berlin, et al.: 2003), 14–24.

a Schilder

Throughout the *Grondt*, Van Mander uses *schilder* in a general or particular sense, depending on context: in chapter 1, stanza 1, he combines it with a reference to a gifted youngster's impulse to draw and thus signifies the irresistible urge to make pictures; elsewhere the term can refer specifically to painting:

> O Hebes's sprigs, Scholars of Genius,
> You who here and there, instead of writing,
> Have daubed and stained your Papers
> With Mannikins, Ships, various animals,
> Rarely leaving a single spot empty,
> Seemingly driven on by Nature
> To become a Picturer, so that to this end your Parents
> Sustain you with their bodies, support you on their shoulders.[111]

I have translated *schilder* as "picturer," *schilderen* as "picturing," in those instances when Van Mander refers to a medium or media other than (or in addition to) paint applied with a brush or brush-like instrument, and also whenever he talks about picture-making as a whole. His friend and patron Jacques Razet, notary and secretary of the Customs in Amsterdam, uses the Latin *pictura* to signify this broader sense of *schilderconst* in the remarkable will he drew up on January 24, 1609, specifying that the yield from the rental of his house be used to sponsor needy young painters training in the "noble art *pictura*, painting, sculpture, or engraving" ("Edele const pictura, Schilderen beelt ofte plaetsnyden").[112] With respect to Van Mander's usage of *schilder / schilderen*, it is worth keeping in mind what Boudewijn Bakker posits about the *Schilder-Boeck*—namely, that it consists, broadly speaking, of two parts, the first

111 See *Grondt*, fol. 1r (chapter 1, stanza 1):
> O Hebes spruyten, Genius Scholieren,
> Ghy die hier en daer, in plaetse van schrijven,
> Hebt becladdert, en vervult u Pampieren,
> Met Mannekens, Schepen, verscheyden dieren,
> Dat ghy nau ledighe plaets' en laet blijven,
> Schijnend' of Natuer u voort wilde drijven,
> Een Schilder te wesen, soo dat u Ouders
> U daer toe aenvoeren op lijf, en schouders.

112 See Miedema, ed., *Karel van Mander, Lives*, 2:91–92.

on drawing, the second on painting.[113] On this basis, a sequential summary of the *Grondt*'s topics and themes might read as follows: after the hortatory opening chapter, the next five chapters primarily concern *teyckenconst*, the art of drawing. Chapter 7 on *reflexyconst* (the art of reflection) introduces the second part, which pivots from picturing with lines to painting with colors. Chapters 8–10, on *landtschap* (landscape), *beesten, dieren, en voghels* (cattle, animals, and birds), and *laken oft draperinghe* (fabric or drapery), focus mainly on painting, in particular on the painting of things that require to be depicted *uyt den gheest* (from the mind, spirit). Finally, the four concluding chapters examine the material and representational properties of oil colors and also their symbolical meanings. The *Thesaurus Theutonicae linguae. Schat der Neder-duytscher spraken* defines *geschildert* as *peinct* (painted) as well as *depinxit* (painted but also depicted); *schilder* as *peinctre* (painter) as well as *pictor* (painter but also picturer); *schilderen* as *peindre* (to paint) as well as *pingere, depingere, expingere, scribere* (to paint or picture, depict, describe, write); *schilderije* as *peincture* (painting) as well as *pictura, graphice* (painting but also picture, drawing, or alternatively, art of painting, picturing, or drawing).[114] Seventeenth-century uses of *schilder* and *schilderen*, postdating the first and second editions of the *Schilder-Boeck* (1604 and 1618 respectively), come more consistently and explicitly to denote painting in colors, as L. de Pauw-de Veen argued in her classic study of these terms.[115] When Van Mander applies *schilder* more generally, as in the titular word *Schilder-Boeck*, he approaches the connotations of *afschilderen* (to portray), which is not inherently media-specific.[116] At the close of Book IV, Van Mander reveals that his original intention had been to include sections on "glass-engraving / -painting, copperplate engraving, and women painters" ("Glas-schrivers, Plaet-snijders, en Nederlandtsche Vrouwen, die t'Pinceel gheoeffent hebben").[117] Instead,

113 See B. Bakker, *Landscape and Religion from Van Eyck to Rembrandt* (Burlington: 2012; reprint ed., 2016), 179–180.

114 See Maldoets, Kiliaan, Steenhart, and Van Hasselt, *Thesaurus Theutonicae linguae*, fol. y3 recto.

115 See L. de Pauw-de Veen, *De begrippen 'schilder', 'schilderij' en 'schilderen' in de zeventiende eeuw*, Verhandelingen van de Koninklijke Vlaamse Academie voor Wetenschappen, Letteren en Schone Kunsten van België 31 (Brussels: 1969), esp. 1–16, 69–95, 204–237.

116 On *afschilderen*, see ibid., 219–220.

117 See *Schilder-Boeck* Book IV, fol. 300v.

constrained by time and space, he chose largely to concentrate on "painting and painters" ("schilderen en Schilders"), even while including remarks on the best exponents of the complementary arts of engraving and glass-engraving / -painting throughout the Northern lives just recounted. As he puts it: "Forasmuch as I have occasionally denominated and given an account of the same [glass-engravers / -painters, copperplate engravers, and women painters], or rather, the best of them, heretofore in the lives of the *Schilders*."[118] This is to say that Books I and IV of the *Schilder-Boeck*, even though they use the term *schilder* mainly to refer to painting, also retain its close association with allied pictorial arts such as *glas-schrijven* and *plaet-snijden* (glass-engraving / -painting and copperplate engraving).[119]

b Manier

Typical of Van Mander's usage is the occurrence of the term *manier* in chapter 2, stanza 9 of the *Grondt*:

> Therefore, 'twere good to find an accomplished Master
> From the start, in order to accustom oneself to a good manner
> And learn the sure, firm foundations
> Of disposition, handling, contour, projection,
> And to become familiar with sound placement of lights and shadows,
> By subtly drawing where the light strikes,
> First with Coal, then with Chalks and Pens,
> Such that one may hardly see hard, robust strokes anywhere but where the shadows fall.[120]

118 Ibid.: "dan also ick de selvige, oft de bysonderste, t'somtijden voorhenen in de levens der Schilders hebbe ghenoemt, en verhaelt." He adds: "… thinking, too, that the time hastens when I, having written about others who painted, ought myself to return to [my] Brushes and, making trial of them, to discover whether I be capable of producing something good" ("… bedenckende daer beneffens, dat het haest tijt soude wesen, als ick van anderen hebbe gheschreven hoe sy gheschildert hebben, dat ick my tot den Pinceelen keerde, om al proevende te ondervinden, of ick oock yet goets con maken").

119 On the term *glas-schrijven*, see Vereeniging van Zackkundigen, *Volks-Encyclopedie: algemeene woordenboek behandelende kunsten en wetenschappen … derde deel* (Schiedam: 1858), 235–236.

120 *Grondt*, fol. 9r (chapter 2, stanza 9):
> Daerom een goet Meester waer goet ghevonden,
> Voor eerst, om goede manier aen te wennen,
> En om te leeren seker vaste gronden
> Int stellen, handelen, omtrecken, ronden,

Manier (in Italian, *maniera*) is the "manner of hand" characteristic of a given master, either conferred by nature as an expression of that master's innate spirit or assimilated and cultivated through the practice of imitation. According to the *Thesaurus Theutonicae linguae*, *manier* or its cognate *wijse*, signifies "mode, manner, usage, or custom" (in French, "mode, maniere, usage, et coustume"; in Latin, "mos, modus, ratio, ritus, usus, qualitas, gestus"). A closely related term is *handeling*[*h*] (handling), used by Van Mander to denote a master's distinctive method of manipulating the tools of art—pen and ink, burin and copperplate, brush and pigment, etc. The *Thesaurus* defines *handeling* as *maniement* (handling, manipulation) in French, as *tractatus* or *attrectatio* (handling, treatment) in Latin, but also *contrectatio* (appropriation of a thing to one's self), which corollary definition associates *handeling* with imitative practice.[121] Amongst the Northern masters in *Schilder-Boeck*, Book IV, who apprentice themselves to a competent master, learning his pictorial manner, Hendrick Goltzius provides an exemplary case, even though the negotiations leading to his apprenticeship were protracted and complex. His father arranges for a two-year stay with the engraver Dirck Volckertsz. Coornhert, which founders because Goltzius dislikes the terms of the agreement. Coornhert therefore offers a short-term trial apprenticeship: initially accepted by Goltzius, this second arrangement likewise miscarries when Coornhert stipulates that should his student quit, he must promise never to study with another engraver. Upon learning that Goltzius, ever assiduous, has continued to practice engraving on his own, Coornhert relents and invites him to Haarlem; here "he delighted in Goltzius's education and beginnings, and often instructed him in the best manner (to his way of thinking) as best he could."[122] The qualified aside, "to his way of thinking," sets the scene for other occasions when Goltzius, first as a student and then an independent master, continued to explore other *manieren* / *handelingen*—i.e., other ways of

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Dagh, en schaduws plaetsen wel leeren kennen,
Eerst met Colen dan met Crijen oft Pennen,
Aerdich trecken op den dagh, datment nouwkens
Sien mach, en daer schaduw valt harde douwkens.

Also see note 105 *supra*.

121 On *manier*, see *Thesaurus Theutonicae linguae*; on *handeling*, see ibid., fol. V3 recto. On the related term *naebootsen*, see note 107 *supra*.

122 *Schilder-Boeck*, Book IV, fol. 282v: "Coornhardt ghenoechte hebbende in Goltzij leeringh en begin, heeft hem dickwils op de beste wijse (zijns bedunckens) onderwesen, nae zijn uyterste vermoghen."

thinking in / through handling of the tools and media of art—striving fully to imitate them: "And this I have to say about him, that from his youth onward he not only strove to follow the beauty or various forms of Nature, but also accustomed himself wonderfully to counterfeiting the various manners of hand (*handelingen*) of the best masters."[123] Van Mander utilizes Bartholomeus Sprangher to furnish a telling counterexample: his natural gifts gradually emerge in spite of many abortive efforts to attach himself to a worthy master.[124] He first apprentices to Jan Mandijn, who dies after eighteen months, before the boy has been fully trained; he transfers to the workshop of Gillis Mostaert who dies two weeks later, and then to the workshop of Cornelis van Dalem, under whom he learns to paint landscapes but no figures. Moving to Paris, he attaches himself to a former student of Giulio Clovio, an illuminator named Marcus, who sets him to work copying crayon drawings but neither cultivates his powers of invention nor teaches him to paint anything but miniatures. So, he becomes the assistant of another master (unnamed) who, though he specializes in large devotional panels, proves to be quite mediocre. Tasked with painting such a devotional scene but otherwise left to fend for himself, he first experiments with charcoal and chalk on blue paper, designing a *Resurrection of Christ* that he then translates into paint with surprisingly good results. Soon after, he leaves this new master and moves to Milan where a painter from Malines teaches him how to paint in watercolor on canvas; his next stop is Parma where, still desperate to find a master whose manner is worthy of emulation, he engages himself to paint for Bernardo Suwari, erstwhile pupil of Antonio da Correggio. This affiliation, too, proves short-lived, and so, Sprangher journeys to Rome where by a chain of fortuitous circumstances he receives a papal commission to produce modelli in pen and ink for a Passion series to be painted on copper: the pressure of this unexpected commission forces Sprangher, who had previously drawn only in charcoal, chalk, or crayon, to master pen, ink, and wash. The upshot of this sequence of vicissitudes is to argue that Sprangher's characteristic *manier / wijse / handelingh*, which Van Mander closely associates with his skillful handling of the pen and repeatedly praises for his "figures' very ingenious

123 Ibid., fol. 284r; see note 107 *supra*.

124 The long tale of the student Sprangher's misadventures extends from fols. 268v–271r of his "Life."

movement" ("seer aerdighe roerentheyt der beelden"), "most graceful action," and "Apelles-like grace" ("gracelijckste actie" and "Apellische gratie"), issued from the promptings of *gheest*, largely independent of any master's influence.[125] Divinely infused by Nature, responsive to the pressures of circumstance, and honed by self-reliant labor, his "Venus-like picturing" ("Venussche Pictura") is sui generis.[126]

c Uyt zijn selven doen

This category of image or, more precisely, of image-making is complementary to the paired rubrics *nae*[*r*] *t'leven* (after the life) and *uyt den gheest* (from the spirit), utilized ubiquitously in the *Grondt* and the three sets of "Lives." Its first explicit appearance occurs in *Grondt*, chapter 2, stanza 15:

> 'Tis wondrous, the grace one sees Nature
> Pour forth into life, from every side;
> Here everything can be found that we might lack in ourselves:
> Action, attitude, fine foreshortening,
> Contour, cross-contour, to gladden us.
> By doing and redoing over time,
> One attains the experience of a revered Master:
> But one must also learn to fashion from out of oneself.[127]

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125 Ibid., fols. 273r and 274r. In this context, the adjective *aerdige* connotes the quality of clever invention, i.e., ingenuity; see *Thesaurus Theutonicae linguae*, fol. B1 verso. On the term *aerdigh*, apropos its use in *Schilder-Boeck*, Books II–IV, the Ancient, Italian, and Netherlandish "Lives," where, depending on context, it can variously signify "subtle" or "attractive," see P. Taylor, "Boekbespreking: Karel van Mander, *The Lives of the Illustrious Netherlandish and German Painters*, ed. H. Miedema," *Oud Holland* (2001), 131–154, esp. 132.

126 *Schilder-Boeck*, Book IV, fol. 274r.

127 *Grondt*, fol. 9 v (chapter 2, stanza 15):

> T'is wonder wat gracy men siet uytstorten
> De Natuer in't leven, aen alle sijden,
> Hier is al te vinden wat ons mach schorten
> Van werckinghe, stedsel, en schoon vercorten
> Omtreck, en binne-werck, om ons verblijden:
> Door veel doen, en herdoen, met Langhe tijden
> Raecktmen ervaren als Meester ter eeren:
> Maer uyt zijn selven doen moetmen oock leeren.

Also see note 106 *supra*.

Van Mander means that one must learn to invent from out of whole cloth, fashioning new figures adapted from the ones impressed upon memory through the practice of drawing after the life. "Uyt zijn selven doen" (fashion from out of oneself) corresponds to Vasari's "fare da se" or, simply, *da se*, which refers to the artist's ability to produce figural attitudes by mobilizing the *fantasia* (imaginative faculty).[128] As he states in *Vite*, 1:172, the imagination will become an inventive source of attitudes only if the memory has first been plentifully stocked with prototypes drawn *dal vivo* (after the living model); then "can attitudes in any position be formed from out of one's imagination ('di fantasia da se')."[129] Vasari, although he describes drawing after the living model as crucial to the process of artistic formation, ultimately considers it a mere corollary to the more important process of cultivating the *fantasia*.[130] By contrast, in chapter 2, stanza 15, line 3, Van Mander ascribes to nature everything the self might otherwise lack, thus grounding line 8's reference to "fashioning from out of oneself" in the generative practice of drawing after nature.

The catchphrase "uyt zijn selven doen" may be connected to the Italian aphorism "ogni dipintore dipinge se" (every painter paints himself), codified by Poliziano and Savonarola amongst others, and ascribed by Vasari, in *Vite* 7:260, to Michelangelo under the form "ogni pittore ritrae se medesimo" (every painting portrays himself).[131] Unlike Vasari, and not unlike Leonardo, who saw nature as a corrective to solipsistic judgment, Van Mander views working from out of one's self as complementary, even beholden, rather than

128 *Le vite de' più eccellenti pittori, scultori ed architettori, scritte da M. Giorgio Vasari Pittore e Architetto*, ed. G. Milanesi, 9 vols. (Florence: Giunti, 1568; reprint ed., Sansoni, 1981), 1:174.

129 Ibid., 1:72: "… e poi avere sicurtà, per lo molto studio, che senza avere i naturali innanzi si possa formare di fantasia da sè attitudini per ogni verso." On Vasari's distinction between figure drawings *dal vivo* and *da se*, see F. Härb, "*Dal vivo* or *da se*: Nature versus Art in Vasari's Figure Drawings," *Master Drawings* 43 (2005): 326–338.

130 See R. Felfe, "*Naer het leven*: Between Image-Generating Techniques and Aesthetic Mediation," in T. Balfe, J. Woodall, and C. Zittel, eds., *Ad vivum? Visual Materials and the Vocabulary of Life-Likeness in Europe before 1800*, Intersections 61 (Leiden and Boston: 2019), 44–88, esp. 47.

131 See M. Kemp, "'Ogni dipintore dipinge se': A Neoplatonic Echo in Leonardo's Art Theory?", in C.H. Clough, ed., *Cultural Aspects of the Italian Renaissance: Essays in Honour of Paul Oskar Kristeller* (Manchester and New York: 1976), 311–320.

antagonistic to nature. He makes this patently clear in the "Life of Albrecht Dürer," where, praising the subtle mastery of line ("aerdigh van teyckeningh") on view in the master's engravings, he nearly elides the distinction between nature and self as sources of art: "It is very much to be admired how many properties of our Art he brought forth or discovered from out of Nature, or as if from out of himself, as much in concinnity of actions, in ordonnance, as in smoothness and beauty of fabrics, as seen in some of his last Marian images, wherein one observes a fine magnificence of disposition, great even lights beside profound shadows, and uniform darks, in the rich fabrics."[132] Quite differently, "ogni dipintore dipinge se," construed as a doctrine of art, identifies the *fantasia* as the key source of each artist's distinctive approach to "i modi, le arie, le maniere, i tratti" (*Vite* 2:80). Following from the *Vite*, Gian Paolo Lomazzo's two treatises on art, *Trattato dell'arte della pittura, scoltura et architettura* (Milan: Paolo Gottardo Pontio, 1584) and *Idea del tempio della pittura* (Milan: Paolo Gottardo Pontio, 1590), postulate that the distinctive properties of pictorial style—proportion, motion, color, light, perspective, composition, and [ideal] form—vary from master to master according to temperamental and complexional differences determinative of their respective personae (i.e., *da se*).[133] Although Van Mander may have adopted Lomazzo's conception of a canon of masters various in artistic excellence but equal in attainment, throughout the *Grondt* he displays far less interest than either Lomazzo or Vasari in the cultivation of individual *handelinghen* or *manieren*. Occasional asides, such as chapter 2, stanza 9, form a rare exception to this tendency.[134]

On the other hand, in *Schilder-Boeck*, Books II–IV, the biographies of the Ancient, Italian, and Netherlandish masters, Van Mander con-

132 *Schilder-Boeck*, Book IV, fol. 208r: "Het is seer te verwonderen, hoe hy soo veel eyghenschappen onser Const uyt der Natuer, oft als uyt zijn selven, heeft byghebracht, oft gevonden, soo wel in welstandt der action, ordinantien, als in vlackheyt der lakenen en schoonheyt, als in eenige zijner lester Marybeelden te zien is, daer men siet een schoon heerlijckheyt der stellinghe, groote vlacke daghen, en daer neffens treflijcke schaduwen, en eeparige diepselen, in de rijckelijcke lakenen." On this passage, with specific reference to the term *eepaarige*, see Taylor, "Boekbespreking: Karel van Mander, *The Lives of the Illustrious Netherlandish and German Painters*," 134.

133 On Lomazzo's principles of canon formation, see M. Kemp, "'Equal excellences': Lomazzo and the Explanation of Individual Style in the Visual Arts," *Renaissance Studies* 1 (1987): 1–26, esp. 18–26.

134 See note 120 *supra*; also see notes 93 and 108 *supra*.

sistently pays close attention to the distinguishing traits constitutive of pictorial manner, though even here the emphasis falls less on how such manner is constituted than on the importance of finding a master whose art is worthy of imitation, if one wishes eventually, by diligent application to the foundational practices of *schildercont*, to formulate a manner of one's own. When a good master is lacking, as witness the case of Abraham Bloemaert, natural aptitude combined with diligent application inevitably brings such a manner to light. Punning on the artist's name, Van Mander praises him for his "painterly floriferous quality" ("schilderachtigen bloem-aerdt"), confected mysteriously: "In short, Bloemaert has applied himself so diligently to art that he has become a supreme master (though one might well say) without a master. Therefore, when telling off his pupils to admonish them to diligence, he sometimes said: I wish that once in my life I could have seen a good master painting, or handling colors, so that I could have learned their manner or technique by observing them."[135]

The mutually supplementary practices of picturing after nature's naked truth and from out of oneself are analogous to a similarly foundational pair of criteria that proliferates throughout Book IV: picturing *nae*[*r*] *t'leven* (after the life) and *uyt den gheest* (from the mind, spirit). In the "Life of Jacques de Gheyn," for example, the young master engraver, striving to fortify his understanding of "all the rational principles of art [i.e., of painting]" ("alle redenen der Const"), exercises himself on both fronts.[136] Book IV explores various inflections of *nae*[*r*] *t'leven*: in the "Life of Cornelis Cornelisz." (fol. 292v), when combined with the term *conterfeyten* (to portray attentively, with descriptive precision), as in the phrase "nae t'leven gheconterfeyt," it refers to Cornelis's ability to capture the living model's every particularity, including his characteristic "condition, actions, and inclinations" ("actien, hun conditien, oft gheneyghtheden"). This usage, which occurs in a long passage on the *Officers of the Civic Mili-*

135 *Schilder-Boeck*, Book IV, fol. 297v, as translated in Miedema, ed., *Karel van Mander, Lives*, 1:449: "Soo dat hy teghen zijn Discipulen woorden gebruyckende, hun tot neersticheyt vermandende, wel t'somtijden heeft geseyt: ick wouw dat ick eens binnen mijnen leven had moghen eenigh goet Meester sien schilderen, oft de verwen ghebruycken, op dat ick hun wijse oft maniere hadde siende moghen afleeren." On this passage, with reference to Bloemaert's "disciples," see M.J. Bok, "Biographies and Documents," in M.G. Roethlisberger, *Abrahanm Bloemaert and His Sons: Paintings and Prints* (Doornspijk: 1993), 571–575.

136 *Schilder-Boeck*, Book IV, fol. 294v.

tia Company of St. George (1599), recalls the expressly evidentiary connotations of the term *imago contrafacta* (counterfeit or, better, substitutive image, i.e., capable of standing in place of the thing portrayed).[137] Elsewhere in the same "Life," *nae*[*r*] *t'leven* applies to drawings made after antique statues (presumably casts) that Cornelis studied locally; here the phrase denotes the exacting task of portraying something at first hand as well as the exactingly descriptive work of art that results. Van Mander thus uses *nae*[*r*] *t'leven* to signify that a drawing, having been made in the presence of the thing drawn, in fact records the act of viewing that very thing.[138]

In chapter 9 of the *Grondt*, "On Cattle, Animals, and Birds," painting *nae*[*r*] *t'leven* is exemplified in stanzas 35–46, not only by reference to Jacopo Bassano's many paintings of farmyard animals but also by a series of ekphrastic epigrams, paraphrased from the *Greek Anthology*, on the ancient sculptor Myron's famous bronze statue of a heifer. In this context, *nae*[*r*] *t'leven* means not "after the life" but "to the life"; it registers the degree to which a sculptural or pictorial image, like an expertly wrought ekphrasis, has made the thing it represents vividly present to the beholder, producing an altogether persuasive effect of living presence.[139]

Van Mander grants "teyckenen nae t'leven" (drawing after the life) an authority equivalent to drawing after ancient sculpture, in the "Life of Cornelis Cornelisz." (fol. 292v), where he writes: "Meanwhile Cornelis greatly abetted his impellent nature by much drawing after the life with exceptional diligence, to this end searching out the best and most beautiful, affective and lively antique figures ("beste en schoonste roerende en levende antijcke beelden"), of which here in our homeland we have more than enough, for no exercise surer or better can be found if one's judgment is perfect at distinguishing between the most beautiful and the [merely] beautiful."[140] This pas-

137 See P. Parshall, "*Imago contrafacta*: Images and Facts in the Northern Renaissance," *Art History* 16 (1993): 554–579.

138 On this and other connotations of *naer t'leven*, see C. Swan, "*Ad vivum*, *naer het leven*, from the life: Defining a Mode of Representation," *Word & Image* 11 (1995): 353–372, esp. 354–355; on other meanings of *naer t'leven*, operative throughout the seventeenth century, see Felfe, "*Naer het leven*," 49–81.

139 On the ekphrastic implications of the term *ad vivum* and its vernacular cognates, see S. Kusukawa, "*Ad vivum* Images and Knowledge of Nature in Early Modern Europe," in Balfe et al., eds., *Ad vivum?*, 89–121, esp. 110–111.

140 *Schilder-Boeck*, Book IV, fol. 292v: "Ondertusschen quam Cornelis zijn aenporrende natuere grootlijcx te hulp, met uytnemende veel en vlijtigh te teycke-

sage has been read as a reference to drawing after works of ancient art, available locally, whose liveliness shores up their status as a second nature, perfected in its lineaments; moreover, as P.J.J. van Thiel argued, the fact that Van Mander applies the phrase *nae t'leven* to this particular imitative exercise indicates that the term *leven* refers not simply to the living model but more widely to any object of imitation that is portrayed in that object's presence.[141] Hessel Miedema instead asserted that Van Mander, who tends strictly to differentiate between *leven* (nature) and *const* (art), here refers wittily to the human models selected by Cornelis for their beauty rivaling the perfection of ancient statuary.[142] In point of fact, the two readings can to some extent be reconciled, though perhaps at the cost of Miedema's categorical distinction between nature and art: Van Mander, in referring to living models, treats them as if they were works of art—antiquities in the flesh, one might say, so that "teyckenen nae t'leven" becomes indistinguishable from drawing after the antique. On this reading, the phrase *nae t'leven* stretches to encompass both lively antiquities and living figures whose beauty is so fine that it appears veritably antique. Van Mander's statement, far from insistently placing nature and art at odds, ambiguates them, so that they can be seen inextricably to turn on the entangled relation between *leven* and *const*, a relation later underscored by the epigrams in praise of Myron's lifelike heifer in chapter 9.[143] A similar process of ambiguation takes place at the start of "Life of Jan van Scorel, Painter," where the citizens of ancient Rome and the marble and bronze statues portraying them are inferred to be virtually interchangeable, so lively are the statues, so statuesque the people: "It is known that in earlier times the chief among towns, most beautiful Rome—while still flourishing with prosperity and rich in inhabitants—overflowed with people to the same measure as it was rich in art-full, excellent statues, or to put it a better way: marbles and bronzes which were, through great

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nen nae t'leven, daer toe uytsoeckende van de beste en schoonste roerende en levende Antijcke beelden, die wy hier ghenoegh binnens Landts hebben, als de ghewiste en alderbeste studie die men vinden mach, als men soo volcomen oordeel heeft, het schoonste uyt het schoon t'onderscheyden."

141 See P.J.J. van Thiel, "Cornelis Cornelisz. van Haarlem as a Draughtsman," *Master Drawings* 3 (1965): 123–154, esp. 128.

142 See Miedema, ed., *Karel van Mander, Lives*, 6:26–27.

143 On Van Mander's epigrams lauding the trompe-l'oeil effect of Myron's heifer, see section 6, *infra*, of this "Introduction," "*Landtschap* and *byvoechsel*: Karel van Mander on Landcape and History, Simulation and Dissimulation."

ingenuity, as if naturally transformed into exquisite and most beautiful human and animal bodies."[144]

d Welstandt

Van Mander's term *welstandt* (concinnity, decorum, well-being) signifies "good bearing" or "demeanor," and connotes in this context the well-ordered attitude, the good disposition, of a human figure that conforms, at least loosely, to the rules set forth in what follows as well as in chapter 6, "Wtbeeldinghe der Affecten, passien, begeerlijckheden, en lijdens der Menschen" (Portrayal of the Affects, passions, desires, and sorrows of Persons). The term can also be applied to a picture as a whole, in which case it might best be translated "concinnity." The noun *welstandt* derives from the verbal phrase "Het staet wel," which the *Dictionarium tetraglotton* uses to translate the Latin impersonal verb *decet* (it beseems, is fitting, suitable).[145] The same source also associates this phrase with *decor*, defining it as "beauty, refinement, the grace that a person has when everything he says or does is fitting" ("schoonheyt, frayheyt, de gracie die een mensch heeft, als alle tghene dat hy seyt oft doet, hem wel staet").[146] The *Dictionarium* gives as a French cognate for *decor* the quality of grace possessed by a person whose every word and action "suits him well" ("luy sied bien"). The allied verb *decoro* is defined "to decorate, honor, embellish" in French ("décorer, honorer, embellir") and "to honor, fashion by art, and embellish" in Dutch ("vereeren, vercieren, verfraeyen").[147] Furthermore, the *Dictionarium* translates *decorum* as "goede gracie" and "bonne grace" (good grace) and also as *honnêteté*. The latter term derives from *honneste*, which Randle Cotgrave, *A Dictionarie of the French and English Tongues* (London: Adam Islip, 1611)

144 *Schilder-Boeck*, Book IV, fol. 234r, as translated in Miedema, ed., *Karel van Mander, Lives*, 194: "T'is kenlijck, dat voormael t'hooft der Steden, het alder schoonste Room, bloeyende in voorspoet, en volck-rijck wesende, placht in ghelijck ghetal van Menschen t'overvloeyen, en verciert te wesen van constighe uytnemende beelden, oft om beter segghen Marmoren, en Coperen, die door hooge vernuftheyt natuerlijck in uytghekosen alder schoonste Menschen lichamen, en Dieren lijven waren verandert." For a fuller discussion of *nae*[*r*] *t'leven* and *uyt den gheest*, see section 4.e., "Key Terms and Categlories: *'Leven* and *Gheest*,'" *infra*.

145 See *Dictionarium tetraglotton seu voces Latinae mones, et Graecae eis respondentes, cum Gallica et Teutonica* (*quam passim Flandricam voant*) *earum interpretations* (Antwerp: Ex officina Christophori Plantini, 1562), fol. 84r.

146 See ibid., fol. 84v.

147 See ibid.

renders as "comelie, seemelie, handsome, well befitting."[148] The *Etymologicum teutonicae linguae* largely concurs with the *Dictionarium*, defining *wel-stand* as both *decorum* and *salus* (well-being).[149] In calling the "virtue of beauty" "decorous and artful" ("schoonheyt, welstandich en constich"), Van Mander thus plays upon the richly complementary lexical associations amongst beauty, artifice, and the mutual attunement of a person's parts that results in an effect of good grace and comeliness.

As chapter 4 progresses, and especially in stanzas 35–40, he assimilates *welstandt* more explicitly to the rhetorical doctrine of decorum: namely, that the argument and style of a speech must be appropriate to the audience and occasion it serves, whatever branch of oratory one is exercising—judicial, legislative, or epideictic—and whether one is speaking about the past, future, or present. So, too, argues Van Mander, when a person's constitutional strengths and temperament, and her or his age, gender, and inclinations are legibly bodied forth so that the person's appearance, attitude, and action cohere into an accordant whole, then *welstandt* will be seen perfectly to have been expressed.

Aristotle was the chief source of the principle that the arrangement of the parts of a speech must be governed by propriety of style: "Style is proportional to the subject matter when neither weighty matters are treated offhand, nor trifling matters with dignity, and no embellishment is attached to an ordinary work....Character also may be expressed by the proof from signs, because to each class and habit there is an appropriate style."[150] Cicero in *De oratore* III.lv.210–212 specifically attaches the doctrine of appropriateness to the discernible qualities of human figures; if the speech is fitted both to the character of the person speaking and to the character of his audience, then by dint of decorum it will prove persuasive: "Although one point at least is obvious, that no single kind of oratory suits every cause or audience or speaker or occasion....The audience is also important—whether it is the lords or the commons or the bench; a large audience or a small one or a single person, and their personal character; and consideration must be given to the age, station, and office of the speakers themselves, and to the occasion."[151]

148 See Cotgrave, *Dictionarie* (reprint ed., Hildesheim and New York: 1970).

149 See Kiliaan, *Etymologicum teutonicae linguae*, 662.

150 See Aristotle, *Art of Rhetoric*, trans. J.H. Freese (Cambridge, MA: 1982), 377–379.

151 See Cicero, *De oratore*, trans. H. Rackham (Cambridge, MA and London: 1942), 167–169.

Van Mander's term *welstandt* more directly derives from Gualtherus Rivius's use of the term *Wohlstand* in *Der furnembsten, notwendigsten, der gantzen Architectur anghörigen Künst* (Nuremberg: Iohan Petreius, 1547) and *Vitruvius-Teutsch: Zehen Bücher von der Architecture und küntslichen Bauen* (Nuremberg: Walther Hermann Ryff, 1548).[152] The semantic inflections of *Wohlstand*, as applied to human form and figural grouping, vary according to context and include eurythmy or charm (*venustas*), decorous beauty (*decens pulcritudo*), consonance amongst bodily parts and between these parts and the body as a whole (*symmetria* and *concinnitas*), and ordering and positioning of persons according to social convention (*distributio* and *decorum*). In *Der furnembsten … Künst, eygentlicher Bericht*, fol. viii r, Rivius states, with reference not simply to human figures but to other elements of the *Histori*, that *copia* and *vilfaltigkeit* (variety) confer *Wohlstand* on a painting. Diverging from Dürer, who adverts to *Wohlstand* in the *Vier Bücher von menschlicher Proportion* of 1528, Rivius associates *Wohlstand* not with *Gewalt* (force) but with *Zier und Schein* (graceful appearance and ornament).[153] The same holds true of Van Mander, whose use of *welstandt* generally accords with Rivius's usage, but whose understanding of bodily consonance, symmetry, and beauty more closely aligns with Lomazzo's promotion and codification of the *figura serpentinata*.[154]

Throughout *Schilder-Boeck*, Book IV, Van Mander inflects the meaning of *welstandt* and its verbal form *wel staen* by combining these terms with associated criteria of pictorial excellence, such as "met cleen moeyte" ("Life of Hieronymus Bosch," fol. 216v: effortlessly), "schoonheyt en vriendlijcke gracelijckheyt" ("Life Jan Scorel, Painter," fol. 234v: beauty and amiable grace), or "soet en vloeyende" ("Life of Michiel Coxcie," fol. 258v: sweet and flowing). Most of these terms link *welstandt* to ancillary notions of grace and fluency, in both figural pose and pictorial *handelingh* (manner, handling). In the "Life

152 On Rivius's two treatises, see H.J. Dethlefs, "*Wohlstand* and *Decorum* in Sixteenth-Century German Art Theory," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 70 (2007): 143–155, esp. 147–155. On later, more restrictive uses of the term by Crispijn van de Passe the Younger, Samuel van Hoogstraten, and Gerard de Lairesse, see J. Noorman, *Art, Honor, and Success in the Dutch Republic: The Life and Career of Jacob van Loo* (Amsterdam: 2020), 105–109.

153 On Dürer's use of *Wohlstand*, see Dethlefs, "*Wohlstand* and *Decorum*," 143–145.

154 On the *figura serpentinata* as a bodily canon that reconciles effort and ease, motion and stillness, see Giovanni Paolo Lomazzo, *Trattato dell'arte della pittura, scoltura, et architettura … diviso in sette libri* (Milan: Paolo Gottardo Pontio, 1585), 192–196, esp. 196. For a fuller discussion of Lomazzo and the *figura serpentinata*, see *Grondt*, chapter 4, note 11, *infra*.

of Pieter Aertsen," on the other hand, *welstandt* connotes something like "visual coherence": referring to the extant cartoon of Aertsen's lost altarpiece of the *Nativity* once displayed on the high altar of the Nieuwe Kerk, Van Mander praises it for "having been executed in a manly and masterful way," "with boldly assured brushstrokes" that, when "viewed from afar," confer *welstandt* on the "nude figures and everything else" (fol. 244r: "Meesterlijck en Manlijck aenghetast, de naeckten en anders veel ten eersten op de teyckeninghe opgedaen wesende … en soo aendachtich, dat het van verre … hadde eenen uytnemenden grooten welstandt").[155]

By and large, then, the term *welstandt* describes well-fashioned figures and their integral attributes and appurtenances: for example, Van Mander refers to Van Scorel's "welstandt der beelden" (fol. 234r: good grace [of his] figures) and, in the Coxcie passage just cited, sings the praises of his *Vrouw-beelden* (female figures); painted in a sweet and flowing manner, the *welstandt* is further enhanced by elegant, impeccably fine adornments (fol. 258v: "net en suyver in cieraten"). But *welstandt* can equally be applied to landscape, as in the case of "several landscapes subtle/artful in welstandt," to be found in the collection of Hendrick Louwersz. Spieghel in Amsterdam ("Life of Hans Soens," fol. 288v: "eenighe Landtschappen van aerdighen welstandt"). In *Grondt*, chapter 8, "On Landscape," it signifies the "well-being" or "good order" of a landscape in which foreground, middle-ground, and background flow seamlessly, one into the other, like ocean waves (stanza 20). *Welstandt* also connotes the effect, condition, or experience of "well-tempered pleasure" that results from a landscape replete with features—"Cities, Buildings, Mountains, without circumspection, or any other thing" ("Steden, Huysen, Berghen, onbehoedich, oft ander dinghen")—but not superabundantly (stanza 23). In chapter 9, "On Cattle, Animals, and Birds," the same sense of "well-being" or "well-beseeming" is applied to the depiction of such creatures (stanza 1, marginal gloss). In chapter 10, "On Fabrics or Drapery," this sense transfers to the portrayal of fabrics, the bodies they drape, and the nude forms they allow the viewer to intuit (stanza 1 and marginal gloss). And in chapter 12, "On Painting Well, or Coloring," *welstandt* refers to the optimal state of a particolored cartoon, in which hues are heightened and deepened so subtly anent the ground color that "pro-

155 "The brushstrokes Masterfully and manfully applied, the nudes and other elements laid out in one go, directly on the [under]drawing, and so attentively that from a distance (as it was meant to see by the eye) it had an exceptional degree of *welstandt*."

jection, depth, volume, relief, sweetness, flowing grace, transition, [and] recession" ("afsteken, diepen, verheffen, ronden, soeticheyt, vloeyen, verdrijven, verschieten") become readily observable (stanza 15). Later in the same chapter, the term resurfaces to indicate that *netticheyt* (imperceptibly fine, precise brushwork) is laudable so long as "concinnity" or, alternatively, "coherence" in the sense of visual legibility, is retained from whichever vantage point the viewer selects, whether near or far.[156]

e Leven *and* Gheest

Chapter 8, "On Landscape," adduces the term *gheest*, in stanza 37 (especially the closing couplet), to identify those objects of imitation whose liveliness and changeability make them impossible to picture by rote:

> But were you to test every manner,
> After the life or after [another master's] pleasant handling,
> Constantly practicing on paper prepared [with a colored ground],
> Fashioning leaves with swirls of ink wash,
> Hoping in time to reach a good outcome:
> Yet 'twould not seem, like [drawing] the muscular body, a teachable art:
> For leaves, hair, the sky, and drapery,
> That is all spirit, and the spirit teaches how to fashion them.[157]

"Leaves, hair, sky, and drapery" ("bladen, hayr, locht, en laken") are the respective topics of chapters 8–10, which can therefore be said

156 On *welstandt* as a critical component of drawing after the live model, on its role in producing an *ad vivum / nae*[*r*] *t'leven* effect, and on the status of this effect as both a pictorial mode and a mode of viewing, see C. Fowler, "Presence in Seventeenth-Century Practice and Theory," *Word & Image* 30 (2014): 155–167, esp. 162–164.

157 *Grondt*, fol. 37r–v:

> Al soudemen soecken op veel manieren,
> Nae t'leven, oft handelingh aenghename,
> Ghestadelijck op grondighe papieren,
> Met sap al wasschende bladers te swieren
> Hopend' ofmer al metter tijdt toe quame:
> Doch, ten schijnt niet alst bemuysde lichame
> Leersaem Const: want bladen, hayr, locht, en laken,
> Dat is al gheest, en den gheest leert het maken.

to focus on pictorial subjects that, being spirited in character, must be rendered *uyt den gheest* (from the spirit). Whereas chapter 8 concerns the depiction of "leaves" and "sky," chapter 9, "On Cattle, Animals, and Birds," concentrates mainly on *hayr* (hair) or, rather, "fur," and chapter 10, "On Fabrics and Drapery," on *laken* (drapery). The *Thesaurus Theutonicae linguae* (fol. P3 recto) defines *gheest* as *esprit* (spirit) in French, *spiritus, animus* (mind, spirit, in the specific sense of the mnemonic faculty of thought) in Latin. Kiliaan, *Etymologicum Teutonicae linguae* (148) likewise defines *gheest* as *spiritus, animum*, renders the adjectival form *gheestigh* as *ingeniosus* (ingenious), *solers* (skillful), and *argutus* (subtle, lively, keen-witted), and provides *aerdigh* (subtle) as a synonym. These definitions derive from the scholastic, neo-Aristotelian lexicon codified by Thomas Aquinas in *Scriptum super libros sententiarum magistri Petri Lombardi* (Treatise on the Books of Sentences of Master Peter Lombard), which remained commonplace in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, as the entries in the *Thesaurus* and *Etymologicum* indicate. Aquinas closely associates *spiritus* with the quality of *subtilitas* (subtlety) and, as a result, applies the term to both material and immaterial things, i.e., to corporeal things so fine in substance or workmanship that they appear virtually incorporeal, and to spiritual things whose fineness is yet capable of material expression.[158] *Gheest* and *gheestigh*, in Van Mander's usage, retain this liminal sense of matter subtly constituted, of spirit finely endued with matter: leaves, hair, sky, and drapery are "all spirit" in the sense that their pictorial expression hinges on subtle, lively artifice (in Latin, *argutia*), born of practical skill (*solertia*) combined with ingenuity (*ingenium*). *Gheest*, so conceived, operates in the realm of animal spirits—the *pneumata* that enliven and regulate bodily faculties, such as sense perception, and the cognitive operations of the human mind—and at its subtlest, through the activity of sight, known as the "visual spirit," mediates access to the subtlest spiritual motions, which are almost indistinguishable from the substance and motions of the soul.[159]

158 See, for instance, *Thomae Aquinatis Scriptum super sententiis Magistri Petri Lombardi*, ed. P. Mandonnet and M.F. Moos, O.P., 4 vols. (Paris: 1929–1947), 3:50: "Distinctio 11: De unione verbi et carnis mediante anima."

159 On the three types of bodily spirits—animal, natural, and vital—their kinds and degrees of subtlety, and their relation to the incorporeality of the rational soul, see C. Göttler, "Preface: Vapours and Veils, the Edge of the Unseen," in Göttler and W. Neuber, eds., *Spirits Unseen: The Representation of Subtle Bodies in Early Modern European Culture*, Intersections 9 (Leiden and Boston: 2008), xv–xxv, esp. xx–xxi.

Van Mander's conception of *gheest* thus accords with the early modern lexicography of *gheest*, which hovers between the French *esprit* and the Latin *ingenium*, partaking of the former's connotations of "spirit, wit, vivacity, inclination" and of the latter's of "genius, ingenuity, natural capacity."[160] What distinguishes his usage is the ease with which he folds *gheest* as a term for the faculty of spirit, into *gheest* as an attribute of *handelingh* (handling, manner of hand, mode of rendering). Nowhere is this more evident than in his discussion of the painter Girolamo Muziano, whose landscapes he came to know in Rome (as also through the prints of Cornelis Cort). In *Grondt*, chapter 8, stanza 24 he ranks Muziano's landscapes on a par with those of Tintoretto and Titian, and he later justifies this high praise in "On various Italian Painters, who were in Rome during my time there, between 1573 and 1577," in *Schilder-Boeck*, Book III, where he celebrates Muziano's distinctive manner of landscape painting, his trees above all, whose leaves, distinctively rendered with a signature "fine stroke," closely resemble the "drawn form" (*teyckeninghe*) and "good manner of foliage" ("goede maniere van bladen") of the chestnut tree. Van Mander claims to be paraphrasing Muziano himself, who purportedly stated that these pictorial qualities of the chestnut had made it his chosen object of imitation: "He said, too, that no trees appealed to him more, or had a better drawn form than Chestnut trees, or a good manner of leaves worthy of imitation."[161] It seems clear, then, that Muziano's trees must be exemplary of the "good stroke, for the leaves" that Van Mander lionizes in stanzas 36–37, the rendering of which he ascribes directly to *gheest* and places beyond the scope of rote learning. And yet, on his account, Muziano is heard to assert not only that his singular leafy stroke is like the leaves of the chestnut, but that the natural artifice of the chestnut's well rendered manner of leaves licenses his choice of it as the tree he imitates most closely. It is as if the distinction between portraying leaves *nae*[*r*] *t'leven* and *uyt den gheest* has been somehow elided. The curious logic of this elision arises from Van Mander's conviction that the effect of *leven* (life, liveliness) after which the painter must

160 See A. Marr, R. Garrod, J.R. Marcaida, and R.J. Oosterhoff, *Logodaedalus: Word Histories of Ingenuity in Early Modern Europe* (Pittsburgh: 2018), 181–185. On *esprit*, see Cotgrave, *Dictionarie*.

161 *Schilder-Boeck*, Book II, fol. 192 v: "Hy seyde oock dat gheen boomen hem beter aen stonden, oft beter teyckeninghe hadden als Castagne boomen, en een goede maniere van bladen om nae te volghen." On Muziano's landscapes, his trees in particular, see *Grondt*, chapter 8, notes 37 and 57.

strive is sometimes best achieved by working *uyt den gheest*, especially where leaves (and hair, sky, and drapery) are concerned.

Throughout chapters 8, 9, and 10, it becomes evident that the painter who wishes to portray "leaves, hair, sky, and drapery" must marshal *gheest*, relying neither upon preliminary wash drawings on colored paper, made *nae*[*r*] *t'leven* (after/to the life), nor upon drawings after the manner of masters skilled at depicting such things. Van Mander is making a twofold point, as the next stanza, on tree leaves, indicates: on one hand, leaves, hair, sky, and drapery are too particularized to be captured in a ratio of one-to-one; on the other, they are too fugitive, in that their position easily changes when the wind blows, when the weather alters, when a person shifts position and her/his clothing adjusts accordingly. And yet his opening remark about the kind of *nae*[*r*] *t'leven* drawing upon which the painter may initially feel inclined to rely strongly implies that the picture painted from *gheest* will display many of the features associated with drawing *nae*[*r*] *t'leven*: it will represent leaves, hair, sky, or drapery in a plausibly verisimilar way that simulates the look of images made after/to the life, i.e., in a manner both true to nature and prevalent in effect, as if the object were vividly present to the viewer.

In *Schilder-Boeck*, Book IV, Van Mander often uses the phrase *uyt den gheest* (from the mind, spirit) in association with *nae*[*r*] *t'leven* or, as in the "Life of Cornelis Ketel" (fol. 274v), with allied terms such as *conterfeyten* (portray, counterfeit, often with specific reference to a person's countenance). He clearly saw the two processes as complementary, but his usage also indicates that it was contemporary masters above all who had learned to harness *gheest* as a pictorial resource. The phrase *uyt den gheest* features just once in part one of Book IV, on masters whose lives he wrote posthumously, whereas it frequently appears in part two, "Lives of admired, living Netherlandish Painters," which begins with the "Life of Hans Vredeman de Vries." In the "Life of Frans Floris" (fol. 242v), facility at "ordering and painting *uyt den gheest*" ("t'ordineren en schilderen uyt den gheest") arises from workshop practices enforced by Floris: journeymen painters were expected to follow through on the master's chalk underdrawing; after applying the layer of dead-coloring (i.e., the main divisions of light and dark and the underpainted colors), they then executed the heads, modeling them on Floris's stock of *tronien* (painted head studies).[162] Having learned how to order and paint

162 On the dead-coloring stage of painting, see M. van Eikema Hommes, *Chang-*

on his account, through close study of their master's *ordinantie* and *tronien*, they advanced to imitating him *uyt den gheest* in a confident manner ("hier door creghen sy stoutheyt en handelinghe" [thereby they acquired boldness and (sure) handling]). As Van Mander avows (fol. 242r), if "many of the best masters in every kingdom, land, and principality were [Floris's] disciples," this is because they had inculcated what his workshop regime helped them to memorize.[163] In the "Life of Bartholomeus Sprangher" (fol. 269r–v), Van Mander uses *uyt den gheest* similarly in a telling anecdote: during Sprangher's early years as an apprentice, his then master, a mediocre French painter, ordered him to paint a scene from sacred history ("historie van devotien"); he handed him three prints, asking that he choose one as his template, not copying it but working *uyt den gheest* (paraphrasing it from memory). Sprangher instead responds by painting a *Resurrection of Christ*, designing it after the fashion of his tonal studies drawn on blue paper, in imitation of the chiaroscuro prints of Parmigianino and Floris. The language Van Mander uses to describe this process—"further searching himself to invent something with lights and darks" ("voort by sich selven soeckende, so met hoogen en diepen yet t'inventeren")—recalls Michelangelo's apothegm, cited in the "Life of Michelangelo Buonarroti" (fol. 172v), that one must become accustomed to working "from out of oneself" ("uyt zijn selven wat te maken"), and diverges from the French master's understanding of *uyt den gheest*.[164] In the "Life of Cornelis Ketel" (fol. 274v) immediately after his paired reference to drawing *uyt den gheest* and *conterfeyen*, Van Mander distinguishes both practices from Ketel's conterminous efforts to "paint after his own inventions" ("oock zijn eyghen vindingen te schilderen").

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ing Pictures: Discoloration in 15th-17th-Century Oil Paintings (London: 2004), 13–15; J. Gage, "Dear-Colour: Some Problems in the Interpretation of Layers," in J. Goupy and J.P. Mohen, eds., *Art et chimie, la couleur* (Paris: 2000), 56–59; and N. van Hout, *Functies van doodverf: de onderschildering en andere onderliggende stadia in het werk van P.P. Rubens*, Ph.D. diss., Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, 2012, esp. 39–42.

163 *Schilder-Boeck*, Book IV, fol. 242r: "Maer het neemt uyt, wat Frans al goede Discipulen heeft ghemaeckt: want hy hier in oock te boven gaet alle Schilders, die in onse Nederlanden oyt waren, so dat in alle Coninghrijcken, oft Landtschappen van Kerstenrijck, veel de beste Meesters zijn gheweest zijn Discipulen." On the organization of Floris's workshop, see E. Wouk, *Frans Floris (1519/20–1570): Imagining a Northern Renaissance* (Leiden and Boston: 2018), 161–215.

164 On working *uyt zijn selven*, see section 4.c., "*Uyt zijn selven doen*," *supra*.

In the "Life of Jacques de Gheyn" (fol. 294r–v), Van Mander returns to the theme of the complementarity of painting *nae*[*r*] *t'leven* and *uyt den gheest*: having realized that painting will allow him "to come closer to the life of Nature" ("om t'leven oft de Natuere te verghelijcken") than did drawing or engraving, he constructs a study grid of colors—"various shades, greens, yellows, blues, reds, flesh colors and other mixtures" ("met verscheyden coleuren, verscheyden graeuwen, groenen, ghelen, blaeuwen, rooden, carnatien, en ander vermengselen")—and proceeds on this basis to paint a small pot of flowers, then a fuller bouquet in a large glass, painted with "much patience and precision" ("gedult en suyverheyt"), then a charger at life-size, captured by Count Maurice of Nassau at the Battle of Flanders, and finally, a *Sleeping Venus and Cupid with Two Satyrs*, again at life-size, perfect in the "ordonnance, attitude, proportion, handling, and fluency" of its figures ("ordinantie, steldsel, proportie, handelinghe, en vloeyentheyt"). This progression exemplifies the systematic acquisition of expertise in the full range of *verscheydenheyden* (varieties of subject) that the history painter must master, not least the complex color, luster, and tender pliancy of human flesh.[165] On the rare occasions when Van Mander uses *uyt den gheest* to mean something like *uyt zijn selven maken*, he juxtaposes the phrase with the terms "invention" or "to invent," as in the "Life of Joachim Wtewael" (fol. 296v), where he states that the painter attached himself to a French patron, the bishop of Malo, during his journeyman tour of Italy, painting many things for him, "all *uyt den gheest*, or after his own invention" ("en al uyt zijnen gheest oft inventie").

Abraham Bloemaert constitutes a special case: he himself claimed never to have studied with a good master whose handling of colors and manner of painting were worth imitating, as Van Mander reports in the "Life of Abraham Bloemaert" (fol. 297v). Consequently, his self-won distinctive manner which, punning on Bloemaert's name, Van Mander dubs his "painterly, floral finesse" ("schilderachtigen bloemaerdt"), is seen to derive from three processes of picturing whereby he trained himself. First, during his youth he exercised himself in *conterfeyten*, copying drawings by or after Frans Floris and painting a banqueting scene after Dirck Barentsz. and a kitchen scene with oxhead after Pieter Aertsen. Second, during his apprenticeship with a Master Herry in Paris, who gives him no formal instruction, he

165 On the *verscheydenheden* of painting, see *Schilder-Boeck*, "Voor-reden," fol. * vi r, as expounded in section 1, *supra*, of this "Introduction," "The Intertextual Network of Dedicatory Epistles and Prefaces."

spends two and a half years drawing and painting *uyt den gheest*. Finally, after establishing his workshop in Utrecht, he turns intensively to drawing *nae*[*r*] *t'leven* in pen and ink and colored washes (fol. 298r):

> Very subtle landscapes by him are to be found in the possession of art lovers, comprising peasants' cottages, artful and droll, peasant implements, trees, and plots of land, things to be seen in variety and abundance round about Utrecht, which he recorded (*geconterfeyt*): for he works much after the life, having a very fine way of drawing and handling the pen, afterward adding some colored washes, the end result being exceptionally comely. And just as he is very practiced in every branch of art, so in painting these things he gives them great finesse and beauty, occasionally inserting a bit of sunshine, lowering or fierily sunlit clouds, as the work requires. Herein, too, come cattle, cows, dogs, or suchlike, very naturally done after the life, with a few little histories to boot.[166]

In this extended passage, *conterfeyten* and *nae*[*r*] *t'leven* are used interchangeably, while the reference to gracious atmospheric effects added to landscapes painted from *nae*[*r*] *t'leven* drawings indicates that Bloemaert was used to working jointly *nae*[*r*] *t'leven* and *uyt den gheest*. Moreover, his earlier reliance on *conterfeyten* can be construed as entirely complementary to, if not precisely identical with, his practice of drawing *nae*[*r*] *t'leven*. Indeed, his habit of drawing after drawings and paintings recalls the instructional practice modeled in the "Life of Cornelis Cornelisz." (fol. 292v): Cornelis continually improves his *gheest* and *handt* by diligently drawing and painting various subjects after the life—a vase of flowers, the officers

166 *Schilder-Boeck*, Book IV, fol. 298r: "By den Const-beminders zijn oock van hem seer aerdighe Landtschappen, met eenighe aerdighe en drollighe Boeren huysen, Boerigh ghereetschap, boomen, en gronden, dinghen die daer om Wtrecht seer veel en verscheyden te sien, en van hem gheconterfeyt zijn: want hy seer veel nae t'leven doet, hebbende een seer aerdighe wijse van teyckenen, en handelinge metter Pen, daer hy dan eenige sappighe verskens by voeght, tot sonderlinghen welstandt. En gelijck hy in alle deelen der Const seer ervaren is, gheeft hy dese dingen in't schilderen grooten aerdt en schoonheyt, daer in te pas brenghende somtijts eenighe Sonneschijnen, duyster oft vierige lochten, nae den eysch des wercks. Hier in comen dan beesten, koeyen, honden, oft anders, seer natuerlijck nae t'leven ghedaen, met eenighe Historikens."

of the Old Militia Company of Haarlem, and, most tellingly, specimens of ancient sculpture, the expressive life of which enables him judiciously to discriminate amongst the lineaments of beauty ("het schoonste uyt het schoon t'onderscheyden" [to distinguish the most beautiful from the beautiful]).

The terms *conterfeyten* and *nae*[*r*] *t'leven* are grafted together in the "Life of Michiel Janssen Miereveldt" (fols. 280v and 281r), where Van Mander acknowledges Miereveldt's natural aptitude for *conterfeyten nae*[*r*] *t'leven*, with specific reference to portraiture. His ability to produce counterfeits after the life first expresses itself in his early mastery of *schrjf-const*, the art of calligraphy, which requires the penman to assimilate multiple regional hands (i.e., manners of handwriting)—the Dutch, English, French, German, and Italian as well as the Latin, especially chancery cursive—rather than fashioning a novel script. He then graduates to engraving copies after prints by Jan Wierix, so close to their originals that they, too, qualify as epitomes of *conterfeyten*. Not just prior images but also recognizable *handelinghen* (manners of handling the stylus or brush) fall within the purview of *contefeyten*, as Van Mander strongly implies when he next praises Miereveldt's *Judith and Holofernes*, engraved or, better, "gehandelt op de manier" (handled in the manner) of Anthonis Blocklandt. Thereupon, Miereveldt apprentices himself to Blocklandt, who teaches him how to paint; it is in this context that *conterfeyten nae*[*r*] *t'leven* shades into painting *uyt den gheest*, as the following remark makes clear (fol. 281r): "He followed very spiritedly (*gheestigh*) his master's *handelinghe*, in invention, figures, and other things, as I have seen from various works which he, working on his own ('op zijn selven wrocht'), invented and painted in his youth, and which very much pleased me."[167] Invention on this account issues from *conterfeyten* after Blocklandt or, more precisely, from the assimilation of Blocklandt's hand. The same holds true of Miereveldt's print, *Christ and the Samaritan Woman*, invented by him ("van zijn eyghen inventie" [after his own invention]) but clearly anchored in imitation of Wierix's burin-hand (fol. 280v). (This image, it should be noted, exemplifies the mode of ornate *historie* endorsed in chapter 5, *supra*, in that it situates the principal figures, Christ and the woman, within a mountainous landscape, makes their faces

167 Ibid., fol. 281r: "Hy volghde in inventie, beelden, en anders, heel geestigh de manier van zijns Meesters handelinghe, alsoo ick ghesien hebbe aen verscheyden dinghen, die hy in zijn jongheyt gheinventeert, en gheschildert hadde, doe hy op zijn selven wrocht, welcke my seer wel bevielen."

and hands respectively expressive of speech and attentive listening, and amplifies their encounter by adding numerous witnesses.) Van Mander concludes by stating that Miereveldt, even though he may have missed his true calling as a history painter, has yet shown his mettle as a painter of *conterfeytsels*, "portraits" that counterfeit a sitter's likeness; he thus reveals the "virtues and forceful effects" ("deughden en crachten") particular to this collateral branch of art (*by-wegh*) (fol. 281r). Such *conterfeytsels* can make the portrayed person appear fully present in the way that certain *nae*[*r*] *t'leven* pictures depict their subjects to the life, as Miereveldt's *Portrait of Jacques Razet*, which is "resemblant, fleshlike, and rendered livingly, spiritedly" ("ghelickende, vleeschachtich, en levende, gheestigh ghedaen") demonstrates beyond any doubt. Van Mander's use of *conterfeyten* and *conterfeytsel* derives from the codification of the term *imago contrafacta* to denote a work of art that records a visual fact and fulfills an evidentiary function, verifiably testifying to the existence and appearance of the person or thing portrayed.[168] The *Thesaurus Theutonicae linguae* (fol. K2 recto) defines *conterfeyten* as *namaken* (imitate, in the sense of assimilate to), *contrefaire* (counterfeit) in French, and *assimilare, effingere, and induere simulationem alicuius rei* (assume the likeness of some thing) in Latin.[169]

With specific reference to landscape, Van Mander utilizes the phrase *nae*[*r*] *t'leven* to refer both to the depiction of a view seen and rendered after the life and, by implication, also to pictures made after drawings of such views, in "Lives of Hendrick and Marten van Cleef, Painters of Antwerp" (fol. 230r–v). After saying that Hendrick "devoted himself to landscape and travelled to Italy and other countries where he made and portrayed many things and views after the life which he then later used in his works," Van Mander adds that

168 On this type of image, see Parshall, "*Imago contrafacta*," 556; and the discussion of Cornelis Corneliszoon's *nae*[*r*] *t'leven* drawings, in section 4.c., "*Uyt zijn selven doen*," *supra*.

169 As a category of imitation, *namaken* is bound up with the assimilationist aesthetics of *schrijfconst* (the art of calligraphy), which requires the master calligrapher to subsume his hand into the canonical *handelinghen* (manners of hand)—the various inflections of national hand, Latin Dutch, French, German, etc.—wherein he was expected to be fluent; see W.S. Melion, "Memory and the Kinship of Writing and Picturing in the Early Seventeenth-Century Netherlands," *Word & Image* 8 (1992): 48–70. On the sisterhood of *schrijfconst* and *schilderconst*, see Van Mander's dedication of Book II to Iaques Razet (fol. 59r–v), whose love of *Schrijf-const* is equated with his love of *Schilder-const*, as expressed by the "various learned, artful hands" on display in his painting collection; also see note 30, *supra*.

Hendrick had not actually visited all the places whose towns, ruins, and antiquities he recorded or issued as prints. Instead, he relied on drawings made by Melchior Lorch; in then saying that Hendrick drew "these things after the life, in a most subtle manner," Van Mander allows his statement to apply jointly to the things and views experienced at first hand and to the drawings by Lorch.[170]

Van Mander's remarks about leaves, hair, sky, and drapery recall Lomazzo's similar comments, in the *Trattato dell'arte*, about the sure, spirited, and clever hand, the "singular quick grace" necessary for depicting these things or, rather, their motions and reflective properties.[171] In particular, what he says about hair likewise applies to leaves, drapery, and "cloudes also in the aire": their "lightes, lusters, and turninges up … should not be represented to be seene neere hand, but a far of, without the fine stroakes of a pencel, being heightened and lightened with such a singular quick grace."[172] Van Mander's conviction that *gheest*-infused handling is essential to the proper portrayal of things as various and volatile as leaves, hair, sky, and drapery tallies with Lomazzo's warning against excessively scrupulous rendering, which matches these things' constituent parts stroke for stroke. However, unlike Lomazzo or the Italian theorists who preceded him, Vasari above all, he construes the painting of leaves, hair, sky, and drapery as more *geestich* by far (ingenious, spirited) than the teachable and therefore codifiable art of figure painting.

f Wel schilderen

The terms *wel schilderen* (painting well) and *coloreren* (coloring) are cognates for the Venetian critical categories *colorito* and *colorire*; unlike the noun *colore*, rarely used by Venetian painters and art theorists, *colorito* and *colorire* are verbal forms that refer to the

170 *Schilder-Boeck*, Book IV, fol. 230r–v, as translated in Miedema, ed., *Karel van Mander, Lives*, 178–181: "Hendrick begaf hem tot Lantschap, en is ghereyst in Italien, en ander Landen, veel dinghen en ghesichten nae t'leven doende, en conterfeytende, die hy naemaels dickwils in zijn wercken te pas bracht. Hy hadde doch al de plaetsen niet besocht, waer van hy eenige Steden, Ruwijnen, en Antiquiteyten hadde in teyckeninghe, die ten deele in Print uyt comen: maer hadde veel dingen gehadt van een Oosterlingh, geheeten Melchior Lorch, die langen tijdt te Constantinopel hadde gewoont." On the network of statements, examined in section 4.e., *supra*, about *leven* and *gheest* as sources of *teyckenconst* and *schilderconst*, also see Miedema, ed., *Karel van Mander, Lives*, 4:41–42, 5:92, 5:121–122, 6:47, 6:79.

171 See Lomazzo, *Trattato dell'arte*, 180–186.

172 See *A Tracte Containing the Artes*, trans. Haydocke, 86–92, esp. 87.

active manipulation of tone and hue. Heightened chiaroscuro and saturated color are part and parcel of this manner of painting. As Ludovico Dolce makes clear in *L'Aretino*, terms such as *colorito* also advert to brushwork: "And let no one think that what gives coloring its effectiveness is the choice of a beautiful palette, such as fine lakes, fine azures, fine greens, and so on; for these colors are just as beautiful without their being put to work. Rather this effectiveness comes from knowing how to handle them in the proper way."[173] Dolce insists that brushwork should not be so meticulous as to become indiscernible; rather, it should reveal a certain firmness of hand: "It seems to me that what is needed in this context is a certain proper casualness, so that one does not get either too much beauty in the coloring or too high a finish in the figures, but sees in the whole an agreeable firmness of handling."[174] Although the critical categories *colorire* and *colorito alla veneziana* carry a strong connotation of vigorous paint handling, Van Mander, in chapter 12, stanzas 19–21 (and elsewhere), even while following Dolce, adapts the terms *wel schilderen* and *coloreren* to the usage of Northern masters such as Van Eyck, Dürer, Lucas, and Bruegel, in particular to their coloristic *netticheyt* (precision).[175] Conversely, as becomes evident from his account of Titian's late works, in stanzas 23–25, even the most conspicuous examples of Venetian *coloreren*, marked by saturated hues, strong chiaroscuro, and bold brushwork, can be reconciled with Northern pictorial virtues such as the "fastidious" and "precise" paint handling celebrated in stanza 26 ("een suyver manier, end' een net beginnen"):

> Here I should wish to body forth and place before your eyes,
> O noble scholars of Painting,
> Two opposed yet apposite manners,
> Allowing you to direct your eager senses

173 See M.W. Roskill, ed. and trans., *Dolce's "Aretino" and Venetian Art Theory of the Cinquecento* (New York: 1968), 154–155.

174 See ibid., 156–157.

175 On *colorito*, *colorire*, and *colorito alla veneziana*, see D. Rosand, "Titian and the Eloquence of the Brush," *Artibus et Historiae* 2.3 (1981): 85–96; and idem, "The Crisis of the Venetian Renaissance Tradition," *L'Arte* 11–12 (1970): 5–53. On Van Mander's adoption of key features of Dolce's discourse on coloring, see W.S. Melion, "Karel van Mander et les origines du discours historique sur l'art dans les Pays-Bas au XVIIe siècle," in E. Pommier, ed., *Histoire de l'histoire de l'art de l'Antiquité au XVIIIe siècle* (Paris: Musée du Louvre, 1996): 1–49. On *netticheyt*, see idem, *Shaping the Netherlandish Canon*, 60–63, 72, 78–79, 87, 107–108, 119, 139; and section 4.d., "*Welstandt*," *supra*.

To the one that most quickens your spirit:
But I would yet advise you first of all to make every effort
Through diligent exercise to acquaint yourself
With a fastidious manner and a precise beginning.[176]

The diplomat George Gage, in a much-cited letter to Dudley Carleton, dated November 1, 1617, comments on the close relation between the "neatnesse" and "suppleness" (*morbidezza*) of Jan Brueghel's paint handling, evident in his flower pieces, which show greater "force," in Gage's opinion, than the "cutting and sharpe" floral works of Jacques de Gheyn. He implicitly propounds a *paragone* of Dutch and Flemish painting, centered on the claim that Brueghel's loose but precise manner is best suited to imitating the forceful, lively appearance of nature's floral specimens.[177] One of Brueghel's most fervent collectors, Federico Borromeo, in his *Musaeum*, makes a similar point when he states that Brueghel "imitated not only the colors of the natural world but also its nimble *facilità*," the lively ease with which nature fashions its forms and colors them.[178]

With regard to the title of chapter 12, "Van wel schilderen, oft Coloreren," although the use of a comma followed by the conjunction *oft* (or) indicates that "wel schilderen" (painting well) and *coloreren* (coloring) are being placed in apposition, the hypothesis, put forward by Achim Stanneck, that these terms might also refer respec-

176 *Grondt*, fol. 48v (chapter 12, stanza 26):
Hier heb ick, o edel Schilder scholieren,
U voor ooghen willen beelden en stellen
Tweederley, doch welstandighe manieren,
Op dat ghy met lust u sinnen mocht stieren
Tot het gheen' uwen gheest meest sal versnellen:
Maer soude doch raden u eerst te quellen,
En u te wennen, met vlijtighe sinnen,
Een suyver manier, end' een net beginnen.
Also see the second marginal gloss to stanza 26: "Netticheyt voor eerst aen te wennen" (To start by familiarizing yourself with precise workmanship).

177 For Gage's letter, see M. Rooses and C. Ruelens, *Correspondance de Rubens et document épistolaires concernant sa vie et ses oeuvres*, 6 vols. (Antwerp: 1887–1909), 2:120. On the letter's significance, see E. Honig, *Jan Brueghel and the Senses of Scale* (University Park: 2016), 71; also see P. Taylor, *Dutch Flower Painting, 1600–1720* (New Haven: 1995), 130–131; and C. Swan, *Art, Science, and Witchcraft in Early Modern Holland: Jacques de Gheyn II (1565–1629)* (Cambridge: 2005), 35–36.

178 See F. Borromeo, *Sacred Painting: Museum*, trans. K.S. Rothwell (Cambridge, MA: 2010), 167, as cited in Honig, *Brueghel and the Senses of Scale*, 82.

tively to the two manners of painting defined in stanza 27—the "fine" and the "rough" ("net oft rouw")—deserves serious consideration.[179] Read in this way, "wel schilderen" would denote painting *net* (precisely, meticulously), whereas *coloreren* would refer to painting *rouw*, i.e., more loosely and emphatically. Since Van Mander uses Titian to demonstrate that the latter's method of painting, if properly mastered, involves judgment and understanding, and requires painstaking care (even though it looks improvised), this reading would ultimately circle back to the one that treats "coloring" and "painting well" as synonyms.

Here as elsewhere in chapters 11–14, Van Mander favors the terms *verwe* (color) and *wel verwen* (to color well) over *kleur* (color) and its variants, even though *kleur* shares the same root—Latin *color*—as *colore*, *colorire*, and *colorito*. *Verwe*, as Karin Leonhard has recently argued, designates color in a material sense: it betokens pigment susceptible to natural and artificial processes of production or manufacture, distillation or refinement, compression or rarefaction, mixture or decoction.[180] *Kleur*, on the other hand, designates color in a perceptual sense, as an optical effect that varies according to value and intensity, and responds to contingent circumstances such as ambient light or shade. It stands to reason that Van Mander, having written the *Schilder-Boeck* with *schilders* and *liefhebbers* (connoisseurs) in mind, would concentrate on color as manipulable pigment; his emphasis on *verwe* goes hand in hand with his interest in *handelingh*, the handling of various media, not least paint. In practice, he also considers the optical effects of color but treats them as qualities of *verwen*.

The larger context for Van Mander's lengthy excursus on color is his argument, set forth in Books II, III, and IV of the *Schilder-Boeck*, that just as there were different regional schools of art amongst the Ancients—namely, the Ionian, Sicyonian, and Attic—so now there are three great schools: the Netherlandish, Italian, and Venetian: "For all painting was at first done either in the Hellenic, that is, in the Greek manner, or in the Asiatic: but since Eupompus was a Sicyonian, one set the Hellenic aside and henceforth spoke only of painting done in the Ionian, the Sicyonian, and the Attic man-

179 See A. Stanneck, *Ganz ohne Pinsel gemalt: Studien zur Darstellung der Produktionsstrukturen niederländischer Malerei im "Schilder-Boeck" von Karel van Mander (1604)* (Frankfurt am Main et al.: 2003), 119.

180 See K. Leonhard, "*Verf, kleur*: Farbtheorie und Stilleben im 17. Jahrhundert," in C. Fritzsche, Leonhard, and G.J.M. Weber, eds., *Ad Fontes! Niederländische Kunst des 17. Jahrhunderts in Quellen* (Petersberg: 2013), 55–81, esp. 55–58.

ners, which was (as I deem) comparable to what one now says, namely, in the Netherlandish, Italian, Venetian manners."[181] In the "Life of Jacopo Palma," Van Mander elaborates upon this taxonomy of regional styles, stating that whereas the painters of Florence and Rome are known as "studious practitioners of *teyckenconst*" ("Teycken-const oeffendende studiose"), those of Venice have long been famous as "exceptional colorists" ("treflijcke coloreerders") and "well-coloring Painters" ("welverwende Schilders"), and that in this arena of *schildercont*, Venice is nonpareil.[182] In the "Life of Hendrick Goltzius," he demonstrates how alluring Venetian (and Lombard) coloring is; it has the power to inspire even a master like Goltzius, the foremost Northern practitioner of *teyckenconst*, to refashion himself as a painter on the Venetian model. As Van Mander puts it:

> Goltzius, coming from Italy, had imprinted in memory the fine Italian painting, as if in a mirror, always seeing it before him wherever he went: now taking pleasure in the sweet grace of Raphael, the proper fleshiness of Correggio, the advancing lights and receding, blended darks of Titian, the beautiful silks and well painted stuffs of Veronese, and other Venetians, so that local works no longer satisfied him fully. It was a joy to [other] painters, a source of nourishment, to hear him speak about such things: for his every word was a glowing flesh-tint, a glowing shadow, and [full of] other such rare, little heard-of tales.[183]

181 *Schilder-Boeck*, Book II ("On Eupompus, Painter of Sicyon"), fol. 70r–v: "Want alle Schilderijen waren eerst alleen op zijn Hellatijcksche, dat is, op zijn Griecks, oft sy waren op zijn Asiaensch: Maer om dat Eupompus een Sycioner was, heeft men de Hellatijcsche verlaten, en men sprack niet meer dan van Schilderijen ghedaen op zijn Ionijcksche, op zijn Sycioonsche en Aetijcksche: dit was (nae mijn ghevoelen) soo men nu seght, op zijn Nederlantsch, Italiaensch, Venetiaens, door de groote volcomenheyt, die in zijn constighe wercken, gheschilderde naeckten en anders, te sien was."

182 Ibid., Book III, fol. 187r: "Heeft Florencen te roemen, te wesen t'bedde van de Schilder-const in dese leste Eeuwen, en van soo menich edel Const-rijck gheest? Heeft Room haer te verheffen, dat sy de groote Academie oft School is van alle Schilders, en Teycken-const oeffendende studiose, oft leerlustighe der gantsche Weerelt: Soo heeft geen Stadt haer te roemen boven Venetien, van so veel goede treflijcke coloreerders, oft welverwende Schilders over langh stadich t'hebben gehadt."

183 Ibid., Book IV, fol. 285v: "Goltzius comende uyt Italien, hadde de fraey Italische schilderijen als in eenen spieghel soo vast in zijn ghedacht ghedruckt, dat hyse waer hy was noch altijts gestadich sagh: dan vermaeckte hem de soete gracelijckheyt van Raphael, dan de eyghen vleesachticheyt van Correg-

In closing with four chapters on color, Van Mander accentuates the paradigmatic status of Venetian *wel verwen* and encourages his compatriots to master the art of *coloreren*, on the example of masters such as Dirck Barendszoon, who affiliated himself to Titian; Peter Vlerick, who collaborated with Tintoretto; and Goltzius, who assimilated a slew of Venetian *handelinghen*.[184]

5 Ekphrastic Usage in the *Schilder-Boeck*

The subsequent two sections of this introductory essay explore two further characteristic features of the *Grondt*: the why-and-wherefore of the many ekphrases (verbal descriptions of pictorial images) on which Van Mander centers his analyses of *schilderconst*; and his hybridized conception of history and landscape as mutually entangled pictorial types that engage the beholder by operating at the threshold between visual description and visual deception. To begin, let us consider his distinctive take on the relation between ekphrastic text and image or, more precisely, on the poetics of ekphrastic image-making, both in word and image. Van Mander's ruling impulse throughout the *Schilder-Boeck* is to treat the *artes* (liberal arts) and the pictorial arts of painting, glass-engraving / -painting, and copperplate engraving as sister-arts, and to defend the art of picturing as fundamental, indeed as a crucial source that inspires and instrumentalizes every art and science that traffics in images. In this widest sense, the term *schilderconst* can be defined as the art of image-making, the principles of which underlie both the literary and the visual arts, *rhetorica/poësis* and *pictura*; but *schilderconst*, defined

gio, dan de uytstekende hooghselen, en afwijckende verdreven diepselen van Tiziaen, de schoon sijdekens en wel gheschilderde dinghen van Veroneso, en ander te Venetien, dat hem de Inlandtsche dinghen soo heel volcomen niet meer conden voldoen. Het was den Schilders eenen lust en voedsel, hem hier van te hoore*n* spreken: want zijn woorden waren al gloeyende carnatien, gloeyende diepselen, en derghelijcke onghewoon oft weynigh meer ghehoorde verhalinghen." On the practical and theoretical context within which Goltzius came to appreciate Venetian and Lombard coloring during his Italian journey (1590–1591), see D. Bohde, "'Le tinte delle carni': Zur Begrifflickeit für Haut und Fleisch in italienischen Kunstraktaten des 15. bis 17. Jahrhunderts," in Bohde and M. Fend, *Weder Haut noch Fleisch: Dat Inkarnat in der Kunstgeschichte* (Berlin: 2007), 41–63.

184 *Schilder-Boeck*, Book IV ("Life of Dirck Barendszoon"), fol. 259r and ("Life of Pieter Vlerick"), fol. 250r.

more narrowly, as we have seen, also refers to the art of painting, which is practiced by the mind, eye, and hand in unison, and expressed in and through a wide array of *handelinghen* (manners of hand).[185] As we shall see, Van Mander moves away from the neo-scholastic, neo-skeptical paradigm of the *disputatio artium* (dispute of the arts), substituting for it a kind of *harmonia artium* that embraces all image-based *consten* (arts) and places them *tout court* under the sign of *schilderconst*.[186]

By the later sixteenth century, after the publication of Benedetto Varchi's *Due lezzioni* and the republication of Vasari's *Vite* (1568) under the joint auspices of the Accademia Fiorentina and the newly founded Accademia del Disegno, this ekphrastic practice of comparison across media—both by the artist and by the reader-viewer—had come to be codified as a philosophical exercise. Within humanist circles and academic societies, this procedure, based as it was on examining a topic *in utramque partem* (from this side and that, from all sides), came to be known as the *disputatio atium* or, in Italian, the *disputa delle arti*.[187] The notion that reciprocal contestation is a crucible in which the arts are tested and tempered had a broad spectrum of applications—not only to painting and rhetoric/poetics, but also to painting and sculpture, painting and printmaking, as well as venturing farther afield, to rhetoric/poetics and philosophy, law and

185 See section 4.a, "Key Terms and Categories: '*Schilder*'," of this "Introduction," *supra*.

186 On the origins of the *disputatio artium* in Cicero's *Academica* and its method of argumentation *in utramque partem* as applied to the canonical philosophical schools, see C. Dempsey, "*Disegno* and Logos, *Paragone* and Academy," in P. Lukehart, ed., *The Accademia Seminars: The Accademia di San Luca in Rome, c. 1590–1635* (Washington, D.C.: 2010), 43–53, esp. 49; C.B. Schmitt, *Cicero Scepticus: A Study of the Influence of the* Academica *in the Renaissance* (The Hague: 1972); and C. Lévy, *Cicero Academicus: Recherches sur les Académiques et sur la philosophie Cicéronienne*, Collection de l'École française de Rome 162 (Rome: 1992).

187 The term *paragone*, which is often used to designate the collation of medial forms and functions, dates only from the early nineteenth century, as Dempsey argues in "*Disegno* and Logos," 47. He points out that the *disputa delle arti* was licensed by the analogy presumed to exist, on theological grounds, between the "relation of words to things and ideas" and the "relation of visual forms to things and concepts represented." Moreover, when the ekphrastic text disputes with its pictorial counterpart, or the ekphrastic picture with its textual source, the process of disputation can be seen to express the doctrine that various media achieve mutual perfection through this rational, logos-based process of analytical investigation and comparative scrutiny. They are *contentatione perfecta* (perfected through contestation).

medicine, law and theology, medicine and architecture, or, circling back to the visual arts, to governing principles such as *graphice/disegno* and *colorito*.[188]

Van Mander notably diverges from this mock-combative mode of comparison. The Preface to the *Grondt* sets the stage for the book's approach to the consonance of the arts:

> The very restorative, inspiriting noble art of Painting, the natural nursemaid of all virtuous Arts and sciences (as Scholars well-versed in letters amply know) was once held in high honor and estate by the greatest Lords and men of the highest learning: indeed, so much esteemed by the ancient wise Greeks that in the time of the artful Painter Pamphilus they placed her in the same degree and on a par with the other liberal Arts. But whether in or through this association our exceptional art of Painting now bestows through her worthy presence or company a greater honor upon the other Arts than she formerly received from association with them, what I feel about this I shall gladly keep quiet, that I not be chided by reproving eyes, or badly thanked, and in order not to foment many a dispute. However, it is not to be gainsaid that she is well worthy of the place from which no one has ever cast her out, and that by rights she may indeed be called liberal.[189]

Ekphrases play a major role throughout the *Schilder-Boeck*: Van Mander relies upon them to evaluate the practice of *schilderconst*, pub-

188 On these topical pairs, which were treated dialogically, see ibid., 48.

189 "Voor-reden, op den grondt der edel vry Schilder-const," in *Schilder-Boeck*, fol. * iiij recto: "De seer vermaecklijcke vernuft-barende edel Schilder-const, natuerlijcke Voedster van alle deughtsaem Consten en wetenschappen (ghelijck den letter-condigen Gheleerden ghenoegh kenlijck is) was by den meesten Heeren, en hoogh-gheleerden, oyt in seer hoogher eeren en weerden: Jae by den ouden wijsen Griecken in sulcken aensien, dat syse ten tijde van den constighen Schilder Pamphilus, by den anderen vrye consten in ghelijcken graet oft plaetse der eeren stelden. Maer of nu in oft door dit t'saemvoeghen onse uytnemende Schilder-const, door haer weerdighe tegenwoordicheyt oft bycomst den anderen Consten niet meerder eere heeft toegelangt, dan sy van henlieder gheselschaps weerdicheyt weghen heeft ontfanghen, wat ick daer van ghevoele wil ick geeren verswijghen, om niet met dweersen ooghen te worden berispt, qualijck ghedanckt, oft veel tistenissen te veroorsaken. T'is niet te wederspreken doch, oft sy en is by de ander haer plaetse wel weerdigh, van waer sy noyt van yemandt is uytghestooten gheworden, des sy te rechten wel vry mach gheheeten worden." On the demurral with which this passage closes, see note 42 *supra*.

licize epitomes of the art, and position it in relation to its sister arts. The term *ekphrasis* refers to one of the key figures of speech and thought, which was appreciated as a powerful instrument of affect and argumentation; both functions—stirring the emotions and putting forward an argument—were treated as criteria when comparing the respective merits of verbal and visual description as complementary methods of image-making. In the Pseudo-Cicero's *Rhetorica ad Herennium* (formerly attributed to Cicero himself), these two functions—affective and argumentative—are construed as the figure's most important tasks. The Pseudo-Cicero treats ekphrasis under two heads—*demonstratio* (ocular demonstration) and *descriptio* (vivid description)—consistently attaching it to the arousal of strong emotion and the exposition of consequences:

> It is Ocular Demonstration when an event is so described in words that the business seems to be enacted and the subject to pass vividly before the eyes. This we can effect by including what has preceded, followed, and accompanied the event itself, or by keeping steadily to its consequences or the attendant circumstances .... Through this kind of narrative, Ocular Demonstration is very useful in amplifying a matter and basing on it an appeal to pity, for it sets forth the whole incident and virtually brings it before our eyes.[190]

So, too, vivid description elucidates the outcomes, often adverse, of an action, making them clearly visible, for the purpose of stirring indignation, pity, or some other emotion.[191] Here the focus falls not only on figural action but also encompasses attendant circumstances ("rebus circumstantibus"), i.e., all that which surrounds or circumscribes the action, adjacencies such as the specifics of place and time. Van Mander utilizes ekphrasis in this expansive sense, for the vivid description of persons, things, or experiences, but also in its corollary and more particular meaning of the eloquent description of a work of visual art.[192]

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190 *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, trans. H. Caplan (Cambridge, MA: 1954) 404–409.

191 Ibid. 356–359.

192 On ekphrasis as the description of a work of art or, more precisely, of the speaker's experience of having viewed such a work, see M. Baxandall, *Giotto and the Orators: Humanist Observers of Painting in Italy and the Discovery of Pictorial Composition, 1350–1450*, Oxford Warburg Studies (London et al.: 1971), 85–87, 90–96; J. Heffernan, "Ekphrasis and Representation," *New Literary History* 22 (1991), 307; idem, *Museum of Words: The Poetics of Ekphrasis*

Although Van Mander often elaborates upon critical categories by referring the reader to works of art he has seen, either at first hand or by way of reproductive prints, he prefers to rely on ekphrasis to make these works vividly present; through ekphrasis he not only indicates what these pictures show and how they show it, i.e., their *handelingh* (medium and manner of rendering), but also endeavors to communicate their affective impact—the pleasure, pain, joy or fear they instill by virtue of the act of beholding. For Van Mander, the threshold between the originating image and the ekphrastic description of said image is exceptionally porous. Constituted by the picture it ostensibly describes, the ekphrasis yet appears constitutive of the picture it renders, as if the two media—visual and verbal—were somehow fully complementary. On this account, there is no rhetorical effect that the pictorial image cannot produce, just as there is no image worthy of note that cannot be reproduced figuratively, by poetic-rhetorical means. Even though Van Mander, who was keenly aware of the properties specific to various media, never entirely collapses image into word or word into image, his poetics of the image is expansive: even as it encompasses every pictorial effect, it also acknowledges that there is no poetic effect beyond the scope of *schilderconst* (the art of picturing or, in its more particular sense, of painting). Van Mander's ekphrastic usage presupposes a dialogic relation between text and image, and from there posits the mutuality of the sister arts, painting and poetry, as entirely consonant with the Horatian doctrine *ut pictura poesis*.

Van Mander, in considering the relation between other sister arts, such as painting and sculpture in the round, emphatically eschews the paradigm of the *disputatio atium*, nowhere more explicitly than in the life of the ancient Greek painter Apelles.[193] Here he asserts

from Homer to Ashbery (Chicago: 1993) 191; and J. Elsner, "Introduction: The Genres of Ekphrasis," *Ramus* 31 (2002): 1–18.

193 Van Mander wittily expressed his doubts about disputatious argumentation as an instrument of truth in the Dutch poem he composed to accompany an allegorical print of ca. 1593, *Foolish Discord in the World*, designed by him for his maecenas Melchior Wijntgis and engraved by the workshop of Jacques de Gheyn II:

Door herde bollen met voorhoofen Diamantigh,
(Die altijds 'tis, ten is, den onghelijcken sangh
Vast driven heen en weer, pyck tegen pyck) faelcantigh
De wereldt al verkeert licht droefvigh in bedwangh.
Sulck wil zij meen zy recht, al gaet hy crommen gangh,
Met kracht op zijn ghewis, oock vormen 'svolcks ghewissen:
Waer vreed is, daer is God: maer 't schijnt wel al zoo langh

that the excellence of painting, like that of sculpture, proceeds in lockstep: the two arts, being complementary, achieve their perfection mutually rather than competitively. This commensal paradigm applies across temporal registers, not only in a particular time and place. The perfected sculptural effects of ancient painting—Apelles's ability fully to portray three-dimensional figures, for example—can be matched by contemporary painters, just as, conversely, Michelangelo's superb sculptural works do not so much surpass as match the statuary accomplishments of the Ancients.

> Yes, Pliny says about [Apelles] that not only did he outstrip every painter before him, but also every one who came after. So, too, one reads about no one as exceptional as he amongst the Ancients. Then might one think that his works, were they still extant, and were one to place them beside paintings by painters of our modern age, would be nothing special by comparison. But I should quite beg to differ, since one sees free-standing sculptural figures in Rome, in marble and bronze, so excellent that they can still hold their hard heads against the years. Correspondingly, one has never found it to be so, that painting and sculpture in the round give way, the one to the other: instead, whenever one climbs upward, so, too, does the other not fall; on the contrary, they share a like weight in common. Let us now set our modern, free-standing statuary figures next to the best ancient ones: those by Michelangelo himself would be hard pressed to make them yield in art. Now, from what I have read,

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Als wereldt is, sal m'altijdt 'tis, ten issen.
Een in noodigh.

Hard-headed, with adamantine brows,
(That ever 'tis, 'tisn't, the unlike song
Do stoutly drive back and forth, pike to pike) error-prone,
Under duress, the fickle sad world turns.
Such a one will think himself right, even when he takes the crooked path,
By force of his assurance, the people's sureties, too, take form:
Where peace is, there is God: but it well seems that
So long as the world is, there shall ever 'tis, 'tisn't be mine.
Only one thing is necessary.

In the context of this poem, his motto, "Een is noodigh," taken from Luke 10:42, can be read to signify that "Concord is needful." On this print, see M. Leesberg, ed., *The New Hollstein Dutch and Flemish Etchings, Engravings, and Woodcuts, 1450–1700: Karel van Mander*, ed. H. Leeflang and C. Schuckman (Rotterdam and Amsterdam: 1999), xxxi–xxxii, lxxix–lxxx, 137 no. 121.

> I should guess that Apelles's painted figures were rather better than worse than the best of the ancient statues one still sees.[194]

This is to say that the excellence of Apelles's art was likely on a par with that of Michelangelo (and vice versa), judging from ancient sculpture, which can function, on this account, virtually as an indexical trace of ancient painting. When Van Mander adds, by way of a coda, that Apelles considered himself inimitable for having bodied forth *Venus* (loveliness) and *Charis* (grace) in his pictures, he then offers a contrafactual anecdote: Apelles who, in his overweening pride, was like many an illustrious poet, had in fact claimed to be superior not in kind but only in degree; he thus recognized, though inadvertently, the appreciable grace and charm of his contemporaries' paintings. Typical of Van Mander, the moral of this story, *pace* Apelles, is equalizing: "He wished to say that their works, in the way they were made, had a special, exceptional grace, which his own works had."[195]

The degree to which picturing / painting and poetry are mutually constitutive for Van Mander, in quite a literal sense, becomes evident when one considers his conception of the origins of *schilderconst*, set out in Book II of the *Schilder-Boeck*, "Lives of the Ancient illustrious Painters, Egyptian, Greek, and Roman." The Preface incorporates two sustained ekphrastic showpieces, the first a lengthy paraphrase of Homer's famous description of the shield fashioned by Hephaestus for Achilles, at the behest of Thetis, the second a somewhat com-

194 "Van Appelles, Prince der Schilders," fol. 77r: "Jae Plinius die houdt, dat hy niet alleen alle Schilders die voor hem waren en heeft overtroffen: maer oock alle die naer hem zijn gheweest. Men leest oock nerghens by den Ouden, van geenen soo uytnemenden. Dan yemandt mocht dencken, of zijn dingen, soo sy in wesen waren, niet bysonders en souden wesen, alsmense stelde tegen de schilderijen van de Schilders van desen tegenwoordigen tijt, daer ben ick gantsch van meyninge tegen, dewijle datmen te Room siet de ronde Beelden in Marber en Coper, die tegen de Jaren hun harde hoofden hebben connen bieden, soo uytnemende te wesen. Nademael men ooc altijts bevonden heeft, dat de Schilder-const en ronde beelden-const malcander niet en ontwijcken: maer dat wanneer d'een opgeclommen is, d'ander niet en is ghedaelt, maer hebben gemeenlijck gelijck in waghe ghelegen. Laet ons nu ons moderne ronde Beelden by de beste Antijcke leggen: de Michael Agnoli selve sullen ghenoech te doen hebben, hun in Consten te doen wijcken. Nu soud' ick gissen uyt datmen leest, dat Apelles geschilderde Beelden eer beter als slimmer waren, als de beste ronde, die men van de oude noch siet."

195 Ibid.: "Hy wilde seggen, dat hun dingen hadden van doen een bysonder uytnemende gratie, die zijn dingen hadden."

pressed paraphrase of Virgil's description of the frieze decorating the temple of Juno in Carthage, which showed scenes from the Trojan war (an *aemulatio* of the Homeric showpiece). Van Mander's ekphrasis after Homer serves implicitly to place a Homeric stamp of approval on the various subjects and effects of art designated, defined, and demarcated in the *Grondt*'s chapters on history, landscape, animals, drapery, reflection, etc. In the Preface to the *Grondt*, Van Mander, as noted above, dubs these subjects and effects the *verscheydenheden* (varieties), urging would-be *schilders* to take command of all of them, but allowing that in practice some will be better at one thing, some at another.[196] It is worth quoting the ekphrasis *in*

196 "Voor-reden, op den grondt der edel vry Schilder-const", in Van Mander, *Schilder-Boeck*, Book I, fol. *vi recto: "De selve verscheydenheden salmen oock vinden by den dees-tijdtsche Italianen en Nederlanders te zijn geweest, hier te lang te verhalen: waer by de Jeught gheleert sal wesen, om in de Const volherden, te grijpen nae t'ghene Natuere meest aenbiedt. Ist niet de volcomenheyt in beelden en Historien, soo mach het wesen Beesten, Keuckenen, Fruyten, Bloemen, Landtschappen, Metselrijen, Prospectiven, Compartimenten, Grotissen, Nachten, branden, Conterfeytselen nae t'leven, Zeen, en Schepen, oft soo yet anders te schilderen. Maer boven al behoort oft behoeft yeder op t'uyterste yverigh en vyerigh te trachten, om d'eenighe opperste heerschappije onser Consten tot hem te trecken en te vercrijghen, waer toe men sonder eenigh ghevaer, krijgh oft bloetvergieten, gheraken can, als men maer ernstigh met stadighen vlijt de milde Natuere te baet comt."

(One will also find the same varieties [*verscheydenheden*] amongst contemporary Italians and Netherlanders, here too many to recount: whereby the Young shall be taught to persevere in the Art, to seize that which Nature offers most readily. If not perfection in figures and Histories, so may it be Animals, Kitchens, Fruits, Flowers, Landscapes, Buildings, Perspectives, Cartouches, Grotesques, Night Scenes, Fires, Portraits after the life, Sea Pieces, and Ships, or to paint something else in this wise. But above all, every person must strive with the utmost diligence and zeal to acquire and achieve a singular mastery in our Arts, which he will attain without any danger, battle, or shedding of blood, if earnestly, with constant effort, he but avail himself of magnanimous Nature.)

Van Mander considers history *prima inter pares* amongst pictorial subject categories, precisely because it encompasses all these "omstandighe deelen [der Consten]" (concomitant parts [of the Arts]), corollary to that "most special part," namely, "to learn how to dispose a Human figure" ("een Menschelijk beeldt te leeren stellen"); his alternate term for the "concomitant parts" is *verscheydenheden*, which defines them as varied adornments and amplifications upon a pictorial subject or, alternatively, as themselves self-sufficient subjects; see Melion, *Shaping the Netherlandish Canon*, 1–12. Hendrick Hondius, in *Pictorum aliquot celebrium praecipuae Germaniae Inferioris effigies* (*editio princeps*, The Hague: 1610; *editio secunda*, The Hague: 1618), a canon of artists' portraits based on Hieronymus Cock and Domenicus Lampsonius's canon of 1572, likewise titled *Effigies*, and on Van Mander's Northern "Lives," portrays

extenso, since it enables him to claim that Homer's diction, his power of verbal image-making, like Virgil's, arises from prior experience of pictures that subsume every kind and degree of image the poet could possibly devise.

> So it is indisputable, in view of what the same Homer writes in his Eighteenth Book, that the art of painting was sufficiently well known during the time of the Trojans, for he says that Vulcan had made for Thetis in the shield of Achilles a thousandfold devices / ornaments of Invention, namely, the Heavens, Earth and Sea, the circuit of the Sun, Moon, and Stars, and the various Celestial signs, the Bear, Pleiades, Hyades, and suchlike; then, too, he had fashioned two Cities, with weddings in one of them, and thereby Brides guided by [the light of] burning torches, and people dancing in public, and Matrons looking on, seated at their thresholds, showing admiration in their eyes. Elsewhere People had gathered to hear [lawyers] pleading opposite sides of a death penalty case before the Bench, in which goings-on ('twere too long to retail here), [Homer] says, were such marvelous affects and actions, that in portraying such things the world's best Painter would have his hands full. In the other City, he speaks of many episodes of War, the city besieged, and many [city-folk] taking council, making a raid, setting a trap, while Wives and Children, accompanied by old men, defended the city. The ones setting the trap had Mars and Minerva as their Leaders; they lay [in wait] by a river, where they expected to seize the cattle that came there to drink: there came two Herdsmen playing on their Reeden Pipes, giving joyful pleasure to their bleating Flocks, oblivious to the snare set by their enemies who sprang upon them, swords raised, and took hold of the fat Oxen and white Sheep, killing the Peasant Herdsmen. The besiegers, gathered in Counsel, left their meeting and came hither on horseback, where a great battle was fought, and at play amongst them, Tumult, Discord, and Death: here to be seen were great streams of blood, a varied array of actions and

many of the *verscheydenheden* as fully autonomous specialties, whose skillful exponents are all equally worthy of praise; see De Vries, "Hondius Meets Van Mander," 270–284, esp. 279. Lampsonius had already conferred this status upon landscapes (Patinir, Bles, Matthys Cock, and Gassel) and grotesques or drolleries (Bosch, Bruegel), on which see Melion, *Netherlandish Canon*, 143–145; and Wouk, *"Life of Lombard" and "Effigies,"* 40–42.

apparel. And still did Vulcan (so [Homer] says) fashion a sandy field, thrice ploughed, with earth uncommonly soft and rich, on which many farmers steered their plough-yoked oxen back and forth: to the field's end there came a Man who refreshed their labour with a cannister of Wine. One saw, too, where they ploughed, how the fresh-furrowed earth was browner than [the earth] turned earlier; this was work[manship] (says he) wholly worth the viewing. Elsewhere [Vulcan] fashioned a fertile field full of yellow-eared corn being mown by Harvesters, the heaps and bundles lying thickly piled amidst the peasants: there some bound the sheaves, and youths laid them up in heaps. Therein the Lord of the field, his hand holding a Scepter or staff, doth seem to revel. In another place, beneath acorned oaks, were others who, having been given the task of preparing a meal, had slaughtered the fattest ox and were making it ready: the Women of the household were bringing the workmen their noontime meal and bread, overstrewn with fine grain. And yet did Vulcan fashion in his Godly work a Vineyard filled full with vines, the black of which was made from blue; he encircled the Vineyard with a ditch, and for entry, there was but a single path, upon which the vignerons came and went. There one saw Maidens and Youths bearing the happy vintage in little baskets woven from twigs. Amongst them was a young man sweetly playing a peasant's ditty on a harp, and there were others, too, who kept time, clapping their hands joyfully, and dancing to it. Further along, he had fashioned a herd of fat oxen, their foreheads horned, which came lowing, from out their stalls, into a meadow by a fast-flowing river, its banks reedy; four herders brought up the rear, guarding [the herd], and with them nine dogs, fleet of foot. Two Lions had taken from the edge of the bellowing herd a steer that with louder voice brayed for help, and though the herders gave chase and cheered on their hounds, [the dogs], for fear of being bitten, dared not snap at the lions (which went on eating the steer's innards, and refused to let go); instead, they merely barked, running to and fro. Furthermore, this lame Artifex had fashioned a dale full of white Sheep, also stalls, huts, and other things of this sort. And as Daedalus had formerly done in Crete, in the same manner did [Homer] paint round the beautiful Ariadne a gathering of fresh-faced Youths and fine-haired Maidens, well worth a hundred Oxen, who hand in hand danced a round or a circlet, the youths' garments finely woven, the weave lustrous as if smeared with oil,

the Maidens in long-pleated robes, bearing parti-colored floral wreaths upon their brows.[197] Wearing golden daggers at their sides, the Youths, with winged, well-practiced feet, scampered still and anon, like a potter who every now and then lightly turns his wheel. Sometimes paired, straightway they leapt outward, dancing round the others, and sometimes joined together with them: a great concourse of people stood fast, full amused to see who jumped the finest; amongst them were two others who, to the sound of their fine, consummate song, did somersaults. Now may well be surmised from this Shield that painting was properly known in Trojan times: for what Painter is there who should be able to devise all this or bring it to pass in our time? If one were to say that a work such as this was not painted but graven or enameled, whatever it may be, 'twere impossible to have brought all the things just related into the work if the art of Drawing had not reached a great state of perfection: if its perfection was great, then is it not likely that the art of Painting, already engendered, did exist, as can well be assumed. On the other hand, one reads in the first Book of the *Aeneid* that Trojan Aeneas, coming upon a Temple built in honor of Juno in Carthage, saw there a painting of the siege of Troy, wherein he observed Priam, Achilles, and many others, portrayed after the life, or rather, done in such a way as to be recognizable to him. Amongst various battles and retreats he saw how Troilus unluckily strode forth against Achilles; elsewhere how this same Achilles, having dragged Hector's dead body round the walls of Troy, ransomed it for a parcel of gold; and many other particulars, done so well and so artfully that they did much move the heart of Aeneas, causing a great flow of tears to moisten his cheeks. Now may one avow: "Taken as a whole, this is Poetic devising and no History whereby to offer certain proof, being in nowise more sufficient than the previous tale." This I allow, according to the worthiness of Virgil's poetry. Yet, even though he did devise, such exceptional Poets, attentive to all things, would have considered as well whether in Trojan times, when Troy fell, painting had already been discovered—else might they be censured for thoughtlessness: the same is to be said about Homer. Having weighed this

197 A marginal gloss reads: "Nota: Already before the time of Homer, Daedalus was exceptionally skilled at *Schilder-const.*"

matter, I think that Homer could have written neither so forcefully nor definitively about the arts of Drawing and of Painting, had they not been known publicly in his time or earlier, and nor could he have [written] so widely about them had they not been highly in fashion and in use, at the very least in his lifetime.[198]

198 Van Mander, "Voor-reden, op het Leven der oude Antijcke Doorluchtighe Schilders, soo wel Griecken als Romeynen," in *Schilder-Boeck*, Book II, fols. 60v–61r: "So ist onwedersprekelick, na des selven Homeri schrijven in zijn 18e. Boeck, of de Schilder-const en was genoech ten tijde der Troyanen bekent, want hy seght, dat Vulcanus had gemaect in Achilles schilt voor Thetys, duysentderley versieringen van Inventien, te weten, Hemel, aerde en Zee, den loop van Son, maen, en sterren, en die Hemel teyckens onderscheyden den Beyr, de Pleiaden, Hyaden, en dergelijcken: dan had hy gemaect twee Steden, in d'eene Bruyloften, daer men de Bruyden met brandende toortsen geleyde, en daer men openbaer danssen maecte, en de Vrouwen saten op hen drempels toe en sagen, schijnende aen haer oogen verwondert te wesen: elders waren Lieden vergaert om te hooren eenige die tegen malcanderen pleyteden, om eenen dootslag voor t'Recht, in welke Historien (hier te lang te verhalen) segt hy van wonder affecten en actien, dat den besten Schilder van de weerelt nu genoech te doen hadde die dingen al uyt te beelden. In d'ander Stadt segt hy van veel geschiedenissen van Oorlogen, de Stadt was belegert, en hielden veel raedt van binnen, deden uytval lagen leggende, terwijle dat Wijfs en Kinderen met den ouden Mannen de Stadt beschermden: die de lage leyden, hadden Mars en Minerva voor Leytlieden, en lagen so by een Riviere, alwaer sy verwachten te nemen Vee, dat daer quam drincken: daer quamen twee Herders, welcke spelende op hun Ruyschpijpen, gaven hun blatende Kudden een vrolijc vermaeck, niet merckende op die lagen der vyanden, de welcke met hun sweerden uytsprongen, en namen dese vette Ossen en witte Schapen, doodende de Boersche Herderen: die van t'Leger in den raedt vergadert wesende, verlieten hun vergaderinge, en quamen derwaert te Peerde, waer een groot gevecht is geschiet, daer tusschen beyden hun spel hadden oproer, tweedracht en de doot: hier waren groote bloetstortingen, verscheyden actien en cleedingen te sien. Noch hadder (segt hy) Vulcanus gemaect eenen dreftschen acker, die driemael geploegt was, en was sonder gelijcke sacht en het van aerd-gront, hier op waren veel Bouwers, die hun gekockte Ossen met de ploegen heen en weder stierden: aen t'eynde van den Acker quam een Man, die hun den arbeyt ververschte met een kanne Wijns. Men sagh ooc also sy ploegden, de versch geroerde aerde bruynder te wesen, dan die voor henen geploegt was, dit alles (segt hy) was een werck weerdich te sien. Ter ander plaetsen was gemaect een vruchtbaer veldt, dat vol geel-arige vruchten wesende, worde van den maeyers gesneden, de hoopen oft bossen lagen dicht op malcander midden de voren: daer waren die de schooven bonden, en knechten die de hoopen in leyden: daer was den Heere van't velt, houdende in zijn hant eenen Scepter oft staf, den welcken hen scheen te verblijden. Eenige die sulc last hadden, waren elder doende onder geeyckelde Eycken de maeltijt toe te maken, daer sy een van den vetsten Ossen hadden ten Offer geslachtet, daer sy al aen doende waren: de Vrouwen des

Remarkable is the way Van Mander appears almost to elide the functions of painting with words and painting with pigments, as in the sudden interpolation of the phrase "the black of which was made

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huysgesins brochten den werckliedeu te noenmalen spijse en broot, met wit fijn meel overstroyt. Noch hadde Vulcanus in zijn Godlijck werck ghemaect eenen Wijngaert vol druyven, welcke swart waren van blaeuwicheit, en had den Wijngaert omvangen met een graft, en om daer in te comen wasser maer eenen wegh, daer de Wijnsnijders door uyt en in gingen, daer saghmen maegden en knechten de vrolijcke vruchten in gevlochten wisse korfkens dragen. Midden onder dese was een jong knecht, die spelende op een Herp, soetelijc een Boerigh liedeken song, daer d'ander mate houdende, vrolijc met den handen dappende, op dansten. Voorts had hy gemaect een vette kudde Ossen met gehoornde voorhoofden, welcke quamen al loeyende uyt den stal in de weyde, by een snel loopende Rivier, met rietige oevers, vier Herders volgden om hun te bewaren, met negen snel-voetige Honden, en twee grouwelijcke Leewen hadden aen het eynde genomen uyt t'brullende kudde eenen Stier, die met luyder stem om hulpe riep, en hoewel de Herders toeloopende hun Honden aenhissen, en dorsten sy niet toebijten, vreesende van den Leewen (die den Stier niet verlatende t'bloet en ingewant aten) gesnout te wesen, maer basten slechs wat by, en liepen dan so heen. Noch had desen mancken Constenaer gemaect een dal vol witte Schapen, ooc stallen, keeten, en dergelijcke dingen. Noch had hy geschildert op de selve wijse, dat Dedalus voormaels had gedaen in Creta om de schoon Ariadne een vergaderinge van nieucrachtige Jongelingen en schoon-hayrige Dochters, die wel waren weerdigh 100. Ossen, dese t'samen hant aen hant danssende, maecten eenen ronden ring oft crans: der Knechten cleedinge was van fijn geweef, en blincte oft met oly had geweest besmeert, de maegden hadden lang-ployige keurssen, en hadden op de hoofden verf-bloemige kranssen geladen: de knechten hadden aen vergulde daggen, somtijts met veerdigen wel geleerden voet seer licht loopende, gelijck eenen Potbacker zijn radt somtijts licht om schuyft: somtijts liepen sy gepaert t'samen recht uyt, en maecten den eenen dans op den anderen, en somtijts al onder een vermengt: eenen grooten omstant volcx sagh vast toe met groot vermaeck, wie de fraeyste sprongen dede: daer onder ander twee op hun gesang fraey en volcomen tuymelsprongen deden. Nu is uyt desen Schilt wel te oordeelen, datmen ten tijde der Troyanen van schilderen genoech heeft gheweten: want wat Schilder isser, die dit alles soude connen versieren, oft te wege brengen in desen onsen tijt? Of men nu seggen wil, dat dit werc niet en was geschildert, maer gegraven, oft metter hitten geamailleert, het mocht zijn so het mocht, ten was niet mogelijc alle de verhaelde dingen int werc te brengen, of de Teycken-const en most doe al in seer groote perfectie wesen: was sy in groote perfectie, so ist niet mogelijc of de Schilder-const most mede al gebaert en in wesen zijn, en ooc niet onvolcomen, als wel te ramen is. Ten anderen, leestmen in't 1e. Boeck der Aeneidos, dat den Troyaen Aeneas, comende te Carthago in eenen Tempel, die ter eeren van Iuno gebout was, en sagh daer een schilderije van de belegeringe van Troyen, daer hy Priamus, Achilles, en veel andere na t'leven gedaen sagh, oft so gedaen dat hyse kende. Onder ander strijden en vluchten sagh hy, hoe Troilus ongeluckich tegen Achillem hadde gestreden: elders hoe desen

from blue" ("welcke swart waren van blaeuwicheyt") to describe the blue-black soil, as "limned" by Homer, but also to describe Vulcan's use of blue to render the rich blackness of fertile soil. Equally noteworthy is the clause "as Daedalus had formerly done in Crete," which can be read as a reference to that which Vulcan has portrayed—a round dance performed in Ariadne's honor—and how he has portrayed it, namely, with a painterly skill as great as that of the painter Daedalus: hence the marginal gloss stating that Daedalus was an excellent painter who predated Homer.[199] In this same clause, the shield is suddenly construed as a painted image, the implication being that Homer's ekphrasis describes a metal object fashioned so like a painting that it can be designated as such. The conclusion Van Mander draws ascribes to Homer's ekphrasis an efficacy that wholly derives from painting, even while paradoxically exceeding it, to such an extent that no modern painting imaginable can be thought capable of reproducing Homer's effects: "For what Painter is there who should be able to devise all this or bring it to pass in our time?" But far from invoking the conventional divide between text and image, Van Mander elides these paired terms: in asking who could "devise all this," he leaves open the status of "this," the object of imitation; does he mean Homer's painterly ekphrasis, or is he referring to the kind of painting upon which Homer's ekphrastic display is premised, and without which it could not exist? "This" would seem to denote the nexus of ekphrastic text and image: Van Mander inquires

Achilles, Hectors doot lichaem om de mueren van Troyen gesleept hebbende, dat vercoopt voor een deel gouts, en veel meer ander omstandicheyts, het welc so constich en we gedaen was, dat het Aeneas zijn gemoet so beweegde, dat een groote vloet van tranen zijn wangen bevochtigden. Nu magh men seggen, dit is t'samen al Poeetsche versieringe, en geen Historie, om yet sekers mede te bewijsen, tot het voorige verhael niet genoechsaem wesende: dit laet ick so wesen Virgilij gedichten in zijn weerde: nochtans al versierde hy, so waren sulcke uytnemende Poeten aendachtigh op alle dingen, overleggende of men ooc in den tijt van den Troyanen, doe Troyen onder gegaen was, alree schilderije gevonden heeft, anders waer hy te straffen van groote onbedachtheyt: desgelijcx waer ooc te seggen van Homero. Nu dit overgeslagen, is te bedencken, dat Homerus niet en conde schrijven so heel werckelijck en bescheydelijc van de Teycken oft Schilder-const, haddese te zijnen tijde, oft te vooren niet openbaer en in kennisse geweest, jae ooc niet so heel breet daer van, haddese niet rijckelijc en hooglijck in swang en gebruyc geweest, ten alderminsten in zijnen tijt."

199 Van Mander identifies the Greek painter Pyrrhus as a nephew of Daedalus; see "Van Pyrrhus, de Neef van Dedalo, d'eerste Griecksche Schilder," in ibid., fols. 62v–63r.

whether modern painters are competent to concretize an ekphrasis-like painting, a painterly ekphrasis, like the one traceable from the Shield of Achilles.[200] (And in fact, his answer, as his account of Jan and Hubert van Eyck's *Ghent Altarpiece* at the start of Book IV makes clear, is a resounding yes, given that this epitome of *schilder-const* is replete with the full range of *verscheydenheden*.)[201] Van Mander's version of Homer's Shield of Achilles makes the synergy of text and image, or more precisely, of painterly text and ekphrastic painting, evident in another respect: if the *copia* of Homer's ekphrasis, its amplitude and extraordinary richness of detail, are ascribed to the poet's attentive relation to *Teycken-* and *Schilder-const*, so, conversely, Homer's ekphrastic power proves indexical to the presence of the linked arts of drawing and painting, both at the time he wrote the *Iliad* and before then: "Nor could he have [written] so widely about them had they not been highly in fashion and in use, at the very least in his lifetime." Underlying everything is *Teycken-const*, the art of drawing, which, on Van Mander's view, sponsors the relation between the medium of ekphrasis and the visual media—graving, enamel, painting—that function jointly as ekphrastic subject and source.

Moreover, if picturing and poeticizing are appreciated as mutually contingent, this reciprocal relation is echoed by the implied connection between the ekphrastic trope—the *schild* (shield)—and the process of *schild-eren* (picturing, painting) figured by that trope.[202] The etymology of *schilderen*, its supposed derivation from *schild*, speaks to the way in which the shield-trope, though empowered by what Van Mander imagines as the anterior viewing of pictorial images, tacitly testifies to the actual origins of *schilderconst* in shield-

200 On the Shield of Achilles as an epitome of the relation between verbal and visual description, see A.S. Becker, *The Shield of Achilles and the Poetics of Ekphrasis* (Lanham, MD: 1995).

201 See "Het leven van Jan en Hubrecht van Eyck, ghebroeders, en Schilders van Maeseyck," in ibid., fols. 200v–201r.

202 Van Mander recapitulates the etymology of *schilderen* from *schild* in "Life of Bartholomeus Sprangher, Excellent Painter of Antwerp," in *Schilder-Boeck*, Book IV, fol. 268r, where he comments on the propriety of the surname "Van den Schilde" conferred on Sprangher by the Holy Roman Emperor, Rudolf the II, to mark his elevation to the nobility: "Thus may one now call him Sir Bartholomeus Sprangher van den Schilde, which term 'Van den Schilde' well agrees with the word *Schilderen*, since the word *schilderen* originated from the painting of shields, upon which we have previously expatiated." On this passage and its relation to Van Mander's conception of the court painter, see Müller, *Concordia Pragensis*, 181–185, esp. 184.

painting. The preliminary poem that initiates Book II, "Etymology, or exposition, wherein the word Painter, or Painting, has its source," written in the form of a dialogue between Karel van Mander and his brother Adam, makes this case:

> See, Adam, worthy brother, I surmise that this word
> *Schilder* (painter), or *Schildry* (painting), comes forth from *Schilden* (shields):
> For the brave noble heroes in the battle for Troy
> Did cause their shields to be embellished with fine figural work,
> Likewise the Romans, did indeed hang here and there
> Their forefathers' shields, in public places,
> In the town hall, their own halls, or the temples of their gods,
> In order to memorialize their ancestors' pious deeds:
> For they themselves stood there aplenty, done after the life.
> This *Schilde schildren* (painting of shields), see, has never ceased to be,
> Whereby it followed, came ever more to pass,
> To say *schildery*, and to call us *Schilders*.[203]

Read in light of this poem, Van Mander's paraphrase of Achilles's shield describes the ur-shield whence painting originates (or the meta-shield whereby the origins of painting are discerned), while also providing the evidentiary basis for Van Mander's assertion that painting underwrites the pictorial effects of Homer's ekphrastic tour de force. The Shield of Achilles stands for the origins of painting, without which there could be no ekphrastic shield, but the ekphrasis also licenses or notionally engenders, like a fountainhead, the vari-

203 "Etimologie, oft uytlegh, waer t'woordt Schilder, oft Schildery, zijn hercomst van heeft," in *Schilder-Boeck*, Book II, fol. 58v:

> Siet, Adam, Broeder weerdt, ick achte dat dit woordt
> Van Schilder, oft Schildry, comt van den Schilden voort:
> Want d'edel Helden cloeck van in den krijgh voor Troyen
> Hun Schilden lieten schoon met beeldewerck vermoyen,
> Romeynen insghelijcx, jae hinghen hier en daer
> Hun Voorders Schilden op, in plaetsen openbaer,
> In Stadthuys, eyghen sael, oft in der Goden Kercken,
> Om daer ghedencken by hun Ouders vrome wercken:
> Want stonden veel daer op nae t'leven self ghedaen.
> Dit Schilde schildren, siet, en is sindt noyt vergaen,
> Waer uyt dat is ghevolght, en voort en voort ghecommen,
> Te segghen Schildery, en Schilders ons te nommen.

eties of *schilderconst* to be discussed in Books II–IV of the *Schilder-Boeck* (the Ancient, Italian, and Northern "Lives"), and especially the *vescheydenheden* analogously practiced by the Ancients and brought to a second perfection by the Dutch, Flemish, and German masters: "Animals, Kitchens, Fruits, Flowers, Landscapes, Buildings, Perspectives, Cartouches, Grotesques, Night Scenes, Fires, Portraits after the life, Seascapes, and Ships, etc." Painting and ekphrasis prove conjunctly enabling, the one capacitating the other.

The reciprocally vivifying effects of *pictura* and *poësis* must operate in tandem, in the form of a painterly poetry or a poetic painting. Van Mander was of course aware that in practical terms, the poet cannot paint a picture, nor the painter write a poem, with the possible exception of poet-painters such as the *Poetelijcken Schilder* Cornelis Ketel, whom he characterizes as *sui generis*.[204] Indeed, in chapter 1 of the *Grondt*, Van Mander offers the following advice to aspiring young painters; they should strive to flee *Rhetorica*, the sweet-featured art of poetry, which is otiose and distracts from the "jealously demanding arts of Picturing" ("der Schilder-consten jalousie"):[205]

> Howsoever merry and diverting [she may be];
> Yet I myself have never entirely abandoned her,
> Although I fear she has freely diverted me
> From the Painter's path.
> She is a beautiful flower: were she to bear fruit,
> Or bring wheaten flour into the Kitchen,
> Then might one rejoice to practice her.[206]

204 See "Life of Cornelis Ketel, Excellent Painter of Gouda," in *Schilder-Boeck*, Book IV, fol. 274v.

205 Grondt, fol. 5r (chapter 1, stanza 47, marginal gloss). Van Mander equates poetry and rhetoric in the manner typical of the *rederijkers*, the rhetor-poets of his time, as witness Matthijs de Castelein's theoretical poem *De const van rhetoriken* (The Art of Rhetoric) of 1555, which is in fact a treatise on poetics. On De Castelein's poem, see G. Stuiveling, "Schaken met De Castelein," *Spiegel der Letteren* 7 (1963–1964): 161–184, and the sources cited in note 55 *supra*. *Rhetorica* in this context refers to the so-called *arts de seconde rhétorique*—not the formal and structural principles of argumentation but, rather, the techniques of prosody, especially rhyme, rhythm, equisonance, and, of course, colorful elocution.

206 *Grondt*, fol. 5r (chapter 1, stanza 47):

> De Dicht-const Rhetorica soet van treken,
> Hoe lustich, aenvallijck, soeckt te ontvluchten,
> Doch self en heb ickse noyt veel besweken,
> Maer t'heeft my vry uyt den weghe ghesteken

The poetic impulse must be curbed if, exercised *apart* from painting, it threatens to impede the would-be painter's training or the master's ability to earn a living. But key to Van Mander's cautionary remarks is the alternative possibility he imagines of poetry bearing fruit for the painter whose poetic practice of *schilderconst*—not of painting and poetry as parallel tracks, but of the two together as the "painter's path"—secures both prosperity and joy.

In truth, the *Schilder-Boeck* demonstrates some of the forms that the harmonization of painting and poetry might take. For example, the "Life of Hans Bol, Painter of Mechelen" features an extended ekphrasis of Bol's *Daedalus and Icarus*, painted in watercolor on canvas, which Van Mander had seen in the collection of his cousin Jan (Fig. 4).[207] Taking his cue from Homer's and Virgil's many references to workmanship, he insistently foregrounds the picture's "precision and able handling" ("suyverheyt, en een goede handelinghe"), its "firm and sure manner" ("vaste en ghewisse manier"), the "setting out and working up" of its constituent parts ("aen te legghen, en op te maken"). Here and elsewhere in the "Lives," ekphrasis does more than describe a pictorial subject and the experience of beholding it: Van Mander also conveys how Bol manipulates his media, moving from *handelinghe* to *schildery*, pictorial means to pictorial image, and more than this, he indicates how the making of the image, its made

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Van de Schilder-bane, dat is te duchten,
T'is wel een schoon bloeme, droeghe sy vruchten,
Soo dat sy brochte het meel in de Keucken,
Dan mochte den sin haer t'hanteren jeucken.

Stanzas 45–47, in focusing on the business of art, recall P.C. Ketel's emphasis on the commercial profit to be gained from the practice *schilderconst*, in his "Workshop-Song for Young Painters, after the wise: 'The Lovely May, etc.,'" translated *infra* amongst the occasional poems preliminary to the *Grondt* (fol. ** vi recto); stanza 1 ends by asserting, "Our wish, our desire and hope is to sell." Also see Advantage's promise "to increase your pounds-weight of coin all round," in Ketel's "New Year's Song, to be sung by six personages—Order, Art, Time, Advantage, *Pictura*, and Reason. After the wise: 'Rejoice / in virtue / you Rhetorical Youth'" (fols. * vii verso-* viij recto), also translated *infra*. Ketel was responding to the practical strain that runs through Van Mander's poem.

207 The term used by Van Mander, *doek* (canvas), can also refer specifically to linen; see *Etymologicum Teutonicae linguae*, 90. On Bol's lost *Daedalus and Icarus*, see Miedema, ed., *Karel van Mander, Lives of the Illustrious Netherlandish and German Painters*, trans. Cook-Radmore, 4:210–212. Illustrated here is the version in the Museum Mayer van den Bergh, Antwerp (Fig. 4).

qualities, become legible in and through the act of beholding. And as Ovid, in Book VIII of the *Metamorphoses*, draws a parallel between the reader of the poem and the audience within it, so Van Mander asks us to consider how our astonished viewing of Bol's brilliantly rendered picture, in particular its figures and landscape, is analogous to the wonder shown by the shepherd and ploughman who, from within the image, observe the father's soaring flight and the son's sudden fall. More than simply avowing Bol's ability to translate from poetic text to image, Van Mander makes known, by means of ekphrasis, how such a pictorial image comes to be made in close proximity to the poem that inspired it.

> I have seen in the possession of my cousin Mr. Jan van der Mander, now Pensionary of Ghent, a large watercolor on canvas, the history or fable of Daedalus and Icarus, in which they fly through the open sky, having escaped their prison. There in the water lay a steep rock, overtopped by a castle, done in a way not to be bettered, so subtle and precise was the rock, moss-covered, washed over, so confident the handling of its many little colors; likewise the castle, its fabric ancient, strange, as if grown from [living] rock: it was all wondrously conceived / contrived (*versierigh*). Very well handled, too, was the distant landscape, and the water wherein the rock was mirrored, in whose brown shadows one saw the feathers from Icarus's wings, fallen through the melting of the wax and floating on the water, very naturally. There as well, some beautiful foregrounds, and additional landscape: round about, in front, sat a shepherd with his flock, and a bit farther on, a peasant at his plough, looking up, astonished at this flight, as specified by the text.[208]

208 Van Mander, "Het leven van Hans Bol, Schilder van Mechelen", in *Schilder-Boeck*, Book IV, fol. 260r–v: "Ick heb van hem ghesien tot mijn Cosijn Mr. Jan van der Mander, nu Pensionnaris te Ghent, eenen grooten Water-verwen doeck, wesende d'Historie oft Fabel van Dedalus en Icarus, daer sy door d'open locht hun ghevanghnis ontvloghen. Daer was een Roots ligghende in't water, die een Casteel gheladen hadde, die soo ghedaen was, dat het niet wel te verbeteren was, soo aerdigh en net was die Rootse bemoscht, bewassen, en met haer veel coleurkens, op een vaste manier gehandelt: desghelijcx dat oudt vreemdsche gebouw van dat Casteel, als uyt de Roots gewassen: was wonder versierlijck. Voort was seer wel ghehandelt het verre Lantschap, en het water daer dese Roots haer in spiegelde, en in die bruynicheyt saghmen de pluymen, die uyt Icari vloghelen door het was-smilten ghevallen waren, en dreven op t'water seer natuerlijck. Oock warender eenighe schoon voorgronden, en ander Landtschap: ontrent voor aen sat eenen Schaep-wachter

Typical is Van Mander's use of *bewassen* (washed over) to refer jointly to the waves lapping at the cliffsides and the washes of watercolor applied to canvas, and his use of the term *versierigh* (conceived / contrived) to describe both the rock and its painterly handling. By the same token, these many references to *handelingh* remind the reader, repeatedly, that the ekphrasis responds to a pictorial image and to the traces of pictorial execution legible in its surface. Conversely, the ekphrastic account conjures up this image or, rather, the process that (re)produces it, after the fact, so to speak. The temporal relation between picture and ekphrastic picture is complex, moving from the anterior picture to its rhetorical double, or from the rhetorical picture to the pictorial image, now become posterior to the text. This temporal chiasmus reminds us once again that Van Mander, in his distinctive use of ekphrases, construes text and image as mutually constitutive.

Based in small on the lengthy ekphrastic paraphrases after Homer and Virgil that populate the Preface to Book II, this method of description largely differs from that utilized in Book III, the Italian "Lives," where Van Mander assimilates Vasari's more conventional rhetorical technique. Vasari emulates the ekphrastic paradigm codified by Leon Battista Alberti in *De pictura*, in his description of Apelles's lost *Calumny of Apelles*.[209] Like Alberti's, Vasari's ekphrases focus on composition, figural attitudes, gestures, decorum, and transmission of the *affetti*, rather than on the relation between making and viewing, rendering and representation.[210] Even when Vasari, diverging from the norm, attempts to describe Venetian *colore* and attends to contingencies of setting and circumstance, his emphasis falls on embodied action and affect. Take Vasari's ekphrasis of Palma Vecchio's *Transportation of the Body of St. Mark to Venice* (formerly displayed in the Scuola Grande di San Marco), an abbreviated paraphrase of which Van Mander incorporated into his "Life of Jacopo Palma il Giovane": the winds are treated like personified Winds, the waves like malign antagonists, and the picture as a whole judders no less violently than the men on shipboard (Fig. 5).

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met zijn Schapen, en wat verder eenen Acker-man aen den Ploegh, die om hoogh dit vlieghen als verwondert aensaghen, ghelijck den Text mede brengt."

209 *Leon Battista Alberti, On Painting: A New Translation and Critical Edition*, trans. R. Sinisgalli (Cambridge et al.: 2011), 75–76.

210 On the form and function of Vasari's ekphrases in the *Vite*, and on their insistently literary rather than pictorial frame of reference, see S.L. Alpers, "Ekphrasis and Aesthetic Attitudes in Vasari' *Lives*," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 23 (1960): 190–215.

> There was also an elder Jacopo Palma of Venice, who painted in oil a splendid rare work in the chamber where the Scuola di San Marco gathers, a picture wherein the dead body of Saint Mark is brought by ship to Venice. On one side is subtly portrayed a terrifying storm at sea; on the other, very well done, with the utmost care, ships and barques are assaulted by fell winds: likewise, a group of figures in the sky, the varied forms of evil spirits that blow like Winds round the ship, hindering it and its oars rowed strenuously against the raging waves. Here one sees the diligence and dexterity of the sailors, the violence of the winds, the motion of the nude figures, and the lightning falling from the sky, the water broken by the oars, and the force of the rowers bending the poles, something not to be improved or brought closer to nature: for it appears, in the beholding, that the whole picture shakes and shudders, as if everything painted therein were alive, taking place naturally.[211]

In this passage, references to mimetic subtlety and precision combine with affirmations of verisimilitude, yet terms such as "diligence and dexterity" apply not to the process of painting per se, but to the figures enacting the *istoria*. Throughout Book III of the *Schilder-Boeck*, Van Mander operates in a Vasarian mode, adopting his Italian forebear's ekphrastic usage, with its clear emphasis on narrative action and affect. By contrast, the ekphrases in Books II and IV, the Ancient and Northern "Lives," pay far more attention to the pictorial subjects and elements discussed in Book I, the *Grondt*, which includes chapters on landscape, animals, drapery, the optics

211 Van Mander, "Het leven van Jacob Palma, Schilder van Venetien," in *Schilder-Boeck*, Book III, fol. 187r–v: "Daer is ooc geweest den ouden Jacob Palma van Venetien, desen schilderde van Olyverwe een heerlijck besonderste werck in de Camer, daer die van de Schole van S. Marc vergaderen, een stuck, daer t'doot lichaem van S. Marc wort ghebracht nae Venetien in een Schip. Hier is seer aerdich uytghebeeldt een grouwelijck Zee-onweder, daer oock noch ander Schepen en Schuyten van de felle winden worden bevochten, seer wel en met grooter aendacht ghedaen: ghelijck oock is eenen groep beelden in de locht, in verscheyden ghedaenten van quade gheesten, die als Winden blasen, om t'Schip, dat door de rasende golven met riemen crachtlijck wort geroeyt, te beletten. Hier sietmen den vlijt en behendicheyt der Schippers, t'gheweldt der Winden, t'roeren der baren, en de blixemen uyt den Hemel vallen, t'water gebroken van den riemen, en t'vouwen der riemen van de cracht der Roeyers, een dinghen wesende dat niet te verbeteren is, de Natuer naerder te comen: Want het schijn in't aensien, dat het heele stuck roert en schudt, gelijck of t'gene daer in geschildert is al leefde, en natuerlijck geschiedde."

of reflection, and *wel verwen* (coloring in the sense of Venetian and Lombard *colorito*). Above all, Van Mander attempts to relay "spirited" (*geestigh*) displays of descriptive skill, paying homage to painters' ability to capture fugitive effects, especially the movement of hair, drapery, foliage, and sky.[212] The term *geestigh* signifies liveliness, spiritedness of both the mind and the hand: with reference to acumen and lively wit, Cornelis Kiliaan, in *Etymologicum Theutonicae linguae*, translates *g*[*h*]*eestigh* into Latin as *ingeniosus* (ingenious) and *argutus* (lively, keen-witted); with reference to manual dexterity, as *scitus* and *solers* (skillful, adroit).[213] *Geestigh* has as its corollary meanings *bellus* and *venustas* (fine, graceful, beautiful). Bol's mossy rock, washed by waves, washed by watercolors, is one such epitome of *geestigh* handling, ingenious in contrivance, subtle and precise in manufacture; so, too, his clifftop castle is curious, strange, and wondrously conceived / contrived, so lively, so (in)spirited that it appears to have grown from stone. Steeped in *handelingh*, the ekphrasis articulates indeed operates at the threshold where verbal description and descriptive painting meet, where the boundary between verbal and pictorial image-making blurs.

6 *Landtschap* and *byvoechsel*: Van Mander on Landcape and History, Simulation and Dissimulation

Every Dutch art theoretician of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries responded in some fashion to Van Mander's *Grondt* and his three sets of "Lives."[214] But if the *Schilder-Boeck* was determinative for the treatises on art published in its wake, the reverse is also true—

212 On *geestigh* handling as the *sine qua non* for the lively portrayal of leaves, hair, sky, and drapery, see Van Mander, "Van het Landtschap," in *Schilder-Boeck*, Book 1, stanza 37, fol. 37r–v; and Miedema, *Karel van Mander, Grondt*, 2: 556.

213 See Kiliaan, *Etymologicum Theutonicae linguae*, 148. The *Etymologicum* (Antwerp, Jan Moretus: 1599) is the retitled third edition of Kiliaan's *Dictionarium Teutonicum Latinum* (Antwerp, Christopher Plantin: 1574), on which, see Claes F., *De bronnen van drie woordenboeken uit de drukkerij van Plantin: het Dictionarium tetraglotton* (*1562*)*, de Thesaurus Theutonicae linguae* (*1573*)*, en Kiliaans eerste Dictionarium Teutonico-Latinum* (*1574*) (Ghent: 1970).

214 The recent publication by the Getty Research Institute of Samuel van Hoogstraten's *Inleyding tot de hooge schoole der schilderkonst: anders de zichtbaere werelt* (Introduction to the academy of the art of painting: that is, the visible world) of 1678, edited by Celeste Brusati, translated by Jaap Jacobs, and permeated by references to the *Grondt* and the "Lives," makes patently clear how crucial, indeed canonical, Van Mander's text was to his successors; see

namely, that these same treatises cast light on their originating source, offering readings of the *Grondt* that likewise illuminate his magnum opus for us. Take the painter-art theoretician Samuel van Hoogstraten, whose conspicuous use of metapictorial devices in his paintings, and discussion of experimental conceits in his treatise, the *Inleyding tot de hooge schoole der schilderkonst: anders de zichtbaere werelt* (Introduction to the academy of the art of painting: that is, the visible world) (1678), testify to his astute reading of Van Mander, who was himself a gifted painter whose art and theory fully coincide.[215] As Celeste Brusati has shown, Van Hoogstraten marshaled these devices to display his command of reflexive processes of visual thought that were both the constitutive cause and the deliberative effect of *schilderkonst*, the art of painting, processes he also attempted to explicate in the *Inleyding*. Key to what one might call his artisanal hermeneutics are two devices in particular: first, the threshold frame that marks a painting's dual capacity "to simulate and dissimulate at the same time," i.e., to describe the visible world with the utmost exactitude and concurrently to deceive the beholder into confusing the image of some thing for that thing itself.[216] Van Hoogstraten's feigned paintings—the *Feigned Letter Rack Painting* of ca. 1670 in Karlsruhe, for instance—pictures that pretend to be actual pictures when in fact they are *trompes l'oeil* of such pictures—brilliantly elide this categorical distinction (Fig. 6). Second, there are the *doorkijkjes* (framed through-views), such as *The Threshold View of a Passageway* of ca. 1655–1660, in the Louvre, that articulate a telescoping optical corridor or, better, a multifocal ocular trajectory which viewers are invited to traverse as they look inquisitively first at one thing, then another, pausing to speculate upon the meaning of the relics of domestic life encountered along the way (Fig. 7).[217] Paintings such as these, by extending the "eye's reach like a lens or other optical device," produce an effect of temporal dilation that immerses view-

C. Brusati, ed., *Samuel van Hoogstraten's Introduction to the Academy of Painting; or, The Visible World*, trans. J. Jacobs (Los Angeles: 2021), esp. 4, 8, 10, 15, 17–19, 32 n. 7.

215 On the close fit between Van Hoogstraten's theory and practice as an argument against binary thinking in the study of Dutch art—the tendency to dichotomize questions of meaning and questions of representation, see C. Brusati, "Paradoxical Passages: The Work of Framing in the Art of Samuel van Hoogstraten," in T. Weststeijn, ed., *The Universal Art of Samuel van Hoogstraten (1627–1678): Painter, Writer, and Courtier* (Amsterdam: 2013), 53–75.

216 See ibid., 61.

217 See ibid.

ers in the experience of beholding and simultaneously, by exercising their perceptual and cognitive skills, make them intensely aware of the painter whose pictorial skill has engaged and animated their eyes, mind, and heart.[218]

In the *Inleyding*, Van Hoogstraten utilized many of the critical categories codified by Van Mander—*welstandt, ordinantie, historie, landtschap, reflexy-const*, to name but a few—ingeniously adapting them to suit his purposes.[219] The *Grondt* provided Van Hoogstraten with the theoretical armature whereon he based his own distinctive account of the artifice of painting. Conversely, as it turns out, Van Mander was no less fascinated with the relation between simulation and dissimulation, and his discussion of pictorial desiderata such as the *insien* or *doorsien*—respectively, the view into or through environs leading, often tortuously, to an event or events positioned at some distance from the foreground—would prove fundamental to Van Hoogstraten's conception of what makes a picture alluring and persuasive, which is to say eye-catching.[220] The *Grondt* considers the topic of pictorial deception in chapter 5 on history, chapter 8 on landscape, and chapter 9 on animals, and it is on the first of this triad, "Van der Ordinanty ende Inventy der historien" (On the Ordonnance and Invention of Histories), that I want to dwell in the penultimate section of this introductory essay.

Chapter 5 stipulates that a well-ordered picture must be richly ornate, both copious and varied in its descriptive parts, not least its landscape setting. Midway through the chapter, Van Mander digresses at length on the topic of history-in-landscape, devoting sixteen out of eighty-eight stanzas, by far the largest tranche, to this historical genre or type.[221] By means of *byvoechselen* (adjuncts, additions, appurtenances) such as landscape and its constituent elements—features like roads, rivers, woods, hills, and dales, and the supplementary figures and animals populating them—the histori-

218 See ibid., 67.

219 On Van Hoogstraten's close reading of the *Schilder-Boeck*, see C. Brusati, *Artifice and Illusion: The Art and Writing of Samuel van Hoogstraten* (Chicago and London: 1995), 160, 219, 220–222, 228, 232–233, 237, 265 n. 17, 313 n. 10, 317 n. 39 & 40.

220 On the *insien* and *doorsien* as crucial sources of visual interest in history painting, see *Grondt*, fol. 16r (chapter 5, stanza 12): "Want ons ordinancy moeste ghenieten / Eenen schoonen aerdt, naer ons sins ghenoeghen / Als wy daer een insien oft doorsien lieten / Met cleynder achter-beelden, en verschieten / Van Landtschap, daer t'ghesicht in heeft te ploeghen."

221 *Grondt*, fols. 18v–20r (chapter 5, stanzas 44–60).

cal invention becomes enticing, even seductive.[222] Held spellbound, the eyes are drawn further and further into the image along various routes leading eventually to the embedded figural scenes, the proper histories, which Van Mander, borrowing the Latin term for "goal" or "target," denominates the *scopus*.[223] Whether historical or mythological, these storied episodes, by dint of the *vreemdelijck* (curious) device of having been implanted within their ambient circumstances, are made initially *onkenlijck* (unrecognizable), so that they must be sought out, discerned gradually, discovered like landmarks encountered en route on a protracted and circuitous journey.[224] It is precisely by deferring this encounter, argues Van Mander, that the painter seizes hold of the viewer's errant gaze, steering it indirectly yet ineluctably toward the *scopus* or *scopi*. The term *byvoechsel*, on this account, means something like an enriching ornament that functions descriptively and optically to amplify the historical subject: Van Mander thinks of *byvoechselen* as the chief means whereby *verscheydenheyt* (variety) is conferred on the historical ordonnance. In chapter 8, "Van het landtschap" (On Landscape), he explains how and why the process of amplification that embeds the *scopus* amongst various attendant appurtenances is crucial to producing a persuasive effect upon the beholder. Simply put, such a picture invites the eyes into an immersive, seemingly self-sufficient terrene, what Van Mander calls a "little world," and literary scholars such as Harry Berger, Jr. have dubbed a "second or green world."[225] The

222 A *byvoechsel* is something *bygevoeghd* (adjoined, added, attached for a specific purpose or task). Kiliaan, *Etymologicum Teutonicae linguae*, 54, supplies as Latin cognates: "Adiungere, applicare, adaptare, accommodare, admouere, addere, subijcere." Van Mander introduces the term in *Grondt*, fol. 19r (chapter 5, stanza 45), where he talks about the amplification of historical scenes by means of curious appurtenances designed to arouse the viewer's interest; see 5:45 n. 58 *infra*.

223 Ibid., fol. 17r (chapter 5, stanza 23):

> … dat sy sullen den ghewissen
> Gantschen Scopus hunner gheschiedenissen,
> Als besloten in een Circkels beringhen,
> Op dat also een deel bootsen bevinghen
> d'History, die als t'Centre punct in't midden
> Blijft staend', als Beeldt, dat veel aensien oft bidden.

224 *Grondt*, fol. 19r (marginal gloss to chapter 5, stanza 45): "Hoe dat eenighe hun Historien vreemdelijck uytbeelden, en schier onkenlijck maken, waer van een exempel uyt Sannazarus Poët van Napels."

225 *Grondt*, fol. 37v (chapter 8, stanza 41). On the poetics of the green world, see H. Berger Jr., *Second World and Green World: Studies in Renaissance Fiction-Making* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London: 1988), esp. 3–40, 251–323, 373–

enveloping circumstances mediate access to the *scopus* they do not so much frame as anticipate and at the same time forestall, operating like its extended threshold. Stanza 41 makes this case as follows:

> It were good to know your little stories in advance,
> Whether from Prose, or Poetry, as you please,
> All the better to arrange your Landscape with respect to them,
> But above all forget not
> To place small Figures beside large Trees,
> And, having constructed your little World, place some figures here ploughing,
> Others there harvesting, over there loading wagons,
> Yet others fishing, sailing, bird-catching, and hunting.[226]

The sixteen-stanza exemplum at the heart of chapter 5 takes the form of a very elaborate ekphrasis hailing from Jacopo Sannazzaro's *Arcadia* of 1504. Van Mander appropriates it to demonstrate how an *insien* or *doorsien* is fashioned by means of *byvoechselen* leading, via a richly deflective, multifocal route, toward a reflexive *scopus*—"reflexive" in that it thematizes the pictorial work of dissimulation. The *scopus*, in other words, focuses on the theme of deception. Strictly speaking, the events comprised by this exemplum are poetic fictions rather than histories per se, but Van Mander uses Sannazzaro to model a mode of ordonnance that applies equally to historical

408. The phrase "little world" brings to mind a specific type of miniaturization, discussed by Elizabeth Honig in *Brueghel and the Senses of Scale*, 81–84 and, with specific reference to Brueghel's battle scenes set within vast landscapes, 103–112: an optically expansive view, panoramic in scope, is condensed into a delimited pictorial field that is yet made to extend laterally and recede infinitely; such pictures are absorptive in that they invite the eyes to roam across and into the landscape, and to dwell on multifarious anecdotal episodes, each of which is fully individuated. Honig coins the apt term "probing" to describe this method of historical construction and the aggregative mode of viewing peculiar to it; see ibid., 58, 72–73, 77.

226 *Grondt*, fol. 37v (chapter 8, stanza 41):

> T'waer goet, waert ghy u storyken voorweter,
> Schriftich, oft Poetich, naer u benoeghen,
> Om u Landtschap daer naer te schicken beter,
> Maer boven al en weest doch gheen vergheter,
> Cleyn Beelden by groote Boomen te voeghen,
> V cleyn Weerelt ghemaeckt, stelt hier te ploeghen,
> Daer te maeyen, ginder t'voer op den Waghen,
> Elders visschen, varen, vlieghen, en jaghen.

and poetic subjects (and this holds true, too, for the *ordinantie* of his own paintings, drawings, and prints). We the readers of Van Mander's Sannazzaro-derived text visualize the poet's ekphrastic beholder, namely, the putative beholder who is seen to see the painting the ekphrasis conjures up, as if we were directly party to that beholder's experience of beholding. Not only do our eyes elide into his, but the beholder himself, and we with him appear to vanish into the poetic fiction that presents itself to his / our eyes as if it were no mere painted image but the very persons, creatures, and things themselves, and the small world they inhabit, that stand revealed before us.

To give a better sense of Van Mander's method of achieving the ekphrastic effect of *enargeia* (in Latin, *illuminatio*, i.e., vivid, evidentiary presence, on which I will have more to say in due course), let me track the visual itinerary he maps or, perhaps more exactly, plots in stanzas 45–60. Hendrick Goltzius explored the paradigm of history-in-landscape in a series of large finished landscape drawings executed in the 1590s, around the time the *Schilder-Boeck* was written, so, his *Landscape with Venus and Adonis* of 1596 (or 1598) is illustrated here to model the type of landscape—*vreemdelijck*, *onkenlijck*, *verscheyden*, scopic, and rich with *byvoechselen*—that I shall be discussing (Fig. 8).[227] Van Mander begins by setting the ekphrastic conceit: the narrator Sannazzaro or, rather, his Dutch alter ego, along with several fellow shepherds, is visiting the shrine of the Arcadian tutelary goddess Pales, where, upon crossing the threshold, he sees hanging above them an intricate landscape painting. In it one descries hills and woods overgrown with trees ("heuvels en bosschen, met boomen verwildert"), cows grazing here and there on green grasslands ("weyden in de groene beemden veel kudden verspreyt"), herders milking cows, shearing sheep, and singing to the accompaniment of bagpipes ("eenigh op sackpijpen sachmen daer spelen, ander schenen, wilden oock in hun singhen t'ghluydt nae bootsen").[228] Amidst this pastoral setting, somewhere between woodland and meadow ("bosschen … daer sachmen weyden"),[229] one catches sight of group of nymphs; half hidden behind a large chestnut tree, they dangle an oaken wreath in front of a goat, amus-

227 On this large drawing, see W.S. Melion, "Ekphrasis and Ovidian Poetics in Hendrick Goltzius's *Landscape with Venus and Adonis* of ca. 1598," in A. di Furia and Melion, eds., *Ekphrastic Image-Making in Early Modern Europe, 1500–1700*, Intersections 79 (Leiden and Boston: 2021), 520–621.

228 Respectively, *Grondt*, fol. 19r (chapter 5, stanzas 46, 47, and 48).

229 Ibid. (stanza 47).

edly staring as it tries to gnaw at the leaves, oblivious to the blades of green grass growing at its feet.[230] And while they peer at the goat peering at the wreath, unbeknownst to them a troop of goat-legged satyrs spies upon the nymphs from behind a mastic tree.

The nymphs take flight, swimming to the opposite shore of a nearby river, its banks overtopped by surging stormwater; and panting from their strenuous effort, having reached safety, they look back to mock their would-be captors ("zijnd' over t'water ten anderen boorde, blasend' … hen vervolghers met den werck' ende woorde, bespottelijck verweten").[231] A bend in the same river, and yet another tree—this time a wild olive—leads to the next mythological episode: shaded by this tree, Apollo ostensibly watches over the flocks of Admetus; however, a pair of bulls, their horns locked in greeting, has distracted him, and looking intently at them, he fails to notice Mercury stealing away with the heifers entrusted to Apollo's care ("niet siend' hoe Mercurius den subtijlen, … hem zijn koeyen heeft ontstolen terwijlen").[232] By the river stands a large rock in the shape of a man pointing, the vestige of the old shepherd Battus who was turned to stone for attempting to deceive Mercury, betray his trust, and expose him as a thief ("in een steen verandert, op sulcker ghijsen, als schijnende metten vingher te wijsen").[233]

As trees and a river led from the episode of nymphs and satyrs to that of Apollo, Mercury, and Battus, so large stones like landmarks lead from that episode to the next. Disguised as a herder, Mercury sits on a boulder and plays a rustic flute, craftily trying to lull Argus to sleep before killing him. His ulterior motive is to free Jupiter's paramour Io, who has been turned into a snowy white heifer:

> And he seemed, filled full with cunning,
> To consider how best he might
> Deceive the many-eyed Argus.[234]

On the other side of the boulder a true shepherd, asleep amidst his flocks, lies beneath a high oak tree, his dog sniffing the shoulder

230 Ibid. (stanzas 48–49).
231 Ibid., fol. 19v (stanza 52).
232 Ibid. (stanza 54).
233 Ibid.
234 Ibid. (stanza 55): "En scheen dat hy gants met schalckheyt doordreven / Bedachte, hoe best soude wesen moghen / Den gheooghden Argus van hem bedroghen."

bag he uses as a pillow ("aen d'ander sijde was in slaep ghelegheen, een herder midden zijner geyten onder eenen seer hooghen eyckenboom").[235] The presence of the moon (either Diana or Selene), gazing raptly down at him, identifies this shepherd as Endymion, whose love Jupiter eternalized through the gift of perpetual sleep ("blijd' ooghe de mane aensiende desen, vermoeddement Endymion te wesen").[236]

Close by, beside an elm, yet another shepherd, this one as false in love as Mercury in intention, uses his sickle to carve the name Enone on the tree's trunk. This is Paris, who abandoned Enone, his first love, when Venus, keen to win his favor, promised him Helen of Troy. Van Mander cleverly alludes to his broken vows when he says that Paris failed fully to inscribe Enone's name, having been diverted from his task by the sudden arrival of Mercury with Venus, Juno, and Minerva in tow.[237] The judgment of Paris then ensues: Van Mander construes the judgment scene as the picture's true *scopus*, its chief episode and thematic center of gravity: "This now, that is, the judgment of Paris, is the *scopus* of the history."[238] But, as he soon makes patently clear, the true moral of the story has little to do with Paris proper, and instead redounds to the *Grondt*'s, indeed the *Schilder-Boeck*'s, larger theme of pictorial excellence as expressed in and through technical skill, above all the *schilder*'s ability to deceive the viewer's eyes:

235 Ibid., fol. 19v (stanza 56).

236 Ibid., fol. 20r (stanza 56).

237 Ibid. (stanza 57).

238 Ibid. (stanza 58, marginal gloss): "Dit is nu het scopus der History, te weten, t'vonnis van Paris." Van Mander himself painted a *Judgment of Paris* like the one described here, replete with *byvoechsels*; see Theodorus Schrevelius, *Harlemias, ofte, om beter te seggen, De eerste stichtinghe der Stadt Haerlem* (Haarlem: Thomas Fonteyn, 1648), 375: "He painted various things from his Poetic Spirit. There is still to be seen in our house a judgment of Paris amidst forest greenery, wherein [Van Mander] brings forth the three Goddesses who came to be judged by Paris, along with wood-nymphs, mountain-nymphs, river-nymphs, and nymphs of the stream, all sitting round about as witnesses, in the place where Xanthus himself, the river of Troy, lay, and many other such things plucked from the fables of the Poets." ("Hy heeft verscheyde dinghen gheschildert, uyt Poëtische Geest. Daer is noch van hem een stuck in wesen in ons huys, het oordeel van Paris in de groente van een bosschagie, daer hy in te pas brengt, behalven die drie Goddinnen die daer quamen onder 't oordeel van Paris, Bos-goddinnen, Bergh-goddinnen, Revier-goddinnen, Fonteyn-goddinnen als toe siensters sittende in 't rondt, daer Xanthus selfs de revier van Troien lagh, en meer andere dierghelijcke dinghen gheraept uyt de fabulen der Poëeten.")

But what was very ingenious, pleasing, and apposite,
Worthy to be considered and seen,
Was the great attention with which
This judicious painter of fine sharp wit,
Had made Juno and Minerva to stand,
Each in her person exceptionally beautiful,
Each so utterly perfect that he himself could not
Have presumed to do better.[239]

Now, since he did not know how to make Venus
More beautiful than the other two, as becomes her,
He portrayed these two from the front,
But taking subtle advantage of the situation,
He, a wise artist ("wijs Artiste"), painted Venus subtly, with her back turned,
By this trick of artifice (*list*) licensing pleasure,
Giving one to think that were she to turn herself,
She would bring the others' beauty to distraction.[240]

Landscape supplies the instrument whereby Van Mander arrives at his conclusion, his *scopus*: by stages the eyes travel from bosky hills and grasslands to a meadow beside which grow chestnuts and mastics, then across a turbulent river, before reaching an olive growing near a bend of said river, near to which there stand a stone in the form of a man and a second larger stone, and growing beside them a

239 *Grondt*, fol. 20r (chapter 5, stanza 58):
Maer t'gheen t'overlegghen en te aensiene
Stondt, seer vernuftich, bevallijck, ydoone,
Was de groote aendacht, fraey van ingiene,
Van desen discreten Schilder, door wiene
Daer stonden ghemaeckt, uytnemende schoone
Iuno en *Minerva* elcke persoone,
Soo gants volcomen, als dat hy van beter
Te doen niet hadde moghen zijn vermeter.

240 Ibid. (stanza 59):
Nu hy *Venus* dan schoonder, nae t'behooren,
Als d'ander twee te maken niet en wiste,
Heeft hy, daer dese twee stonden van vooren,
Venus gheschildert subtijl in't orbooren,
Met den rugg' om ghewent, als wijs Artiste,
Ontschuldighende t'behaghen met liste,
Ghevende t'bedencken, mocht sy haer keeren,
Sy soude des anders schoonheyt onteeren.

tall oak, and close by an elm, at the base of which the *scopus* of this sequence is enacted. Each of the places is the locus for an act of viewing: the nymphs' of a goat, the satyrs' of the nymphs, the nymphs' of the satyrs, Apollo's of the two steers, Battus's of thieving Mercury, Mercury's in disguise of Argus, the Moon's of Endymion, and Paris's of Mercury and the three goddesses, this last leading to an account of the Arcadians' and, through them, of the reader-viewer's act of beholding the fictive picture Van Mander / Sannazzaro is describing. Finally, enshrined within the concatenated sequence of places and of acts of viewing—in seventeenth-century parlance, a *catena* or *ketene*—there is the *catena* of themes bodied forth by the *byvoechselen* embedded within these prior *loci*: the satyrs' attempted deception of the nymphs, Mercury's deception of Apollo, Battus's abortive deception of Mercury, Mercury's guileful deception of Argus, Paris's betrayal-deception of Enone, Venus's ruthless deception of naïve Paris (which leads finally to his death during the siege of Troy), and at last, the painter's deception of the beholder, who is tricked into thinking that the painter has portrayed Venus in all her beauty and seductive charm when, in fact, this feat of pictorial legerdemain was beyond his skill.[241] Within this series of deceptions, Endymion, guileless and ingenuous, serves as a *contrapposto* (antithesis) that enhances by contrast the theme of deceit and beguilement. The nature of pictorial skill, then, its deceptive form and effect, is Van Mander's pervasive scopic theme. His presentation of the *scopus* is couched in the pictorial language of the *byvoechsel*—the historical addendum or supplement inserted as an ornament within an encompassing landscape that itself does duty as a circumambient *byvoechsel*. The Judgment of Paris and all it implies about how an historical subject is best ordered and beheld become discernible as a function of the landscape, through the integration of its component parts, which facilitates the spatial and thematic process of enchainment and concatenation we have just tracked. Within this layered, compilatory system, landscape operates as the discursive field wherein a hermeneutic of deception is adduced as the pictorial basis for a theory of historical ordonnance. If ekphrasis allows Van Mander to evoke the enargeian force of a history picture thus ordonnanced, the way in which enargeia here devolves into an argument about deceptive means and ends drives home the point that no

241 On the Latin term *catena* and its Dutch equivalent *ketene*, see Kiliaan, *Etymologicum Teutonica linguae*, 233.

rhetorical figure, verbal or visual, can indefinitely maintain a fiction of presence that does not finally admit to its status as an artifice.

Van Mander's ekphrastic source, as previously mentioned, was Sannazzaro's *Arcadia*, specifically the third prose chapter, which follows the "Eclogue of Montano and Uranio" and precedes the "Eclogue of Galicio." Embedded within this literary picture of verdant woods and hills dotted with "a thousand kinds of flowers," there stretches a concatenated chain of mythological episodes, one scene of deception leading to the next, the entire sequence climaxing with the Judgment of Paris. This final epitome dovetails with the preceding episodes in that Venus, by offering Helen of Troy as a bribe, tricks Paris into declaring her more beautiful than Juno or Minerva; furthermore, Paris, as Sannazzaro implies, will ultimately deceive his current lover Oenone, ditching her for Helen: "Next to him was Paris who with his blade had begun to carve *Oenone* in the bark of an elm, and because of his judging among the naked Goddesses, who were standing before him, he had not as yet been able to finish it completely."[242] The theme of false judgment then allows Sannazzaro to circle round, yet again, to his deceptive theme, by way of a cleverly metadiscursive trope. As Paris judged Venus, so the viewer, if he properly appreciates the painter's skill, will judge the beauty of his picture to be nonpareil: "But what was no less ingenious to the judgment than pleasurable to the eye was the circumspection of the prudent painter who, having made Juno and Minerva of such exceeding beauty that it would have been impossible to surpass them, and mistrusting his ability to make Venus as beautiful as necessity required, had painted her with her back turned, thus with his shrewdness excusing his insufficiency."[243] Sannazzaro would have expected his reader to know that the painter has resorted to a cunning device famously promulgated by the ancient Greek painter Timanthes, in whose *Sacrifice of Iphigenia* her father Agamemnon was shown veiled to evoke the intensity of paternal grief; precisely by not showing the father's face, Timanthes tricked the beholder into thinking Agamemnon's sorrow had been portrayed consummately.[244] The viewer's judgment, in other

242 J. Sannazzaro, *Arcadia and Piscatorial Eclogues*, trans. R. Nash (Detroit: 1966), 44.

243 Ibid.

244 Recounted by Pliny in *Naturalis historia* XXXV.XXXVI.74, Timanthes's ingenious device is also featured in "Van Timanthes, den seer constighen Schilder," in *Schilder-Boeck*, Book II, fol. 70r. As Lorenzo Pericolo points out, in *Caravaggio and Pictorial Narrative: Dislocating the* Istoria *in Early Modern Painting*

words, like Paris's, is deceived by a clever artifice. Van Mander's fascination with this protracted passage from *Arcadia* undoubtedly resulted from its subject—the power of beauty, and beautiful painting, to deceive the eyes and with them the heart and mind of the receptive beholder.

Why, one might ask, did Van Mander devote so much time and energy to crafting his version of Sannazzaro's ekphrastic demonstration piece? The answer is fourfold: first, by generating an ekphrastic account that absorbs the reader into the process of slotting or, better, nesting mutually linked episodes into place within a continuous landscape, he epitomizes what he clearly saw as the history piece's optimal mode of address—it should produce an *ad vivum* or *nae*[*r*] *t'leven* effect that fully draws the viewer into a seemingly firsthand encounter with the pictorial subject. The process of entering into and dwelling within the fiction the painting strives to impart—he calls this self-sufficient fiction a "constructed little world" in chapter 8, stanza 41, as cited *supra*—is the gist of what he tries to convey here. His ekphrasis, like Sannazzaro's, though in a more concertedly instructional way, mainly turns on the second of two definitions of painting *ad vivum* current in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. The first defines *ad vivum* / *nae*[*r*] *t'leven* as "after the life," in the sense of an image made as a function of direct observation, whereby the visual record of the object of sight is seen as authoritative precisely because of the evidentiary method of recording. The descriptive richness of Van Mander's ekphrasis might be said to accord with this sense of an image as closely simulative of nature observed. The second defines *ad vivum* / *nae*[*r*] *t'leven* as "to the life," in the sense of producing an effect of vivid presence, as if one were propinquitous to the represented person or thing. This second sense, in that it produces an effect of real presence, is more dissimulative than simulative. As Sachiko Kusukawa has recently argued, the great naturalist Conrad Gessner attempts to describe this effect when he compares a nature cast to the sort of painting with which the ancient painter Parrhasius triumphed over Zeuxis: whereas Zeuxis's still life of grapes had fooled a flock of birds, Parrhasius's trompe l'oeil of a curtained painting fooled Zeuxis into trying to draw the fictive curtain. Such a painting, as Kusukawa puts it, "create[s] in the viewer's eyes *and*

(London and Turnhout: 2011), 84, Timanthes's *Sacrifice of Iphigenia*, by veiling Agamemnon to convey the intensity of paternal grief, qualifies as a variant of litotes, the rhetorical figure whereby affirmation is effected through negation.

mind a lively enough image of an object such that it would trigger a reaction akin to a viewer perceiving the object itself."[245] Van Mander's Sannazzaro-like ekphrasis attempts to give an account of the engaging effect—at once enargeian and assimilatory—that an history picture can exercise on the beholder when it is painted in a landscape mode.

Second, Van Mander uses the ekphrastic technique of descriptive dilation to reveal how the well-ordered history can induce the viewer to grapple with an enigmatic theme when that theme is fully woven into the fabric of the picture's multifarious parts, in the manner of a well-constructed landscape whose component elements are assembled integrally. His statement midway through stanza 45, "In such a manner that their significance could hardly be guessed," drives home this point.[246] The lengthy ekphrasis compels the reader to track continuously from one linked episode to another, and thereby to consider how and why the journey into and through the image remains coherent *in extenso*, over its considerable expanse and extended duration. How and why do its constituent parts come across as hypotaxic rather than paratactic, integrative rather than aggregative, with the climactic scene—the Judgment of Paris—supplying the thematic hinge that insistently and retrospectively joins every-

245 See S. Kusukawa, "Conrad Gessner on an 'Ad Vivum' Image," in P.H. Smith, H.J. Cook, and A.R.W. Meyers, eds., *Ways of Making and Knowing: The Material Culture of Empirical Knowledge* (Ann Arbor: 2014), 330–356, esp. 336; also see eadem, "*Ad vivum* Images and Knowledge of Nature in Early Modern Europe," in T. Balfe, J. Woodall, and C. Zittel, *Ad vivum? Visual Materials and the Vocabulary of Life-Likeness in Europe before 1800*, Intersections 61 (Leiden and Boston: 2019), 89–121, esp. 110–111. Caroline Fowler, in "Presence in Seventeenth-Century Practice and Theory," *Word & Image* 30 (2014): 155–167, esp. 160–161, extrapolates, with specific reference to Van Mander and fellow masters of *teyckenconst* such as Cornelis Cornelisz. van Haarlem, Hendrick Goltzius, and Abraham Bloemaert, that their shared commitment to drawing the nude model *ad vivum / nae*[*r*] *t'leven* testifies to a new emphasis on producing in the viewer a direct experience both of the model's presence and, paradoxically, of the draftsman's prior unmediated viewing of said model. For Fowler, this experience is multisensory and also phenomenological, in that the encounter with such a drawing heightens the viewer's awareness of her / his own bodily presence. I would argue that for Van Mander, the lively effect of presence issues most fully from an immersive *historie* that encompasses or, alternatively, is comprised by an encompassing *landtschap*. His Sannazzaro-like ekphrasis attempts to give an account of the engaging effect—at once enargeian and assimilatory—that an history picture can exercise on the beholder when it is painted in a landscape mode.

246 *Grondt*, fol. 19r (stanza 45): "Datmen qualijck den sin soude gheraden."

thing together in respect to the theme of deception? The landscape, its natural features serving as signposts, provides the connective tissue that binds the history's figural nodes.

Third, by tracking through the many *byvoechselen* comprised by the history-cum-landscape, Van Mander insists on the importance of copiousness and variety—not only of figures but also of setting and circumstances—in seizing and holding the viewer's attention.

Fourth, he illustrates and greatly amplifies the structural device, described in chapter 5, stanza 12, of an *insien* or *doorsien* that leads the eyes to key figures positioned in the middle ground or beyond. Van Mander's term for the motion of the eyes thus drawn into the image is *ploeghen* (to plough),[247] and he makes clear that this is one of the main devices whereby an history painter can produce *welstandt* (i.e., exercise an opportune effect upon the beholder).[248] The "Life of Hans Vredeman de Vries, Painter of Leeuwarden", which inaugurates part two of *Schilder-Boeck*, Book IV, on living Northern masters, largely centers on that master's ability to paint *Perspectijven* (perspective views) containing one or more *doorsienen*. Van Mander herewith implies that this optical motif is one of the hallmarks of modern Netherlandish art. Typical is his reference to a *Perspectijf* by Hans's son Pauwels, featuring "a [painted] gallery looking toward a courtyard with fountain" ("doorsiende Gallerije in eenen Hof met een Fonteyne"): the picture is so captivating that it impels the work's prime viewer, the Holy Roman Emperor Rudolph II, "to transit through it, as if taking no account of himself," that is, to forget that the perspective view down which he peers is in fact a mere artifice.[249] Only after encountering the painting itself, as a material object, does Rudolf come to his senses, seeing the view for what it is, a perspectival fiction. And yet Van Mander's use of the term *dickwils*

247 Ibid., fol. 16r (stanza 12): "Van Landtschap, daer t'ghesicht in heeft te ploeghen."

248 The remark in stanza 12 about *ploeghen* is introduced in stanzas 10 and 11 by multiple references to securing *welstandt*:

Bevallijcke schoon welstandighe crachten,
Ghy moet noch op verscheyden dinghen achten.

Eerst suldy bevinden uyt ondersoecken
In u ordinancy welstants fundacy ....

249 "Hier volghen nu de levens der vermaerde levende Nederlandtsche Schilders. Het leven van Hans Fredeman de Vries, Schilder van Leeuwaerden," in *Schilder-Boeck*, Book IV, fol. 267r: "alwaer den Keyser als hem vergissende dickwils meende door heen te gaen, en quam dickwils sien schilderen."

(often, repeatedly) stresses that the illusive effect recurs every time the emperor beholds the picture.[250] So, too, Van Mander's ekphrasis is so long-drawn-out that one becomes oblivious to its rhetorical status, construing it not as the verbal account of a painting but, impossibly, as a direct encounter with the fictive world the ekphrasis brings compellingly into focus; or, put somewhat differently, the ekphrasis describes the story of the viewer's encounter with mythical events that are made so vividly present to the mind's eye that they appear actually to have been seen. This is the sort of well-favored ordonnance, the "opportune effect" (*welstandt*) Van Mander here and in chapter 8, "On Landscape," invites the aspiring *schilder* to master.[251] In this and many other respects, he paved the way—I'm tempted to say, "opened up the passageway"—that Samuel van Hoogstraten boldly assayed in the *Inleyding*.

The kind of discernibly artificial yet persuasively illusive optical phenomenon Van Mander evokes, explicates, and endorses in chapters 5 and 8 of the *Grondt* entails mastery of a variety of descriptive effects closely associated with painting *uyt den gheest* (from the spirit), as he argues in the remarkable ekphrastic sequence that closes chapter 9, "On Cattle, Animals, and Birds." *Uyt den gheest*, as we have seen, is the phrase coined by Van Mander to characterize a mode of pictorial invention based on prior visual experience, especially on images imprinted on memory through the action of drawing *nae*[*r*] *t'leven* (after the life, after nature).[252] Like chapters 8 and 10,

250 See note 110 *supra*: the phrase "hem vergissende dickwils meende" can be translated either "often forgetting himself" or "forgetting himself, he often thought." The parallel clause "en quam dickwils sien schilderen" translates "and [just as] often saw painting," i.e., "saw that it was painted."

251 See *Grondt*, fol. 16r (chapter 5, stanza 11): "Of ten sal stracx eenen welstandt ghewinnen."

252 On Van Mander's usage of the critical categories *nae*[*r*] *t'leven* and *uyt den gheest*, and their complementarity, see chapter 2, stanza 15, note 21 *infra*, chapter 8, stanza 34, note 53 and stanza 37, note 58 *infra*, chapter 9, stanza 18, note 19 *infra*, and chapter 10, stanza 6, note 8 and stanza 8, note 14 *infra*. A picture made *uyt den gheest* will look no less true to nature than one made *nae*[*r*] *t'leven*, which generally refers to any picture made in the presence of the object portrayed; a *nae*[*r*] *t'leven* image thus implicitly attests the act of viewing whereby it was recorded. Although both types of image will be convincing in mimetic terms, their *handelingh* (handling) will often vary, especially since foliage, hair / fur, skies, and draped fabric require a "subtle, fine manner, a good stroke," which must be spirited in appearance and cannot be learned by rote, either by copying life / nature or other masters; see *Grondt*, fol. 37r (chapter 8, stanzas 36–37):

... dus waer te raden,

"On Fabrics or Drapery," chapter 9 centers on one of the four pictorial subjects altogether associated with *gheest*, in "On Landscape," stanza 37: "For leaves, hair, the sky, and drapery, / That is all spirit, and the spirit teaches how to fashion them."[253] The twelve epigrammatic ekphrases on Myron's trompe l'oeil cow, an epitome of the *geestigh* (spirited) depiction of a furry (i.e, hairy) animal, that conclude chapter 9 can thus be seen to comment on the nature of an image produced *uyt den gheest* and on its attendant effects, just as the extended ekphrasis on Sannazzaro's fictive lintel painting, a thematic linchpin of chapter 5, espouses the adjacency of history and landscape, exemplifies the structural value of an *insien* or *doorsien*, and licenses the incorporation of *byvoechselen*. Whereas the mythological landscape was comprised by a single protracted ekphrasis, a sequence of twelve synoptic epigrams, linked in tandem, conjures Myron's heifer many times over. The bovine ekphrases differ from their Sannazzaran counterpart in another respect: they attempt to simulate the experience of viewing a trompe l'oeil effigy, restaging the viewer's encounter with the bronze cow, as if it were an actual cow actually present, and yet also a work of art, restored to sight and touch, rather than irrecoverably lost to time, and transposed from ancient Greece to the here and now. The cumulative impact of these consecutive ekphrases insists on the statue's semblance of life and lifelike presence, its convincing effect on all who saw / see it: this is to say that the statue, which stands proxy in stanzas 42–46 for a picture painted *uyt den gheest*, shares two key features of the landscape mode distilled in chapters 5 and 8—conjointly simulative (after the life) and dissimulative (to the life), it draws the viewer in, in the manner of an *ad vivum / nae*[*r*] *t'leven* image. Taken as a whole, these five stanzas cleverly give voice to Van Mander's conviction that such a picture, though it originates from *gheest*, will produce an evidential effect virtually indistinguishable from the one produced by a picture

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Een aerdigh' en fraeye manier van bladen,
Op eenen goeden slach, hem aen te wennen,
Want hier in leyt de cracht, dit moetmen kennen.

Al soudemen soecken op veel manieren,
Nae t'leven, oft handelingh aenghename,
...
Doch, ten schijnt niet alst bemuysde lichame
Leersaem Const ....

253 *Grondt*, fol. 37r–v (chapter 8, stanza 37): "... want bladen, hayr, locht, en laken / Dat is al gheest, en den gheest leert het maken."

executed *nae*[*r*] *t'leven*. Stanza 37 of chapter 8 implies the same thing: in learning to paint "leaves, hair, sky, and drapery" by means of pen, ink, and wash on colored paper, one begins by working after the life or, alternatively, after various manners of hand(ling), but inevitably discovers that merely copying nature or art cannot finally lead to the persuasive depiction of these often fugitive, pluriform, multiplicitous forms. As discussed above, they differ in this regard from the human body, the lineaments of which can be mastered by any draftsman who draws assiduously after a well-proportioned, muscular model.[254] Instead, spirited things are best portrayed by relying upon the resources of *gheest*.

The connotative meaning of *gheest*, as applied by Van Mander in this context, can best be understood by reference to the *Thesaurus Theutonicae linguae*, where *g*[*h*]*eest* is defined both as *esprit subtil* (subtle spirit) and *ingenium acre* (sharp, ready wit), *g*[*h*]*eesticheyt* signifies vivacity, liveliness, and dexterity, and a *g*[*h*]*eestich* person is someone skillful, adroit, diligent, experienced, and judicious in art (Latin cognates: *industrius, affaber*, and *scitus*).[255] This constellation of terms suggests that the phrase *uyt den gheest*, when it attaches to images descriptive of leaves, hair, sky, or drapery, connotes the clever ingenuity with which the painter has managed to capture their lively appearance; visual wit of this sort issues from sure, subtle handling, from a hand as adroit as it is practiced, capable of producing an *ad vivum* effect even while freed from the strictures of laboring *nae*[*r*] *t'leven*. The type of image Van Mander has in mind cleaves close to nature but also reveals the painter's ready wit: originating in industry and experience, it yet appears subtly quick and skillful. The twelve ekphrases on Myron's heifer play upon this curious amalgam of mutually disparate criteria—industry and ingenuity, diligence and skill, wit and judgment—by calling attention to the sculptor's ability to operate at the threshold between nature and artifice. They were partially adapted from the set excerpted and translated from the *Greek Anthology* by Pierre Ronsard in his "Traduction de quelques épigrammes grecs, sur la *Jenisse d'aerain* de Myron, excellentement bien gravé."[256] On one hand, the ekphrases declare that Myron has sculpted (or, to use Ronsard's more pictorial term,

254 Ibid., fol. 37r (chapter 8, stanza 37): "Yet 'twould not seem, like [drawing] the muscular body, a teachable art" ("Doch, ten schijnt niet alst bemuysde lichame / Leersaem Const"). Also see notes 156 and 251 *supra*.

255 See *Thesaurus Theutonicae linguae*, fol. P3 recto. Also see section 4e, "*Leven* and *Gheest*," of the introductory essay *supra*.

256 See Pierre Ronsard, *Continuation des Amours* (Paris: Vincent Certenas, 1555), 53–55. Ronsard chose epigrams from the first sequence of thirty on Myron's

"engraved") the image of a cow so true to nature, so convincing that it deceives men and beasts. On the other hand, they repeatedly round upon this claim, emphasizing that the cow is nothing more than an image, a consummate trompe l'oeil, an illusion by turns admirable and fit to be punctured.

The artifice of the ekphrases themselves, the "full complement of twelve" (to quote Van Mander) that convert the single image of a cow into a seeming herd of twelve, speaks to his dual conceit that this cow / these cows are creatures of nature *and* works of art. Several ekphrases convert the conceit into a paradox.[257] Ekphrasis 2, "No image of a cow am I," has the heifer speak as if Myron were ventriloquizing her: she at first asseverates that she is no mere image but then announces, almost in the same breath, that she is stilled rather than alive, more sculpture than cow, her feet having been anchored to a stone base by the vengeful sculptor.[258] Ekphrasis 3, "What's worthy of note," turns on an enthymematic absurdity: if this is "no concocted image," then Myron must be a cowherd, the cow apt for the plough.[259] Ekphrasis 6, "Even though Myron did cast me," opens with the cow's admission that she is indeed fashioned from bronze and closes by asking us to imagine how she might have bellowed like a bull, her sex somehow changed, had Myron given her a tongue, which of course he did not.[260] Ekphrasis 7, "A wasp, seeing this cow," recounts the deception of a wasp that stung the cow's hide and discovered it to be hard as bronze.[261] Ekphrasis 9, "Why, Calf, do you creep," chides a calf for sidling up to a cow whose udder, made by art

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heifer, in *The Greek Anthology*; see *The Greek Anthology*, 5 vols. (London: 1948), trans. W.R. Paton III, 3:392–403, epigrams 713–742.

257 *Grondt*, fol. 41v (chapter 9, stanza 42): "… uyt een heel dousijne."

258 Ibid., fols. 41v–42r (stanza 43):

Gheen Koe-beeldt ben ick, maer Myron my stelde,
Op desen steen vast, uyt spijtich misnoeghen,
Om dat ick afsnoeyde zijn gras ten velde.

259 Ibid., fol. 42r (stanza 43):

Den Koeyer Myrons Koe ben ick wat ghelde,
En gheen versiert Beelde, dus wilt u voeghen,
Te Prick'len mijn lancken, en leydt my ploeghen.

260 Ibid. (stanza 44):

Al heeft my Myron van coper gaen bouwen,
En hier op ghestelt, ick brulded' en songhe
Als Stier, had hy my slechs ghemaeckt een tonghe.

261 Ibid.:

Een Wesp dees Koe siende was uytghestreken,
K'heb (seyse) noyt harder Koe-huyt ghesteken.

rather than nature, is empty of milk.[262] Ekphrasis 10, "Why, Myron, do you hold me fast," reverts, like ekphrasis 1, to the trope of the stony base that hinders the bronze cow from ploughing the farmer's fallow fields.[263] Ekphrasis 11, "Unless a person were to touch," puts the look and feel of the cow in opposition: whereas the cow appears real to the eyes, her hard bronze body becomes apparent to the hands of whoever touches it.[264] Ekphrasis 12, "Myron does not quickly dislodge," reminds the viewer that the cow, while she stands anchored to her plinth, remains materially dead as any statue, whatever its appearance to the contrary; only were it possible for Myron to set her freely grazing amidst other cows (namely, the other cows populating this epigrammatic herd) could she be seen as truly alive rather than a sculptural illusion of life.[265]

In his study of ekphrastic epigram in the *Palatine Anthology*, focusing on the thirty-six epigrams on Myron's cow, Michael Squire argues that the "medial lability" of the bronze heifer—its recurrent quality of shuttling between the natural and the sculptural—functions in analogy to the metadiscursive character of these epigrammatic ekphrases: they purport vividly to recapture the experience of viewing Myron's "living" cow but in fact call that experience into question by attesting to their own irrefutably literary ontology.[266] The epigrams claim to derive from inscriptions in bronze (hence, the frequent use of first-person voice), but their transposition into a more purely literary form, a sequential anthology of

262 Ibid. (stanza 45):
T'wy comdy Calf nae mijn spenen ghecropen,
De Const wou mijnen uyr gheen melck verleenen.

263 Ibid.:
Waerom houdt ghy, Myron, op desen steenen
Voet my ghevaen? Ghy hadt my moghen jocken,
Soo hadt ick door u landt den ploegh ghetrocken.

264 Ibid. (stanza 46):
Behoudens men niet met handen en taste
Op mijnen ruggh', men mach my nae begheeren,
Van verr' en by aensien, men sal van vaste
Coper te zijn niet legghen my te laste.

265 Ibid.:
Wil Myron mijn voeten niet haestich weeren
Van desen pijler, ick en mach ontbeeren
De doot niet, maer wilt hy my hier ontboeyen,
Ick loop in de bloemen, als ander Koeyen.

266 See M. Squire, "Making Myron's Cow Moo? Ecphrastic Epigram and the Poetics of Simulation," *American Journal of Philology* 131 (2010): 589–634, esp. 612–616.

correspondent epigrams, belies their monumental origins, exposing the epigram's generic conceits. "The mimetic power of the images frames (and is framed by) reflection about the comparative mimetic resources of words," so that the τέχνη (technē) of the sculptor comes to stand for the τέχνη of the poet; Myron's ability to bring a bronze cow fully to life is echoed by the poet's ability to make a silent image speak the words incised somewhere upon or beside it.[267] But just as the "promise and failure of Myron's naturalistic cow" controverts the illusion of life, exposing it as a trompe l'oeil effect, so the epigram's ekphrastic power is shown to be a purely rhetorical ploy.[268] Squire's analogy is easily reversible: the promise and failure of the ekphrastic epigram reveal the medial artifice of Myron's heifer and its illusory hold on life. The contradictory wit of the twelve epigrams, their assertions of life held in suspense by their apparent artifice, serve to reveal how the simulative and dissimulative functions of Myron's sculpture jointly manifest, tussling for the upper hand.

The quality of suspension just mentioned, based as it is on an apposition of nature and art that gives saliency to both factors, applies equally to the range of *uyt den gheest* images under discussion. Appreciated in this way, the epigrams redound to the peculiar status of animals painted *uyt den gheest* (and by extension, also to landscape and drapery). Their *ad vivum* / *nae*[*r*] *t'leven* appearance can be seen as analogous to the unmediated effect of nature evinced by the epigrams and ascribed by them to Myron's moo-cow, but it can also be recognized as a veracious fiction reducible to a trompe l'oeil effect, again like the sculpted cow and the epigrams evocative of it. This is because such images of animals, more particularly of their distinctive furry coats, are, if handled rightly, pure expressions of *gheest*. They look natural but emanate from a confluence of wit, ingenuity, skill, industry, experience, and subtlety, which is to say, from a ready spirit and a practiced, spirited hand. Stanza 47 and its marginal gloss drive home this point about the look of animals sourced from *gheest*: even when painting "monsters and dragons" ("monsters en draken"), the painter must not seem to stray from nature, but be that as it may, these animals must also be "subtly rendered" ("aerdich ghehandelt"), identifiably creatures of art.[269] They walk the line between

267 Ibid., 612.

268 Ibid., 616.

269 *Grondt*, fol. 42r (chapter 9, stanza 47):

> … maer om verafgrijsen,
> Monsters en Draken, niet beters dan wijsen

leven and *gheest*: "There's nothing better than to paint all things after the life, and above all, to render everything subtly."[270] Throughout chapter 8, as previously noted, Van Mander emphasizes that artifice can be a natural phenomenon: in discussing *uyt den gheest*, however, he does something different; refusing to elide or harmonize the terms "nature" and "art," *leven* and *gheest*, he places them side by side and demonstrates how they can be seen to work concurrently, in discrete conjunction, and to produce a mimetic effect at once utterly persuasive and ingeniously contrived. Playing at the threshold between simulation of dissimulation, Van Mander brilliantly paves the way for his beneficiary Van Hoogstraten.[271]

7 Précis: The Poem's Fourteen Chapters

Chapter 1, titled "Exhortatie, oft Vermaninghe" (Exhortation, or Admonition), is one of the longest of the *Grondt*'s fourteen chapters.[272] Van Mander speaks in the voice of a practiced painter, well versed in the ways of the painter's workshop, attuned to the social mores of "Const-liefdigh … beminders" (art-loving enthusiasts, v. 24), pragmatic about the need to earn a living, and yet steeped in ancient and modern poetry, unhesitating in his assumption that his read-

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U totter Natuer, om niet te verdwalen,
Waer ghy eenich patroon meught achterhalen,
Merckt hoe elck light, loopt, stapt, oft wandelt,
Maer maeckt dat alles zy aerdich ghehandelt.

According to the *Thesaurus Theutonicae linguae*, fol. B1 verso, the term *aerdt* can also signify "naturel de quelque chose," i.e., that which is natural to a person or thing, and, taken more broadly, *natura*, i.e., Nature or the nature, course, or order of things. In stanza 47, this other sense of *aerdich* is implicit though corollary to the primary sense of "subtle" or "ingenious."

270 Ibid. (stanza 47, marginal gloss): "Datter niet beter en is, als alle dinghen nae t'leven te schilderen, merckende op alle action, en bysonder aerdich te handelen."

271 Van Mander, in *Grondt*, fol. 46v (chapter 12, stanza 2), alludes to the seductive properties of *schilderconst* by associating *wel verwen* (the art of coloring well) with Pandora, fashioned by Vulcan and enlivened by Jupiter to allure and entrap humankind. On this evocative analogy, see chapter 12, note 4, *infra*.

272 The longest, at eighty-eight stanzas, is chapter 5, "Van der Ordinanty ende Inventy der Historien" (On the Ordonnance and Invention of Histories). Throughout this final section, I italicize key critical categories in Dutch, using quotation marks for corollary terminology.

ers will be as familiar with Ovid's *Metamorphoses* as with Ludovico Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso*. Practitioners of *Pictura* (the arts of picturing, especially painting) are gifted by Nature with native ability, which inclines them irresistibly to fashion innumerable mental images, "inbeeldinghen ontallijck" (numberless interior images, v. 10). These images "leven," they live in "gheest, sin en gheneghen" (thought, spirit, and affection, v. 10), which is to say that they are rational, animated, and emotive, issuing respectively from the faculties of mind, heart, and will. But for Van Mander, native ability is a prerequisite that leads nowhere if it is not assiduously honed by years of training: as he puts it, *schilderconst* is not "elcken te ghebiede" (biddable to all, v. 3), not even to those whom Nature inclines from a young age to take up "alle Const … ghereetschappen" (tools of every Art). Nature will have prompted them, as children, to draw, but if they fail to cultivate that prompting, and neglect to exercise the stylus and the brush, then their childhood promise and youthful ambition will come to naught. Prospective painters must flee idleness and, above all, the idle pursuit of "Bacchi cruyck en Cupidinis schichten" (Bacchus's jug and Cupid's darts, v. 13), i.e., drink and carnal desire, and their side effects, insobriety and irascibility.

Throughout chapter 1, the complementary relation between "Const en Ambacht" (Art and Trade, v. 5) is taken for granted. An inclination toward the visual arts or trades is a gift of Nature, for which the recipient must be thankful, and manual proficiency undergirds the practice of both the painter and the artisan. *Schilderconst*, like any "Ambacht," is to be appreciated as a source of "nootdruft" (livelihood, v. 58), and for this reason, even though Van Mander expects aspiring painters to know their poets and be familiar with a myriad of mythological references—Minerva, the "vernufte maeght" (sage maiden), for example, or "Caballini water" (the Horse's stream, i.e., Hippocrene, brought forth by Pegasus as a source of poetic inspiration, v. 56)—he warns them to steer clear of *Rhetorica* (the poetic art of persuasion, v. 47), "merry and diverting" though she be. He himself, as he admits, has indulged his love of poetry, and so, he speaks from experience when he declares that *Rhetorica* stocks no larder and, in this sense, diverts the painter from the task at hand. If that task involves mastering the tools of art, it also requires the painter to become engagingly sociable, ingratiating to lovers of art, obliging to his master, candid and helpful to his fellow apprentices and journeymen. These are matters of judgment, as Van Mander makes clear in stanzas 49–54: the young painter must "geeren buyghen onder t'ghemeyn oordeel" (gladly bow to common judgment, i.e., workshop

consensus and public opinion, v. 49), must refrain from judging his master publicly, even if he spots faults in the master's work, must be plainspoken and unbiased when exercising judgment of his peers' efforts, but always with "beleeftheyt" (courtesy, v. 51), and last but not least, must be judicious and temperate with regard to himself, neither fulsomely praising nor reviling his own works. "Courtesy," avows Van Mander, "vermach vele" (is equal to any task, v. 29). As painters by their art captivate viewers' eyes and hearts, so must their refinement of behavior inspire "goede jonse, ghenade en vrientschap" (good favor, grace, and amity, v. 27) in all their dealings, within the workshop and beyond, principally with "beminders" (lovers of art, v. 24).

The principle and practice of art upon which Van Mander dwells the most, whereby the aspiring *schilder* can best improve himself, is appropriative imitation: he must "wel spelen *Rapiamus* personage" (play well the part of the personage *Rapiamus*, v. 46). The name *Rapiamus*, which derives from the Latin verb *rapere* (to seize, carry off, claim possession of), here personifies the action of laying claim to a model by imitating it. (The moniker, couched in the form of the present subjunctive, literally means "Let us seize.") In stanza 46, the reference applies implicitly both to nature and to art, not only to the human body's constituent parts—"arms, legs, torsos, hands, feet, and [other members]"—but also to works of art that epitomize them. Van Mander returns to the theme of *rapere* in stanza 75, where he urges his young readers not to return from their study tour of Italy until they have assimilated from Rome a "teyckenen zedich" (a fine / refined manner of drawing) and from Venice "t'wel schilderen" (the good [manner] of painting). And in stanza 84, Van Mander compares the composition or, better, ordonnance of the *Schilder-Boeck* to that of a picture fashioned after the manner of *Rapiamus*: the book has been drawn from numerous sources, as if its author had "suckled at various breasts" and gone "fish[ing] in other ponds." But the treatise is no mere aggregate copied from disparate models: he has "exercised [his] invention," thereby ensuring that the book, ascribable to him and thoroughly concocted, coheres as a whole, on the model of the proverb quoted in stanza 46: "Wel ghecoockte rapen is goe pottage" (Well cooked turnips make for a good potage).

Finally, having mixed procedural advice on how to imitate, with moral advice on virtues to be nurtured and, concomitantly, vices to be spurned, and having also admixed a bit of technical instruction, as in stanza 48, where he cautions against "over-tempering the smalts or ashes," Van Mander brings chapter 1 to a close by offering practical advice about the journey to Italy, alternately praising Rome as

"hooft der *Picturae* Scholen" (capital of the Schools of *Pictura*, v. 66) and disparaging its many moral dangers. He also gently mocks the Romans for failing to see that Netherlanders, though certainly proficient at landscape and grotesques, are capable figure painters in the same degree.

Chapter 2, "Van het teyckenen, oft Teycken-const" (On drawing, and the Art of Delineating), describes *Teycken-const* as the "Vader van t'schilderen" (Father of picturing / painting, v. 1), and then, taking up one of the themes of chapter 1, adds that many other arts, amongst them goldsmith's work and architecture, trace their lineage from *teyckenconst*. Drawing thus mediates between the pictorial arts and their high artisanal sister-arts, consociating them. Having personified *teyckenconst* as male in stanza 1, Van Mander unexpectedly changes tack, identifying her as female in stanza 2 where she receives the title "Voedster aller Consten" (Wet nurse of all the Arts). Writing, too, since it entails tracing letters and characters, can likewise be appreciated as a species of drawing, and *teyckenconst*, in this particular sense, can be said to nourish all text-based literary arts as well. What's more, as the source of *Grammatica*'s (Grammar's) syntactical rules, her generative influence expands to embrace all seven "Vry Consten" (Liberal Arts, v. 1–2). *Teyckenconst* not only engenders the full range of arts, from artisanal to liberal, s/he also capacitates cognition. Van Mander states in stanza 3 that native ability, when fortified by the practice of drawing, begets and vivifies one's understanding of that after which one draws. He further implies that drawing cultivates good judgment which, joined with understanding, facilitates the production of whatsoever mental images it pleases the hand to draw. Drawing, to the extent that it issues from such images, infuses them with the draftsman's intention: in stanza 4, Van Mander calls such drawings, made after these images, "an expression, a striking elucidation of intention, a witness to it." His chief point of reference, as he makes clears in stanzas 4–5, is "t'Menschen beeldt heerlijckst gheschepen" (the Human form, most precious of all created things, v. 4).

Stanza 6 initiates a discussion of *Actitude* (pose, attitude of the human figure) that will later constitute the chief topic of chapters 3, "Analogie, Proportie" (Analogy, Proportion), and 4, "Van der Actitude" (On Attitude). The bodily epitome Van Mander visualizes is a turning figure whose hip swings forward from a standing leg that bears the body's whole weight. A printed model-book—an "A.b. boeck" (A.b.[c.] book, v. 6)—would be a welcome resource upon which young *schilders* would surely draw, were such a collection

available. Why is it, laments Van Mander, that apothecaries, chirurgs, and practitioners of the liberal arts enjoy ready access to such how-to manuals, whereas young painters, who like new beakers await to be filled, have nothing comparable? The next best thing, therefore, is to find a "goet Meester" (accomplished Master, v. 9), from whom a "goede manier" (comely manner, v. 9) and the "seker vaste gronden" (sure, firm foundations) of one's art can be learned; typically, Van Mander is specific about materials and techniques: first, a soft, forgiving medium like coal, later chalks and quills can be used to familiarize oneself with light and shadow, highlights, and the rudiments of "stellen, handelen, omtrecken, ronden" (disposition / attitude, handling / manner, contour, projection, v. 9). By placing these particulars in apposition to "comely manner," he implies that they are the constituent features of "manier" to be learned from a capable master draftsman. He further specifies that strokes should be barely discernible except in those places where the shadows fall most densely. Remarks such as these would seem to indicate that he had the hatched strokes of a master draftsman-printmaker like Goltzius foremost in mind. The later reference, in stanza 20, to linear flexion, to hatches tapering and swelling from thin to thick, as a way of modeling muscular bodies, and as a good alternative to stumping with granular media such as chalk, makes this allusion to Goltzius even more apparent.

Van Mander urges his young readers to experiment with colored grounds and tonal transitions, all the better to concatenate between zones of bright light and zones of deep shadow. Returning to the theme of a printed A.b.c. book, he instructs the aspiring draftsman to utilize coal or chalk and to stump his strokes when drawing after prints, and also to differentiate the tints by tonal value. He may be referring to the use of colored chalks or, alternatively, to the effect of color that can result from relatively monochrome media, if they are deftly handled. To learn a fine manner of modeling tones, he recommends that the chiaroscuro prints of Parmigianino be consulted; studying their "daghen wel in het legghen" (well-placed highlights, v. 12), assimilating them so thoroughly that they become veritable offshoots grafted onto one's person, is tantamount to working after sculpture in the round. And by these means, one will prepare oneself to go to the draftsman's ultimate source, progressing from the helpful contrivances of art to the "gracious … unaffected sweetness" of nature, "that is, to life … the Lodestar whereby to steer our ship." For Van Mander, the principal benefit of working after nature, "tot het leven" (to the life, v. 13) or "na[er] t'leven" (after the life, v. 13),

is that it makes reference to living things whose life is perceptible "both in stillness and in motion." These are living creatures, first of all "volcomen naeckten van Mans, en Vrouwen" (a fully nude Man or Woman, v. 14), secondly "Kinder-naeckten en alle Dieren" (children in the nude, and every kind of Beast, v. 14).

If from Nature one learns everything not supplied by native ability, as Van Mander avers in stanza 15—"actions, attitudes, foreshortenings, shapes in profile and overlapping shapes"—one must jointly train oneself to fashion forms "uyt zijn selven" (from out of oneself), "om inventie te hebben" (in order to possess invention). He underscores this point in stanza 16, stating that "inventy van jonghs moet oock med' opwassen" (from an early age, invention must develop in concert [with Nature]). Invention generates "ordineren" (ordering, ordonnance, composition, v. 16) by looking not to "others' storehouses" but to one's own. By "cassen" (storehouses), Van Mander clearly means "memory," which he personifies as "*Memoria* … de *Muses* Moeder" (*Memoria* … Mother to the Muses). Invention thus involves tapping or harnessing images stored in one's mind, wherein the visual memories of things experienced at first hand are retained. Van Mander is setting the stage for his subsequent discussion of two key complementary categories of mimetic picture-making—*nae*[*r*] *t'leven* and *uyt den gheest* (after the life and from the mind / spirit)—which are variously applied throughout part two of *Schilder-Boeck*, Book IV, comprising the lives of Netherlandish and German painters still active when Van Mander was writing his treatise. *Uyt den gheest*, as he explains in chapter 8, "Van het Landtschap" (On Landscape), chapter 9, "Van Beesten, Dieren, en Voghels" (On Cattle, Animals, and Birds), and chapter 10, "Van Laken oft Draperinghe" (On Fabrics or Drapery), is the procedure that sources mnemonic images for the purpose of gathering them into a pictorial ordonnance, a well-ordered composition. That these images issue from the mental faculty of *gheest* (spirit) animates them, imparting the lively quality of spiritedness. This quality is fully compatible, of course, with the impression of life conferred by working after or to the life. Indeed, stanza 17 suddenly changes course, returning to the matched topics of stocking the "schatcamer der wetenheyt" (treasure chamber of knowledge) and "conterfeytende … u voorbeeldt" (portraying your model), topics broached in stanza 15. This is say that the topic of stanza 16 (and the closing line of stanza 15, on working from out of oneself)—invention and its mnemonic referents—is clearly seen by Van Mander to be inextricable from the topics of stanzas 15 and 17—portrayal of the living model as mnemonic inscription, as the

plenishment of memory. His term for this sort of portraying is "conterfeyten" (to copy, imitate closely).

Van Mander concludes by returning to the trope of "Teyckenconst van Schilderen Vader" (Drawing, the Father of Painting, v. 21), adducing the technique of drawing with colored crayons as incontrovertible proof that "no two things could resemble each other more" than Drawing and Painting. Nor is *teyckenconst* miserly in the benefits it bestows: on the contrary, every age and estate finds drawing useful, whether for learning to speak authoritatively about the visual arts or for describing places and their circumstances as need requires.

Chapter 3, "Analogie, Proportie, oft maet der Lidtmaten eens Menschen Beeldts" (Analogy, Proportion, or measurement of the Parts of a Human Body), expands upon the topic broached in chapter 2, stanza 14—the nude model as one of the building blocks of the draftsman's art. Stanza 1 provides a succinct, elegant definition of proportion: it is "ghelijckmaticheyt puere" (a pure system of correspondent relation) that brings the constituent parts of figures, but also of buildings, into mutual conformation. Underlying the analogy between bodily and architectural structure is the biblical analogy, adduced in stanza 2, between the Temple and the Lord's body, taken from John 2:19–22. In its application to the visual arts, the analogy operates through numerical ratios, the particulars of which Van Mander itemizes in stanzas 3–8, moving from the smallest to the largest intervals between body parts: for instance, one-eighth from crown to chin of a man's head, one-sixth from brow to breastbone, one-fourth from crown of the head to the sternum. The parts themselves can likewise be enumerated: the interval between the hairline of the brow and the bridge of the nose, between the eyes, is one-third the length of the face, and the distance from heel to toe is one-sixth the length of the body. As the body and its members subscribe to arithmetical ratios and proportional measurements, so the body's motions are notionally circumscribed within geometrical forms, such as the superimposed circle and square that define the limits of an extended male body, measuring from the navel as center to the tips of the fingers and toes. These geometries and proportional relations can be sensed or cognized by the attentive *schilder*, irrespective of measurement, as Van Mander states explicitly in stanza 8: "And as this perfect circular form is detectable in him, so one also finds present in him the likeness of a true square."

Having cited Vitruvius, Pliny, and Dürer's *Four Books on Human Proportion* in stanza 9, Van Mander changes tack in stanza 10, warn-

ing his readers that master painters and sculptors who cleave meticulously to numerical measurements will prove virtually inimitable to the students who aspire to follow them. Let these students, he advises, content themselves with the shorthand measurements of Vitruvius who, using the head as a module, simply defines the male body as eight heads high, or two faces wide, the female body as equally tall but wider at the hips (at two heads wide). After digressing on the topic of female flesh, its softness, delicacy, and dimpled hollows and creases, all of which the draftsman (and implicitly, the painter) must capture, Van Mander concludes with a caveat: the canons he has just detailed, whether complex, as in the case of Dürer, or simple, must be modified according to the "verscheyden proportien wedervaren … in't leven" (various proportions encountered in life, v. 15), which will usually be found somewhat to diverge from strict numerical norms. Variation is a trait of nature, and the *schilder*, in describing persons squat or slim, must take this fact of life into account.

Chapter 3 concludes with a reference to the topic of chapter 4, "Van der *Actitude*, welstandt, ende weldoen eens Beelts" (On the Attitude, decorum, and decorous motion of a Human Figure): Van Mander announces his intention of examining the decorum of human actions by discoursing on how properly "to position a figure, set it to work, activate it." Accordingly, the first four stanzas of chapter 4 explain why he considers a discourse on figural *welstandt* (decorum, good bearing or demeanor, well-ordered bodily attitude) indispensable. Beauty is a virtue, and artful Nature is beauty's repository, and so too do Nature's circumstances supply the "oorspronck en middle" (source and method, v. 1) whereby the pinnacle of beauteous perfection may be fashioned. Yet even in nature there are flaws, "omstandicheden faelgieren" (attendant circumstances that fall short), which thereby diminish beauty. In drawing after nature, the draftsman may find that his figures, even when their caroming contours produce a fine effect of projection, may prove lacking in other respects, their motions insufficiently stirring, their poses imbalanced, their parts indecorous in one way or another. But these defects of nature (and of drawing after the life) can be put right by looking again to Nature, this time for precepts, "ghewisse regulen en vaste Wetten" (certain rules and firm laws, v. 4), that can assist the draftsman to circumvent these flaws. The rest of chapter 4, stanzas 5–29 principally, furnish this corrective, disclosing Nature's rules, her touchstones.

Van Mander begins with standing figures, first at rest, then in motion, and eventually introduces the attitude he adjudged the most

beautiful: the serpentine figure, coiled and turning in space, its rotating limbs subsumed into a network of antitheses—rotation and counterrotation, convexity and concavity, projection and recession, advance and retreat. In stanzas 5 and 6, he describes an upright figure, its axis vertical, with limbs outstretched, and then compares the relation between a person's head and body to that between a capital and a column. Stanza 7 instructs the draftsman to accustom himself to seeing this axis of orientation in his mind's eye, as a notional plumb line, so that it need not actually be drawn. Stanzas 8 and 9 initiate the process of visualizing how properly to vary such a figure, first bilaterally: the body parts must be syncopated so that the head and torso do not bend uniformly, inclining to the same side; then spatially: the legs must be coordinated so that they rise and fall in tandem, with one foot in front, the other foot behind. The serpentine figure comes clearly into view in stanzas 10–12, where Van Mander recommends that persons, whether laboring or standing still, walking or running, be portrayed as if swaying. Irrespective of age, the arms and legs must always be seen to alternate, both before and behind, from side to side, and crosswise, with the face turned toward whichever arm extends outward, and the head turned away from whithersoever the torso swivels. The masters he cites as great paragons of this figural epitome of *welstandt* are Raphael, Michelangelo, and Giambologna.

Typically, he then spends several stanzas justifying variations from the norm: for example, whereas a turning pose embodies grace or, more precisely, focuses attention on grace as an effect of art, as an artifice that heightens the quality of grace in nature, conspicuous turning will detract from the modesty proper to sacred figures, hindering rather than enhancing devotion. It shall also be acceptable, as need arises, to diverge from the graceful norm, in the manner of Orpheus who played rough-sounding modes on his otherwise sweet-sounding harp, whenever his poetic subjects demanded them. This discussion of poetic modes—the graceful and fine juxtaposed to the ungraceful and rough—in their application to *teyckenconst* anticipates Van Mander's defense of two painterly *handelinghen* (manners, modes), the one smooth, fine, and meticulously rendered, the other roughly brushed, the former best seen in close proximity, the other at a distance, in chapter 12, stanza 27. Another exception to the rule is any functional attitude illustrative of labor: when staves are thrust or ropes are pulled, the arms and/or legs will operate in unison, stretching outward together; under these circumstances, graceful alternation would prove inimical to persuasive narration.

Having defined various improprieties that contravene figural *welstandt*, in stanzas 18–22—excess foreshortening of the female face, for example, or an arm that pivots outward or upward from a shoulder dropped where the hip projects—Van Mander then cautions the would-be draftsman not to display extreme torsion in the human figure. Verging on contortion, such spectacles of artifice call to mind those "Camerspeelders" (Play-actors) who take to the stage and "springhen en beutelen" (tumble and somersault, v. 23), mistakenly "construing unnatural things of this sort as an art." As they mar rather than beautify a play, so draftsmen who entangle their figures in corkscrew turns mar rather than embellish a picture. They should instead "houden matelijcke ganghen" (keep to the middle path, v. 25), "turning and bending" in an enhanced but not exaggerated version of nature. This holds just as true of figures whose motions illustrate functional tasks: they, too, can sometimes be shown turning but should never appear to move "buyten Natuer en gracy" (in excess of Nature and grace, v. 28); if they swivel, let it be "slightly, or nearly not at all."

With reference to Pliny's descriptions of ancient sculpture, to courtesy books such as Baldassare Castiglione's *Il Cortegiano*, and poetic *effictiones* (enriched verbal descriptions of bodily appearance) such as Ariosto's portrayal of the temptress Alcina, Van Mander concludes by touching upon topics that anticipate the subjects of chapter 6, "Wtbeeldinghe der Affecten" (Portrayal of the Affects), and chapter 12, "Van wel schilderen, oft Coloreren" (On painting well, or Coloring)—namely, the depiction of emotional states, such as Demon of Athens's famous statue of two soldiers, one still exerting himself, the other exhausted, or the rendition of varieties of animate complexion, especially as pertains to maidens and matrons. These differentiated affects and effects must closely correspond to distinctions in enacted attitude, in accordance with "Persoons crachten en ghemoeden" (a Person's strengths and temperament), so that a soldier appears noticeably different from a philosopher. And with that, the discussion of figural decorum, good bearing, and well-ordered attitudes closes, the scene having now been set for the disquisition on history painting in the subsequent chapter.

Chapter 5, "Van der Ordinanty ende Inventy der Historien" (On Ordonnance and the Invention of Histories), the longest in the *Grondt*, is one of two chapters focusing on the topic of pictorial composition—the *ordinantie* (ordonnance) of a picture, as a whole and in its parts—the other being chapter 8, "Van het Landtschap" (On Landscape). Throughout this chapter, as elsewhere in the

Grondt, Van Mander includes both fact and fiction, events from history and mythology, under the sign of *Historie*. Two definitions of *ordinantie* coalesce in stanza 1, the first ontological, the second functional: if the virtue of every creature and thing consists in its God-given "ghereghelteyt" (arrangement), this structural principle, inherently expressed as the quality of ordonnance, is also actively expressed through the rational works of persons and the resourceful works of mute beasts (such as bees and ants), both categories of work being the result of "ordeningh" (ordering, orderly behavior). Stanza 2 states further that ordonnance can be appreciated, too, as a purposeful effect of the painter's powers of *Inventy* (Invention), which must be exercised with "gheest, als verstandts doorgronden, aendacht, universael experiency" (as much with spirit as with depth of understanding, attention, [and] universal experience). The "Regulen en Wetten" (Rules and Regulations, v. 3) of composition that Van Mander now intends to set forth must issue first and foremost from the historical subjects the painter has chosen to portray: they must represent these subjects appositely, by means of "bootsen oft Beelden daer toe bequame" (models and Figures expedient to the task at hand, v. 4), which are to be mobilized according to the seven *Motus* (Motions) executable by the human body. In enacting these motions, as stanzas 6–7 specify, the figures should appear to move freely, neither uniformly nor constrainedly, in a manner dictated by the stories they narrate.

Starting with stanza 8, Van Mander elaborates upon the means whereby a graceful ordonnance can be achieved. The painter must attend not only to his "materie" (substantive material, i.e., subject) but also to its attendant circumstances, and then sketch everything as the imagination dictates. Letting the spirit of invention flow, he may follow the Italians in drawing a full-scale cartoon based on his sketches, always taking care, however, to avoid a "maniere die swaer is, en niet wel stellijck" (manner heavy, and poorly disposed, v. 10) or "al te ghestenteert, moeyelijck oft quellijck" (too labored, awkward and ponderous). Drawing after the life, one may also add the colors of nature to one's cartoon, thereby giving it "welstandighe crachten" (an attractive force or, alternatively, a forceful concinnity). Above all, as Van Mander advises in stanzas 11–13, the painter who strives for harmonious ordonnance should insert framing figures at the sides of the pictorial field, leaving the middle-ground empty so as to stage smaller, more distant figures there. The provision of an optical corridor down which the eyes may advance toward background figures and distant landscapes, is the surest method of achieving a

pleasing ordonnance, for painted histories lacking landscape backgrounds will appear awkward rather than graceful (vv. 11–12). Stanzas 14–18 go on to say, by way of qualification, that one may imitate the Italians—Tintoretto or Michelangelo, for example—in clustering figures into groups, on the model of battle scenes wherein they attack or retreat, even while taking care not to emulate Michelangelo, whose *Last Judgment*, though uncommonly varied in the forms and actions of its nude figures, includes no view into the distance. Van Mander hesitates to criticize Michelangelo but nevertheless implies that his great fresco, deprived of any landscape, lacks concinnity.

Stanzas 19–26 focus on the theme of variety: as musical harmony results from mixing a variety of sounds, so must the painter mix "veel verscheyden Beelden" (many varied Figures, v. 19), on the principle that "door verschedenheyt is Natuere schoone" (Nature is beautiful through variety, v. 20). The picture should therefore be as varied as a field full of flowers, or a banqueting table loaded with food and drink. With respect to history painting, the figures should be varied according to the seven axes of motion (defined in stanzas 4 and 5), as well as by "natuere, wesen, en gheneghen" (nature, condition, and temperament, v. 21). Van Mander especially favors a method of composition detailed in stanza 23: this involves setting the picture's *Scopus* (nucleus, i.e., key figures) amidst a circle of onlookers who variously address or entreat the person at their center. In stanzas 25–26, fully equating copious variety with grace, he urges painters to incorporate animals of every sort, persons of either sex and every age, landscape, architecture, and other adornments, since "every kind of subtle fantasy issuing from Copiousness … makes for a fine alluring Harmony."

Stanzas 27–42 distinguish between two historical modes, richly varied or austerely simple, which Van Mander compares to two modes of oratory, respectively based on a maximum or minimum of speech, and to two kinds of drama, comedy and tragedy, respectively enacted with many or few figures. Whereas stanzas 27–30 praise those great masters who favor the simpler and grander of the two modes, associated with masterful, deliberate, and considered speech, stanzas 31–37 instead enlarge upon the allure of the copious mode, which requires to be paired with delightful, frivolous, comedic subjects, such as mythological fables. Just as these subjects offer innumerable pleasures and enticements, so the mode best matched to them overflows with enticing variety, as in a picture of Zephyr and Flora kissing by the light of dawn, amidst a floriferous field brimful with every species of bloom—the anemone, crocus, bindweed, nar-

cissus, and purple hyacinth. Stanza 32, as rich in lyric reference as the picture Van Mander asks us to envision, itself overflows with allusions to the Ovidian origin stories of these flowers.

Stanza 33 describes the experience of viewing such a captivating picture: like bees flitting amongst these flowers, the viewer's eyes, enthralled by pictorial variety, will fly from sight to sight, gladly grazing in *Pictura*'s garden. Stanza 34 wittily analogizes the simple historical mode to one of Varro's famously short guest lists, whereas the copious history will be as rich and sumptuous as the repasts he lavished upon the privileged few. Such a picture will display its particulars in the way a peddler's stall advertises his wares, setting them out on shelves above, below, and at the sides of the buyer's field of vision. Not only should it thus entice viewers to ogle its contents, it can also double their desirous gaze, by ranging depicted onlookers "op heuvels, boomen, oft op trappen steenich" (on hills, trees, or stone steps, v. 34; cf. stanza 23 *supra*), as if they were living counterparts of the peddler's goods. Stanza 36 compares these witnesses to "Comic Actors on the stage," the objects of whose gaze, often positioned above them (as in a *thoon* or *tableau vivant*), are made sufficiently conspicuous both to them and to the picture's beholder. Continuing the theme of doubling, Van Mander advises the painter to exemplify in his picture the affective response he wishes to solicit from the beholder, by showing a figure who reacts with evident emotion to some turn of events, news of which is being conveyed to him. Surprisingly, just before, in stanza 37, Van Mander analogizes *Historie* itself, as a genre of *schilderconst*, to the copious mode he has been characterizing, as if the mode were subsuming the genre: painted history must comprise every category of art encompassed by *schilderconst*, such attitudes, affects, and varieties of reflected light, respectively the topics of chapters 4, 6, and 7 of the *Grondt*.

Stanzas 38–45 digress on the topic of how to maintain historical clarity, both formal and thematic, in light of the desideratum of copious variety. The sense of the history must ever be plain to see, its meaning discernible, even when the painter, following Horace, exercises a "power equal to that of the Poets," depicting his subject as he wishes, playing upon the viewer's curiosity, devising an ordonnance so replete with corollary elements that the true historical subject is cleverly and alluringly, though only momentarily, withheld. Once compelled to search out the *scopus*, the viewer will look here, there, and everywhere, traveling deep into the picture along its divagating optical pathways, looking for the true sense that is the pictorial raison

d'être. This historical mode contrasts, states Van Mander in stanza 44, with that practiced by early Netherlandish masters when painting "devoot' History" (devout History), which foregrounds the principal figures, never diminishing their prominence. He then exemplifies the optical and thematic complexities of the copious mode by means of a lengthy ekphrasis adapted from Jacopo Sannazzaro's *Arcadia*, in stanzas 46–60, on which see section 6, *supra*, of this "Introduction," "*Landtschap* and *byvoechsel*: Karel van Mander on Landcape and History, Simulation and Dissimulation." The closing stanzas of this ekphrastic tour de force, along with stanzas 61–64, constitute a sustained analogy between painting and theater: histories richly embellished in the manner of Sannazzaro's astonishing word-picture, so vivid it is more a painting than a poem, are as delightful to spectators as comedies interspersed with clownish interludes. Therefore, reasons Van Mander, "machmen eensaem History vermeeren" (one may amplify simple History) in this wise, indulging one's inclination toward the richer of the two modes.

Chapter 5 closes, in stanzas 65–88, with helpful advice regarding various ornaments useful for augmenting and embellishing an historical subject: for instance, the painter may insert "gheestelijcke Beelden" (allegorical Figures, i.e., personifications, v. 65), such as Faith, Hope, and Charity in a Sacrifice of Isaac, or proleptic figures, such as Jeremiah, Isaac, and other prophets who foresaw the mystery of the Incarnation, as in Federico Zuccaro's *Annunciation* (formerly in Santa Maria Annunziata, Rome, v. 67), or again, mythological figures, such as Apollo and Daphne, who stand for the Sun and the Moon in Rosso Fiorentino's eschatological image of the *Virgin in the Sun* (v. 67). Amongst the ancient painters, Nealces was much admired for incorporating such an ornament, a crocodile signifying the Nile, in his great picture of the naval battle between the Persians and Egyptians, fought on that river. This brings Van Mander in mind of the statue of *Father Nile* he saw and studied in Rome, the attributes of which and their natural, geographical, and ethnological significance he expounds at length in stanzas 72–83. Accounts of other personifications worthy to grace history in an enriched mode follow: Father Tiber, for example, and beside him the she-wolf suckling Romulus and Remus, or the Rivers Eurotas and Numicius. He adds, in stanza 86, that just as rivers may be personified, so, too, may cities and lands: the volatile temperament of the Athenians may be transferred to the figural embodiment of Athens, the martial valor of the Romans to the figure of Rome. Van Mander concludes, in stanza 88, by promising to expand upon the subject of ordonnance once again

in another place, perhaps an allusion to his treatment of *Landtschap* (and its relation to *Historie*) in chapter 8.

Chapter 6, "Wtbeeldinghe der Affectien, passien, begeerlijckheden, en lijdens der Menschen" (Portrayal of the Affects, passions, desires, and sorrows of Persons), returns to the topic broached in stanza 37 of chapter 5, where "dramatizing fear, wonder, and sorrow" and "revealing by [figures'] gestures the purport of their speech" are seen as a sine qua non of history painting. Stanza 1 explain how and why these affects become visible and representable: motions of the heart and sense impel the bodily limbs to move as external indices of these internal motions, making their "ghestalten, ghedaenten, oft wercken" (forms, qualities, or actions) discernible. Stanzas 2–7 focus on the unitary affects or passions—"liefde, begeerlijckheyt, vreucht, smert en tooren, commer en droefheyt" (love, desire, joy, sorrow and choler, distress and melancholy, v. 2)—which persons are by nature prone to express through their actions; these are singular rather than plural or layered, one passion not admixed with another. Known by the Greeks a *ethoi*, as Van Mander explains in stanza 3, these passions were first portrayed by the ancient painter Aristides, whose wounded woman and sickly man were epitomes of the affective art. Such *Affecten* are expressed first and foremost "met de leden van den aenghesichte" (with the features of the face, v. 4), ten in number: to communicate them legibly is a task as praiseworthy as it is difficult to achieve. Nature is the chief descriptive source of affective bodily motions, but *Histrionica* (the dramatic arts) offer a ready, complementary source of imitable affects, as Van Mander points out in stanzas 5–6. Amongst these, the first in order of importance is "Liefde" (Love), the enacted attributes of which are smiling faces, enfolded limbs, and intertwined bodies.

In stanza 8, Van Mander complicates the painter's brief: his higher task is to portray complex, compound emotions, such as love mixed with shame, chagrin, and/or disquiet, as exemplified by the story of Antiochus who harbored and was tormented by a secret love for his stepmother Stratonice, recounted in great detail in stanzas 8–19. For Antiochus, the imagined pleasure of love consummated mingles with the sorrow and despair of unrealizable desire. In stanzas 12–13, Van Mander develops a witty analogy between the doctor who astutely reads Antiochus's symptoms as mixed emotions attendant on forbidden love, and the painter who sets about the task of portraying the lovelorn lover. Stanza 19 brings this extended tale to a close by observing that just as the motion of the hand indicates the source of bodily pain, so the motion of the eyes transits to the object of lov-

ing desire. Here bodily motions prove symptomatic of the underlying causes of the affects they express.

Van Mander supplies further examples of mixed emotion in stanzas 20–44: there is Homer's account of Paris, whose eyes, like covert gestures, imploringly revealed his love of Helen, or Mantegna's nymph-satyress gazing with maternal fondness at her satyr-child; both Paris and the satyress express a compound of love so sweetly intense that it shades into aching pain (vv. 20–22). Even more layered were the mixed affects that the ancient painter Euphranor gave to Paris who, as judge of the three goddesses, lover of Helen, and slayer of Achilles, combined the character traits of judicious wit, fetching desire, and spirited valor (v. 24). As his wit likely lodged in his eyes, so was concupiscence evident in his laughing mouth, manly strength in his forceful attitude (v. 25). Citing Pliny and Albert the Great in stanza 26, Van Mander identifies the eyes as the primary seats of desire, both as source and attribute. The eyes, he goes on to say in stanza 27, are multifarious in their expressive range, which modulates between joy and sorrow, compassion and bitter grief.

Moving to other facial features while keeping to the theme of mixed emotion, Van Mander asserts in stanza 28 that the depiction of sorrow's conversion into merriment, of heaviness into lightness of spirit, may be effected by means of the motions of the brow, which can be likened to the lambent air when storm clouds are swept away by the sun. This is one of many examples of Van Mander's tendency to read the human body as if it were a landscape, and conversely, to read landscape as if it were a human body. But the brow, though by nature disposed to reveal what the heart feels, may yet be used by cunning persons to cloak their true intentions: the term for such wily men who deck "base rancor" with a "glad brow" is "dobbel voorhoofdich" (double-browed, v. 31). Similarly, the eyebrows are complex affective indicators: on this score, in stanzas 33–34, Van Mander adduces the ancient statesman Phocion, whose forbidding brows belied his good nature (or alternatively, whose mastery over himself curbed his irascible temperament), to refute the simpleminded assumption of the physiognomists that there is a direct correlation between the motions of the brow (and eyebrows) and human nature. The relation between affect and the stirrings of the face is far more complex, as stanza 34 warns.

The philosophical distinction between joy and sorrow is of no interest to Van Mander, as he avows in stanza 35; rather, his task as *schilder* is to communicate the "changes and movements of the limbs, whereby one may easily recognize what our Figures are feel-

ing or doing." He affirms in stanzas 36 that it is indeed possible to distinguish between laughing and crying faces, although painters who fail to consult nature will tend to confuse the expression of sorrow with that of joy. Let them heed the example of the ancient sculptor Praxiteles, who portrayed a sorrowful matron beside a light-hearted woman, the one clearly weeping, the other just as clearly laughing. Stanza 39, circling back to the notion that *ethoi* are like colors (v. 3) and to the discussion of Antiochus's rosy-red face as a symptom of chagrin (v. 8), emphasizes that the complexion, in concert with the eyes, brow, and eyebrows, is a telling conveyer of affect. Through skillful manipulation of color, the ancient painter Demon manages to display the compound affective character of the Athenians, disclosing their volatility, prone as they were "to be inconstant, wrathful, angry, merciful, gentle, fearful, stalwart, humble, [or] majestic" (v. 39). More than this, Demon strove to combine these affects in a single figure, whereas his fellow painter Timanthes distributed various kinds and degrees of grief amongst the Greeks shown bearing witness to the sacrifice of Iphigenia—most signally, her father Agamemnon, the intensity of whose paternal grief was subtly implied (and intensified) through the device of veiling his face. Sometimes, as stanza 44 avers, a mere wrinkle is all it takes to indicate that one affect, such as pity or sorrowful compassion, is changing into another, such as fear.

Turning from the face to the head and the body's other limbs, Van Mander now offers, in stanzas 45–54, a detailed account of how various affects may actively be transmitted. In stanza 49, he differentiates between the expressive personification and the exemplification of affect, citing as an epitome of the latter Aristides's *Sick Person*, once displayed in the Roman Temple of Fever. Equally important is the ability to depict death as the complete absence of affect: the famed *Meleager Sarcophagus* in Rome is much praised, he states, because immobilized by death, the hero has been shorn of all affect.

Evinced formerly by the ancient Greeks and Romans, the ability to depict emotion is not now an endowment of contemporary masters only, for as Van Mander acknowledges in stanza 53, he once saw on the Capitoline in Rome a picture of the Horatii and the Curatii, about a hundred years old, in which the shifting emotions of the Romans and the Sabines were shown as effectively, though in an antiquated style, as in any contemporary painting. Consequently, the skilled depiction of affect is not to be appreciated as contingent on the times. Another example, taken from the recent past, is Pieter Bruegel's *Massacre of the Innocents*, in which the herald

charged with promulgating Herod's cruel edict reveals how a "modicum of compassion," fleeting but detectable, underlies the mortifying obduracy he applies to the task at hand (v. 54). Therefore, says Van Mander in stanza 55, the aspiring painter must master the full spectrum of simple and complex affects, the proper depiction of which will "t'ghewin den werckman croonen met eeren" (crown the workman's profit with honor), thereby elevating the virtue of his art.

In stanzas 56–58, Van Mander returns squarely to the theme of mixed emotions, enhancing it by reference to the use of mixed materials: he cites the example of the ancient sculptor Aristonidas, who mixed (rusted) iron with bronze to portray the blushing remorse felt by Athamas, king of Thebes, who had thrown his own son from the city's battlements in a fit of rage. Surely, adjures Van Mander in stanza 58, painters should try to achieve in paint what Aristonidas achieved in metal. This reference to color leads him to insist, in stanzas 59–69, that painters should strive, "by fashioning and refashioning the figures with your colors," to reveal the heart's affects, as did Michelangelo when, following Dante, he likened Charon's irises to burning coals circled round by fields of white, and painted his cheeks fiery red with choleric heat (v. 60). Conversely, Ovid's personification of Envy should be not rubicund but "deathly pale" (v. 61). Correspondingly, in stanza 62, Van Mander praises Lucas van Leyden's engraving *David Playing the Harp before Saul* for its painterly suggestion of color: Saul, implies Van Mander, can be seen as either red with rage or pale as "dootverw'" (ground color), "afflicted interiorly by fear." Just as admirable are Giotto's "fearful, appalled, astonished" apostles, rendered in mosaic on the façade of Old Saint Peter's (v. 63). And foremost amongst the ancient epitomes of mixed emotions was Aristides's painting of a vanquished city, featuring a mother, mortally wounded, whose love for her infant child mingled with anxious care lest he suck her bloodied breast milk (v. 67). Here the intermingled milk and blood stand implicitly for the difficulty of the painter's charge of laminating diverse affects. For his fellow painters' benefit, Van Mander imagines the precise particulars of the mother's facial features and paling complexion.

Stanzas 70–73 function as a peroration that incorporates a rejoinder to Vasari's claim that Michelangelo's *Last Judgment* is an inimitable canon of affects unequalled before or since, each affect aligned with a precipitating sin. Quite to the contrary, protests Van Mander, the Ancients had already in their time depicted every affective kind and degree, as Pliny attests. Read in relation to the Preface of the

Grondt, which presents the Netherlandish masters as heirs to the Ancients in their varieties of pictorial expertise, this closing counterargument explicitly calls upon them to exercise themselves, too, in portraying every type of affect, from the most simple to the most complex, on the model of masters such as Aristides, Parrhasius, and Timanthes.

Chapter 7, "Van de Reflecty, Reverberaty, teghen-glans oft weerschijn" (On Reflection, Reverberation, re-reflected luster, or re-reflection), discourses on light—more specifically, on reflected light—as a fundamental source of pictorial imitation. The representational properties of painting in oil colors, as becomes evident by the chapter's close, are closely aligned with, indeed set in motion by the action of light illuminating and interacting with the surfaces it strikes. Stanza 1 thus begins with the sun, whose incandescent light, reflected back by other heavenly bodies, such as the stars and planets, outshines any other type of light. Reverberant effects of reflected and re-reflected light provide a model for the kinds and degrees of reflection to be discussed later on. Stanza 2 invokes the dawn, when night, the absence of light, recedes, and one sees the first rays of sunlight reflected and re-reflected amongst banks of cloud. Not only is such a light an affective prompt to joy, it also produces the multitudinous colors of the morning sky and, by implication, of the world at large. At dawn, states stanza 3, the rising sun's golden light bestows colors on the azure sky, tinting it with rose-reds and flowerlike purples. In referring to these colors as "roode Roosen" and "purpuren Blommen" (red Roses and purple Blossoms), Van Mander insists on the figurative affordances of light and on its substantive representational effects: it is as if light were productive of roses and blossoms, or at the very least of their vivid images. This stanza closes by remarking that painting's capacity to describe light and color, thereby to gratify heart and sense, exceeds the descriptive potential of poetry. In stanzas 5 and 6, Van Mander further elaborates upon light's tendency to alter or enhance colors: not only at sunrise but also at sunset, Aurora, the personification of the dawn, reddens that which she illuminates—"Towers, Houses, Trees, Mountains, and Clifftops"; and, by a "holder reflecty" (bright reflex of light), red things become more ruddy, "vierich en gloeyende" (fiery and glowing, v. 6).

Van Mander now describes, in stanza 7, the luminous effects of the rising sun, personified by Apollo, as it casts an intensely bright bank of light upon the sea. He then shifts position, so to speak, in stanza 8, focusing less on the light source than on the "limpidly lustrous crystalline" surface of the sea or any reflective body of water that, when

clearly lit, mirrors the sky above it. Reflected light is seen to trigger or, better, enkindle this mimetic process of representation.

Stanzas 9–24 describe other luminous phenomena caused by light reflection, the double rainbow, above all, whose second bow, unlike the primary arc that signifies the covenant struck by God with Noah, instead simply exemplifies the action of re-reflection in its purest form (v. 11). Likewise, the "diversche Sonnen" (multiple Suns) sometimes seen at sunrise or sunset are nothing more than re-reflected images of the sun. In stanzas 14–16, with respect to the great waterfall at Terni, Van Mander considers the circumstances under which prismatic rainbows become visible in the falling water's mists. And in stanzas 17–18, he puts forward the hypothesis that the rainbow's colors are elicited from the elemental interaction of air and fire operative in rain clouds. After calling to mind, in stanzas 19 and 20, the sumptuous, lapidary colors of the rainbow described by the prophets Ezechiel and Jesus Sirach, and comparing them to the erubescent colors of the high priest Simon's robes, Van Mander perpends, in stanzas 21–23, the sequence of colors comprised by the rainbow, one hue passing imperceptibly into another—purple to flesh-tint, whitish carmine to orange, then red, red to yellow and bright blue, and azure back to purple. In stanza 23, he provides technical advice, pointing out that the rainbow's spectrum of tints reveals which colors are best matched to which. Painters, he continues in stanza 24, should lay out their palettes accordingly, also placing white close to hand so that lighter shades of each rainbow color can easily be mixed.

Stanzas 25–33 retail various effects of *Reverberacy* (Reverberation), Van Mander's term for the process whereby light cast by some bright source—"moonlight, firelight, lightning, candlelight, [or] the flame of a forge"—illumines its surroundings, tinting objects (v. 25). Thus does moonlight with its glow "bestow a pale glow, wherever she reaches," and lightning's "bluish fire" causes darkness to take flight (v. 26). Alert to such phenomena, says Van Mander in stanza 27, the ancient painter Antiphilus painted a boy blowing upon a flame, his face flickering with reverberant light, and Echion, in an epitome of *Reflexy Const* (the Art of Reflection), portrayed a bride lit by the fiery glow of a matron's torch. For Van Mander, reflected light carries an affective charge, as his account of Alcina lit by torchlight, her sweet enchantments thereby made all the sweeter in Ruggiero's eyes (paraphrased from Ludovico Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso*) demonstrates; this processional scene functions as an epitome of reflected light's power to anticipate joy and magnify pleasure. But

reflected light can also instill terror, as the description of a disastrous conflagration in stanza 31, of Vulcan's fearsome forge in stanza 32, and of hellfire's horrific glow in stanza 33, make patently apparent. Stanzas 34–35 supply further particulars for the depiction of fire: Van Mander counsels the painter that to intensify the phosphorescence of firelight, he ought to silhouette a fully shadowed figure against the flames—say, one of Vulcan's Cyclopes. Stanza 36 qualifies this advice by reminding the painter that anyone standing behind the "fiery sparks must bear the livery of re-reflected light," so that they are seen to be lit by reflections and coruscating re-reflections.

Stanzas 37–38 initiate a roll call of masters of *Reflexy Const*: by reference to Raphael's *Liberation of Saint Peter*, Van Mander urges painters to observe closely how reflected light interacts with adjacent shadows. In stanzas 39–41, he lavishes praise on Jacopo Bassano for his depiction of "flames, torches, [and] fiery hanging lamps" as well as of kitchen implements—pots and pans of copper, tin, or iron—that reflect light variously. Van Mander thus calls upon painters to pay heed to how light not only colors surfaces but is also colored by them. In stanza 41, he also makes mention of Jacopo's invention of another method of depicting reflected light, on slate panels highlighted in goldpoint; this leads him to bestow a like praise on the "Netherlandish-Italian painter" Gilles Cognet, whose nocturnes ingeniously incorporate "raised bits of gilt husk" to represent torchlight, as in a nighttime scene, set in Amsterdam, of a lottery drawing, or his scenes of hell or Troy ablaze. Stanzas 45–49, apropos of Cornelis Corneliszoon's painting of *Plato's Cave* and Hendrick Goltzius's *Venus, Bacchus, and Ceres*, drawn in pen and ink on parchment, professes that *Reflexy Const*, formerly identified with the painters of ancient Sicyon, now finds its greatest practitioners in Haarlem (see chapter 7, *infra*, Figs. 3 & 4).

Stanzas 50–55 revisit the theme of how colored lights interact, first broached in stanzas 39–41. The flesh-tints of figures shown in full daylight, lying or sitting amidst greenery, will be tinted green (v. 50), just as "wool, silk, or linen" will cast their colors upon "faces and naked bodies" (v. 51); similarly, "gold or silver vessels, vases, … and glasses in which wine has been poured" will "stain [white linen] tablecloths with reflected lights" (v. 52). Van Mander adduces the paintings of Pieter Aertsen, based as they are on "Natuere, der Schilders Meestresse" (Nature, the Painters' Mistress), in which he displays his mastery of *Reflexy Const*, showing how the colors of various objects mutually reverberate and re-reflect. *Reflexy Const* is

what allows him to deceive the viewer's eyes, confers seeming substance on the objects he portrays, and brings them convincingly to life, animating them through the lively motion of colored light. In consequence, *Reflexy Const* and the art of pictorial illusion go hand in hand, the former enabling the latter. When all is said and done, as stanzas 57–61 avow, painters, if they wish to master the art of reflection, must look to the occurrences of mirroring in Nature, whose still, watery places are often seen perfectly to reflect whatever lies at the water's edge (v. 59). As the poet Ariosto, in his description of the hidden glade where Angelica, fleeing Rinaldo, sought shelter and lighted upon a mirroring stream, imitated Nature (vv. 58–59), so painters who enter *Pictura*'s labyrinth must let the skein of Nature guide them as they strive to master *Reflexy Const*, imitating all that Nature contains (v. 61).

Chapter 8, "Van het Landtschap" (On Landscape), develops the topic raised in stanzas 11–13 of chapter 5, where Van Mander apprises painters that graceful ordonnance entails the provision of distant landscapes captivating to the viewer's eyes. As landscape invites the beholder to enter the image, allowing him to wander into the fictive setting and journey optically, so chapter 8 opens, in stanzas 1–7, by calling upon the young, aspiring *schilder* to rise at dawn, exit the city gates, and go walking in the countryside, alert to its many visual pleasures. Van Mander sets the scene in floriferous high summer; what the painter there sees recapitulates the sequence of sights just described in the opening stanzas of chapter 7: clouds tinted purple by dawn's rosy light (v. 4), various color mixtures melding into the molten gold of the rising sun (v. 5), the sky becoming azure blue as the earth's verdant greens intensify (v. 6). It is as if landscape were the pictorial subject that best combines the criteria of *History* and of *Reflexy Const*. The repeated commands ("Observe," "See") that initiate stanzas 4, 5, 6, 7, and 8, emphasize that landscape involves close viewing of nature's sundry fugitive effects, first by the painter, then by the landscape painting's attentive, enthralled viewers.

Stanzas 8–11 focus on the optics of viewing a distant landscape or landscape painting: as viewers' eyes penetrate the landscape, tracking along the orthogonal axes of furrows and fields, they will find faraway mountains merging into ambient clouds, the clifftops virtually indistinguishable from the mists that enshroud them (v. 8). All things will recede toward the horizon, diminishing by degrees as they approach a notional vanishing point (v. 9). "Giving thought to the density of the blue-bodied Air," one will depict sunlight filtered through cloud, dimming one's backgrounds most moderately,

not excessively (v. 10). Moreover, zones of sky, seen mirrored in bodies of water, will appear to blend "from above to below" (v. 11).

In stanzas 12–15, Van Mander expanding his inventory of landscape types, describes how inclement weather should be portrayed. He begins with an admonitory digression: if Apelles managed to depict thunder and lightning with the few colors at his disposal, should not today's painters, equipped with a superabundance of colors, aspire to imitate the many "vreemde dinghen" (rare or curious things) Nature puts on show: "black thunder clouds, ill-favored and spectral … lightning bolts," and other fearsome phenomena, "snow, hail, squalls, glazed frost, hoarfrost, and suffocating, oppressive mists"? Conversely, urges Van Mander in stanzas 15–18, painters should apply themselves, too, to the depiction of fair weather, when the radiant sun, as if wreathed round with red lakes and a purplish tint, dispels all-obscuring mists (v. 17).

How to enhance the pictorial illusion of depth by seamlessly weaving foreground into middle-ground, middle-ground into background, furnishes the topic of stanzas 19–23. The picture's zones must appear undulant, their constituent parts no less imbricated than the waves of the sea (v. 20). And to facilitate the eyes' motion from foreground to background, painters, even while imitating Pieter Bruegel, who tended to anchor his foregrounds with a conspicuous tree, should yet choose to leave their foregrounds somewhat open, and will avail themselves of half-tints, rather than placing hard darks next to sweet lights (v. 21). These precepts lead Van Mander to conclude, in stanza 23, that if *verscheydenheyt* (variety), "both of color and form," is what makes for the beauty of landscape, one must nevertheless take care to preserve the "welstants ghenietens" (pleasurable consonance) of the picture's many parts, their mutual concinnity. Stanzas 24–26 contrast the landscape type favored by Italian masters such as Titian, Tintoretto, and Girolamo Muziano, who organize their "solidly construct[ed]" pictures around a single view into the distance, with the multiple views of the landscape type perfected by Bruegel, who variedly mobilizes the eyes, leading them up the sides of high mountains, then down into dizzying valleys, as they make their headlong way toward the distant horizon, coiling past rushing streams (vv. 24–25). Bruegel is lauded, too, for his coloristic decorum—the skill with which he reserves browns for barren hillsides, greens for shady meadows and dales.

Stanzas 27–35 layer the description of springtime landscapes onto an account of seasonally appropriate oil colors—emerald and sapphire greens for grassy swards and burgeoning meadows, blonde yel-

low for fields of unripe corn and oats, celestial blue for flax flowering amidst waves of wheat, buckwheat, and clover. For Van Mander, landscape, more than any other pictorial subject, becomes a pretext for discussing pigments and paint handling. The proper appreciation of landscape painting involves a like appreciation of the painter's materials and brushwork, as stanzas 32–33 make plain with their instructions to brush "blue-tinted woodlands" "with white" "on grounds of ash," and to stipple small trees onto steep cliffs the color of "light ash." In painting peasants' huts and hamlets, one must cleave close to the colors of Nature, eschewing the artificial appearance of saturated reds, such as vermilion or red lead.

The reference to stippled trees climbing up mountainsides leads, in stanzas 34–35, to a discussion of how alpine peaks should be painted, their sides deeply cut by sinuous, serpentine waterways. Stanzas 36–39 then turn to the depiction of trees, the true test of a paint's "manier" (manner, v. 36) and "handelingh aenghename" (pleasant handling, v. 37). Arboreal foliage, more than any constituent part of the landscape, requires an "aerdigh' en fraeye manier" (subtle and fine manner) and a "goeden slach" (good stroke); therein lies the "cracht" (force) of the landscape (v. 36). In stanza 37, Van Mander lays stress on the fact that the painting of leaves, like the painting of hair, sky, and drapery, is a matter of *gheest*, not "leersaem Const" (teachable art). The spirited depiction of such things issues from native ability, from the painter's lively spirit, and also from his memories of things seen in Nature (in Van Mander's facultative psychology, *gheest* being operatively associated with the mnemonic faculty). Stanza 38 reminds painters that each species of leaf requires its distinctive color.

Recalling Van Mander's canon of beautiful bodily motion in stanzas 10–12 of chapter 3, stanzas 39–40 advise the painter to make his trees rise from thick to thin, turning as they rise. This is another example of the way Van Mander entangles his accounts of figural and landscape painting. Stanzas 41–47, with specific reference to the ancient painter Ludius, famed for his landscapes interspersed with humorous anecdotal scenes, enjoins the painter to populate his landscape with "storyken[s]" (little stories) taken from poetry or prose. If he wishes to convert his landscape into a "cleyn Weerelt" (little World), a convincingly self-sufficient place, a self-contained fictional entity, he will punctuate it throughout with these diverting anecdotes. The type of landscape Van Mander here recommends strongly recalls the elaborate ekphrastic landscape punctuated by Ovidian scenes, with which he exemplifies the richly varied mode of histori-

cal ordonnance in stanzas 45–60 of chapter 5. This additional analogy between *Historie* and *Landtchap* gives yet more evidence of the mutually contingent conceptions of History and Landscape at play in the *Grondt*.

Chapter 9, "Van Beesten, Dieren, en Voghels" (On Cattle, Animals, and Birds), amplifying upon the theme of *verscheydenheyt* (variety), "both of color and form," highlighted in stanza 23 of chapter 5, commences by adjuring the reader not to play the part of Dionisius Anthropographus, an ancient painter "who could fashion to his liking nothing but Human figures" (v. 1). Quite to the contrary, painters should instead strive to be "fraey … in alle dinghen" (skillful at everything), not least in portraying the animals described in this chapter (v. 2). Chapter 9, in its emphasis on the proper portrayal of hair or fur, like chapter 10, "Van Laken oft Draperinghe" (On Fabrics or Drapery), continues the discussion of *gheestigh* subject matter, begun in stanza 37 of chapter 8: "For leaves, hair, the sky, and drapery, this is all spirit, and the spirit teaches how to fashion them." Van Mander starts with the noblest of beasts—the horse—the species most closely attuned to human beings in quality, temperament, and intention, by turns fearless and forceful, yet tractable (v. 4), capable of grief and compunction (v. 5), conformable to its master's will, even unto death (v. 6). The horse, as it turns out, has an affective range nearly as great as the human figure.

In stanzas 8–12, Van Mander provides some basic technical advice on how best to depict a well-proportioned steed, even while stating that he dislikes hard and fast precepts and measurements, the rigorous application of which will usually result in a "swaer manier" (plodding manner, v. 9). Stanza 10, which specifies that well-formed hooves must be "lustrous jet black," and stanza 12, which instructs painters "to give [a horse's] hair its proper color," anticipate the topic of stanzas 13–16 on equine coloring. Although Van Mander insists that the painter is always free to paint whatsoever colors he wishes—"piebald," for instance, or "white and yellow"—he styles brown-red and blue-gray the most beautiful colors. Stanza 14 implicitly invokes *Reflexy Const*, calling upon painters to master the "luster and shine of hide … as revealed in Sunshine," and to pay attention to the "flickering hair of the flanks." Stanzas 15–16 encourage the painter closely to mark the vagaries of Nature, her propensity to counterfeit various materials on horses' hides: some Neapolitan or Campagnan horses appear "coated in honey" (v. 15), some apple-grays give the impression of "scales" (v. 16), some flecked whites comes across as being spotted "with little flies" (v. 16). Stanza 17 reminds the reader that

color and *Actitude* (Attitude) go hand in hand: Van Mander emphasizes that equine attitudes require as much mastery as human ones, if horses are to be shown moving in a "sweet, well-tempered way."

Stanzas 18–23 rehearse multiple anecdotes about the depiction of a specific fugitive effect, the froth seen to issue from an active horse's mouth: Protogenes, Nealcas, and other ancient painters often relied on luck, chance, or mere accident, says Van Mander, when portraying such things that (like leaves, hair, sky, and drapery) fall beyond the scope of set rules or practical diligence (v. 20). The moral of these linked anecdotes, distilled in stanzas 22–23, is that painters, in their efforts to imitate Nature, must not paint "met vlijt" ([too] diligently) or produce images that look "figuerlijck gheschildert" (painted in an artificially contrived fashion). Furthermore, in their persistent attempts to represent such apparencies, they must seize upon any ways and means that prove expedient, any *modus operandi* that yields a good result: "And howsoever such things be done, whether with the thumbs, or with a sponge, or in some other way out of the ordinary, if the result looks good, I hold it in esteem" (v. 23). Recalling the Plinian anecdote about Apelles, who left it to live horses, by their firsthand reaction, to judge whether his painted horses were true to life (vv. 24–25), Van Mander adduces several works of ancient art—the Capitoline *Marcus Aurelius on Horseback*, the bronze horses on the façade of Saint Mark's, Venice, the *Horsemen* of Monte Cavallo—to demonstrate how expert and anatomically precise the Ancients were at portraying horses (vv. 26–27).

From stanza 28 onward, the topic shifts mainly to "bulls, oxen, and cows," which, as Van Mander observes in stanza 29, "share a similar form" but must be differentiated according to color, temperament, and various features peculiar to the breed, such as horns (vv. 30–31), furry locks (v. 32), and shaggy coats (v. 33). With reference to the beauty of livestock, says Van Mander in stanza 34, one must look above all to Nature, "practic[ing] after this living thing and that." In painting cattle and other beasts after the life, Jacopo Bassano is as worthy to be prized amongst the moderns (v. 36) as were Pausias and Nicias amongst the Ancients (vv. 37–38). After bestowing fulsome praise on the *Farnese Bull*, sculpted by Apollonius and Tauriscus of Rhodes and displayed in present-day Rome (vv. 40–41), Van Mander concludes, in stanzas 42–46, with twelve epigrams on Myron's famously lifelike bronze heifer (paraphrased from Pierre Ronsard's French translation of epigrams from the *Greek Anthology*), on the manner and meaning of which, precisely poised between truth to Nature and the display of artifice, a compound Van Mander very

much endorses (see section 2, *supra*, of this "Introduction," "The Sources, Title-Page, and Scope of the *Grondt*"). The final stanza (v. 47) takes up the epigrammatic theme of Nature and artifice in concert, advising the painter that even when he devises "Monsters en Draken" (Monsters and Dragons), he can "do nothing better than direct [himself] to Nature." There he will find some animal on which to model his chimaeric creatures in how they "lie, lope, step, and amble," taking care "to paint all things after the life" and, simultaneously, to paint "everything subtly," that is, to reconcile Nature and artifice.

Chapter 10, "Van Laken oft Draperinghe" (On Fabrics and Drapery), concerns the representation of clothing—specifically, the texture, sheen, color, and drape of various types of fabric, as they interact with the human body at rest and in motion, their patterns of folds changing accordingly. Fabrics and drapery are the fourth of the *gheestigh* subject matters listed by Van Mander in chapter 8, and respectively treated there and in chapters 7, 9, and 10, where he discusses kinetic skies, leaves, hair and fur, and now textiles. Although the beauty of the nude transcends "every variety of linen, worm-spun silk, and garment of Tyrian purple," declares Van Mander in stanzas 2–3, modesty and the exigencies of Northern climes compel us to clothe ourselves as befits our station—purple for kings, white for maidens, black for widows, roughly woven grays for herdsmen and mariners (v. 3). Therefore, one of the painter's foremost tasks is accurately to render the varieties of woven cloth—woolens, twills, serges, silks, and other stuffs—either "hanging flat or lying creased" (v. 5). As prime examples, Van Mander cites Albrecht Dürer's creased draperies and Jan Gossart's finely-spun cloths (v. 6), but best to be imitated is Lucas van Leyden, whose fabrics resulted from ceaseless study after the life. What all three masters evince is the *gheestigh* nature of stuffs that, in the manner they are joined, girt, and bound, appear to be "matter[s] of 'gheestigh soecken' (spirited conjecture) [and] 'versierich vinden' (clever invention)," more so even than foliage or hair (v. 8).

Stanzas 9–11 argue that the seven motions characteristic of the human figure, in chapter 3, and of landscape and the way it is viewed, in chapter 8, are applicable, too, to drapery as it "stretches and dangles," is folded "out and in," "slip[s] out of sight," or "recedes" (vv. 9–10) in accompaniment to the projection and recession of "shoulders, thighs, knees, belly, calves, or buttocks" (v. 11). As the disposition of trees is compared to the *Actitude* of bodies in chapter 5, so here, in stanza 12, networks of folds are analogized to the branches growing from a tree. With these criteria in mind, Van Mander heaps fur-

ther praise on Dürer and Lucas in stanzas 13–16, singling out Dürer's late Marian prints, in which brightly lit fields of flat fabric alternate with multifaceted shadows (v. 14), and Lucas's *Dance of the Magdalene*, *Triumph of Mordecai*, and *Temptation of Christ*, which feature fine, flowing trains and dense networks of minute folds. In stanza 14, he insists that credit be given where credit is due: both masters, he protests, have been profitable objects of imitation to their Italian counterparts who, by slightly altering their sources, cunningly hide their accrued debt of borrowings. His misgivings, however, do not extend to the Venetians: in stanza 18, he lauds them for their skillful painting of "sijden en weerschijnsels verscheyden" (silks and various lustrous stuffs). In stanza 19, with the Venetian painters in mind, he previews the subject of chapter 11, "Van het Sorteren, en by een schicken der Verwen" (On Sorting and combining Colors), while also recalling the subject of chapter 7: he lists adjacencies of pigment that can be used to represent reflections—lakes with light blues, smalts with lake whites, light massicot with green, ash white with yellow-lake, purple with red or blue. Stanza 22, likewise anticipatory, gives an example of the kind of technical advice he will offer more abundantly in chapter 12: he counsels the painter to give his velvets and satins a "gloedich doorschijnen" (glowing transparency) by means of color combination, modulation, and, most importantly, masterful glazing. Stanza 23 follows up by noting how and why the reflective properties of silken velvets must be painted differently from those of satins.

Stanzas 24–26 then rate various Italian masters known for their painted stuffs, amongst whom Titian, whose widely circulated woodcuts attest his fine handling of fabrics, is principally eulogized. By contrast, asserts Van Mander in stanzas 27–29, the Ancients displayed slight skill at draping fabrics, as their statues, "with linens hanging wet, like cords," reveal (v. 27). Schematic, repetitive, and leaden, their stuffs neither respond to the figure's motion nor flutter with the breeze (v. 29). In stanzas 30–31, as an antidote to such deficiency, Van Mander reminds his readers that draperies, animated by *Gheest*, should proceed directly from the painter's lively *Idee*—that is, "imaginaty, oft ghedacht" (imagination, or memory)—so as to move "in a subtle, true way" (v. 30) and to stream gracefully, as befits the veils of nymphs and the skirts of bacchantes (v. 31).

Color and coloring are introduced as topics of concern in chapter 5, associated with the depiction of affect in chapter 6, identified with *gheestigh* paint handling in chapter 8, and rise further into prominence in chapters 9 and 10, as we have just seen. Chapter 11,

"Van het Sorteren, en by een schicken der Verwen" (On Sorting and combining Colors), takes up the subject raised in stanza 19 of chapter 10—how to apportion colors in such a way as to enhance their respective properties, by setting them side by side. Van Mander hastens to clarify, in stanza 1, that his chosen topic here is adjacencies, not mixtures of pigments. He directs painters, in stanzas 2 and 3, to call to mind, as an epitome of sorting, the ancient painter Pausias's famed picture, known as the *Stephanoplocos*, in which he portrayed his beloved Glycera plaiting wreaths and gathering posies whose floral colors, "ten-thousandfold," she was seen to combine in "constich voeghen" (artful congress). Like Pausias, the painter would do well to follow Nature, in whose springtime dales, as in the vale of Tempe, the vivid colors of florets "in their thousands" are easily discernible, none eliding into the verdant greens of the surrounding fields (v. 4). In art as in Nature, adds Van Mander in stanza 5, even the color green should stand out from green—trees from plants, plants from meadows, whether by day or by night.

Throughout chapter 11, the description of natural phenomena supplies a touchstone for the proper sorting of colors: for example, as the sky's bright blue is said to enhance the sun's golden radiance, so yellow and blue can be conjugated, and also red and green, red and blue, purple and yellow, and green and white, "no less than Vineyards accord with fields of Wheat" (v. 7). In stanza 8, Van Mander enjoins painters to cast their eyes on Nature's colorful creations, such as seashells and birds, especially the parrot, in which she "sows [colors] by sorting them." Nature further teaches that purple and green, like blue and purple and green and blue, are gracefully matched, and that all combine well with flesh-tints, unlike red, which sits better beside yellow, just as yellow abides well by green. In sorting colors, affirms Van Mander in stanzas 10–11, Bruegel was expert beyond measure, as his use of gray stuffs "shaded as if without shadows" demonstrates, from out of which a red or azure blue would occasionally blossom forth, in the manner of poets who season their stories and arguments with pregnant sayings. After citing another master of grays, Raphael da Reggio (v. 12), Van Mander speeds to his conclusion, mentioning as an aside that well sorted colors enhance the appearance of both flesh and fabric and heighten the effect of projection in "landscapes and buildings" (v. 13). He admits to marshaling his energies for the chapters to follow that will bring his magnum opus to a close.

Whereas chapter 11 centered on the juxtaposition of consonant colors, chapter 12, "Van wel schilderen, oft Coloreren" (On painting well, or Coloring), focuses on brushstrokes and mixing colors, espe-

cially the production of flesh-tints which Van Mander identifies as the most complex of color mixtures. Stanzas 1–3 define the relation between "teyckenen" and "schilderen" (drawing and painting), likening painting to the "Gheest oft de Siele" (Spirit or the Soul) that enlivens drawing's "doode streken" (dead strokes), bringing them to life with the brush's colored strokes. Or again, drawing is like the clay effigy moulded by Prometheus and adorned by Minerva, painting like the heavenly flame with which the titan brought that dead image to life. Van Mander conflates this effigy with Pandora, thereby implying that painting has the power to encompass (i.e., to represent) the "plenitude of every good thing" (v. 2). In a further analogy, he conceives of drawing and painting as paired, and compares their union to the marriage of poetry and music, whereby the affianced sounds of both are enhanced and vivified (v. 3).

Stanzas 4–8 describe two methods of combining drawing and painting to produce a picture. Some masters, "sure of hand, quick-witted, well-apprised," will prefer to improvise directly, drawing on their panels the lineaments of whatever "Ide'" (Idea, i.e., mental image based in imagination and memory) they have pre-painted in their mind's eye (vv. 4–6). Copious in invention, they will then quickly apply the colored underpainting, in the process revising what they have drawn (v. 5). In stanza 6, Van Mander warns that their bold, resolute method of "verwe handelen" (color handling), which moves briskly from intention to execution, will be appropriate only to those "Painter-Augustuses" whose command over their art is imperial, nonpareil. The second method, detailed in stanzas 7–8, results from "much effortful consideration": sketches and preliminary drawings precede the application of the finished drawing in black lead over a "thinly tempered" priming. The underdrawing must be meticulously detailed and precise, "without the smallest stroke out of place," and the oil colors should then be applied with the utmost care over this drawn template (v. 8).

Stanzas 9–15 digress at length on the Italian method of painting in fresco with the help of "well-studied" cartoons; Van Mander reports that Michelangelo considered this technique "manly" and, conversely, deprecated painting in oils as "Women's labor or toil" (v. 11). He rejoins, in stanzas 12–13, that pace Michelangelo, fresco painting is little practiced in the Netherlands, where "hard weather" is so inimical to "stone-based plaster." Having said this, he emphasizes that in principle he approves of the cartoon as a method of careful preparation serviceable to any technique of painting: howsoever one paints, the cartoon must be composed boldly, at the scale

of the final picture, worked up tonally, and brushed in a "painterly way on the ground color" (vv. 14–15). Indeed, as Van Mander avouches in stanzas 16–18, early Netherlandish masters used cartoons as prototypes for their precisely painted panels, tracing them onto the polished white ground and then, on this basis, executing a finished underdrawing in black chalk or black lead (v. 16). Using diluted lampblack, they then added details and subtle shading before covering the underdrawing with a "thin layer of priming … the color of flesh," diligently bringing the picture to a semifinished state; finally, they added a thin layer of color, with an "application deft, lustrous, and pure" (vv. 17–18). He adds, in stanza 19, that Dürer, Bruegel, and Lucas were all masters of this technique, at which "first amongst the first" was Jan van Eyck.

By contrast, he complains in stanza 20, painters now work paint as if they were sculpting it, rather than laying their colors "cleanly, finely, and sportively" (i.e., with a sure but free hand). In stanza 21, Van Mander makes patently clear his preference for *netticheyt* (precision) in handling of the brush, so long as the brushwork, for all its precision, never fails to display "aerdt, gheest, en cloeckheyt" (subtlety, spirit, and ingenuity), appearing fully resolved and thus retaining its *welstandt* (concinnity) "from afar as well as close by." Pictures made in this way will captivate the viewer's eyes, causing them "to cleave fast with constant desire." In stanzas 22–25, he adduces Titian as a paragon of *netticheyt*, on the example of his youthful works, executed precisely so as to please from any vantage point, near or far. His inimitable later works, however, though toilsomely brushed, appear from close up to consist of mere "patches and rough strokes," showing their *netticheyt* only from a distance (v. 23). Here *netticheyt* is a paradoxical effect that results from brushwork as judiciously applied as its looks slapdash. Quoting Vasari, in stanza 25, Van Mander designates these late works by Titian paradigms of "labor … concealed by Great Art" (i.e., of the art that conceals art).

The discussion of Titian's two manners, along with the earlier account of the two methods of combining drawing and painting, leads to the conclusion, stated in stanza 26, that Northern painters today have two manners at their disposal, as evinced by Titian's early and late *handelinghe* (paint handling), diligently precise on one hand, rough yet judicious on the other. Van Mander, who clearly prefers the former of the two, urges aspiring painters from the start "to acquaint [themselves] with a fastidious manner and a precise beginning." In stanzas 27–29, however, he issues a pair of caveats: if they wish their figures to "project in the round," painters must

eschew sharp highlights, instead relying on re-reflection and deft use of the ground color to effect smooth transitions from shadow to light; and equally important, they must carefully choose pigments and color mixtures conducive to producing "incarnadine flesh-tints" true to the body's lustrous complexion, its vermilion bloom and glow (vv. 28–29). So crucial is mastery of "carnatie" (flesh-tint) that Van Mander devotes eight stanzas to it (30–37): "carnatie" must be varied according to age, sex, and station (v. 30); to achieve variation of this sort, vermilion must be layered over selected colors, such as yellow ocher for the depiction of sunbaked flesh (v. 31); highlights must take the form of flesh-tints, and pure lead white never utilized for this purpose (vv. 32–33). By way of example, Van Mander cites a *Nativity* by Titian, once described to him by Goltzius, in which a single flesh-tinted highlight shone forth from a shepherd's brow, while all the adjacent colors "sped away into a haze of shadows" (v. 34).

In stanzas 35–35, Van Mander, admitting that the Italians are better at procuring the effect of living flesh than the Netherlanders, charges his fellow painters to redouble their efforts to paint flesh neither drily nor piscinely; they must first of all realize that any flesh-tint consists of "soo veelderley verwen" (a great variety of colors), and that in painting the human face, no less than in painting a "pleasing Landscape," "green, blue, yellow, indeed every color" comes into play (v. 36). In deploying these many colors, the painter should hold fast to the apothegm that "everything must gently merge," as Nature, who "always model[s] for the best," clearly shows to any good painter who, working "after the life," allows her to quicken him (v. 37). Therefore, adjures Van Mander, let bad habits and false opinions be dropped by all painters who have been misled; better for them to be untrue to whatever has falsely guided them, to improve themselves than to behave like obstinate, "contumacious sectarian[s]" (i.e., stubborn adherents of false doctrines).

Stanzas 38–40 enforce Van Mander's cautionary remarks, appending a further admonition: painters should abstain from admixing lampblack with any other pigments, most of all with flesh-tints, since it will actively decay, spoiling every other color. So, too, he warns in stanzas 41–42, massicot, minium, and Spanish green should be banished from any flesh-tint, and, for the application of the purest pigments, brushes must be kept exactingly clean (v. 42). He closes, in stanza 43, with some highly technical advice regarding the use of pigments, such as smalts, prone to discoloration due to their unstable reaction to oil media.

Chapter 13, "On the origin, nature, force, and effect of Colors," reflects upon the ontologies of colors, starting with their source in

God, whom Van Mander presents as their first principle and efficient cause. He opens by proclaiming that all things have their proper colors, given them by their divine Creator, who like an "artful Sculptor and Painter" is the originator of every form and being (v. 1). As colors first came into being when God separated light from darkness, so now, even when obscured by shadows and indiscernible to human sense, they continue to exist as a distinctive quality of things (vv. 2–3). All accidental properties, asserts Van Mander in stanza 4, derive from the four elements, colors being no exception (v. 4).

Van Mander propounds a formal definition of color in stanza 5: color is the "furthermost clarity of any body from within which it is materialized" as the "substance of Light." Bright daylight thus heightens the eyes' innate ability to discriminate amongst the colors of things. In stanza 6, he affirms that no thing, howsoever strange or unusual its form, can exist without color. In stanza 7, he distinguishes between natural and artificial colors, those made by Nature and those made by human manufacture. And in stanza 8, he qualifies the definition just put forward in stanza 5, specifying with respect to the function of colors that they are the "natural quickening of [the surfaces] of all things" in human eyes; whether "monochrome, mixed, or polychrome," these colored things "awaken the eye's hungry gaze," causing the beholder ravenously to crave that which he sees, as if it were food.

Colors not only supply the means whereby all things can be differentiated, they also exercise an affective force on persons, emboldening or startling them, oppressing or exhilarating (v. 9), even causing mothers to give birth to children colored like the things that once affrighted them (vv. 10–11). Stanzas 13–16 describe further affordances of color, which can seduce or beguile, refresh, please, or delight. So attractive are the colors of a woman's body, avows Van Mander in stanza 17, that Scipio and Alexander came to be much admired less for their martial deeds than for controlling their rampant desire when faced by ladies of fine coloring. In stanza 18, he reminds the reader that black and white are colors, too: here he credits the affects triggered by texts written in black on a field of white, as much to their contents as to the colors of pen, ink, and paper. Paraphrasing Girolamo Benzoni's *History of the New World*, in stanzas 19–22, he recounts how the natives of Peru, though they knew nothing about European writing, had their own impressive system of chronicling affairs of state by means of knotted cords, variously colored. As this and other examples show, various peoples respond to colors differently: black thus conduces to joy amongst the Javanese, white to

sorrow, as Van Mander reports in stanza 23. In closing, he acknowledges the fine colors of "unalloyed God," "unblemished glass," and "rare gemstones" such as "Sardonyx and Jasper, Chrysolite, Hyacinth, Topaz, Amethyst, Emerald, [and] Chrysoprase," which transport the heart and mind heavenward, allowing persons to glimpse the beauty of the new Jerusalem even in this life (vv. 25–26).

Chapter 14, "Bediedinghen der Verwen, watter mede beteyckent can worden" (On the Interpretation of Colors, and what they can signify), the last in the sequence of four on color and coloring, purports to examine the representative and signifying functions of colors, amongst which the color yellow is first in rank, not only because it is used to portray the radiant sun, chief source of the light that makes all colored things visible, but also because yellow, in that it represents the golden glow of sunlight, can also collaterally be seen to represent gold itself, the chiefest, most precious, and most desirable of metals (vv. 1–2). Although the "intemperate desire" for gold has spawned much evil, this does not necessarily redound to gold's discredit, reasons Van Mander in stanza 3; the metal, in and of itself, is not iniquitous. Stanzas 4 and 5 dwell on the etymology of the term "gold": derivative from *Aurora* (saffronlike and glowing) or *Aura* (luster), it can also connote the human inclination readily "to behold … whatever shines gaily, with clarity and brightness" (v. 5). From stanza to stanza, Van Mander explores the denotative and connotative values of gold, constructing a loosely associative chain of signifying functions, mutually, sometimes tangentially linked via relations of analogy: for instance, in stanza 6, the color yellow, by dint of representing the golden light of the sun, stands also for golden-haired Phoebus, who in turn signifies the Godhead, the "fountainhead of all beauty"; and since beauty in all its forms, visible and invisible, comes from God, yellow can be said, too, under certain circumstances, to signify that divinely "beauteous beauty" which consists in "what is invisibly beautiful."

In fact, twenty-one of chapter 14's thirty-two stanzas consider the meanings of gold and of the colors used to portray it, starting, as we have seen, with yellow. Stanzas 7 and 8 list the royal connotations of gold, the most "beautiful color," as well as ascribing the invention of cloth of gold jointly to King Attalus and the Babylonians. Stanzas 9 and 10 inventory some of gold's uses in Scripture: to ornament Solomon's Temple, making it "cheerful and beautiful beyond measure, indeed incredibly precious"; to signify the fidelity of Rebecca, in Genesis 24, and the Bride of the Lord in Psalm 44 (45); and to urge the Church of Laodicea to renew its faltering faith, in Revelation

3. In heraldry, says Van Mander in stanza 11, quoting liberally here as elsewhere from Hippolyte Cocheris Sicille's *Blazon of Colors and Arms, Liveries, and Devices*, gold, the highest metal, "denotes wealth, high birth, magnanimity, and magnificence." In stanza 12, he briefly comments on the heraldic significance of the colors blue, gray, green violet, and black; and in stanza 13, he mentions that the meaning of gold somewhat changes when it is displayed beside these and other colors: alongside flesh-tints, for example, it signifies "sober affluence" and a "rational person of good estate." Summing up, he states in stanza 14 that for all these reasons yellow, especially when it verges on white, was construed in the days of Moses and Solomon as the most eminent of colors.

He distinguishes the latter-day proliferation of yellows from the four-color palette of the Ancients, in stanza 15: whereas they had only yellow ocher, painters now have access to five species of the color yellow—massicot, schiet-yellow, and the two orpiments, in addition to ocher. He adds, in stanza 16, that minium, too, can be used whenever painters need to describe a golden yellow "tilting toward orange," but on no account should they rely on gold itself to depict gold. Stanzas 17–21 develop this theme: the magnificent golden ornaments worn by Virgil's Dido as she sallied forth to hunt will be prized when pictured in colors rather than gilt; although golden frames enhance a picture's beauty, within the well-made picture proper, gold foil should be forbidden.

Stanzas 22–23 turn from gold to silver, the metal most highly placed after gold, the beauty of which can best be portrayed by the color white. Stanza 24 enumerates further heraldic meanings of gold and silver used in conjunction with red, blue, green, purple, and / or black. According to stanza 25, no coat of arms should contain these colors in the absence of gold and / or silver, and conversely, gold and / or silver are never found in such devices without one or more of these adjacent colors. Van Mander brings the chapter to a close in stanzas 26–30, wherein he respectively correlates various colors, gold and silver included, to the planets (v. 26), the virtues (v. 27), the ages of man (v. 28), the temperaments (v. 29), the elements (v. 29), and the four seasons (v. 30). Finally, chapters 31 and 32 constitute a compendious peroration on Van Mander's poetic project, now ended, of writing a verse treatise on *schilderconst*. He apologizes that had circumstances permitted, he would have written more chapters—say, on architectural painting; instead he simply refers the reader to books complementary to his own, such as Sebastiano Serlio's *General Principles of Architecture According to the Five Types of Edifice*, as translated by

Pieter Coecke van Aelst, and to Hans Blum's *Five Columnar Orders of Architecture, That Is, the Tuscan, Doric, Ionian, Corinthian, and Composite*. For particular exempla of the many points he has raised in chapters 1–14 of the *Grondt*, he now refers young aspiring painters to Books II–IV of the *Schilder-Boeck*, the *Lives* of Ancient, Italian, and Netherlandish and German Painters. By reading, they shall at the same time learn to paint.

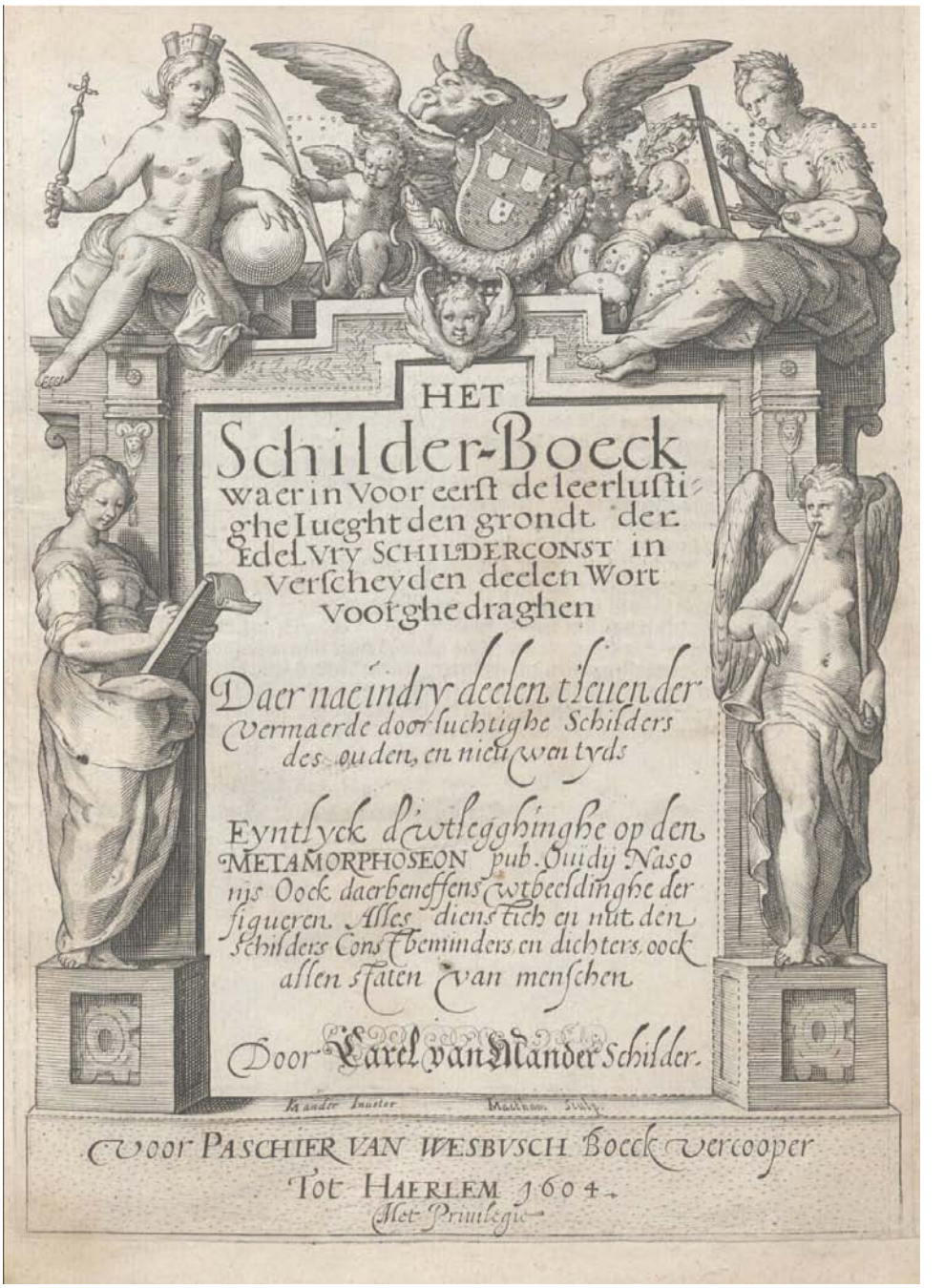

FIGURE 1 Jacob Matham after Karel van Mander, Title Page to *Het Schilder-Boeck, waer in voor eerst de leerlustighe Iueght den grondt der Edel Vry* schildeconst *in Verscheyden deelen Wort Voorghedraghen.* (Haarlem: Paschier van Wes[t]busch, 1604), quarto
UNIVERSITEITSBIBLIOTHEEK LEIDEN, INV. NO. 21220 E 9

FIGURE 2 Jan Saenredam after Hendrick Goltzius, *Portrait of Karel van Mander*, 1604. Engraving, 178×123 mm
RIJKSMUSEUM, AMSTERDAM

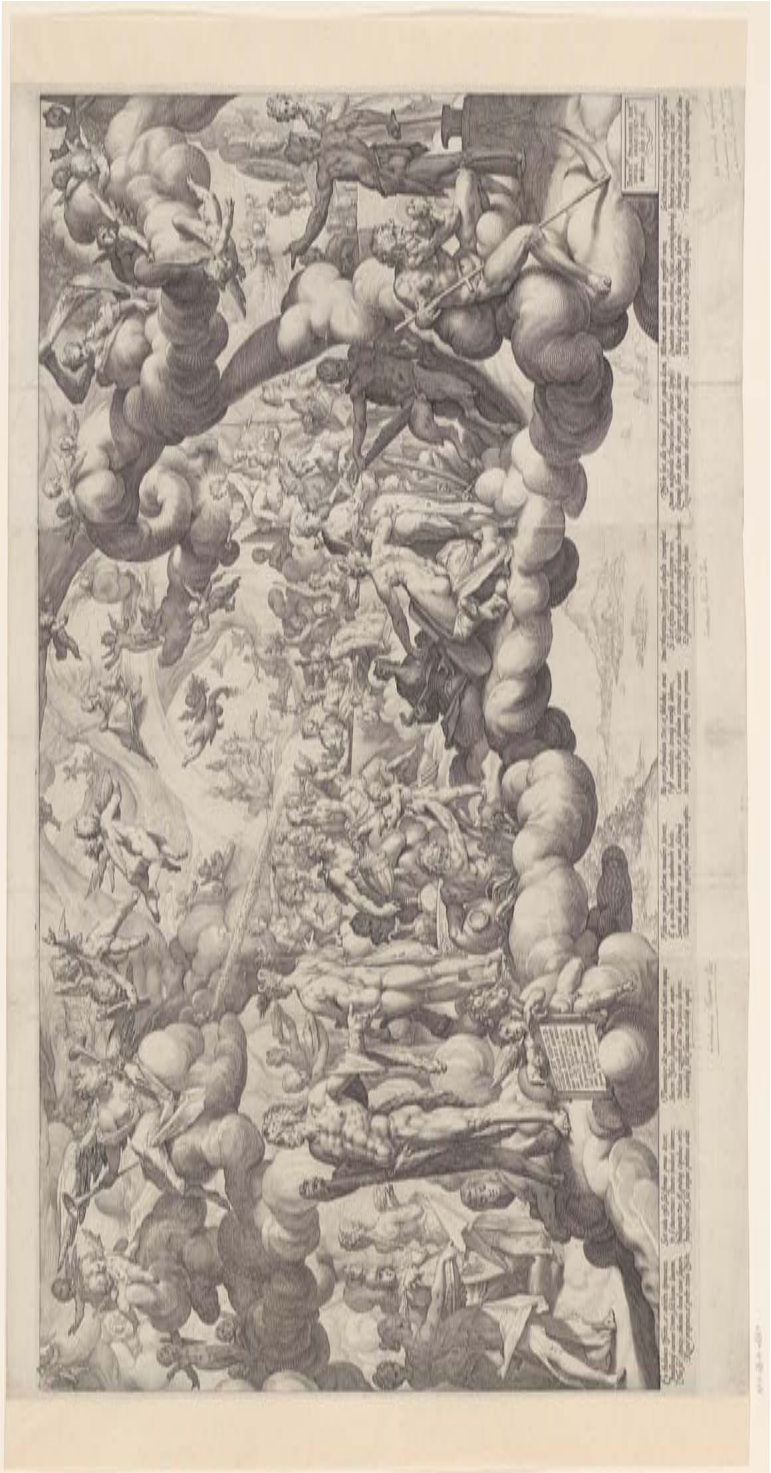

FIGURE 3 Hendrick Goltzius after Bartholomeus Sprangher, *Marriage Feast of Cupid and Psyche*, 1587. Engraving, 435×861 mm
RIJKSMUSEUM, AMSTERDAM

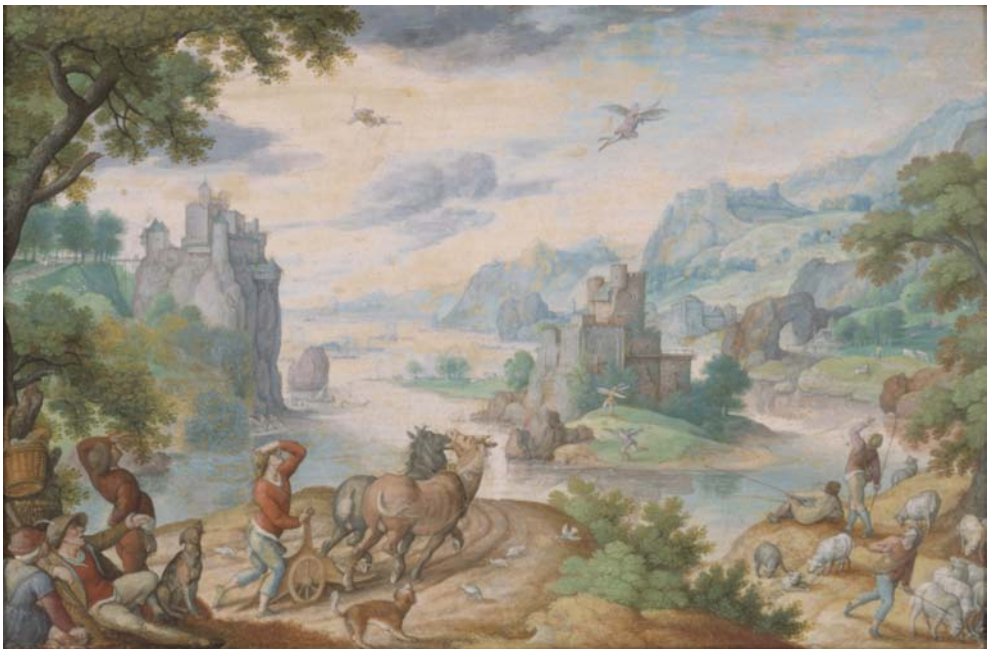

FIGURE 4 Hans Bol, *Landscape with Fall of Icarus*, ca. 1585. Watercolor on paper, 133 × 206 mm
MUSEUM MAYER VAN DEN BERGH, ANTWERP

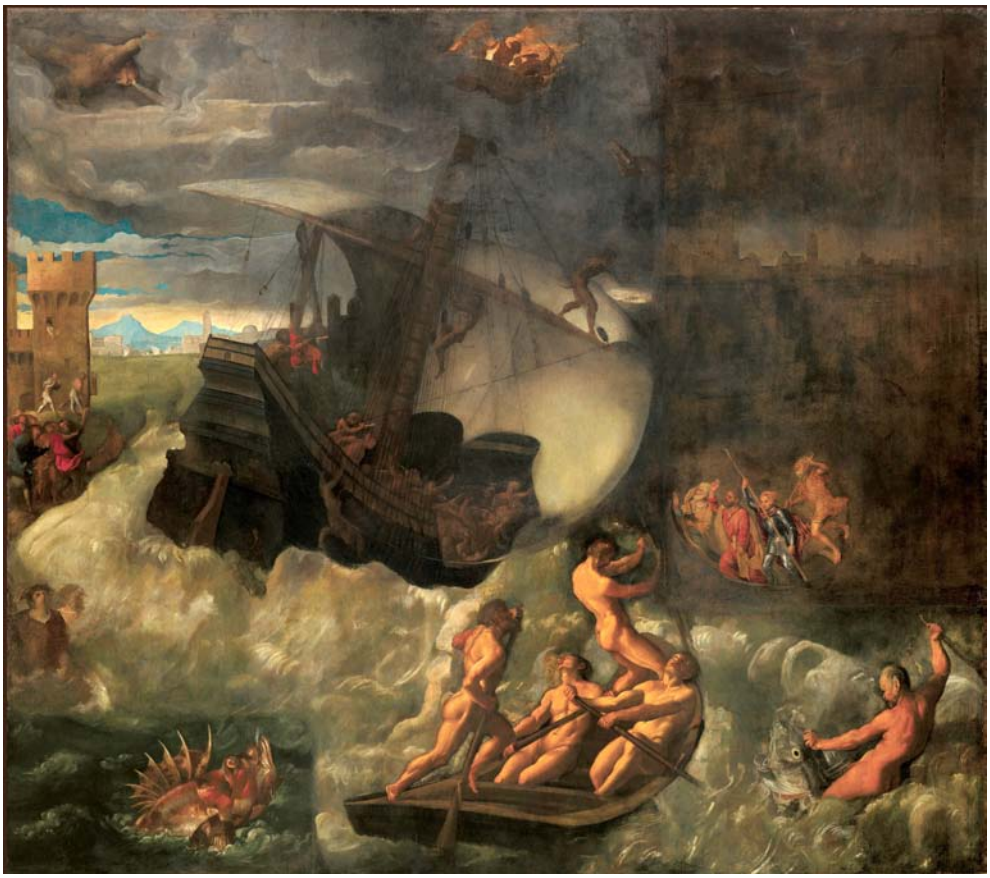

FIGURE 5 Palma Il Vecchio, *Barrasca di mare* (*Saints Mark, Nicholas, and George Calm a Storm at Sea*), before 1528. Oil on canvas, 362 × 408 cm
ACCADEMIA, VENICE

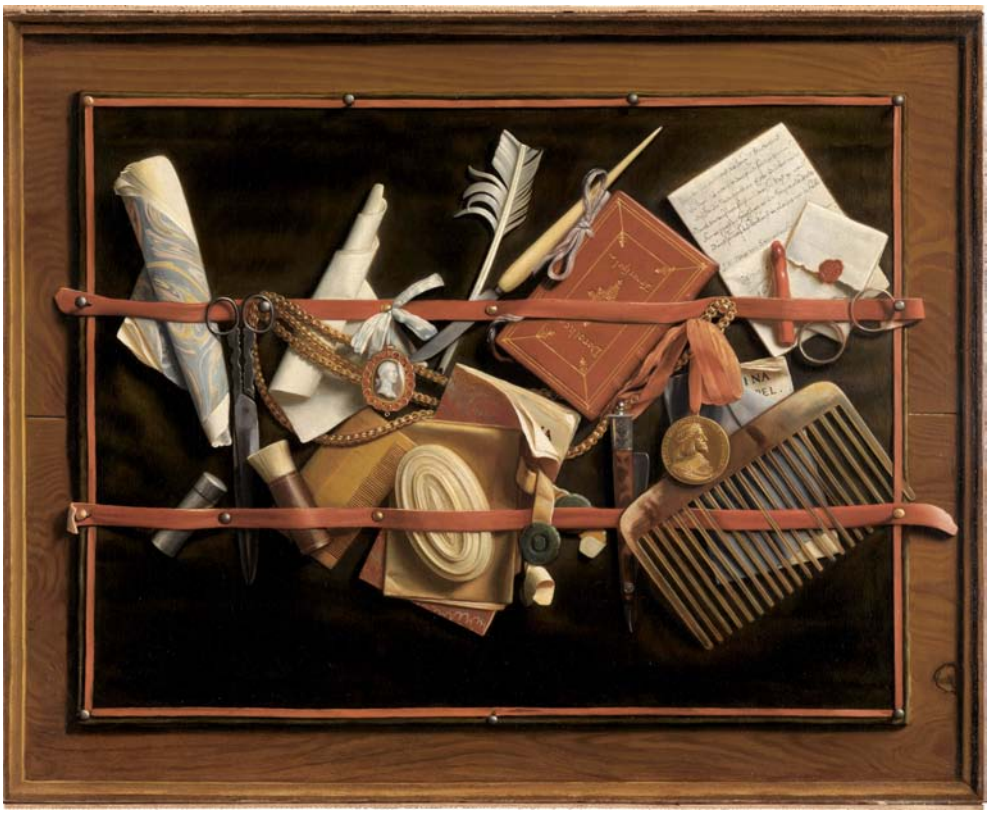

FIGURE 6 Samuel van Hoogstraten, *Feigned Letter Rack Painting*, ca. 1670. Oil on canvas, 79 × 63 cm
STAATLICHE KUNSTHALLE, KARLSRUHE

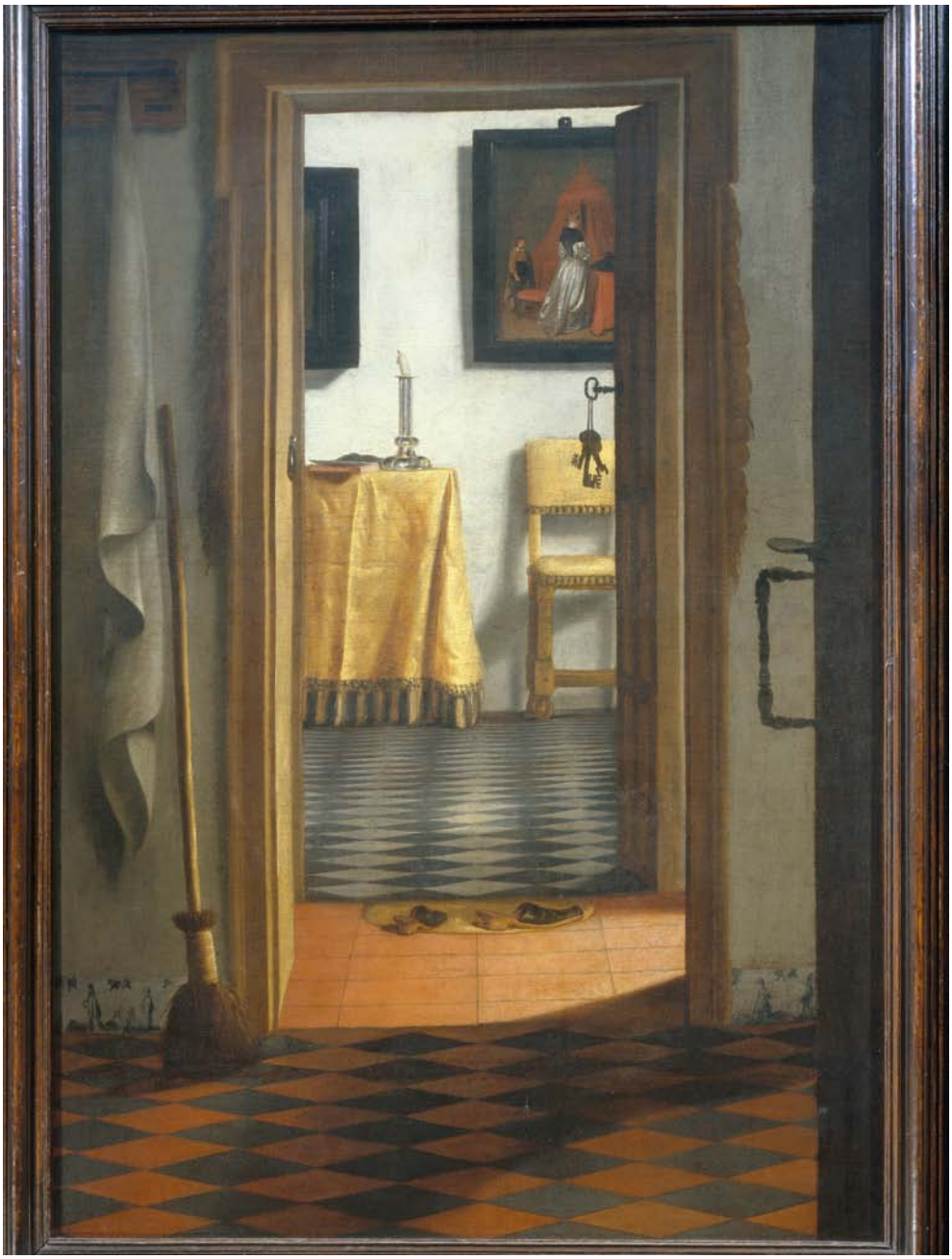

FIGURE 7 Samuel van Hoogstraten, *The Threshold View of a Passageway*, ca. 1655–1660. Oil on canvas, 103 × 126.5 cm
MUSÉE DU LOUVRE, PARIS

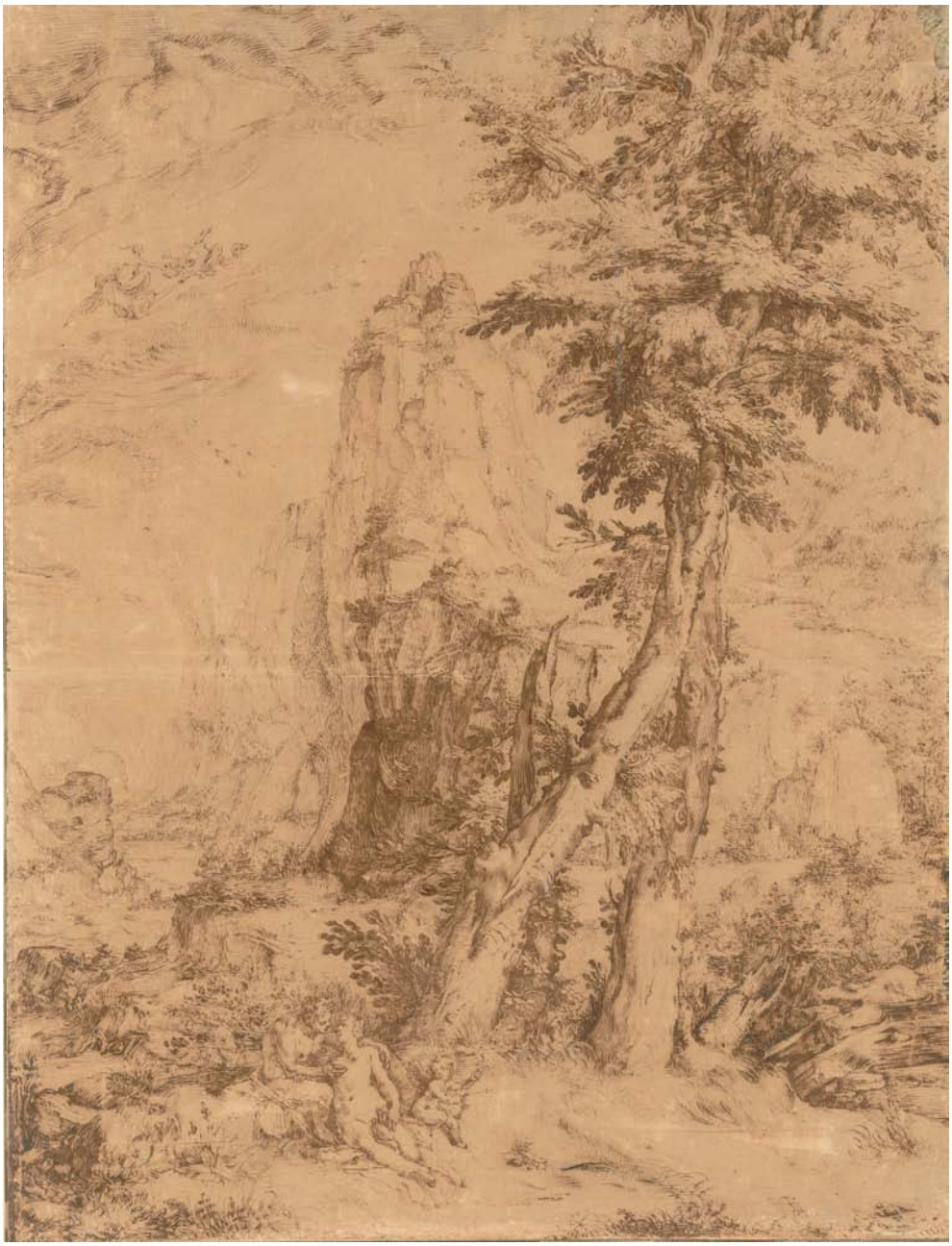

FIGURE 8 Hendrick Goltzius, *Landscape with Venus and Adonis*, 1596 [or 1598]. Pen and brown ink on brown-tinted paper, 635 × 484 mm
ALBERTINA, VIENNA

Den Grondt: The Foundation of
the Noble, free Art of Painting:
In which her form, origin, and nature
are placed before the eyes of inquisitive
Youth, in discrete Parts, in Rhymed Verse.

Dedicatory Prefaces, Preface to the Foundation of the Noble, Free Art of Painting, and Selection of Preliminary Poems on the *Grondt*[1]

Esteemed, Worthy, Honorable, Wise, and very provident Lords, my Lords, the Lord Niclaes Suyker, Bailiff, the Lords Burgomaster, as well as the City Fathers, and Governors of the widely renowned, noble City of Haarlem, my gracious and lofty Lords,

In view of the fact that I, most honorable Lords, have long found myself more willing than able to show you some measure of service or well-pleasing gratitude,[2] with a palpable sign openly to display my sincere affection for the gracious, righteous, and praiseworthy government and protection which I, by God's mercy a fellow citizen of this noble City [of] Haarlem, well-known for ages, have enjoyed and shared along with other native-born [citizens] and residents. As my Office is to support myself by binding and selling books, I have recently had printed a book, called the *Book on Picturing*, written by Carel van Mander, who has been a citizen of this City for about twenty Years. For this reason, a great predilection has impelled me to publish this [book] under your name: which also seemed to me not improper, considering that this praiseworthy City since ancient times has ever been gifted with very noble spirits in the art of Painting, as if Haarlem were a loving wetnurse of this Art and of her practitioners, and now continues so to be. While Emperors, Kings, and the highest Princes of the World, too, have appreciated this Art: thus, do I as well, hope and trust that my Worthy Lords, overlooking my insignificance, shall as lovers of all artful practices and noble arts, look with benevolent eyes upon my good favor and good will, and accept it with a willing heart in thanks. Therefore do I offer up and tender it to your lofty Honors, along with my desire humbly to obey my Honorable Lords. Praying the All-Powerful Lord to keep and preserve Your fortunate, praiseworthy, and blest government in long-lasting prosperity.

1 In addition to Paschier van Westbusch's dedication of the *Schilder-Boeck* to the government of Haarlem and Van Mander's dedication of the *Grondt* to Melchior Wijntgis, I have translated eight of the twenty-nine occasional poems that antecede the *Grondt*, selecting a sonnet, an ode, and a group of workshop-songs that directly pertain to it, along with a poem by Van Mander gainsaying his detractors.

2 The term "V.E.," i.e., "Uwe Edelheid," signifies "You," rather than the more formal honorific "Your Honor."

In Haarlem, on the first of December, 1604.
From your Honors' humble and biddable servant,
Passchier van Westbusch[3]

To the very Worthy, Honorable, and Art-loving Lord Melchior Wijntgis: former councilor, and Master General of the Mints of the United Netherlands: now Master of the Mint of the Land and County of Zeeland, my special Lord and good friend.[4]

Given that in all Nature, amongst Persons, nothing is more useful, expedient, or better for sure, swift, collective well-being than mutually, kindly, and peaceably to maintain a sincere, honest friendship: and conversely, through the exercise of envious, bitter enmity, the World comes lamentably to fall into the most profound decline[: So] I find myself sufficiently, and willingly, driven by needful causes to affirm, and by deed to show and make public, according to my little capacity, my heart's friendly disposition toward you, my good, gracious Lord and warm-hearted friend, in order at least to make small, grateful, friendly requital for previously received [tokens of] friendship in respect of which your Honor has far exceeded and over-

3 On Paschier van Westbusch, bookseller and publisher at the Sign of the Bible Held Aloft (*In de beslaghen Bybel*), see H. Miedema, trans. and ed., *Karel van Mander, Den grondt der edel vry schilder-const*, 2 vols. (Utrecht: 1973), 2:317.

4 On Melchior Wijntgis, whom Van Mander goes on to laud as a latter-day Maecenas, i.e., an incomparably generous and discerning patron of the visual arts, see H. Hymans, "Melchior Wyntgis," *De Dietsche warande* N.R. 2 (1889): 152–158, 268–277; Miedema, ed., *Karel van Mander, Grondt*, 2:324; and H. Miedema, ed., *Karel van Mander, The Lives of the Illustrious Netherlandish and German Painters*, trans. D. Cook-Radmore, 6 vols. (Doornspijk: 1995), 2:75–76. Due to his patronage and extensive collection of paintings, Wijntgis makes numerous appearances in *Schilder-Boeck*, Book IV, the *Lives of the Illustrious Netherlandish and High German Painters*; see fols. 209v, 317r, 219r–v, 225v, 227r, 232r, 242r, 246r, 261v, 264v, 268r, 293r, 295r, 297r. He is also mentioned in "'t Geslacht, de geboort, plaets, tydt, leven, ende wercken van Karel van Mander, Schilder, en Poeet" (Lineage, Birth, Place, Time, Life, and Works of Karel van Mander, Painter, and Poet), the posthumous biography appended to the second edition of the *Schilder-Boeck* (Amsterdam: Jacob Pietersz. Wachter, 1618), fols. Ri recto–Siij verso, esp. fol. Sij recto. Known as the *Levensbericht*, the "Life of Van Mander" was possibly co-authored by his brother Adam and son Karel van Mander II, on whom, see Miedema, ed., *Karel van Mander, Lives*, 2:12–14. The printer was Paulus van Ravesteyn, who produced it between 1616 and 1618 for the co-publishers Wachter and Cornelis Lodewijcksz. Van der Plasse, although starting in 1618, Wachter alone is credited on the engraved title page; see ibid., 1:3.

matched me. Yet (as I think) have I at length met with no other means so fitting as this, namely, to offer up to your Honor, in full deference, my Book (teaching Youth the foundation of the noble, free art of Painting). Since before this I had indeed looked round, without consideration of any high estate, for someone worthy of selection, through right knowledge earnestly and lovingly devoted to our Art, as your Honor chiefly is in deed and every perfection: thus do I surely hope that my offering shall come to be well met and not seen askance: what's more, in that it is a rhymed poem, and your Honor exercises himself in various languages and sometimes also in the literary Art of Poetry, knowledgeably and desirously, whenever his pressing affairs allow, may then the poverty of my Muse not be laughed or smiled at derisively, but favorably and in a friendly way in her presence, and afterward sweetly embraced and received, for that she with every diligence to the best of her ability brings forth, reveals, and places before the eyes the nature and character of his dear friend the noble Art of Painting, praiseworthy and honorable in all her parts. Already reassured by such good Faith, our Art of Painting is herself made joyfully and heartfully to rejoice, seeing herself so valued and well-wished, and this her Book go gratefully received into her lovers' hands, on which account she does indeed have cause greatly to be glad: for had she no such noble lovers, she herself and her artful practitioners, without climbing high or being raised in honor, would be reckoned amongst other handiworks and manual laborers, and would perforce remain dishonored and contemned amongst ignorant folk who lack understanding. But good fortune or merciful Occasion commonly ordains in every Century and time that several worthy, upright lovers be attached to our Art and her artful practitioners. The ancient Greek Painter Bularchus had as an admirer the Lydian King Candaulus.[5] The Theban Aristides had Mnason, the Tyrant or King of Elatea, and the Anatolian King Attalus.[6] Protogenes, Painter of Caunus, had the Egyptian King Demetrius.[7] Pamphilus and Melanthus had Aratus and

5 On Bularchus and Candaulus, see "On Bularchus, Painter," in *Schilder-Boeck*, Book IV, *Het leven der oude Antijcke doorluchtighe Schilders* (Lives of the Ancient Illustrious Painters), fol. 64r.

6 On Aristides, Mnason, and Attalus, see "On Aristides, Painter of Thebes," in ibid., fol. 71v.

7 On Protogenes and Demetrius, see "On Protogenes, of Caunus, Painter," in ibid. 83r.

Tholomeus.[8] Apelles had Alexander,[9] and Zeuxis the Agrigentians.[10] Beyond these ancients, Jan van Eyck had Duke Philip of Charlois:[11] Albrecht Dürer, Charles the Fifth:[12] Hans Holbein, Henry the Eighth, King of England.[13] Francesco Bonsignori had the Marquis of Mantua.[14] Michelangelo and Raphael of Urbino, the Art-loving Popes:[15] Sprangher and Hans von Aachen, the Emperor Rudolph,[16] and we

8 On Pamphilus and Melanthus, see "On Pamphilus, Painter of Macedonia," in ibid., fol. 71r–v; and "On Melanthus, Painter," in ibid., fols. 75v–76v, with specific reference to the patronage of Aratus and Tholomeus (Ptolemy).

9 On Apelles and Alexander, see "On Apelles, Prince of Painters," in ibid., fols. 78v–79r.

10 On Zeuxis and the Agrigentians, see "On Zeuxis of Herclea, Painter," in ibid., fol. 67r.

11 On Jan van Eyck and Philip of Charlois, see "Life of Jan and Hubert van Eyck, Brothers, and Painters of Maseyck," in *Schilder-Boeck*, Book IV, fol. 200r.

12 On Dürer and Charles V, see "Life of Albrecht Dürer, excellent Painter, Engraver, and Architect, of Nuremberg," in ibid., fol. 208v.

13 On Holbein and Henry VIII, see "Life of Hans Holbein, excellent Painter," in ibid., fol. 221v–222r.

14 On Bonsignori and the Marquis of Mantua, see "Life of Francesco Monsignori, Painter of Verona," in *Schilder-Boeck*, Book II, *Het leven der Moderne, oft deestijtsche doorluchtighe Italiaensche Schilders* (Lives of the Modern, or Contemporary Illustrious Italian Painters), fol. 135v.

15 On Michelangelo and Popes Julius II, Leo X, Clement VII, Paul III, and Julius III, see "Life of Michelangelo Buonarotti, Florentine, Painter, Sculptor, and Architect," in ibid., fol. 172v. On Raphael and Pope Julius II and Leo X, see G. Vasari, *Le vite de' più eccellenti pittori, scultori ed architettori*, ed. G. Milanesi, 9 vols. (Florence: 1878–1885; reprint ed., Florence: 1906), 4:385.

16 On Sprangher and the Emperor Rudolf II, whose growing affection for the visual arts runs parallel to his burgeoning appreciation of Sprangher's art and technical accomplishments, see "Life of Bartholomeus Sprangher, excellent Painter of Antwerp," in *Schilder-Boeck*, Book IV, fols. 271v–273v. Whereas their relationship is modeled on Pliny's account, in *Naturalis historia* XXXV.XXXVI.85–87, of the friendly relations between Alexander and Apelles, the connection between Rudolf and another of his court painters, Hans von Aachen, is more patronal than personal, with little or no allusion to this artist as a latter-day Apelles; see "Life of Hans von Aachen, excellent Painter of Cologne," in ibid., fol. 290r–v. On Van Mander's very different portrayals of Sprangher and Von Aachen, the former of whom is implicitly characterized as the teacher who instills in Rudolf his love of art, see J. Müller, *Concordia Pragensis: Karel van Manders Kunsttheorie im Schilder-Boeck. Ein Beitrag zur Rhetorisierung von Kunst und Leven am Beispiel der rudolfinischen Hofkünstler*, Veröffentlichungen des Collegium Carolinum 77 (Munich: 1993), 178–179, 182–183. On Haarlem as an outpost of Rudolfine culture and Van Mander's role in propagating local interest in Prague, see ibid., 111–224; and N. Mout, "Hendrick Goltzius und die Hofkultur Kaiser Rudolfs II. (1576–1612)," in N. Michels, ed., *Hendrick Goltzius (1558–1617): Mythos, Macht und Menschichkeit aus den Dessauer Beständen* [exh. cat., Anhaltische Gemäldega-

have Melchior, my Maecenas,[17] or better said, Apollo, to whom I altogether dedicate and offer up my slipshod poem, in likeness a mere lambkin. Which may your Honor willingly accept, covering over or seeing through the imperfect gift to the good will of its giver, as if it were a hundredfold Hecatomb from the more capable hand[s] of excellent Poets. I pray, not wishing to detain your Honor any longer, nor to hinder him from his affairs, that the sole cause of all perfection and beauty give and bestow to my Lord and good friend his heart's every good wish and desire. At Heemskerck, in the House of Sevenberghen, on the third of June, 1603.[18]
From your Honor's well-wishing friend and servant,
Carel van Mander, Painter.

Preface on the foundation of the noble, free Art of Painting.

The very amiable, genius-begetting, noble art of Painting, the natural nursemaid of all virtuous Arts and sciences[19] (as Scholars well-versed in letters amply know) was once held in high honor and estate by most Lords and men of the highest learning: indeed, so much esteemed by the ancient wise Greeks that in the time of the artful Painter Pamphilus they placed her in the same degree and on a par with the other liberal Arts. But whether in or through this association our exceptional art of Painting now bestows by dint of her worthy presence or company a greater honor upon the other Arts than she formerly received from association with them, what I feel about this I shall gladly keep quiet, that I not be chided by reproving eyes, or

lerie Dessau; Maximiliansmuseum Augsburg; Galerie in der Reithalle, Schloss Neuhaus] (Dessau: 2017), 54–61.

17 On Gaius Clinius Maecenas, legendary for his patronage of the arts, see Horace, *Ode 1: Dedication to Maecenas*, in *Odes and Epodes*, trans. and ed. N. Rudd (Cambridge, MA: 2004), 22–25.

18 On the House of Zevenberghen in Heemskerck, where Van Mander went to write the bulk of the *Schilder-Boeck*, see *Levensbericht*, fol. Siij recto; and Miedema, *Karel van Mander, Grondt*, 2:328–339. Citing P.A.F. van Veen, *De soeticheydt des buyten-levens, vergheselchapt met de boucken: Het hofdicht als tak van een georgische litteratuur* (The Hauge: 1960), 140–160, 207–215, Miedema comments that in retiring to a country house to compose his magnum opus, Van Mander was emulating such poets as Virgil and Horace, who claimed to have withdrawn to the countryside to write their pastoral poems. Heemskerck is relatively close to Alkmaar, where the printer of the *Schilder-Boeck*, Jacob de Meester (city printer of Alkmaar) was based.

19 Cf. *Grondt*, chapter 2, stanza 2 *infra*.

badly thanked, and in order not to foment many a dispute.[20] However, it is not to be gainsaid that she is well worthy of the place from which no one has ever cast her out, and that by rights she may indeed be called liberal.

Many ancient, glorious memories and deeds likewise confirm her nobility and high worth. First, no other liberal Arts were anywhere held in such esteem that it was forbidden by law for common folk to learn them: as was the case with the art of painting which formerly none but the noble-born was allowed to learn.[21] Besides this, as stands in the Law of the Roman Emperor Justinian, another person's painted board or panel, once an artful Painter had painted on it, could be claimed by and devolve to him; but another's Parchment or Paper was not required to pass to an artful Writer, even if he had written on it in golden Letters: then it remained the property of the original owner.[22] It is also to be Observed what fine splendid trophies our *Pictura* has as her ornament. Here one readily sees the great Alexander's worldly royal scepter conjoined with Apelles's brush, hanging bound together: there the most beauteous Campaspe becomes the painter's share.[23] Elsewhere the gold of Candaulus, King of the Lydians, weighed against the Painting of Bularchus. Here the riches of Cities for the Panels of Apelles, Echion, Melanthus, and Nicomachus.[24] There, for a four-colored piece by Apelles, a full hectoliter of gold:[25] and there again, eighty Talents of gold laid out for

20 Van Mander demurs to engage in the *disputatio artium* (paragone of the arts), on which reluctance see section 5, "Ekphrastic Usage in the *Schilder-Boeck*," my introductory essay *supra*.

21 Cf. "On Pamphilus," in *Schilder-Boeck*, Book II, fol. 72r.

22 As Miedema points out, Van Mander refers to Justinian, *Institutiones* III.i.33–34; see *Corporis Iustinianei pars IIII. seu ult. quam vulgo parvum volume vocant* [...], ed. Petrus ab Area Bavdoza Cestii I.C. (Leiden: Gabriel Carterius, 1593), col. 128, l. 21–27: "Quia pictura pretiosior est, quam scriptura, secundum Ioan." (Why a picture is more precious than a manuscript; alternatively, why something painted is more precious than something written.)

23 On Apelles, Alexander, and Alexander's paramour Campaspe, whom he awards to the painter, see "On Apelles," in *Schilder-Boeck*, Book II, fol. 79r.

24 On Apelles, Echion (Aetion), and Nicomachus, whose works in four colors were valued above the treasuries of cities, see "On Melanthus," in ibid., fol. 75v. On Melanthus's *Allegory of the Victorious Tyrant Aristratus*, a painting so highly esteemed that Aristratus's mortal enemy Aratus considered saving it from destruction, see "On Melanthus," in ibid., fols. 75v–76r.

25 On Apelles's priceless *Portrait of Alexander Brandishing a Thunderbolt*, purchased for the equivalent in gold of a full measure of corn, see "On Apelles," in ibid., fol. 79v.

a Medea and Ajax, painted by Timomachus.[26] Further still, there lie a hundred Talents for a panel by the artful Aristides of Thebes, purchased at an auction:[27] And again, there stands King Attalus, dejected because a painted Bacchus was refused and denied him for six thousand Sesterces.[28] But what is even more admirable, behold, a rough canvas by Apelles and Protogenes, inscribed with just a few lines, is more esteemed than all the costly works in the Palace of Caesar.[29] This, too, is glorious, to be prized: three Cities—Rhodes, Sicyon, and Syracuse—very reverently give thanks to our Art for having been spared from bloody despoilment by cruel Mars and raging Bellona.[30]

All these are excellent proofs. But for those who desire more recent ones, they have but to go to Prague (should the opportunity arise), to see in the imperial residence of the greatest lover of the art of Painting in the World today, that is, the [Holy] Roman Emperor Rudolph II, and elsewhere as well, in every Art cabinet belonging to the powerful Lovers [of *Pictura*], all the excellent, costly works, investigating, estimating, and reckoning the value and price of each, to observe what considerable sums he will find.[31] I think that astonished he shall be compelled to acknowledge that the exercise of our art of Painting, being noble, excellent, majestic, virtuous, need yield to no other Natural or Liberal Art.

I, then, (as far as it goes) a practitioner and follower of so praiseworthy an Art as this, whereof (as worthy as it is) I hope not to be unworthy, present to the clever, dear Youth following after her, her foundation, character, form, and nature, seeing as I with a ready will am so inclined.[32] All the more, I have neither seen nor heard any-

26 On the *Medea* and *Ajax* of Timomachus, purchased for eighty talents of gold, see "On Timomachus, Painter of Byzantium," in ibid., fol. 87r.

27 On the painting by Aristides, purchased by Attalus for a hundred talents, see "On Aristides," in ibid., fol. 71v.

28 On this anecdote, see ibid.

29 On the contest waged by Apelles and Protogenes to paint the finest line, see "On Apelles," in ibid., fols. 77v–78r.

30 On these three cities rescued from despoilment because they housed treasured paintings, see "On Protogenes," in ibid., fols. 82v–83r.

31 On the doctrine of *translatio imperii* that underlies Van Mander praise of Rudolf, and later, in Books III and IV, lead him to distinguish between Michelangelo and Raphael as papal protégés and Bartholomeus Sprangher and Hans von Aachen as imperial ones, see Müller, *Concordia Pragensis*, 78–80.

32 The term *voordraghe*, though it commonly signifies "put forward, set before,"

one in our time take in hand a subject as excellent and delightful as this for the utility of Art-loving Youth. Likewise, herein a bold desire enticed me to follow the formerly great and very illustrious Apelles, Antigonus, Xenocrates, and our other ancient forefathers, who (as shall be heard) compiled in Books, and (based on their learning) set in writing before the eyes of young Painters and made known every secret of Art.[33] Someone more eloquent could have brought this to pass more fluently and with greater art: yet would it be a matter of concern that he himself, being no Painter, might often go astray as regards our affairs and their [peculiar] properties: as occurred in days gone by with regard to the Peripatetic philosopher Phormion who at Ephesus, through the power of eloquence, wished to portray every virtuous branch of knowledge and every science that an excellent Ruler ought to possess; whose reasons did but cause the great military man Hannibal to laugh at the arrogance and ignorance he understood to exist in that man.[34] Consequently, seeing that no desire or eagerness to write was engendered in anyone, and without waiting in vain for another, over several years I made it my pastime and recreation and began to set the foundation of the art of Painting in Flemish Verse, it being the case that the Young are oftentimes drawn to poetry, and also retain it better by heart and memorize it.

Having begun, I had no true understanding of French prosody, but also little liking for our commonplace, old-fashioned, halting manner [of verse]. I say halting because we do not apply the rules according to a uniform measure.[35] Therefore, I followed the [metrical]

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so as to make evident, can also specifically refer to the action of setting something before the eyes, i.e., "voor oogen stellen," on which, see J. Verdam, ed., *Middelnederlandsch handwoordenboek* (The Hague: 1979), 735.

33 The reference to Apelles, Antigonus, and Xenocrates derives from Pliny, *Naturalis historia* XXXV.xxxvi.68 and 79, by way of Gualtherus Rivius, *Der furnembsten, notwendigsten, der gantzen Architectur anghörigen Künst* (Nuremberg: Iohan Petreius, 1547), fol. aaa2r; and *Leon Battista Alberti, On Painting: A New Translation and Critical Edition*, trans. R. Sinisgalli (Cambridge et al.: 2011), 46. Also see "On Parrhasius, Excellent Painter of Ephesus," in *Schilder-Boeck*, Book II, fol. 69r; and "On Apelles," in ibid., fol. 77r.

34 On the presumption of Phormion and the insouciance and discernment of Hannibal, see Vasari, "Proemio," in *Vite*, ed. Milanesi, 1:103; Vasari's source was Cicero, *De oratore* II.xviii.75.

35 Another possible reading of this line would be: "I say defective because we do not apply a uniform meter to the lines." The regular French meter to which Van Mander refers generally consists of a fixed number of syllables, with

length of the Italian Octave:[36] but having overlaid it upon our manner [of verse].[37] I have used no mono-syllabic rhyme-words, or those that sound the rhyme on the last syllable, which the French call Masculine, and I [call] Flemish standing rhyme-words: but overall, I have seized upon those that sound the rhyme on the second to last [syllable], which I call falling, and the French [call] Feminine.[38] I have also avoided those that sound the rhyme on the next before the penultimate syllable, which I call tripping in the Italian manner, which they name sliding (*sdruccioli*).[39] I have refrained from using a like rhyme within one hundred lines, though additions [i.e., prefixes and suffixes] can infringe well [upon this rule]. I have not avoided foreign words altogether, since the particulars of our art are sometimes thusly named and can only otherwise be uttered poorly.

'Twould perhaps better please a person knowledgeable of poetry, had I allowed my poem to step forward with French feet: but it would then have been more cumbersome for me, and for the Young more

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alternating stressed and unstressed syllables and mandatory caesurae; the rhyme scheme fluctuates between standing (male) and running (female). The alexandrine is a line of verse with twelve syllables and six iambic feet, with major stresses on the sixth and last syllables, and minor stresses at the midpoint of each half-line. The older Flemish meter, which Van Mander deprecates, consisted of irregular lines with two or more accents per line. The newer verse patterns were codified by Matthijs de Castelein, in *De const van Rhetoriken, allen ancommers ende beminders der zelver, een zonderlijngh exemplaer ende leerende voorbeeld* (Ghent: Ian Cauweel, 1555): lines varying amongst 9, 12, and 15 syllables; or a more regular meter, known as "reghels mate" (measure of lines), in which every line has the same number of syllables. As Miedema notes, in *Karel van Mander, Grondt*, 2:337, Van Mander first used alexandrines in his translation of Virgil's *Eclogues* and *Georgics*: see P. Vergilius Maro, *Bucolica en Georgica, dat is, Ossen-stal en Landt-werck. Nu eerst in rijm-dicht vertaelt, door K.V. Mander* (Haarlem: Gillis Rooman, 1597).

36 Italian *ottava rima* consists of stanzas of eight lines, each line eleven syllables long. Throughout the *Grondt*, Van Mander observes the Italian "reghels mate," which incorporates no caesurae; see Miedema, *Karel van Mander, Grondt*, 2:337.

37 Instead of using the alternating rhyme scheme of *ottava rima*, namely *ab ab ab cc*, Van Mander rhymes ab aa bb cc, a version of the scheme known as the "ghemeene baladen van achten" (common ballads of eight: *ab ab bc bc*). On the common ballad of eight, see Castelein, *Const van Rhetoriken*, lines 71–75, 77–100; and Miedema, *Karel van Mander, Grondt*, 2:337.

38 In favoring running rhyme, Van Mander closely follows the rules of Italian prosody, which eschews standing rhyme.

39 *Sdrucciolare* is the technical term for Italian slipping or tripping rhyme, which Van Mander for the most part avoids.

obscure. I readily admit that in the Gallic manner, using Alexandrian meter, one can produce quite a good effect: then must much attention and time be expended to produce something full and fine in substance, and flowing; and I also find it very good, and truly melodious always to have the second syllable hard or long, the first short, as first came into common use in our speech through the great Poet, the Lord Jan van Hout, Pensionary of the city of Leiden, who as a youth, having observed such [usage] in Petrarch, Ronsard, and others, followed them.[40] And now, having begun to discourse on the art of Poetry, I shall (as if it here conduced) very briefly say something about my feelings and good intentions, that is, with respect to the emergent French manner and meter coming into fashion amongst us, and put forward some examples of good and bad rules.[41] First, in Common verse of ten or eleven syllables, this line of eleven, with its feminine or falling rhyme, I consider good:

Schoon jonghe Ieught, Meestersse van mijn leven.
Beautiful young Maid, Mistress of my life.

Good since it comprises a fully-formed notion within its fourth-syllable caesura, and grace-words beside its substantive word, which the Latins designate an Adjective beside the Substantive. Also because the continuation of the line contains a fully-formed notion without having to borrow from what follows. This [line of] ten syllables, as follows, with a standing rhyme, is not so good:

Een Man die wel ervaren is ter Zee.
A Man who is well experienced at Sea.

For its caesura, coming as it does on *wel*, must borrow from what follows. Now, concerning Alexandrines of six feet, with twelve or thir-

40 Jan van Hout promoted French alexandrines by using them in his Dutch translation of George Buchanan's *Franciscanus* (1576), on which, see J. Koppenol, "'In mate volget mi': Jan van Hout als voorman van de Renaissance," *Spektator* 20 (1991): 55–85; and C.L. Heesakkers, "Lipsius, Dousa, and Jan van Hout: Latin and the Vernacular in Leiden in the 1570s and 1580s," in K. Enenkel and Heesakkers, eds., *Lipsius in Leiden: Studies in the Life and Works of a Great Humanist on the Occasion of his 450th Anniversary* (Voorthuizen: 1997), 93–120.

41 The precepts and examples that follow come mainly from Pierre de Ronsard, *Abbregé de l'art poëtique François* (Paris: Gabriel Buon, 1565), with a few exceptions such as the specimen of enjambment.

teen syllables, and the caesura on the sixth, I consider good this line of thirteen:

In Gods gheplanten Hof, in't lustigh Oostigh Eden.
In God's planted Garden, in the pleasurable Eden of the East.[42]

For within the caesura and as a whole, it comprises a complete notion. This other of twelve, quite bad or poor.

Daerom ick bidd' u, wilt noch lijdtsaem wesen: want.
Therefore I pray you, be pleased still to be patient: for.

Because it must borrow from outside the caesura, *noch lijdtsaem wesen*: also, because as a whole it is neither rounded off nor makes sense: and since *want* must borrow from the consecutive line: consequently, neither *want* nor *maer*, or other such words belong before the *cesure* or caesura, nor as rhymes at the end of the line, if one would fashion something judicious. Furthermore, this last line, the word *lijdtsaem* excepted, is nothing more than quotidian jejune household speech, whereto the Alexandrine, if it is not properly disciplined by reason, very much inclines due to its length: but the previous [example] of thirteen is full of fine substantives, as well as grace-words, and divorced from every trace of household speech. I deem these examples and few words sufficient to make my views known.

Now, there are several additional things in use amongst our Netherlandish Poets that displease me, and nor can [such things] be justified: that they, paying no attention to the elision of vowels, bring a word that ends in a single vowel together with another word that begins with a single vowel, as one ascertains from the lines' syllables, respecting which they pay no attention to elision, especially if it suits them not to do so: as when one says, *de achste* (the eighth), *de elfste* (the eleventh), *de ander* (the other), *geacht* (esteemed), and such; then, as one says *te eer* (in honor), *de eerste* (the first), *te hebben* (to have), and such, where a single vowel comes up against a double, in which cases I find by necessity that no elision must take place, also

42 This line opens K. van Mander, "Verhael van 'tleven des Menschen, afsterven, ende ghevolgh," in Van Mander and Jacques van der Schuere, *De Nederduytschen Helicon, eygentlijck wesende der Maet-dicht beminders Lust-tooneel* (Alkmaar: Jacob de Meester for Passchier van Westbusch, 1610), 150–155.

considering that the fricative *h*, when placed adjacent to a vowel, has the force of a vowel.[43] Now, I was yet pleased to see a common agreement of gender, number, and other such things, as in the usage of the French and other peoples: for they say *Seigneur* and *Signor*, but we say *Heer* (Lord) and elsewhere *Heere*, *Siel* (Soul) and elsewhere *Siele*, *Eer* (Honor) and elsewhere *Eere*, and *en* (and) and *ende*, and we make such changes whenever we find it convenient for syllabicating or rhyming.[44] Herein and in more, provisions shall slowly be made: for I find many faults (whereof I do not boast to be free) that require improvement: which I leave and commend to those who understand such things, and whose work it is.

And I turn myself toward the young Painters whom I have undertaken to teach to paint, and not to versify. Therefore do I state that capable or intelligent young spirits[45] or vessels[46] are now to be found, eager and happy to learn our art of Painting, into whose Souls climbing down from the highest heights, the heavenly constellations and lights, couriers of genius, were diffused at the opportune moment when [those Souls], along with animate life, were annexed to bodies, or who, when they enjoyed their first Breath, suckled at such good stars, or ingested the whole of their inclination to become proficient in our art of Painting—to speak in a Philosophical way; may they gratefully accept this my willing service, and consider attentively with a ready wit the instructive subdivisions of this my foundation to the arts of Painting, or of my entire *Schilder-boeck*, which I place

43 In advising against elision and acknowledging aspiration of the letter h, Van Mander takes account of Dutch and Flemish usage.

44 The reference to agreement with respect to gender, as Miedema indicates in *Karel van Mander, Grondt*, 2:340, appears neither in French nor Italian treatises.

45 Throughout the *Schilder-Boeck*, Van Mander refers to *gheest* (spirit) as the repository of native ability; see C. Kiliaan, *Etymologicum Teutonicae linguae, sive Dictionarium Teutonico-Latinum* (Antwerp: Ex officina Plantiniana, apud Ioannem Moretum, 1599), 148, which defines *gheest* as *spiritus* (spirit), *anima* (soul), *genius* (genius), and *ingenium* (talent, innate ability). *Ingenium*, along with *doctrina / ars* (rational doctrine, theory) and *exercitatio / imitatio* (practice, imitation), is one of the three key topics covered by Cicero in *De oratore*.

46 Cf. the similar though ironic reference to young painters as vessels in "Life of Hendrick Goltzius, excellent Painter, Engraver, and Glass-Painter of Muhlbracht," in *Schilder-Boeck*, Book IV, fol. 286v: responding to a recalcitrant student, Goltzius says, "Your cup runneth over, you are rich enough: and he turned to someone else, in whom there was better space for the infusion [of knowledge], who accepted the instruction gratefully and gladly."

or carry before their eyes.[47] I hope that they will share in no small advantage or use from it. Herewith would I fain address a willing heart, furnishing it with courage. As Roman Leaders were formerly wont to do, who through artful exhortation could discern from the shaking of their soldier's spears how their courage had been awakened and brought to life, so I adjure them to step forth intrepidly and take hold at first of the most special part of the Arts, namely, that they learn how to dispose a Human figure, and finally, that they also embrace all the concomitant parts [of the Arts], or otherwise, if Nature and Spirit are unwilling to permit, some special part, in order to become excellent at it: for it does not happen daily that a single person is empowered to learn, grasp, comprehend everything, or become proficient in all things.

Thus one finds our Art to have proceeded since olden days or Ancient times: that one in one thing, and another in another thing has been an abler and better Master, as one will find in their lives. For

47 On Van Mander's conception of the heaven-sent diffusion of life and soul that animates the otherwise inert human body and instills a person's proclivities and natural inclinations, see Miedema, ed., *Karel van Mander, Grondt*, 2:341. In "Van de Musae, oft Sangh-Godinnen" (On the Muses, or Goddesses of Song), in *Schilder-Boeck*, Book V, *Wtlegghingh op den Metamorphosis Pub. Ovidij Nasonis* (Commentary on the *Metamorphosis* of Publius Ovidius Nasonis), fols. 44v–45r, Van Mander equates these God-given proclivities with the Muses who, as he further conjectures, personified for the Ancients the influence of the heavenly spheres; citing Pythagorean doctrine, he states: "The Pythagoreans likewise opine that just as the propensities of the Muses are disparate, so too from the said Heavens or Heavenly spheres they descend disparately upon persons." Throughout the Ancient, Italian, and Netherlandish "Lives," Van Mander conflates this process of enlivenment with the conferral of native ability by Nature, from which arises the aspiring painter's predilection for *schilderconst*; see, for example, the treatment of *schilderconst* as a natural birthright ("natuerlijck als erfgenaem toe zijn gheboren") and an "heavenly infusion" ("Hemelsche instortinghe") in the exordium to the "Life of Bartholomeus Sprangher," in *Schilder-Boeck*, Book IV, fol. 268r–v. On *Natuer* (Nature) as the fountainhead of native ability, see the entry on *ingenium* in *Dictionarium tetraglotton, seu voce Latinae omnes, et Graecae eis repondentes, cum Gallica et Teutonica* (*quam passim Flandricam vocant*) *earum interpretatione* (Antwerp: Ex officina Christophori Plantini [et] sumptib. haeredum Arnoldi Bierckmanni, 1562), 158: "La nature qu'un chacun a. Esprit et entendement qu'on a de nature. De nature die een iegelick heeft. Gheest ende verstant datmen van nature heeft." Also see the entry on *ingenitus*, in ibid.: "Engendré dedans, et donné de nature. Ingeboren, Vander nature gegeven."

Apollodorus applied himself especially to beauty.[48] Zeuxis made heads too large, but was a good painter of Fruit.[49] Eumarus accustomed himself to do everything after the life.[50] Protogenes could at first paint only little ships.[51] Apelles was graceful in all things.[52] Parrhasius, good at outline.[53] Demon, full of invention.[54] Timanthes, clever: in his work there was always some hidden sense of meaning.[55] Pamphilus was learned.[56] Nicomachus, facile.[57] Athenion, profound.[58] Nicophanes, meticulous and precise.[59] Amulius, fine at coloring.[60] Pausias, deft at children, and flowers.[61] Asclepiodorus, good at measurement, or proportion.[62] Amphyon, at ordering.[63] Serapio, skilled at large things.[64] Pyreicus, at small ones.[65] Antiphilus, in both small and large.[66] Dionisius could only paint human figures.[67]

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48 See "On Apollodorus, Painter and Sculptor of Athens," in *Schilder-Boeck*, Book II, fol. 66v.

49 See "On Zeuxis of Heraclea, Painter," in ibid., fol. 67r–v.

50 See "On Eumarus," in ibid., fol. 64r.

51 See "On Protogenes," in ibid., 82r. Here and in the "Life of Hendrick Vroom, Painter of Haarlem," in *Schilder-Boeck*, Book IV, fols. 287r–288r, Van Mander develops an implicit analogy between Protogenes and Vroom, both of whom achieve fame for their paintings of waterborne vessels.

52 See "On Apelles," in ibid., fol. 77r.

53 See "On Parrhasius," in ibid., fol. 69r.

54 See "On Demon, Painter of Athens," in ibid., fol. 69r–v; also see *Grondt*, chapter 4, stanza 33, 5 stanza 86, and 6 stanza 39.

55 See "On Timanthes, the very artful Painter," in ibid., fol. 70r.

56 See "On Pamphilus," in ibid., fol. 72r.

57 See "On Nicomachus, artful Painter," in ibid., fol. 70v.

58 See "On Athenion, Painter of Maronaea," in ibid., fol. 75r.

59 See "On Nicophanes, Painter" in ibid., fol. 83v.

60 See "On Amulius, Painter," in ibid., fol. 88r.

61 See "On Pausias, Painter of Sicyon" in ibid., fol. 73r.

62 See "On Asclepiodorus, Painter, and Sculptor," in ibid., fol. 83v.

63 On Amphyon, see "On Apelles," in ibid., fol. 77v.

64 See "On Serapio, Painter," in ibid., fol. 84v.

65 See "On Pyreicus, Painter," in ibid., fol. 84r.

66 See "On Antiphilus, Painter of Egypt," in ibid., fol. 84v.

67 See "On Dionisius, Painter," in ibid., fol. 84v. Whereas Van Mander insists above (fol. *v verso) that the "most special part of the Arts" is knowing "how to dispose a Human figure," here he uses Dionisius to emphasize that painters need to "embrace all the concomitant parts [of the Arts]." The ancient painters he is in the process of listing, and the contemporary specialties he is about to endorse, both Italian and Netherlandish, allow him to specify what these parts are, and to underscore their ancient lineage. *Historie* (history painting), as he argues in *Grondt*, chapter 5, is the subject category that encompasses all these *deelen* (parts), which Van Mander dubs, just below, with reference to present-day masters, the *verscheydenheden* (vari-

Euphranor, everything.[68] Nicias, beasts, especially Dogs.[69] Nicophanes [was good at] copying, and was precise in his work.[70] Mechopanes, too harsh in his colors.[71] Nealces, fine at portrayal.[72] Aristides, at affects.[73] Clesides, after the life, also from memory.[74] And Ludius, at Landscape.[75] One will also find the same varieties (*verscheydenheden*) amongst contemporary Italians and Netherlanders, here too many to recount: whereby the Young shall be taught to persevere in the Art, to seize that which Nature offers most readily. If not perfection in figures and Histories,[76] so may it be Animals, Kitchens, Fruits, Flowers, Landscapes, Buildings, Perspectives, Cartouches, Grotesques, Night Scenes, Fires, Portraits after the life, Sea Pieces, and Ships, or to paint something else in this wise.[77] But above

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eties). *Byvoechselen* (adjuncts, additions, appurtenances) is the term that Van Mander uses for *verscheydenheden* in chapter 5, where they are seen to function as crucial complements to *historie*, which they enrich and adorn.

68 See "On Euphranor of Isthmus, Painter, Sculptor, [Bronze-]Caster, and Engraver," in *Schilder-Boeck*, Book II, fol. 73v.

69 See "On Nicias, Painter of Athens," in ibid., fol. 74v.

70 See "On Nicophanes, Painter" in ibid., fols. 83v–84r.

71 See "On Mechopanes, Painter," in ibid., fol. 85v.

72 See "On Nealces, Painter," in ibid., fol. 84r; also see *Grondt*, chapter 5, stanzas 69–71.

73 See "On Aristides," in ibid., fol. 71r.

74 See "On Clesides, Painter," in ibid., fol, 86r–v.

75 See "On Ludius, Landscape Painter," in ibid., fols. 87v–88r.

76 In listing the subject categories or, better, specialties at which the painter can legitimately excel, Van Mander begins with "beelden en historien" (figures and histories), which he uses here to mean two distinct (but related) things: on one hand, the phrase refers to one such *deel* or *verscheydenheyt*, excellence at figure painting; on the other, it refers to *historie* as the first, in the sense of the primary, subject—the one that comprises not only *beelden* but all the others as well.

77 Van Mander was himself expert at most if not all of these subject categories, as his paintings and print designs make clear: for histories richly embellished with distant landscapes and other *byvoechselen* (amplifying ornaments), see *The Confusion of Tongues* (ca. 1598), engraved by Zacharias Dolendo, and *The Country Whose King Is a Child* and *The Country Whose King Is the Son of Nobles* (1588), both engraved by Jacques de Gheyn II, in M. Leesberg, comp., *The New Hollstein Dutch and Flemish Etchings, Engravings, and Woodcuts, 1450–1700: Karel van Mander*, ed. H. Leeflang and C. Schuckman (Rotterdam and Amsterdam: 1999), 2–3, no. 2, and 26–27 nos. 32–33; for animals, see *The Fall of Man*, engraved by Bartholomeus Dolendo, in ibid., 1, no. 1, and the livestock in *Moses and Jethro* (ca. 1590) and *Peasant Kermis* (1593), respectively engraved by the workshop of Jacques de Gheyn II (?) and Nicolaes Jansz. Clock, in ibid. 12–13, no. 18 and 132–133, no. 118; for fruits and flowers, see *Allegory on the Broad and Narrow Way* (ca. 1600) and *Allegory of Life* (ca. 1599),

all, every person must strive with the utmost diligence and zeal to acquire and achieve a singular mastery in our Arts, which he will

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both engraved by Gillis van Breen, and *Allegory of the Transitoriness of Life* (1599) and *New Year's Print of the Young Haarlem Chamber of Rhetoric De wijngaardranken* (1600), both engraved by Jacob Matham, in ibid. 90–91, no. 11 and 102–103, no. 94, 100–101, no. 93 and 185–186, no. 162; for landscapes, see *Rebecca and Abraham's Servant* (ca. 1592), engraved by Jan Saenredam, *Parable of the Mote and the Beam and of the Blind Leading the Blind* (ca. 1594), engraved by Nicolaes Clock, *Christ in the Garden of Gethsemane* (1596–1598), engraved by Zacharias Dolendo, and *The Rape of Europa* (ca. 1592) and *Perseus Freeing Andromeda* (1588), respectively engraved by Zacharias Dolendo and Jacques de Gheyn II, in ibid., 5–6, no. 4, 52, no. 50, 61, no. 58, 63, and 166–167 nos. 146–147; for buildings, see *Judgment of Solomon* (1597) and *Christ and the Woman Taken in Adultery*, both engraved by Hendrick Hondius, in ibid., 22–23, no. 29 and 48–49, no. 48; for perspectives, see *Adoration of the Shepherds* (ca. 1598), engraved by Jan Saenredam, and *Marriage of Tobias and Sara* (ca. 1590), engraved by Jacques de Gheyn II (?), in ibid., 42–46, no. 46 and 36, no. 42, 38; for cartouches, see *Schole Christi* (1599) and *Commandment to Love One Another* (ca. 1599), both engraved by Gillis van Breen, *Title-Plate to the Passion Series: Christ in the Winepress* (1596–1598), engraved by Jacques de Gheyn II, and *Blazon of the Flemish Chamber of Rhetoric De witte angieren* (1602), and *Title-Plate to Jan van den Velde, Spieghel der schrijfkonste* (1605), both engraved by Jacob Matham, in ibid., 94–95, no. 90, 96–97, no. 91, 60, no. 56, 63, 185, no. 163, 187, and 196, no. 169; for grotesques, see *Foolish Discord in the World* (ca. 1593), engraved by Jacques de Gheyn II, *Title-Plate to Den Bybel, dat is, de Boecken der heyligher Schriftuer*, (1598), engraved by Lambert Cornelis, and the *Vignette to De gulden harpe*, in ibid., 137, no. 121, 188–189, no. 164, and 194, no. 167; for night scenes, see *Adoration of the Shepherds Surrounded by Moses and Five Prophets* (1588), engraved by Jacob Matham (?), *Arrest of Christ* (1596–1598), engraved by Zacharias Dolendo, and *Night* (ca. 1601), engraved by Jacob Matham, in ibid., 40–42, no. 45, 61, no. 59, 63, 179. no. 159, 181, and 179, no. 159, 181; for fires, see *Lot and His Daughters* (ca. 1597), engraved by Hendrick Hondius I and *Fire* (ca. 1589), engraved by Jacques de Gheyn II, in ibid., 4, no. 3 and 176, no. 155, 178; for portraits after the life, see *Petrus Hogerbetius* (ca. 1600), engraved by Jan Saenredam, in ibid., 182–183, no. 160; and for sea pieces and ships, see *Allegory of Christian Patience* (1587), engraved by Harmen Muller, in ibid., 98–99, no. 92, although Van Mander states in "Life of Hendrick Vroom," fol. 288r, that he once declined a commission from François Spierincx to design tapestries for the Lord High Admiral Charles Howard, and instead referred him to Vroom, more expert than he at seafaring subjects. As he explains, "it was not my practice to draw ships" ("also 't mijn doen niet en was schepen teyckenden"); on his demurral, see Miedema, ed., *Karel van Mander, Lives*, 2:80. For good measure, Van Mander initiated the Dutch revival of interest in Bruegel's peasant imagery; his *Pair of Drunken Peasants*, drawn in 1588 and shortly thereafter engraved by the workshop of Harmen Muller, may be the earliest such genre scene produced in the northern Netherlands, on which, see ibid., xxvi–xxvii, 134–135, no. 119. Along with Hendrick Goltzius, he was one of the first print designers to produce

attain without any danger, battle, or shedding of blood, if earnestly, with constant effort, he but avail himself of magnanimous Nature.[78]

And now, in the first place, desiring with a hearty, cheerful, rousing admonition to urge my dear Young Painters therewith to do their best, at the same time I advise them by no means to depart from nor become a stranger to any virtue, honor, friendship, and courtesy, those constant, faithful, and congenial companions of the Art, which ought to be in every noble, fine spirit. Fare thee well.

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genre scenes of young courting couples, and concomitantly, he also composed songs on love and marriage for popular songbooks such as the *Nieuwen Lust-hof* (Amsterdam: Hans Mathysz., 1602); on these prints, engraved and published by Gillis van Breen, see ibid., xxxvi, 122–129, nos. 108–115. Further evidence of Van Mander's versatility appears in the *Levensbericht*, fol. R3 verso, which describes him as well versed in landscapes and grotesques, fol. R4 recto, which praises the animals, trees, foliage, flowers, and distant vista in an *Adam and Eve*, and fol. S2v, which extols the "light and airy" landscape in his last painting, *Israelites Bearing the Ark across the Jordan*, and the fabrics and folds and distant effects of recession in another late work, *Israelites Dally with the Moabite Women, and Dance around the Golden Calf*. Finally, as M. Leesberg speculates in "Karel van Mander as a Painter," *Simiolus* 22.1/2 (1993–1994): 5–57, esp. 43, his *Judgment of Midas* of 1588, co-painted with Gillis van Coninxloo, and *Judgment of Midas with Minerva and the Muses* of 1589, engraved by Nicholas Clock and published by Hendrick Goltzius, likely spurred the exponential growth of interest in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* amongst Dutch draughtsmen, printmakers, and painters around this time.

78 Van Mander introduces one of the key themes of the *Schilder-Boeck*: mastery of art is eirenic rather than combative, in contrast to mastery of war, which is parlous, bloody, and fraught with uncertainty. His conviction that *schilderconst* has the power to pacify and conciliate arose from his strict Mennonite beliefs, on which see *Grondt*, chapter 12, stanza 37, note 59 *infra*. Corollary to these principles is his notable reluctance to underwrite the *disputatio artium*, on which, see section 5, "Ekphrastic Usage in the Schilder-Boeck," the introductory essay and note 18 *supra*. The necessity of cultivating *gheest* (*natura, ingenium*) through constant practice is another theme that surfaces frequently in the *Schilder-Boeck*; see, for example, "Life of Cornelis Ketel, excellent Painter of Gouda," in Book IV, fol. 274v: "There are also those who, trusting too much in their nature or goodly spirit, and not availing themselves of diligent effort (*neersticheyt*), fail to achieve a praiseworthy end." In the *Levensbericht*, fol. S iij recto, the author recounts that Van Mander, during his stay at the House of Zevenberghen where he wrote much of the *Schilder-Boeck*, staged a play for invited guests who entered through an archway festooned with devices alluding to the antithesis between the arms of peace (namely, the painter's utensils) and the arms of war; see Miedema, ed., *Karel van Mander, Lives*, 30: "The outside of the gate and the entrance were hung with green plants interwoven with wreaths: there were also palettes, brushes, maulsticks, and other painter's implements inserted in

To Carel van Mander, most ingenious poet and painter,
most well-deserving of his generation.[79]

O, you who in song, who with the brush,
The foremost Romans, and my Belgians
So often nourished: and with a new book
On the Flemings and the Batavians are thus deserving:
Speak, O Carolus, joy of the century,
Are there any rewards with which the spirit of the age requites [you]?
For exceedingly senseless and unjust would it be
Were [the age] to deny you due honors.
Not chrysolites, and weighty murrae,
Not lathe-turned crystals, not emeralds,
Not little rings polished by the Bithynian file
Do you desire. Therefore, what will repay
So many merits, so many honorable qualities?
If, great man, I decide for any [recompense]: you merit
To be sung in song by a poet who intones
A poem worthy of your Maro,[80]
And in my judgment, you yourself merit
To be entrusted to posterity, and to be placed in the forum,
Fit to be seen with admiration in a painted panel[81]
By Parrhasius, say, or Zeuxis. But who
Will here furnish the voice of the best Poet,
The colors of celebrated painters?
These cares torment us, nor is there found
Either a Painter or a Poet sufficiently apt.
Wherefore, O Carolus, if you wish to be seen
Such as you are read, it were necessary
That you yourself be Painter and Poet to yourself.
P. Scriverius of Haarlem[82]
In Leiden of the Batavians. 1604.

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them as festoons, and further Italian antiquities decorated with fireworks and artillery, very strange to behold for those who had never traveled abroad."

79 *Schilder-Boeck*, Book 1, fol. *6r.

80 Worthy, that is, of Van Mander's translation of Virgil's *Eclogues and Georgics*, the *Bucolica en Georgica, dat is, Ossen-stal en Landtwerck P. Virgilii Maronis, Prince der Poëten* (Amsterdam: Gillis Rooman, 1597).

81 The gerundive *conspiciendus* (fit to be seen, beheld) carries with it the implication that the object is being seen admiringly.

82 On Petrus Scriverius, see Miedema, *Karel van Mander, Grondt*, 2:318; and H. van de Venne, "Zu den Kupferstichen von Hendrick Goltzius met Epi-

Ode, on the Book of Picturing by Carel van Mander, Rich in Art[83]

Shh! clamorous din of the Carpenter and Smithy;
Drum and sackbut, cease your martial uproar;
Weather, wind, air, bridle your clamor;
Be still, and be pleased here to bring forth no commotion:
That you not disturb Van Mander,
So deep in his still pondering,
That you not thoroughly ruffle with your rough hafts
The level surface of his keen innermost thoughts.
His Picturing spirit resolutely designs and draws
A fine new image (on which he earnestly focuses),[84]
An image that never before did Painter make,
Or at least, that never did reach its proper condition.
Not that he paints with some fine brush
An image in color on some smooth panel:
Rather does he on the panel of his polished thoughts
Embark upon an image that is bodiless.
'Tis an image, too, that in the watery eye
Gives not its reflection: but whose true appearance
The spiritual-fiery eye of Heaven-bright sense
Alone can well receive from within.
The naked figure (say I) of the art of Painting,
An upright figure of figures he brings forth for us,
A universal model of every thing
That a person may wish to portray in an image:
For verily, if this be singularly well observed
And followed, see, there shall be revealed,
Perfectly and fully alive,
Whatsoever can be seen by the eyes,
And so finely and precisely, that even [the month of] May
That so finely paints many a field and meadow,
Like a great Painter of the World, could not better
Display one of its parti-colored Tulips.
What sort of image is this, then, so rich in Art,

grammen von Cornelius Schonaeus," in Michels, ed., *Goltzius: Mythos, Macht und Menschichkeit*, 103–107, esp. 105–106. The initial *H.* refers to *Haarlemensis* (of Haarlem).

83 *Schilder-Boeck*, Book I, fols. *6v-*7r.

84 The term *beeldt* (image) can also mean figure, and I translate it as such six lines down.

That with it you may fashion the likeness of every thing,
As if you possessed a silver beaker
With which henceforth you could surely make,
After whatever fashion you wished,
With great ease a myriad of beautiful beakers?
Certainly, with as much art as Parrhasius
Governed the brush, and clever
Apelles, too, guided it, or Zeuxis, famous far and wide
(Whose fame still travels the world over)
For having deceived the sharp eyes of birds
With his painted grapes.
And although Parrhasius did give so cunning
An answer to the eyes of Zeuxis himself,
That he took his colors for a curtain
That folded open and closed over the panel;
Or though Apelles was said
Through the art of Painting to have placed
Upon wall and façade things one had thought
Beyond the scope of Art to portray:
Howbeit, who of them has ever made
A picture so artful that it might stand
As a magnum opus after which to portray
Every thing naturally, without fail,
Like the stone sought by the Philosopher
To serve everywhere for every thing,
To alleviate all sickness and misfortune,
And to give to every metal a better substance?
Behold, such an image of the fine art of Painting
Does Mander make here as a boon to young painters.
He shows, too, how the Forefathers were,
Who first began to engender this Art:
Her Fathers, such as Charmadas, Dinias,[85]
After them Timagoras and Phidias,
Her Mothers, too, Olimpias, Irene,[86]

85 Pliny, in *Natural History* XXXV.56, identifies Dinias and Charmadas as two of the earliest painters in monochrome.

86 Pliny, in *Natural History* XXXV.147–148, mentions, in addition to four other female painters, Olimpias, teacher of Autobulus, and Irene, who painted the *Maiden* at Eleusis, a *Calypso*, and portraits of the juggler Theodorus and the dancer Alcisthenes. Boccaccio, in *De mulieribus claris*, expands upon Pliny's account of the accomplishments of Irene.

Lala de maiden, Calypso, Alcisthenes:[87]
In short, the crib and infancy of this image [of the art of Painting]
Van Mander has not hidden from us,
Nor [hidden] those who sustained and nourished her,
And along with them, the Adorners who by richly beautifying her
Gradually brought her forth
As she now stands, in her full ornament.
Wherein he makes but one misstep
By not writing about himself
As the principal: for each having according to his ability
Ornamented and bejeweled this image,
The one with a ring, the other with a chain,
This one with a gem, that one, as is well known,
With precious stones, so Van Mander has
Furnished her with a Crown of singularly lustrous pearls.
Therefore in return, you circumspect Maiden,
The Art of Painting, assign to him his honor:
For seeing as he has portrayed you here
Thus in spirit, so that you live eternally,
Be pleased in recompense to lavish upon him your power of Painting;
Portray the image of his name, great of feature,
Not on canvas or panel to be hung
In Church or home, but on the curving expanse
Of the spacious canvas of wide encompassing Heaven,
Or the wainscot that bedecks the Earth all round.
So fashion the colors so imperishably long-lasting
That they be nevermore assailed
By the dust or fumes of deathly oblivion
Lest they forever efface this image of his fame.

A.V.M.[88]

[...]

87 Lala is A.V.M.'s spelling of Iaia, a female painter of Rome, who painted, according to Pliny in *Natural History* XXXV.147, portraits of women, including a large panel of an *Old Woman* at Naples and a *Self-Portrait* done with a looking glass. He adds that no contemporary could match her speed of hand as a portraitist.

88 On Adam van Mander, schoolmaster in Amsterdam and brother of Karel, see E. Rombauts, "Een onbekende 16de-eeuwse uitgave van Roemer Visscher's 'Brabbeling,'" in *Vooys voor De Vooys: Huldenummer van* De nieuwe taalgids *ter gelegenheid van de 80ste verjaardag van Prof. Dr. C.G.N. de Vooys op 26 mei 1953*, *De nieuwe taalgids* 46 (1953), 98–106; Miedema, *Karel van Mander,*

Workshop-Song, for Young Painters, after the wise:
"A pretty Venus maid, Has me in her Power, etc."[89]

Spirit
In heart and mind come with me,
Desire, ladylove of the Spirit,
To embrace the young, their troth not [yet] plighted;
Make me to know them,
That Art be propagated
With passionate desire, ignite the fire of love.

Desire.
Love opens Nature,
So that receiving my seed
She bears to her benefit
Two fruits at once.

Spirit.
These fruits salutary to us,
Very honorable and praiseworthy,
As a son first-born must be named Labor,
As a daughter second[-born]
Without blame, her name
Is Diligence, inclined to know much;
A Book full of secrets
Will be uncovered to serve her,
By our friend Love awakened,
And by what we mete out, above measure.

Desire.
As the spirit commands [me]
To affect Youth
And lead the heart to great zeal for Art,
So I willingly confer my desire on them
Who are furnished with good judgment:
Now let us both alike bestride the path.
Spirited Youth, *Pictura* well disposed

Grondt, 2:319; H. Duits, "Het leven van Karel van Mander: Kunstenaarsleven of schrijvers-biografie?" *De zeventiende eeuw* 9 (1993): 117–136; and Miedema, *Karel van Mander, Lives*, 2:12–14, esp. note 13.

89 *Schilder-Boeck*, Book 1, fol. ** 5v.

Will give delight to you
Who truly love her,
Coming herself to invite and entice you.

Youth.
O Spirit, my sovereign Man,
Whose fruits I did ever win,
By conforming myself to you willingly in good faith,
Be pleased then to forestall
The banishment of those who
By idleness' displeasure take no joy in plowing;
A restless disposition to learn
Yet ignite in my heart,
That [through you] I neither fall short
Nor am vexed by reproachful neglect.

Spirit.
Be well content, Youth:
We shall favorably vouchsafe you
Diligently to learn the groundwork of the art of Painting.

Desire.
I Desire shall step forward
At School, as the common property of each of you;
Good instruction shall increase your understanding;
Constant exercise, the desire for more,
Along with Patient haste
Shall afford you profit,
If you but hold her in honor.[90]

Conclusion.
Thus, Youth, having been primed
By the desire for diligence,
Through the instilling of spirit I shall be your lady-guide.

Desire.
Her Brother Labor
Shall not be denied you;
Your prosperity I do grant you for the whole of your life:

90 *Haer* (her) refers back to *Schilder-const* (Art of Painting), which speaks to *Ieught* (Youth) in the stanza that immediately follows.

Be driven by love;
Time makes such things known.
You will be admired in Art,
Raised high like Gods.

Deught verwint (Virtue triumphs). P.C. Ketel.[91]

Workshop-Song for Young Painters, after the wise:
"The Lovely May, etc."[92]

1.
Longing Heart.
Now Youth, hungry to learn, rejoice and make merry with me
Our wish, our desire and hope is to sell.

Youth Eager to Learn.
This knowledge brings me joy and does me good, Longing Heart;
Thus, through love's encouragement, I try to keep apace:
For with desire, which draws each person to hunger eagerly for learning,
The spirit whets my appetite for Art
By way of Mander's instruction, coming [as it does] to illuminate
Our shadowed faces.

2.
Youth Eager to Learn.
As a pregnant Woman's heart suffers from sorrow and disquiet
When the fulfillment of her desire must long be forestalled,
So I see my craving to learn fully aroused
For the purpose of acquiring Art by doing labor's rounds.
Diligence born in me
Imbues my Spirit with desire and love conjoined;

91 On Cornelis Ketel, see Van Mander, "Life Cornelis Ketel, excellent Painter, of Gouda," in *Schilder-Boeck*, Book IV, fols. 274v–280r; J. Schouten, "Cornelis Ketel en Gouda," *Oud-Holland* 79 (1964): 122–132; Miedema, *Karel van Mander, Grondt*, 2:323; B.A. Heezen-Stoll, *'Cornelis Ketel, uytnemende schilder, van der Goude': een iconografische studie van zijn 'historiën* (Delft: 1987); Miedema, *Karel van Mander, Lives*, 5:116–160; T. Schutting, "Cornelis Ketel en zijn familie: een revisie," *Oud-Holland* 108 (1994): 171–207; and N. Galley, "Cornelis Ketel: A Painter without a Brush," *Artibus et historiae* 25 (2004): 87–100.

92 *Schilder-Boeck*, Book I, fol. ** 6r–v.

Along with them, good instruction shall be
My generous Master.

3.
Longing Heart.
Just as the tired Heart, longing thirstily, craves water,
And a Fish lying on dry land longs for the deep,
So do I find myself wounded, confused in mind, fervidly burning[93]
For this show of fruitful profit (after which I strive):
A fine pleasure garden, very lovely to us,
That hither entices everyone, most agreeable are we:[94]
Thus let us pluck the florets and press wine from the grapes:
It shall turn out well.

4.
Longing Heart.
Sense that urges onward, come lead us into this rich garden of delight[95]
Where with pleasure we may pluck its fruits.
The Gardener's reward is that each person freely attain his desire.
We need fear no troublesome commotion,
Neither hail nor wind, or heavy cold,
Not the hoarfrost that devours the blossom altogether white,
Not the baleful spring-worm: Pallas is constantly with us,
Wise, helpful.

5.
Mind / Sense / Heart Urging Onward.
The pleasure garden is found, its every place finely ornamented
With beautiful, noble figures overflowing:

93 *In sin verwert* (confused in mind) can also mean "confused in sense." Ketel has Longing Heart avow that his mind / sense can barely comprehend / apprehend the degree to which he burns with longing for the fruits of Art. In the following line, since *nut* signifies "fruit, profit, benefit, advantage," I have translated it with the periphrasis "fruitful profit." The profit Ketel invokes is both tangible and intangible, monetary and spiritual.

94 Ketel signifies that the longing heart is like an agreeable pleasure garden waiting to be visited by all whom it entices to enter: the chief visitor he envisages is Van Mander or, rather, the instruction he brings with him in the form of the *Grondt*. This ground is presumably to substitute for or supplement the garden's already fertile ground.

95 In this context, *sin* (sense) may also mean "mind, thought, or heart."

Standing at the portal, well-mannered hope, desire, love each focuses on
Her office, wise and quick to oblige those who enter.
Intention attracts, inclination invites,
Fondness perfumes and strews with florets the path
To the orchard of practice, companion of Experience[96]
Ancient and various.

6.
Conclusion.
Apelles, widely admired, a brightly shining Prince of the art of Painting,
And Zeuxis, in their lives esteemed highly:
Here is described how they gathered treasure worth thousands, as well as honor and favor
Through that which they produced:[97]
This begets our desire, making labor light,
Night-work rest, through hope bound to Art,
Until beauteous *Pictura* in person
One day rewards us.

Deught verwint (Virtue triumphs). P.C. Ketel.

Landscape Painter's Song, after the wise:
"Beautiful dear, you alone are worthy of the prize"[98]

Now does Tithon's bride, beautiful Aurora,
Early uncover her face: be awakened, Youth, from sleep;
Spring out of bed; accustom yourself
To rising early; neither yawn nor stretch, but quickly pull on your clothes.
Your way extends out of doors: see there
The unclouded Sun break through,

96 As *oeffenings* (of practice) denotes exercise of the picturer's skills, so *Ervarentheyts* (of Experience) connotes skill gained through practiced exercise.

97 By "Hier … is beschreven," Ketel refers to the many remarks about ancient painters that punctuate the *Grondt*, and also to Book II of the *Schilder-Boeck*, *Het leven der oude Antijcke doorluctighe Schilders* (*Lives of the Ancient Illustrious Painters*).

98 *Schilder-Boeck*, Book I, fols. ** 6v-** 7r.

Sticking his head high above the clouds,
That all-seeing eye, that great celestial sign,
Light of the World that reveals the face
Of every thing here on Earth.
Take coal and chalk, pen, ink, paper,
To draw what you see as your pleasure dictates;
Always pay attention whither the eye leads,[99]
How everything in the far distance takes flight toward a Center point.[100]
What you observe from close by, let it not sit too near:
Since that hinders the [picture's] good order,
Set yourself at a distance (like a person who knows what's right),
Somewhat far, at hand's length—you be the judge;
That shall make your work, as concerns the eye,
Pleasing and well becoming.
Youth eager to learn, be seated
Beside Tityrus in the woods, and there look to your profit.
What is useful to you, you can learn to know:

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99 Ketel emulates in miniature the form and argument of *Grondt*, chapter 8 and the gist of the section on *byvoechsels* from chapter 5, on which see section 6, "Landschap and byvoechsel," of the introductory essay *supra*. Like Van Mander, he opens his nine-stanza poem by urging the aspiring painter to go out of doors, observe the dawn and rising sun, and consider how its light makes all things visible and thereby representable:

T'al siende oogh, groot Hemel-teecken,
Des Weerelts licht, dat elcx ghesicht
Hier openbaert, t'gheen is op d'Aerdt.
Neemt kool en krijt, pen, inckt, pampiere,
Om teeck'nen dat ghy siet, oft u de lust ghebiedt,
Hebt acht altijt, op t'ooghs bestiere.

100 *Centrum* (center) signifies a vanishing point: hence my translation, "Center point." Having allowed his eyes to guide him, to speed toward the vanishing point then circle back to the foreground ("hoe t'gheen van veers verschiet, al tot een Centrum vliedt, wat ghy van bys bespiedt"), the painter must then set himself down in a pleasant spot, like Virgil's Tityrus, who, seated at ease in the shade of a spreading beech, opens *Eclogue* 1 by singing about his native woods and pleasant fields. Ketel enjoins his reader to do the same, to paint in praise of his local trees, fields, and flora as did Tityrus of his woodland muse:

Leer-lustigh' Ieught, zijt neer gheseten
By Tityr in het woudt, en daer u nut aenschout,
Het gheen u deught, can doen te weten,
De dinghen menichfout, van veers naeby ghebout.

Cf. Virgil, *Eclogues, Georgics, Aeneid 1–6*, ed. G.P. Gould—trans. H.R. Fairclough (Cambridge, MA: 1916), 2–3

The manifold things built up, far to near,[101]
How the farthest races away from the nearest, [and] keep in mind
How the foreground advances boldly.
See to the sharply defined foliage of the trees farthest forward,[102]
And notice how from a distance the flowers
Show themselves more dully: be alert to what
One must paint hard or soft.
All that pleases you in the hunting grounds of [Pamphilus],[103]
Be it forest, mountain, or Grotto, whithersoever the eye casts its lot,
Counterfeit it, but with understanding:[104]
Here City, Castle, and Fortress, there Farmhouse, hut, or shack,
Thitherward roadways, bridges, leaving out nothing,[105]
The Rivers with their small barges;
Here make a report of brooks, or graceful little springs.
On the grassy field you will find quadrupeds filled full with joy,
Going to the meadow where each disports;
Sweet peasant maids milking their Cows,
Singing all too loudly. Look East, West, North, and South,

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101 Ketel uses the term *ghebout* (built, erected, constructed) to imply that nature has fabricated her constituent parts, as if she herself is an artist.

102 I have translated *herdt* (hard) as "sharply defined," to render Van Mander's sense of a firmly delineated form.

103 *Paus* (Pamphilus) refers to Pamphilius Mauritanus's (or Maurilianus's) twelfth- or early thirteenth-century pseudo-Ovidian poetic drama *De arte amandi* (*The Art of Loving*), which tells the intertwined tales of two pairs of lovers, Pamphilus and Galathea, and Aurelius and Dorigen. On Pamphilus and *De arte amandi*, written in the twelfth century and still popular in rhetorical circles when Ketel wrote his poem, see T.J. Garbaty, "Pamphilus, *de Amore*: An Introduction and Translation", *Chaucer Review* 2 (1967): 108–139.

104 *Conterfeyt* (counterfeit) derives from the postclassical Latin verb *contrafacere* (portray) and signifies the action of replicating someone or something so closely and factually that the image can stand proxy for the person himself or thing itself. On this usage, see P. Parshall, "*Imago contrefacta*: Images and Facts in the Northern Renaissance," *Art History* 16 (1993): 554–579.

105 *Grondt*, fol. ** vii recto:

Al t'gheen u greyt, in Paus warande,
T'zy bosch, t'zy bergh, oft Grot, waer t'oogh op werpt het lot,
Nae conterfeyt, maer met verstande,
Hier Stadt, Casteel, en Slot, daer Boer-huys, hut, oft cot,
Gins weghen, brugghen, tot, geen overschot.

Ketel calls upon the reader to paint, too, the land's other features, both natural and man-made—its cities and villages, rivers and streams, its farmlands and laboring peasants. Whereas previously he had alluded to Virgil's *Eclogues*, he now invokes Pamphilus Mauritianus's popular pseudo-Ovidian drama, *De arte amandi* (On the Art of Loving).

Where Hunters are abroad, each with his hounds;
Also [see] the wild game that they take as their prey, springing out of the woods.
Closer by, in a covert, by virtue of Maytime
One hears the sound of strings.
Take note there how freely they pair together,
Every he and she, sailing on the little lake,
And how the one kisses the other desirously.
Observe this all and portray it.
Then return to town, you young sprouts;
When the foliage that once shadowed you gives way,
At home set down all that you saw abroad here.
Carry through with making such landscapes as you describe[d] in the Book:[106]
With colors that you grind, bring them to (the appearance of) life.[107]
So Fame glides through the air
And confers on your work a great name;
Through good repute, freed from blame,
From many noble lovers of the Arts,[108]
Their money you['ll] acquire, counted up [for your work].

Deught verwint (Love triumphs). P.C. Ketel.

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106 Ketel refers back to the sketchbook whose leaves are mentioned in lines 11–12 of the poem, where he calls upon the fledgling painter to use coal, chalk, pen, ink, and paper to draw all that he sees in nature.

107 Ketel completes his thought by interpolating the parenthetical remark "(In schijn)" (in appearance), thereby emphasizing the importance of lifelikeness as a pictorial effect. This notion complements the earlier emphasis on contrafacture—the counterfeiting of nature's sights. Whereas Ketel places the parenthetical at the start of the following line, which ends by invoking Fame, I have inserted it before "life," in order more fully to convey what I take to be his meaning.

108 *Grondt*, fol. ** vii recto:

'T'geen ghy in't Boeck beschreeft, sulcx lantschaps doen aencleeft,
Met verwen die ghy wreeft, maeckt dat het leeft
(In schijn), soo sweeft, de Fame,
En brengt u werck, een groote name,
Door t'goet opmerck, bevrijdt van blame,
Liefhebbers veel, der Consten eel
Crijght ghy haer gheldt, daer voor ghetelt.

Ketel closes by counseling the painter, once returned home, to bring to completion the things drawn out of doors, enlivening them with colors, so that his reputation as a landscape painter of note is enhanced.

New Year's Song, to be sung by six personages—Order, Art, Time, Advantage, *Pictura*, and Reason. After the wise: "Rejoice / in virtue / you Rhetorical Youth."[109]

Reason.
I find it painful thus to be disparaged,
Virtually forgotten by many students of the Art;
They drink poison for wine, vinegar's sourness for sweetness,
Thinking it noble when injury dons profit's likeness:
So foolish is the game of Youth
Whose bloom falls from its stem.
Its name is Negligence, which squanders time and diverts,
Which flatters lack of insight but
Gainsays such an oversight, aggrieved by good judgment,
By me in the new Year, by me in the new Year.

Art.
Come, Youth, and cleave close to my virtue,
Good Order now rides forth: you who are good by nature,
Let it be your joy, your pleasure, and all that gladdens you
To be worthy of my love; for this, spare no pain.
Shun and flee whoever shows himself to be sluggish;
He is nothing but a gathering of shadows.
Cast this burden off; 'tis profitless.
Henceforth pay heed to your Time.
With diligence commence the fight so that you may become free,
With pleasure in the new Year, with pleasure in the new Year.

Time.
Behold, I do each person good
Who with heart, mind, and thought considers me.
Think how I who never tire hasten;
Endeavor to use me, Time who waits for no one.
He who slumbers by day or night,
Who neglects to do what he ought—no complaint will make good
The loss of the costliest treasure
Buried in the Sand, to his shame.[110]

109 *Schilder-Boeck*, Book 1, fols. ** 7v-** 8r.

110 Ketel here alludes to the Parable of the Talents in Matthew 25:14–30. The unprofitable servant of the Lord who does nothing to spread the treasure of the Word, burying the Lord's gift of a single talen, is ultimately expelled from

By no one was it ever found again: thus exercise your understanding
With me in the new Year, with me in the new Year.

Advantage.
The Law established to defend against all that harms,
Take it up for your use, be subject to Order,
The better to embark on the way of the Arts,
In the company of Time, without any injury.
This is the true way,
Sure, no idle fancy,
Advantageous to you and secure: he who has rightly understood

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the kingdom. The reference to the painter's "book" ('in't Boeck beschreeft') has a dual purchase: on one hand, the artist's sketchbook; on the other, the books cited in the poem—Virgil's *Eclogues* and Pamphilus's *De arte amandi*—through which he views his native landscape. Conversely, his experience of landscape, both as observer and draughtsman-painter, provides a frame for his reading of these poems: the imagery of "Pamphilus's pleasure ground" is filtered through his drawings after "city, castle, manor-house" ("Hier Stadt, Casteel, en Slot"), "streams and fountains" ("beecxkens meldt, fonteynkens cieren"), "grassy fields and four-footed beasts" ("op't grasigh veldt, viervoete dieren"), "milkmaids loudly singing" ("boerinnekens soos', haer Koeykens melcken, al singhend' overluydt"), "hunters abroad with their hounds" ("'Iaghers loos met honden telcken"), "rustic couples, he's and she's, sailing on little lakes, and kissing lustily" ("t'samen paren, een hy en sy, in't meerken varen, en hoe met lust, d'een d'ander kust"), all of which he has remarked and portrayed after the life ("slaet dit al gae, en bootst het nae"). Likewise, the other things he has diligently seen and drawn—the multifarious woodland trees with their distinctive foliage, sharply defined when seen close up, and the flowers, their colors softened by distance—filter his reading of *Eclogue* 1:

Hoe t'veerst van t'naest verstout, dat ghy onthoudt
Des voorgrondts stout, voorcomen:
Siet op't hardt loof, der voorster bomen,
En merckt hoe doof, van veers de blomen
Vertoonen haer, ghy wordt ghewaer,
Wat herdt oft soet, men schildren moet.

His *boeck*, in other words, is twofold, comprising both his *tekenboek* (book of drawings) and his duodecimos (his pocket editions of Virgil and Pamphilus). Of course, a third inflection of *boeck* would also apply—the book of memory stocked by things seen and drawn, and by things visualized on the basis of texts read. To see and draw after nature, on this account, is a way of reading Virgil and Pamphilus, and reading them redounds upon how nature is seen and recorded, which is tantamount to insisting once again on the status of landscape as a hermeneutic that calls forth processes of viewing and picturing that imbricate image and text. On the trope of memory as book or codex, see Y. Plumley, G. di Bacco, and S.G. Jossa, *Citation, Intertextuality, and Memory in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance*, 2 vols. (Exeter: 2011).

His obligation, finds it falls light upon him.
You could increase your pounds-weight of coin all-round,
Hereby in the new Year, hereby in the new Year.

Pictura.
Now grow, now bloom, my little sprouts lightly bestrewn
With the nature and dew of the spirit. Be diligent at work:
Nourish desire; row bravely; let no labor exhaust you.
I pray you and as a woman shall plight you my troth:
Your name I reserve beforehand
That fame ever gild it
With wealth, money, and honor, that you live like a Lord,
Which comes above all from her.
Meager in instruction and more so through negligence
Are you here in the new Year, here in the new Year.[111]

Conclusion. Reason.
To be mine, ever mine, did bring Youth profit.
If it please you to be safe from injury, then crown me as your Daughter:
Already Repose, Peace stand in place of Discord.
If you but show me, Reason, that Order lives with you,
And Art, too, you shall grow in estimation;
Time's favor will fairly reward you;
Advantage will bring you fruit; *Pictura* will give birth to reputation.
Attach yourself whole and entire to an orderly regimen;
Driven by eagerness to learn, elude vice
Through Love in the new Year, through Love in the new Year.

Good Order, Art, and Time,
With Advantage herein strive
To the profit of your Youth.

P.C. Ketel. *Wilt Reden niet verachten* (Be pleased to offer Reason no scorn). *Deught verwint* (Love triumphs).

111 Ketel implies that Van Mander's *Grondt* will compensate for the paucity of learning shown by the "Consten leerlings veel" (many students of art) addressed in the opening stanza of this poem; but a good result will be contingent, he further suggests, on their attending to Van Mander's text not negligently but diligently.

Sonnet to Youth[112]

The giver of good things offers thanks, O Youthful Painters, eager to learn,
To a Master Teacher as clever as this, yea, a worthy, beloved Father:
For a more expedient Father is he who teaches the child rather than winning him over
And raising him without discipline to be sportive and elegant to a hair.
Then from your Father espouse his lessons ardently;
Be inclined to hard work and practical like the Ant and the Bee.
Also be strong as the lion, hearty in virtues, like a friend to them,
Useful to yourself and to others: you shall be held worthy of much honor.
So, too, in the art of Painting, from your good Master Teacher
Receive instruction so as to become wise in Art
With half the labor: for this, praise Vermander, thank him,[113]
Since truly, in recognition of this man's virtue, neither with silver nor rubicund gold
Can you sufficiently reward him; and all the more greatly do you
Owe him loving thanks above any other person.

Reyn liefde croont (Pure love bestows the crown).[114]

112 *Schilder-Boeck*, Book I, fol. ** 8r–v.

113 *Vermander* (one who spurs, urges on, admonishes, exhorts, advises, counsels) puns on Van Mander, ascribing to his *Grondt* all these functions comprised by the nominative form of the verb *vermanen*. In the *Thesaurus theutonicae linguae* (*Thesaurus of the Teutonic Language*) (Antwerp: Christopher Plantin, 1573), a *vermaender* is defined as *admonesteur* in French, as "monitor, admonitor, hortator, adhortator, exhortator" in Latin.

114 Motto of J. Targier, possibly identical with the preacher of this name in Brouwershaven; see A.J. van der Aa, *Biographisch woordenboek der Nederlanden, bevattende levensbeschrijvingen van zoodanige personen, die zich op eenigerlei wijze in ons vaderland hebben vermaard gemaakt*, 20 vols. + supplement (Haarlem: 1852–1878), 18:19.

To the Person Quick to Cavil and Defame[115]

I am not as affrighted by Momus's censorious disparagement[116]
As are other Poets. Why? I am no God.
If there be error in my work, or if it be too rough and dull-witted,
Think but on this—I am Human, and Men can fail.
Nor do I fear Zoilus:[117] I am not to be drawn into an argument.
I am no Homer: I am not taken aback by mockery.
It may perhaps be serviceable to me, causing the foolish Peacock's tail
Of conceit to be lowered flat.
For the rest, blind judgment is nothing but an idle wind.
He who criticizes knowledgeably wins [for me] the benefit
Of paying better attention to everything the next time round,
Whereas praise, the joy of fools, causes many a person to be unwise.
Thus, indeed, do I deem mockery, not praise, to be good instruction.
My poetry has need neither of poems of Praise nor Sonnets.

Een is noodigh (One thing only is necessary). [Carel van Mander]

115 *Schilder-Boeck*, Book I, fol. ** 8v.

116 On Momus, son of the goddess Nyx (Night), whom Lucian in *Hermotimus* XX calls the god of complaint and scornful mockery, and whose scathing judgment of Zeus, Poseidon, and Athena features in Aesop's 518th fable, see I.M. Veldman, "Maarten van Heemskerck and Hadrianus Junius: The Relationship between a Painter and a Humanist," *Simiolus* 7 (1974): 35–54.

117 According to Vitruvius, *De architectura* (*On Architecture*) VII.8–9, Zoilus, known colloquially as Homeromastix (scourge of Homer), was a Cynic philosopher crucified (or stoned or burnt alive) by Ptolemy Philadelphus for his unbridled criticism of the king. True to his sobriquet, Zoilus had also criticized Homer maliciously.

The Foundation of the Noble, free Art of Painting:[1]
In which her form, origin, and nature are placed before the eyes of inquisitive Youth, in discrete Parts, in Rhymed Verse

By C.V.M.

Exhortation, or Admonition to up and coming young Painters
The First Chapter[2]

(1) O Hebes's sprigs,[3] Scholars of Genius,[4]
You who here and there, instead of writing,
Have daubed and stained your Papers
With Mannikins, Ships, various animals,
Rarely leaving a single spot empty,
Seemingly driven on by Nature
To become a Painter,[5] so that to this end your Parents*
Sustain you with their bodies, support you on their shoulders.[6]

*Parents blithely say that they will make Painters of their children, but this is something they cannot bring about, nor is it in their power.

(2) By common consent you are adjudged
To be a Painter—the word is easy to say.
But see, between Painter and Painter
There lies so vast a Mountain, rising so high,*
That many are forced to break their journey midway.
'Tis here not merely to do with Months or Weeks,
But rather, whole Years are required
To demonstrate some measure of accomplishment.

*Between Painter and Painter there lies a great mountain.

(3) 'Twere not good to be thus advised:
"This Art is herself of alluring mien,
Easy to clasp, biddable to all."*
Instead, be wary lest you suffer the fate
Of the simple Midge, which to its ruin
Delights in the luster of bright candlelight,
Foolishly drawn to fly therein.
For likewise do many deceive themselves.

*The Art of Painting is alluring, but difficult to learn.

(4) Be then forewarned, for the throat of Art
Sweetly imitates the voices of the Sirens,
Enchantingly enticing all to dally,
But to reach her one must try

Many paths, and swim across many waters,
And still there's a mountain to climb,
So high that neither early nor late shall you surmount it,
Unless you avail yourself of Nature.*

*Without Nature, one cannot become a Painter.

(5) For Nature has storerooms and passageways
On many levels, in which
Lie all the tools of Art and Trade,
And through here, every Young child steps[7]
Before it sucks milk from its Mother's breast;[8]
And warmhearted Nature here gives
Into the hands of each his own special Instrument,*
With which to earn his bread in the World's lands.

*Nature specially inclines each Youth toward something singular to himself.

(6) Various are her gifts and Jewels:
Here she bestows Ploughs, there Hammers, there Axes,
Here Trowels, there Books, over there Brushes;
But unknowing Parents often reassign*
The natural occupations,
And thus it turns out erratically (alas)
That natural Painters go ploughing,
And Peasants busy themselves with Brushes.

*Parents ought diligently to observe how Youths so incline, according to what Plato writes in the third dialogue of his *Republic*.[9]

(7) If Nature does not confer the Brush,
So, forsooth, must you in time turn back,
Allowing your idle intention to wither,
Sparing time and money, lest you
Bring yourself to ruin, like the aforementioned Midge.
The bridge will be too long and narrow by far.
To leave off early is less shameful
Than making a poor show at the end.[10]

(8) If you have Nature as your friend,
Then shall people assess you early on, according to your spirit's character,*
For he must begin by throttling serpents in the crib,
Who will later advance to vanquish
The Nemean Lion, and the Monsters of Crete,
The many-headed Lernean [Hydra] with its very venomous bite,
Cacus, Cerberus, cruel Centaurs,
That his head be crowned with green Laurel.[11]

*One must detect early on whether someone will become a good Painter.

(9) The plants that we call the thistle and the nettle,
Newly sprouted, begin early to prick and sting;
Early, too, will the wood begin to bend
That one day becomes a hook. Thus, to be brief,
Those youths obeisant to the Graphic Arts,[12]
Who are destined afterward to fly beyond
The common bounds, shall early rise upward
And begin to surpass their fellows.

(10) But Nature it is that impels you thither
Along such paths, thereto inclined with a clever wit,
Holding that share bequeathed from out of her hand,
Such that you become sensible of innumerable living images
In your spirit, mind, and affection.[13]
Then shall I not dissuade you
From shooting for the prize;
Perchance it may turn out that you hit the mark.

(11) Yet let no effort distress you.
He who persists may hope to win;
After the sour, one may enjoy the sweet:
For this is like shooting the Parrot,[14]
Which hardly one out of a hundred can unerringly strike.*
Thus does Art still resemble an Ethiopian
Oriental Pearl, ever exalted,
Held in very high esteem [everywhere] on earth.

*Out of a hundred, one rarely achieves perfection.

(12) Nature sometimes confers her gifts of Picturing
There where neither time nor means allows for learning,
But where instead, constrained by need to labor hard for his daily bread,
A noble spirit must remain buried,
Like hidden treasure, [which is] a crying shame:
But when the gift and the means conjoin
With practice, propensity, and steady zeal,
Then does labor yield its sweet rewards.

(13) Now then, you young folks with hearts set on Painting,
Let all idle childish presumption depart;
If you would clamber onto this Throne of the Arts,
You must adhere to and tirelessly love [her],

For she is jealous and very much to be waited upon.*
Set no store by the feather bed,
Shake off drowsy torpor,
And likewise Bacchus's jug and Cupid's darts.

*The Art is jealous; for this reason, one must avoid what is contrary to her.

(14) Be pleased always to select as companions
Fellow youths who hasten toward diligence,
Whatever the weather, whether thawing or freezing;
And try never to waste much time
In the company of whitebread-eating voluptuaries.
Suffer a bit now, in order not to suffer for eternity,
Give your time to time, lest you while time's time away;*
Should time refuse you time, then snatch time's time away.

*Be advised to keep track of time, and to snatch time from time.

(15) Coornhert, a Poet, in conduct sedulous,[15]
Used to utter this common Proverb,*
When he saw someone
Lavishly squandering their time:
They have too much of what I have too little,
Yet do we have just as much; clearly
Meaning "time," which he, variously engaged on many fronts,
Sought zealously to gain, always ravenous for [more] time.

*Saying of Coornhert.

(16) There are those who, impoverished of time,
Would split every instant into three,
Making the untimely timely with a practiced hand:
Then one encounters others, so rich
In time, that they waste it profusely,
And heedlessly throw it away,*
Along with Pots and Mugs, Kolf-clubs and Rackets,[17]
For they place no store in [time's] value.

*This was once subtly depicted by Goltzius.[16]

(17) Howbeit (alas) what shall we finally
Miss more than precious time,*
When we come perforce to vacate these Earthly nests?
The present time is still best,
Yesterday has swept by, never to return,
And tomorrow is unsure; no one knows nor can say
Whether he may get to it.
In sum, time overtops every treasure.

*How precious time is.

(18) Yet, there is no one who does not consider it a lesser thing
(With song, Lutes, Harps, with post-prandial walks in aid of the digestion,
Or, as they say, to sharpen the senses)
To squander time, than to discard
Gold or Silver, that yet are set at a lower price
Than time and propitious opportunity,*
Which having once flown by,
We may never seize again.

*Time and occasion, or time's opportunity, once having passed, never return.

(19) So, then, wasted time is a great misfortune;
It cannot be reclaimed, neither with money nor property:
Accordingly, Youths, hold time in high esteem,
And banish idleness, the mother
Of all wickedness, and nursemaid to poverty:*
Then, as a just punishment, bring against each evil thing
Its appointed rod; yea, fear not**
To strike its Author or Master cruelly.

*Idleness: mother of every evil, and nursemaid to poverty.

**Every vice brings along its own punishment.

(20) The Drunkard falls into a muddy ditch
And chastened must endure much wretchedness.
For indeed, what arises out of drunkenness
Other than disgraceful, outrageous exploits,*
Which, in a sober-minded state, are greatly to be deplored,
Irredeemable homicide worst of all,
Whereby Human hands grievously strike
At God's handiwork, beyond anyone's power to remake.

*On the evil of drunkenness, and on its rotten fruits.

(21) See what this barley sop readily incites,
How it turns many men into swine,
As one reads about the comrades of Ulysses:
But what thing is there more pernicious than fighting,
And how commonly it stirs up
The foolish World's praise of such deeds,*
Which calls the hotheads brave heroes,
And, amazingly, reprimands the mild-mannered.

*Although fighting is a great scandal, fools praise it.

(22) Even though he who fully masters his heart's impulses
Is far stronger (as says the word of the Wise)
Than he who kills another, and more to be prized.[18]
Although the epithet Murderer makes everyone shudder,

The name of Thief is more infamous, more dire
To utter; I make reference to the law [in saying this],
And yet, the thief can return stolen property,
Whereas the Murderer cannot restore the dead to life.

(23) Therefore, O you who are mindful of instruction,
Flee drunkenness and its ignoble fruits,*
Too many and futile here to enumerate,
So that the debased reputation of Art
May once and for all sink into the Stygian depths,[19]
As, for instance, "Painter-Sick-Head," and the
Common Proverb, "Once a painter, twice a wild man,"**
May be changed to, "Once a Painter, twice a peacemaker."[20]

*That youthful painters must avoid drunkenness.

**The proverb, "Once a Painter, twice a wild man," must be dispelled.

(24) For there are People who appear [to think] that Art*
Must needs be enriched by the saying, " 'tis a shame
That so fine a Spirit, aside from his studies,
Is so drunk, wild, and bluff
A hot-head, and so quick and fierce to anger";
And yet, this sort of thing cools many an art-loving flame,
And on account of this, certain Art-lovers
Will not allow their children to study Art.

*Foolish presumption of some Artists, who wish to become famous for their base lives.

(25) Be not dismayed, O noble young Painters,*
If on account of a few branches that bear ill fruit,
The [saying], "Most Artists are persons of the least repute,"
Must to our chagrin be heard;
For this we sometimes have just one person to thank,
Who by himself, defiant of noble Nature,
Taints the greater rest [of us],
And the Painter's course of study, peaceable and blameless.

*False supposition that most Artists are exterminators of virtue: for this is against the Nature of the art of Painting.

(26) They are unworthy to be reckoned Artists,*
Who lay waste to their
Noble spirits, as if they were
Savage, brutish, loutish Barbarians,
Whereas, on the contrary, the name of Painter
Was once so singularly esteemed by Orators**
Senators, Philosophers, Poets,
Princes, and high-placed Monarchs.

*They who live indecently are unworthy of the name Artist.

**Painters were once beloved by Princes and Scholars.

(27) They who by their art are able sweetly to captivate
A Person's eyes, causing desire to exit the heart's dwelling place*
And remain hanging upon their work,
These are they who through their stalwart and honorable lives
Ought likewise to hold each and every friendship captive—
An Art above every other Art—
Whereby they obtain their heart's desire: the good favor,
Grace, and amity of both God and every Person.

*Just as the artful Painter through his work entices a Person to gaze, so the Art of living honorably attracts to itself hearts and friendship.

(28) Amongst all who uphold the name of the art of Painting,*
Noble gentility ought principally to prevail,
Which can often move
Even Peasants' hearts, touching them
With sensible, affable behavior:
In short, a full measure of seemly, amiable**
Courtesy must be subsumed under
The name or term Painter-like, first and foremost.[21]***

*Amongst Painters, civility should hold the upper hand.

**Courtesy is equal to any task.

***Every kind of courtesy is comprised by the word Painter-like.

(29) Painter-like Picturers ought
To dispel, remove, and put to flight[22]
All envy, strife, and discord,
With kind, circumspect, sensible words,
And not quarrel, disparage, or cavil*
Like fishwives, who, marketing their wares,
Defame their fellows all of a sudden,
Pitching their baskets at each other's heads.[23]

*Painters must neither fight nor cavil, but instead wisely resolve their differences.

(30) One shall also forswear the example of wagoners
Who, having no truck with courtesy,
Resolve their quarrels and disputes
Amongst themselves, with fists and knives,
For ignorance is the mother of discord:*
But the true nature of Art presupposes
That they who travel furthest in understanding
Ought also to be the most courteous.

*Ignorance is the mother of discord.

(31) Considering that the zeal of the Greeks and Romans*
Blazed so intensely for *Pictura*
That they forbade, under penalty of punishment,
Any but noble-born children**

*Here read the life of Pamphilus, the Macedonian Painter.[24]

**Plutarch also says that Emilius Paulus taught his Sons sculpture and painting amongst other noble Arts.[25]

To learn how to paint,
So still, it well befits the honor of Art
That all virtue and courtesy
Partner with those who cleave to the noble Brush.

(32) The Daughters of Jove, the three Graces together,
Were portrayed such that one, seen from behind,
Took a step [back] while the other two,
From a bit farther back, stepped forward,
Which signifies, against any decrease in courtesy,
That for every show of friendship, we receive two in return,
And should be ever shrewd
To practice usurious [courtesy] everywhere.

(33) That the prince of Painters, Apelles, was modest
And polite is no idle fancy,*
For [Apelles] presided over Alexander so sweetly
That he daily came to watch [the painter] working:[26]
Likewise worthy of note
Is his courtesy toward Protogenes,
Whose Person and works he raised in esteem amongst the Rhodians,
A [story] still to be told, though [in prose] not rhyme.[27]

*Example of the courtesy of Apelles.

(34) With respect to Raphael, too, the chief painter of his time,
Many a good Master earned a like reward
By laboring happily in his company,
In mind of one accord, free of envy
None unfriendly toward the other;
Merely looking at the courteous Raphael,*
Seemed forcibly to drive from their minds
Every base ignominious thought.

*Read about this in the life of Raphael.[28]

(35) Henceforth then, "Once a Painter, twice a peacemaker,"
Not "Once a Painter, twice a wild man."
Through the lightsome and clear [example of]
Two such radiantly noble Artists,
Let dark mists be driven and disappear from the eyes:
Thereupon, O young Painters,
Accustom yourselves to goodness,
That everyone learn to know the true nature of Art.

(36) For you in particular, these two are the foremost Examples,
One from ancient, the other from modern times,
That it behooves Art and courtesy
Always to combine in the Artist
Who would make his way across the threshold
Of the Temple of immortal Fame.
Otherwise there looms the great danger
Of drowning in Lethe's stream.[29]

(37) For if the Poets err not,*
There is an old Man who cannot stop himself
From hastening to run without pause,
Into and out of the house of the three Fates,
[To gather] the names of all whose [threads] they have cut,
And then transport them by the lapful (regardless of who objects)
To the cold River Lethe, and throw them in,
So that they sink or are swept away.

*Fable from Ariosto, taken from *Orlando Furioso*, Cantos 34 & 35.[30]

(38) It seems that no Hart could run so swiftly
As this old Graybeard, back and forth;*
And alongside the waters that receive his gifts
There fly shrieking Vultures and Ravens,
Accompanied by birds of many a feather,
That swoop to snatch from out of the water
Some names from all the rest,
Only to let them rapidly fall in again.

*By this old Man is understood the time.

(39) From this multitude of names in their thousands,
One is sometimes found worthy*
Not to be engulfed, but instead remains lying
On the sandy riverbank, and this magnifies the sorrow of the Man
Who would fain let none escape from the River;
But against his will, a pair of white Swans
Flies thither and swim
To the place where stands a hill to be climbed.[31]

*Amongst many thousands, one becomes famous through Art.

(40) Atop this mountain a Temple rises,*
Fit for a Goddess, of fine construction,
Whence a Nymph approaches, a pretty Young Maid,
Who takes the names from the steadfast

*On the Temple of Fame.

Sweet-singing Swans, joyful of heart,
And brings these names into the Temple,
Where they remain, inscribed
On a Column that bears that image aloft.[32]

(41) This Fable signifies the prevalence of death,*
Which is likened to said oblivion of the Lethe,
Wherein with the passage of time we all inherit a place,
Since this old runner will relinquish no one;
But the Swans, History Writers, Poets,
Joyfully know how to bring a few deserving spirits
To the Nymph, Immortality,
In the Temple of Eternal Fame.

*Meaning of the Fable.

(42) Toadies, tell-talers, sycophants,
Akin to the errant Ravens and Vultures,
Have on occasion chosen to elevate
This person or that, skimming them like fat from a pot,
But their like yet remain lost in the Lethe:
Namely, Persons who seem born
To do nothing but eat and drink, leaving
No other memorial of their lives.

(43) Tortoises would sooner creep out of their shells
Than these would let go of their wicked resolve,
Or check their intemperate desire
To help themselves to the World's hard-won goods,[33]*
Or to dissipate and squander
What their Forefathers gathered with sweat, pain, or skill,[34]
Until they engulf their households and themselves
In lasting shame and pitiable misfortune.

*That it is no good Art to squander hard-won goods.

(44) By their thousands, many depart this life,
Wasting time as if it were something futile and trifling.
The World has nothing more to proclaim about them
Than if they had never existed:
For [their] names lie amongst the departed,
Fathomlessly sunken, heavy as lead,
In Lethe's foul muddied currents.
Nothing remains to be dreamt of them.

(45) Artists, Scholars, in a word, many persons,
Princes, Captains, by treading upon
Idleness, have with labor ascended,*
Arriving at acclaim and honor
Through hard employment and glorious works.
It would turn out badly for us in a World
Without labor vigorously exercised,
Whose fruits are utility, tranquility, and joy.

*Utility of diligence and labor.

(46) Hearing this, O Youths, tread apace like wheels
Upon the roadway of labor, for its end is sweet;[35]
Paint, draw, scribble; would you cover*
A heap of Paper, it will suffer it gladly.[36]
Steal arms, legs, torsos, hands, feet,
Here nothing is forbidden. Those who will, must
Play well the part of the personage *Rapiamus*:[37]
Well cooked turnips make for a good potage.[38]

*Incitement to the Art of Painting.

(47) Strive to flee *Rhetorica*, the sweet-featured art of poetry,[39]*
Howsoever merry and diverting [she may be];
Yet I myself have never entirely abandoned her,
Although I fear she has freely diverted me
From the Painter's path.
She is a beautiful flower: were she to bear fruit,
Or bring wheaten flour into the Kitchen,
Then might the urge, itching to practice her, avail.[40]

**Rhetorica* a beautiful flower that bears no fruit, inadvisable due to the jealous arts of Picturing.

(48) Laboring in the Workshop with the other fellows,
Stand fast by your Compact not to squabble.
Even if you're the best, be pleased to help the least.
Keep the Workshop in good repair;
Attend to the Master's Palette and Brushes,
Cleaning, preparing canvases and panels,
Grinding the pigments finely, and taking care to keep them pristine,
Not over-tempering the smalts or the ashes.[41]

(49) As you commence to suckle at the virgin breasts
Of the sage Maiden who bears arms,
And came forth, as the Poets attest,
From Jupiter's brow, so shall you gladly bow

To common judgment;[42] herein apprentice yourself*
To Apelles, for if you patiently lend your ears,
Oftentimes you shall seize upon something[43]
Previously unknown to you.[44]

*One must also attend to the judgment of the common folk.

(50) Pay no heed to the heralds of Midas,*
Whose perverse judgments lead to a bad end,[45]
But instead guard yourself against prattling Momus.[46]
If you think to find glaring faults
In your Master's work, be not inclined to expose them,**
For thereby can nothing good come your way,
Only mockery and contempt, or, at the very least,
Your sure reward shall be covert ingratitude.

*One must pay no heed to the bad judgment of the ignorant.

**No one must lightly expose a Master's faults.

(51) All the same, you may behave thus toward your fellows,*
But I urge you always to do so with courtesy,
Which will taste better to him, should he be hungry:
But readily be neither flattering nor double-tongued,
Or sing the part of sweet Placebo before someone's face,[47]
While later, behind his back, forcing hard cadences
And discordant tones from your throat,
Prizing in someone's presence, what you deride in his absence.

*Point out a fellow youth's faults with courtesy.

(52) Steer clear of the spirit of conceit,*
Which may blind you with shallow complacency,
And, what's more, may make your heart swell with pride,
So that, once sown with learning, you presently
Take your rest, rather than ploughing further:
For they to whom pleasure in themselves attaches,
Such as these are wondrously fortunate;
They, too, are rich who possess contentment (or so the saying goes).

*Self-conceit is to be avoided.

(53) Quite the contrary, as regards our undertakings we must beware [self-conceit],
Should we wish to excel in the Arts,
And endeavor always to advance farther;
Never should we lightly impugn another's work,
For it often turns out that nothing is so low or contemptible[48]*
That one cannot find in it something praiseworthy
That has a certain art, and concerning the rest,
What more is there to say? Everyone does his best.

*Nothing is so bad as to comprise nothing good.

(54) One shall neither applaud nor censure oneself,*
Or do the same to the work of another's hands,
For self-applause will expose you as a fool,
And self-contempt will smack somewhat of fishing for compliments.
Thus, since both pathways conduce to [your] discredit,
Let persons of good understanding judge accordingly:
For to laud oneself is as mightily foolish
As despising oneself is ludicrous.

*One shall neither praise nor dispraise oneself.

(55) Many who habitually stand and rant in the Marketplace,
Peddling this or that nostrum,
Share the habit of blowing their own horn,
Extolling themselves and their trifles,[49]
And conversely, viewing their congeners with contempt.
But take care: let this be avoided by all
Who shelter in Helicon's dwelling place,
Lest they suffer the same punishment as the Pierides.[50]

(56) All who slake their thirst at the Horse's fountain,[51]
See to it that you come to no harm,
Unlike the captious nattering Magpie,*
Or the Satyr flayed for boasting.[52]
Earn not the punishment of Arachne
Who dared to measure herself against Minerva.[53]
Therefore, if you should wish to become renowned in the Arts,
Desist from rivalrous self-content.

*Lightly derogate no one's work.

(57) Albeit you find yourself fully [set] on the path of Art, like a Hart,
And the others like Snails, sluggish and tentative,
And the Prize assured, for you and you alone,
Seeing that no one stands beside you, or at best no more than a few,
While the majority follow listlessly behind,
Yet must you not be insensibly rude,
Nor aggrandize yourself by virtue of the gifts of God,*
Like Pages sitting on their Lords' horses.

*He who is adept in Art shall not puff himself up.

(58) Concerning that which you have been lent, be neither proud nor haughty,
But humbly thank [God] who allowed you to receive it*
For your livelihood, according to season,
Since it was given simply as a means of sustaining life.

*One shall thank God for his gifts.

Both Art and Artist must perish,
However fine or lively: Death constrains one and the other
With a bridle, deferring not a wit,
Pulling everything down into his dark dungeon.[54]

(59) Even though the Arts, unlike Riches,
Are not hostage to the flight of Fortune,
Be not on that account vainglorious,
For nothing remains constant in this Earthly vale of tears:*
Your sight, clear for now, may grow dim,
So, too, something may befall your body,
Subservient as it is to misery, from head to toe.
The usage of Art would then be as nothing to you.

*That which God has given to us can be taken away.

(60) Thus I offer you this advice: however richly you have prospered,
Remain humble, always unpretentious,*
Not doing what the foolish multitudes commonly do:
Having newly amassed a bit of worldly dross
By plying some trade,
They oftentimes care more for tenners and fivers
Than deign to ask about
Needy acquaintances, friends, or relatives.[55]

*Advice against pride.

(61) Honorably doing one's best,
Remaining unstuck from the mire, is not to be despised,
Nor is it unwise to busy the hand steadily
With sound exercises from a young age.
In order not to become a lifelong bungler,
Avoid that libertine rascal
Cupid's appetite for lovemaking, for his campaigns*
Much hinder a Youth's pathway to virtue.[56]

*Lovemaking at a young age is ill-advised.

(62) The Senses scatter like the hunting Hounds
That devoured their Master's flesh as prey*
For his having gaped at Diana, [an offense] without remedy.[57]
Yea the fire of Paris reduced to ashes
Troy, in which so much splendor lay.[58]
Thus does this blind God of Desire leave many a Prodigy
To be consumed by flames, having seduced him young,
Like a child who drowns ere it knows a thing about water.

*Examples of Actaeon and Paris.

(63) Such as these judge like Paris at his most foolish.
Painters' Marriages are very similar in kind;*
To them sensory beauty appeals most urgently.
But beware lest you incline to act rashly;
Leave the Wine God's son Hymen with the other Gods;**
Keep in mind that [marriage] shall not suddenly be banned.
To avoid Headache it is held good
To breakfast early and wait long to wed.[59]

*On the marriages of flighty Painters.

**Not to wed too soon.

(64) As for marrying well, one cannot start too early,*
Nor delay too long to marry badly.
When it turns out well, without equivocation,
It is a thing most to be treasured,**
The surest way of combatting sorrow,
And yet, there is no need to fix a date:
A full and precise account is to be found in Pero Mexia's
Second Book, Chapter Thirteen.[60]

*One cannot marry well too early, nor marry poorly too late.

**Praise of a good Marriage.

(65) It appears that the Bride-to-Be should be about*
Ten years younger than the Bridegroom,
As the mellifluous poet Ariosto
Likewise reveals in his *Satires*.[61]
But our Painter (if he be not pressed by
Exigent circumstances), before giving himself [in marriage]
Should definitely visit Lands in some of the World's corners,
For the love of Art.

*A Bride-to-Be should enter into marriage ten years younger than the Bridegroom.

(66) Indeed, I should wholeheartedly encourage you to travel,
Did I not fear that you might go astray,
For Rome is the City whereto, above all other places,
The Painters' journey leads them,
Being the capital of the Schools of *Pictura*,[62]
But also the very place where profligates*
And prodigal Sons fritter away their property.
One shrinks from permitting Youths to take the trip.

*The trip to Rome is ill-advised: it provides too many ways of wasting one's money, with few ways of earning any income.

(67) Experience also teaches us
That many return from there penniless and poor,
For [Rome] is a house wherein errors are fed,
A traitorous nest wherein is bred

All the evil that today spreads the World over;
So Petrarch describes [Rome], and what he further recounts,
Too long to recapitulate here,
Is in truth difficult to contradict.[63]

(68) Nevertheless, one might well become fond of the Land's sweetness,
So, too, Italus's folk, sprung from Janus,
Who have ever done much to elevate our Art,
Are on the whole neither Traitors nor Thieves,*
But subtle, imbued with courtesy,
Though with an open mouth and a closed hand:[64]
For under the Sun there lives nearly no Nation,
That has not its special fault and special grace.

*The nature of the Italians.

(69) But should you [choose to] travel, let it not occur*
Contrary to your desire and without your Parents' consent;
Small Inns, bad company, you shall flee,
And let no one espy on your person much money,
And keep it quiet that you are on a long journey.
Be honorable and polite, free of contention.
Have money at all times, but also hesitate
To loan much to your own countrymen of poor estate.

*Instruction for Youths partial to Painting: how to conduct themselves while journeying.

(70) Everywhere you go, learn the People's customs,
Follow the good, shun the bad,
Rise early and also take your lodgings early,
And to avoid sickness and vermin,
Keep a close watch on the bedding and linens:
But above all, always steer clear of*
Loose Women, for apart from [their] sinfulness
They may mark you for life.[65]

*Through loose Women, much is corrupted.

(71) When coming to Italy, it will sometimes behoove you,
Like the Falcon, to wear a hood[66]
Against the beautiful Circe, with all her guile.[67]
As for the sort of work you'll do there: it consists of painting
Landscapes on wet plaster, alongside Grotesques.[68]
For the Italians think mistakenly
That we are all proficient [landscapists], and they in figures;[69]
Thereupon, I hope to rob them of their allotted share.

(72) Yea I hope herein to be no idle hoper.*
They themselves see as much even now, more than adequately,
On canvas, in stone, on copperplates.[70]
You Youths, too, pay heed, take courage, though much
Has already dripped through the basket, be diligent
In achieving our goal,
That they no longer say in their language:
Flemings are no good at depicting figures.

*Advice to labor diligently, thereby to wrest from the Italians their Proverb.

(73) Tarrying not on the outward journey,
Prefer instead to visit *Alemania* during the trip home,*
Even if Money is met there sooner than Art,
And (if the stuff of the French peace be not ill-founded)[71]
Also Provence, Brittany,
The whole of France, Burgundy, and Spain:
Everywhere that fine Indian yellow
And that white ore are to be garnered.[72]

*That one may visit other lands during the return journey from Italy, in order to return home having won much money, for then is one welcome.

(74) Brought home, clinking happily,
A goodly share of such mixed metals,[73]
Should gratify your Parents and friends,
And so, too, if you deck yourself out, becomingly and honorably,
Your homecoming will smell sour to no one;
They will welcome you with presents.
Away then, winged heels: journey ended,
Let one be joined quickly and firmly with one's Sweetheart.

(75) Finally, see to it that you not return empty-handed
From that which you undertook for your benefit.
Bring with you from Rome a fine manner of drawing,[74]*
And good painting from the city of Venice,[75]
Which [topics], for lack of time, I must for now set aside,
Having myself traversed additional routes,
Some of which (to shorten my exhortation)
I shall now briefly convey.

*In Rome, learn to draw, and in Venice, to paint.

(76) For the sake of *Pictura*:
With joy, the palliative to pain,
In *Helvetia*, I climbed over*
The snow-topped Alps, shiveringly high,

**Helvetia* is Switzerland.

And also the grueling Apennines,
Through whose mists and lowering storms
The great Military Man Hannibal
Failed in his plan to cross over [into Italy].

(77) I came so far as to see and live in
The longed-for City, which (as one can read)
First emerged on Mount *Palatinus*, from small beginnings,
From two Foster Sons and a She-Wolf,
And whose fame traversed the entire World.
Its ruined buildings taught me,
Bearing incontrovertible witness
To how splendid Rome had once been.[76]

(78) Every now and then, the Italians and I
Made our way outside the city, to practice [our] Art;
There I saw Cicero's Town *Tusculum*,
The ancient Countryside of *Latium*, and *Alba Longa*,
Also Circe's mountain soaring airily,
Where Ulysses's men were driven
Into the Pigpen (as the Poets' verses state),
And the *Appian* way, with many other monuments.[77]

(79) Diverse bodies of Water, worthy of mention,
Did I also see with alacrity, for Art's sake,
Furthermore sailing with great difficulty
Through the salty waves of the *Tyrrhenian* Sea.
I saw the Wine-rich *Tiber* flowing turbidly,
Likewise the *Padus*, proud of mien,[78]
Having won a noble reputation
From the hapless Driver of the Sun['s chariot].[79]

(80) The unsettled *Arnus*, sometimes dry,
Sometimes overflown, I beheld as well,
But it cost Hannibal an eye,
As if taking revenge upon him for having straitened
The *Etruscan* lands by waging war.[80]
I saw the waters of the *Trebbia*, where
To the great detriment of the Roman legions,
Sempronius repented his pride too late.[81]

(81) Moreover, I sailed two great Rivers,
Inimitable compared to the rest,
The [two] chief ornaments of Europe:
First the *Danubius*, in some quarters*
Named *Ister*, which (so some say)
Streams with such force into the *Mare majus*[82]
That its salty waves must yield,
Allowing its waters to be sweetened by forty miles.

*Herodotus in *Melpomene*, book 4, considers the Danube the foremost of all Rivers.

(82) *Rhenus*, the splendid, profitable River
Flowing benevolently toward our Netherlands,
I consider the most worthy of fame after [the Danube].
These Waters and many reputable cities
Did I visit, in order with better understanding
To comprehend the Art that I have now
Taken in hand to portray
With the pen, exactly as I know her.

(83) For having thus taken so many
Steps in my younger days,
Yet, however many, always to please her,
It stands to reason that she will surely allow me
To put her natural features on show,
Aye, her Laws and usages,
For the sake of up and coming Prodigies eager to learn,
Serving [to abet] them a little in their undertaking.

(84) Herein I hope to do what my capacity allows,
But not blindly, and so, to circumvent error,
I have suckled at various breasts,
And somewhat exercised my invention, and drawn
Extensively upon both ancient and modern Authors,
For I find this commonly to be the case,
That even the most outstanding Writers
Have had to fish in other ponds.

End of the Exhortation.

On drawing, or the Art of Delineating
The Second Chapter

(1) One may call Drawing, or the high art of
Delineating, the Father of painting;[1]*
Aye, one may vaunt it as the true entryway
Or the door through which one gains admittance to many Arts,
Goldsmithing, building, and more; indeed the seven
Liberal Arts could not exist without her;
For the art of Drawing encompasses all things,
Holding every Art within her measured skeins.

*Drawing, the father of painting well, or again, drawing is the Body, and painting the Spirit of drawing.

(2) She is a kindhearted Wet nurse of all the Arts,*
So Natalis Comes informs us;[2]
Yea even *Grammatica*, noble and knowledgeable,
Is suckled[3] and swiftly raised by her,
Learning to trace letters and characters,**
Whereby Peoples of different tongues
Understand their mutual intents with one accord,
Whether they be far apart or present.[4]

*The art of Painting, that exists in and through the art of Drawing, which is the wet nurse of all good Arts and sciences.

**The art of Writing is nursed by the art of Drawing.

(3) The perfection of the art of Drawing must needs come forth
From a sound understanding,[5] and understanding
Must [in turn] draw strength from practice, having taken root
In a spirit endowed by nature, which, being
Ingenious and resourceful, fortifies [understanding] and deftly vivifies it.
Together with good judgment, this prompts the Artist
To fashion in thought a preliminary design of all
That it pleases him to draw by hand.[6]

(4) This Father, then, of Painting is*
Practiced at disclosing hidden meanings,
An expression, a striking elucidation of intention,
A witness to it, which decidedly
Consists in drawing, drawing over, drawing round
All that [the sense of] sight may apprehend
Within the limits of the World,
Above all, the Human form, most precious of all created things.[7]

*What drawing or the art of Drawing actually is.

(5) Now, Youths, in order to pursue this course,
That is, to become practiced in the art of Drawing,
You must begin with great gusto
By inscribing an oval, and therein a cross,*
Very needful for learning to position a human face
From any angle: for one sees how many Painters,
Inattentive to this cross, distort the face deplorably,
Expending much effort, but to no effect.[8]

*The necessity of understanding the ovoid and the cross.

(6) Further, learning to depict a figure after the manner [of another's picture],
With one foot bearing firmly, without faltering, the weight of the whole body,
Is not to be spurned,
As will be recommended in [the chapter on] *Actitude*:
And let the hip swing outward from the standing foot.[9]
Now, any great Master who published for your benefit,
O Youths, an A.b.[c.] book of prints on the rudiments of our Arts[10]*
Would greatly deserve your gratitude.

*There is need for a Book on first principles for young Painters, which might teach them to place a Figure with ease, and guide them from there to even greater perfection.

(7) I lack the means or the wherewithal,
Whereas others, who have what it takes,
Have proved too reluctant; thus, O deserving Youths, do I,
for fear of censure,
And they, for fear of difficulty,
Rob your eyes of so expedient a guide:
In olden days, long flown by,*
Was our Art compiled in various Books,
For which now to search, 'twould be in vain.[11]

*Amongst the ancients, the artful Painters wrote diverse Books on their Art.

(8) At School Youths learn about
The Seven liberal Arts in Books; ample Texts
Are approved for young Apothecaries
And Chirurgs to keep them on the right path:
Yet for you, up and coming young Painters, who resemble new
beakers,*
There's nothing tried and true in our language,
From which useful, instructive subject matter might be imparted
And linger with you like a strong fragrance.[12]

*For Painters, nothing had previously been written in our language.

(9) Therefore, 'twere good to find an accomplished Master*
From the start, in order to accustom oneself to a good manner[13]
And learn the sure, firm foundations
Of disposition, handling, contour, projection,
And to become familiar with sound placement of lights and shadows,
By subtly drawing where the light strikes,[14]**
First with Coal, then with Chalks and Pens,
Such that one may hardly see hard, robust strokes anywhere but where the shadows fall.

*For youths it is useful to get under way with a good Master.

**Gently to draw on the lit side.

(10) You may do it all: hatch and wash*
As your spirit inclines, with fiery effort,
Hastening to set your hand to copying[15]
With Coal or Chalk, on Paper gray as ash,
Or on pale blue [Paper], heightening
And deepening: but you will not allow
Highlights and deep shadows to converge,**
And will rather give breathing room to the ground color between them.[16]***

*To draw on Paper [prepared] with a ground color, heightening and deepening, is most advantageous.

**One shall not place highlights and deep shadows side by side.

***The ground color is the middle- or half-tint / tone.

(11) Diligently refrain from heightening too much;
Whether you wash with tinctures or watery inks,
Always strive to blend them softly,
Or, if you work with coal and chalk, have sticks
Tipped with cottonwool at the ready, to make the graded tints
Flow [smoothly] at either side, whether doing this after prints
Or after stationary sculpture in the round.
Each gladly does that to which he inclines.

(12) Fine prints with colored grounds and deft highlights*
Have opened the eyes of many a spirit,
As one sees from [the prints] of the famous Parmigianino,[17]
Amongst others; thus, to become productive in the Arts,
Graft your spirit with these offshoots,
Or copy something finely cast in plaster,
And observe the well-placed lights:[18]**
For the highlights will assuredly have their say.

*That it is good to work after prints or another's manner of handling, wherever deep shadows and highlights are to be found, as well as after sculpture in the round.

**That highlights achieve much in the art of Drawing.

(13) Now that you, through patient effort,
Have made your lively hand to lack heaviness,
And your eyes have begun to see clearly,
Go from contrivance to the [naked] truth,*

*That one must work much after the life. In life, a sure, sweet, and simple ease is to be found.

That is, to life, most gracious to us,**
In which an easy, unaffected sweetness,
Openly perceptible both in stillness and in motion,
Serves as the Lodestar whereby to steer our ship.

**Life is the lodestar of Picturing, its foundation stone and target.

(14) This is the target at which to shoot, the ground upon which to build:
No better text can be cited,
No finer nor surer example trusted,
Than a fully nude Man or Woman.
These are the most learned Books to be consulted,
An inexhaustible [source of] practice;
So, too, are children in the nude, and every kind of Beast.
'Twere otherwise impossible to devise anything.[19]

(15) 'Tis wondrous, the grace one sees Nature
Pour forth into life, from every side;
Here everything can be found that we might lack in ourselves:*
Action, attitude, fine foreshortening,
Contour, cross-contour, to gladden us.[20]
By doing and redoing over time,
One attains the experience of a revered Master:
But one must also learn to fashion from out of oneself.[21]**

*One finds everything in life.

**One must work from out of oneself, in order to possess invention.

(16) From an early age, Invention must develop in concert [with Nature],[22]
Else shall we compose ineptly[23]
And then need to look to others' storehouses.[24]
We must also attend well to proportion,
If we wish to increase or decrease,
And in particular, let us ably remember*
That which we draw, to become wise by experience,
For, see, *Memoria* is Mother to the Muses.

*Memory, mother of the Muses, and for that reason called Mnemosyne; see Plutarch in his *On the* [*Liberal*] *Education of Children*.

(17) Moreover, 'tis the treasure chamber of knowledge,
But in portraying your model, pay close regard*
To situating it in the place it belongs,
For many a Painter blundered therein:
Set it neither too high nor too low, or too much to the side:
Some use gridded panes and nets,
Or small casements strung crosswise with threads,
To eliminate faults from their copies.[25]

*The model, that is, the nude figure one intends to portray, should not be set too close.

(18) This is the *Velum* that I discuss in passing[26]*
In my chapter [5] on composition, but I leave everyone free
To use whatever instrument he will,
For it's all one how one's work arrives
At a pleasing effect and a right measure.
What's more, a good understanding
Of how Muscles begin or end (gained from seeing flayed corpses)
Will greatly facilitate the art of Drawing.

*The *Velum* is a casement with threads strung in a grid, which is likewise drawn on the sheet of paper to ensure good placement while looking at the model through this *velum*.

(19) This is altogether necessary,
If every aspect of the nude is fully to be understood:
And yet, in such an undertaking, one must refrain
From rendering the Muscles or Sinews*
Too hard: then would
Our Figures appear lost to view for being overly thin.
Nor through inattention should one disregard
The fleshy, sleek softness of the living figure.[27]

*Muscles must fully be fathomed, but activated only when appropriate.

(20) You may stump, that is, draw out the chalk with cottonwool,
Or work it in a grainily gentle way[28]
Without hatches or rubbing with something:
If you wish to improve in artful hatching,
Then will you fortify your strokes from thin to thick,[29]
That is, from above to below, with attention*
To rendering the muscles and other bodily parts well,
As if the Graces were disporting therein.

*One shall draw hatches in a downward stroke from above.

(21) One will make crayons from various colors*
Rubbed with partly decomposed glue,
With which one may portray the forms of Nature**
And, more than this, give every figure its [proper] color,
Whether youthful or withered:[30]
Hereby can honor be obtained,
For the art of Drawing is the Father of Painting;
No two things could resemble each other more.

*Crayons: how one makes them.

**Crayons are useful for representing colors after the life.

(22) In sum: the art of Drawing can be helpful
To every estate, be they young or old and gray,*
So, too, to Princes, Captains, and Soldiers,
Whenever they might wish to speak aptly about Art,

*The Art of Drawing is useful to Princes, Captains, and Soldiers for recording cities and fortifications; read the first part of the lives of the Painters, how Lucius Scipio, the Brother of Scipio Africanus, portrayed the capture of Carthage.[31]

Or describe the circumstances
Of fortifications and [other] places. Therefore,
The noble art of Drawing is to be prized,
And having elucidated it, let us proceed to Proportion.

End of the art of Drawing.

Analogy, Proportion, or measurement of the Parts of a Human Body

The Third Chapter

(1) Proportion, or a pure state of correspondent relation,[1]
Is (as Plutarch states in this connection)
A fine, precious ornament of Nature.[2]
Vitruvius (inherently Artful) calls
This Proportion, whether in buildings or figures,
A certain conformation of the limbs,
Or an ordering of a building's component parts,
Well governed by the [rules of] Art.

(2) For, as he declares, the Human Body
May be likened to a majestic Temple.[3]*
This accords well with what the Lord spoke
When he said that the Temple would be destroyed,
Meaning the Temple of his innocent Body.[4]
The form of a virtuous Person's body
Is noble, a wonder of Nature,
Assembled with exceptional art.

*A Human Body and its limbs compared to a Temple and its component parts.

(3) From the place where hair begins to grow at the brow,
To the point beneath the chin—what we call the face –
Is one-tenth of the body as a whole,*
Gauged by length; so, too,
The length of the hand
From the point where the arm can bend
To its furthermost tip, measured to the end of the middle finger,
Shall match and precisely agree with the measurement of the face.

*A Man is ten faces tall, and can reach as far as he is tall.

(4) Were one to measure the dimensions of the whole
Head, from crown to chin, one would find
It to be one-eighth of the Body's length; and were one*
To stretch a string from behind the crown of the head to the base of the neck,
One would again have an eighth; and moving down
From the hairline of the brow
To the summit of a Man's chest,
One would find a section of exactly one-sixth.

*A Man is eight heads in length.

(5) If you measure higher, to the crown of the head,
You shall see one-fourth of the Body;
If you seek to measure the length of the face:
From the hairline to the eyes,
Just above the nose, between the eyebrows,*
Is one third; in constructing the face,
The nose is one part, and from the nostrils
To below the chin is another part, equal in measure.[5]

*A Man's face is three noses long.

(6) The foot, from where the heel begins to turn*
To the end of the second toe is, in all candor,
Found to be one-sixth of the Body;
The Cubit also, construed as the arm**
From its joint, the elbow,
To the tip of the long middle finger, shall
Always constitute one-fourth of the Body.
Thus does the structure of the body have its fixed particulars.[6]

*A Man's foot, measured by length, is one-sixth of his total height.

**A Man's height is four Cubits. Amongst the Ancients, the Cubit was six palms: each palm was four thumbs, and four palms made a foot.

(7) Now, the torso, measured from the start of the belly,
Just above the navel, to underneath the chin,*
Keeps to the same measured course:
Set one point of a long compass on the navel
Of a Man laid out flat,
His [limbs] stretched a far as they will go,
And with the other point inscribe a circle, in the round,
And you shall then find that it just touches the tips of the toes and fingers.

*A Man's navel is his center point.

(8) Just as the Navel of this Man's Body
Appears to be its natural center point,
And as this perfect circular form*
Is detectable in him, so one also finds present
In him the likeness of a true square.
Liberally measure from the top of his head to the soles of his feet,
Again to the tips of his arms and fingers,
And he shall conform himself to the same dimensions.[7]

*A Man can be inscribed within a circle and a square.

(9) Such a precept Vitruvius set before me,
And see, Pliny, too, holds by it:[8]
Namely, that a Man is as tall
As [his arms] can reach; in life, one also encounters this

And can put it amply to the test.
Now, there are those who have
Compiled many books on Proportional Measurement,
Amongst whom Dürer is not to be outmatched.[9]

(10) Be that as it may, as regards minutes or the parts of the thumb*
And many other perplexing details of this sort,
I have no intention of clearing so wide a path for up-and-coming Painters.
The working methods of great Masters or Sculptors
Are for Youths like inimitable traces.[11]
I have heard Painters aptly say**
That those who measure much, keep measuring steadily,
And finally achieve nothing much at all.[12]

*According to the Geometers' measurements, minutes or grains are one-fourth of the cross-section of a finger; four fingers make three thumbs. Five minutes equal one ounce; one degree equals two feet.[10]

**Too much measuring is useless or of little use to Painters, whose goal is to paint well: whereas measurement is crucial to Sculptors.

(11) Vitruvius, one of the cleverest Titans
Of the Architect's Art, points the way to no perilous
Paths, lest one go astray;
For see, in measuring heads, feet, and noses,
Youths are perforce advised to measure
From a Man's head down to the soles of his feet,
Eight heads, each head being four noses long.[13]
To measure in this way, I find expeditious and serviceable.

(12) In order rightly to measure a Man eight heads tall,*
Without [undue] vexation, one shall endeavor to position
His body on a plumb line,
Counting one part from the top of the head to the chin,
Another from the chin to midway between the nipples,
Then from there to the navel, and further, to the genitals,
Numbers four; the other four must needs be:
Halfway down the thighs, then to the knees, the midpoint of the shins, and the soles of the feet.[14]

*The lengthwise measurement of the body, to be taken from a plumb line hanging down its middle axis.

(13) In measuring [the body's] width, one shall also be guided thus:
From right to left, whether clothed or unclothed,*
A Man's shoulders [should be] two heads wide, the hips
Two faces wide; now, the edifice of a Woman's body

*A Woman and a Man share one set of proportions: but the Man's shoulders are a nose wider, and the Woman's hips likewise wider by a nose.

Is just as long, but the width of the hips
Amounts to just twice the measure of the head,
And the shoulders, unlike those of men,
Are the span of but two faces.[15]

(14) But the muscles of little Women, lacking hardness,*
Must instead recede with the utmost softness
Or delicately disappear,
The flesh being full, with small creases and folds,
And the hands with little hollows, like those of Children.
Now, Children having been brought to mind:**
In the small, five heads high,
Three to their private parts, two to their thighs and lower legs.[17]

*The flesh of women is fuller than that of Men.[16]

**Children are five heads tall, and half so tall at three years old as they shall become.

(15) One comes across various proportions*
In life, the squat and the slim:
Children (as Pliny explains) are grown
Only half so tall at three years old:[19]
Now, you up and coming Painters, be grateful for this snippet.
I shall further teach you how
Assuredly to position a figure, set it to work, activate it,
Thereby to put proper decorum into effect.

*One has seen figures by Michelangelo nine, ten, even twelve heads tall, made thus to bend and turn gracefully; he said that the Compass must be in the eye, not the hand.[18]

End of Proportion.

On the Attitude, decorum, and decorous motion of a Human Figure[1]

The Fourth Chapter

(1) Heaven, apart from being kind and obliging,
Wished also to confer on Noble Nature,
As a complement to her many innate gifts,
The virtue of beauty, decorous and artful,*
Which gives the utmost delight to the eye:
But if we delve into [matters of] source and method,
So do we find extensive reasons why
Nature's beauty is beauty's perfection.[2]

*Nature is beautiful on account of the various virtues or qualities that she possesses.

(2) Something well apparent to the eyes,
Discernible in many kinds of Natural things,
Is that their beauty is diminished by flaws*
To the extent that the particulars fall short.
This takes us to the subject at hand:
How is it that we Painters, laboring diligently,**
Sometimes find ourselves unable to fashion a Figure
Pleasing to us, though we know not the reasons why.

*Beauty diminishes when certain constituent parts go missing.

**Some young Painters occasionally fashion a Figure that displeases them, without knowing why it falls short: hence the following instructions.

(3) Albeit our contours, curving away from each other,
Passably project [out of the image],
Yet does the Attitude sometimes lack any stirring movement,
Or the Figure is prone to falling,
Or has a specially
Indecorous character: in order further to avoid
Such offenses,
Instruction will serve us well here.[3]

(4) Accordingly, let us now set out in an orderly manner,
Under the [rubric of] proper circumstances,[4]
Certain rules and firm laws,*
Which Nature, through close observation of her distinctive parts,
Has promulgated with good cause
To prevent us from unknowingly entering upon
A method of posing figures that oversteps
The bounds of tried and true procedures, rules, and precepts.[5]

*Nature teaches and herself promulgates good laws.

(5) To implant a standing Figure, we may*
Draw a straight line, [pulled taut] as if by a lead weight,
From above downward,
Which shall, like an arch frame cord,
Prevent the component parts of a *Corpus* from swerving outward,[6]
As it closely descends from the throat pit
To a point between the ankles of the load-bearing feet:
Thus with confidence may we build a standing Figure.

*How one shall implant a Human figure.

(6) For, see, the Human Figure and a Column*
Are alike in stance and bearing,
And the head, supported by the Body,
As its heaviest member, must needs
Have the foot placed underneath as its Base,
Onto which the weight is distributed
And the head carried so truly that
A plumb line could be dropped between both [the head and the feet].[7]

*A Human Figure compared to a Column.

(7) That this aforementioned perpendicular plumb line
Or hanging strand be explicitly drawn,
I consider unnecessary,
If the drawing is not to be done timidly;
Rather, let it be seen with the mind's eye,[8]
And steadily consider well that the lead-weighted thread[9]
Come directly from the throat pit
To between the feet that support the Body.

(8) For the head may well fall or tilt toward one shoulder or the other,
But it will at times be expedient
For the head and the Body perforce to incline oppositely, or,*
To speak with more perspicuity,
One is advised intently to avoid
Letting the head hang on the same side
That the Body hangs or bends,
If our work is not to appear inept.[10]

*That the head should not hang in the same direction as the Body bends or hangs.

(9) The unencumbered foot together with its leg
May play outward, to make for a more agreeable impression,*
But there is a Natural property commonly
To be observed not merely in Persons

*How a Human Figure shall move.

But also in four-footed Animals;
Namely, how the right leg in front and the left leg behind
Must rise, step, and fall in tandem,
And likewise the other two.

(10) One sees a Human Figure naturally display*
This sort of swaying motion in running or walking,
Both while working and standing still:[11]
Closely to observe this
With respect to all persons—Children, Men, and Women –
Will crown our works with success.[12]
We ought never to extend the arm and leg of a Figure
Forward on the same side.

*An action commonly shared by Persons and Animals in walking or stepping forward.

(11) We should be mindful to alternate them,*
Letting the right arm come forward,
And the right leg sink backward,
The left leg project, and, conversely, the left
Arm back away by degrees,
Always crosswise; whether the Figures sit
Or stand, their faces should turn
Toward the arm that extends outward.

*On using a crosswise action, whereof Masters of the past and the present have given us examples.

(12) Both Raphael of Urbino and Michelangelo
Have exhibited this very Attitude
In their artful works, and it is likewise
To be descried in various Ancient
Figures, artfully carved,
And in the beautiful city of Florence
Such a device is also to be noted
In the well-sculpted works of Giambologna.[13]

(13) In Figures standing naturally, one observes
How the head usually turns*
In the direction of the foot, and one also sees
How the Body tends to move itself
As does the head, giving it support:
But in posing [Figures] according to the rules of Attitude,
It is considered especially praiseworthy
To move the Head away from where the Torso turns.

*On turning the head elsewhere than the Torso.

(14) Otherwise our work, by its insipidity and deficiency, will perturb:
Thus one must endeavor in every possible way
To turn the head so as to produce the best effect[14]
For this can completely spoil or adorn
A Figure's quality in knowledgeable eyes:
But no such turning is to be tolerated*
In sacred Figures, which one must do one's best
To make devout and modest.

*Sacred Figures need not turn the head round much.

(15) In the same way, what we have just said about Attitude*
Shall not always bind us:
Instead, as need arises,
We shall occasionally diverge from it:
For Orpheus did indeed adapt his sweet-sounding Harp
From time to time, and played upon rough strings
How the Titans came to ruin,
Vanquished by fearsome thunder.[15]

*Ever aiming for good disposition, one shall yet sometimes modify it.

(16) Then again, his playing tasted sweeter
At another time, when he sang
About young Maidens who met their demise,
Impelled by foolish love:
See how we leapt into this fable
To show that one is sometimes compelled
(As the nature or action of things in our works requires)
To make use of such adjustments.[16]

(17) Similarly, when we fashion models or posed figures*
That thrust with staves or pull on ropes,
The feet and hands must extend to the same side
As the outstretched arms and legs,
Or be raised in the direction of the limbs that reach out as they work:
But above all, one must avoid superimposing**
The arms over the naked *Corpus*, always leaving it
Free of all encumbrance (so far as this proves possible).[17]

*On working figures whose limbs are to be oriented in accordance with their activity.

**On leaving the torso's beauty uncovered, so that its contour or other features are nowhere obstructed.

(18) Thus should we proceed further and designate
(So far as we know them) the improprieties in a Figure's pose:
For example, it shall not be prized to have a model seated
With the feet thrust out to the sides,

But otherwise knock-kneed;*
It shall turn out better
To shift the knees outward, away from each other,
and the heels inward, and thereby achieve a well-tempered attitude.

*How the knees of a sitting or lying Figure must bend, and how not.

(19) But to make the feet of a Woman*
Too wide apart in standing or lying,
Especially in standing, is perfidious
To decorum, which demands that
The feet be close together, by reason of modesty:[18]
And also, there are times one must avoid foreshortening a face too much,**
Which is inimical to good disposition,
For excess brings forth a minimum of grace.

*How a Female figure's legs and feet must be placed.

**Too much foreshortening is not praiseworthy.

(20) Many admirable Painters (and defective ones, too)
Yet take a notably wrong turn,
In that (let them not hold this against me)
They pull up the shoulder, raising it highest
Above the hip that swings outward,*
Whereas the shoulder should be lowered
Wherever the hip projects: for this is the quintessence
Of the Arts, whether the Figure stands, lies, or sits.

*Where the figure's hip swivels outward, the shoulder must be lowest.

(21) Equally ill-advised is to draw
The arm reaching upward when it attaches to the dropped shoulder*
Of a model pivoting outward:
Even were this custom twice as old as it is,
It would appear less than sound for attaining good disposition.
Thus, in accordance with proper usage, one had better
Apply the raised shoulder thereto,
In order to avoid a maladroit stance.

*Likewise, the arm that reaches upward must be the one on the other side of the pivoting [Figure].

(22) Furthermore, to reinforce good disposition
There's another matter worthy to be addressed
By clever spirits who hearken to everything,
Namely: see to it that Figures not occupied with some task
Do not raise both [their]*
Hands or arms in unison.
Appreciate this fully: variation can gratify.
Likewise avoid [raising both] the legs or the feet.

*That one shall not allow both arms or legs to perform the same action unless the Figure is fulfilling some task.

(23) It also appears that some, incapable of calming
Their spirit while at work on something,
Let (if by your leave I may say this) breasts and buttocks*
Be simultaneously visible; [artists] such as these seemingly
Aspire to take the stage with Playactors
Who tumble and somersault, construing
Unnatural things of this sort as an art;
But Painters must guard against them.[19]

*One shall not be too unbridled, unconstrainedly turning a Figure.

(24) Yes, indeed, even simple folk berate those
Who thus deceive themselves, presuming thereby to embellish their works,
Or who cook things up, preposterous to such a degree,
Contorted, twisted, with limbs [as if] broken,*
Or, as the Italians say, *stropiato*.[20]
Many species of this may be enumerated:
For instance, the hand strained and wrested from the arm,
And the foot wrenched away from the knee.

*That one shall not wring a Figure's limbs.

(25) Thus must one keep to the middle path
In turning and bending, following life:*
When a face looks up in alarm,
Let not the head hang backward
More than necessary for the eyes
To remain raised heavenward; and besides,
In stooping, it shall not be proper
To lower the shoulders beneath the navel.[21]

*How far one shall let a Figure reach, stoop, and turn.

(26) Nor shall one turn the head farther than
Where the chin and the armpit align;
But arms and legs have greater liberty,
Although take care
That no one's hand be raised so high
That the elbow comes above the armpit.[22]
These and other such Rules
Nature confirms with a sure seal.

(27) When a Person lifts something heavy,*
So everyday experience teaches us,
One leg bears the weight like a prop,
Lending support to the edifice of the body:

*On a carrying Figure.

For the Person arranges himself so that
His limbs remain balanced,
Whether bowing or bending,
As several Learned Men attest.[23]

(28) On the side of a load-bearing shoulder,
The leg has no leave to move as it pleases,
But must stand straight, carrying its burden:
One must also ensure that a standing Figure*
Not stride in excess of Nature and grace,
As, for instance, when feet are more than a foot apart:[24]
But keep in mind that the Ancients appreciated stationary standing Figures
As much as walking or running ones.

*On the action of going forth, and on a fixed standing posture.

(29) Attractive and graceful in manner,[25]
Swiveling slightly, or nearly not at all.
But they exhibit, for all lovers of Art,
An attitude sweet, active, subdued,
Ineluctably pleasing to everyone:
Now, it sometimes happens that
A Figure reaching upward must rest
On the balls of the heels or the toes of the foot.[26]

(30) In the manner of a frolicsome Nymph-like Female personage,
Dancing, capering with both legs on the ground,*
Others on their toes.[27]
To effect this well, beautifies our work:
And if we desire an Example hereof,
Canachus, a *Statuarius* in stone and bronze,
Was in olden days esteemed for his art
(Or so Pliny evinces).[28]

*On suave movement in dancing, springing, and other such activities.

(31) A Hart had he made in bronze or stone,*
Which awakened wonder,
Standing so lightly on its legs, with such art,
That one could almost have passed a thread
Under all four feet;
From behind it seemed airily to rise
On its toes, keen to jump,
While it appeared, from the front, to rest on its heels.

*Example of a bronze Hart.

(32) For figures at work,
Observe Nature keenly, putting every limb into service:*
The hands, fingers to playing Lutes or Harps,
To shooting, or throwing something,
To cutting, dragging, carrying, digging, or burying:
In running figures, let all the limbs hurry along,
And further, for any action
Mobilize its every part with art.[29]

*Putting the limbs of a Figure to work, in playing, shooting, throwing, or other such activities, according to Art.

(33) For an example we may here insert
That artful work of Demon of Athens,*
The two Soldiers, Hoplites, one of whom appeared
To sweat, the other (throwing down
His weapons) to pant and heave from exhaustion.
Herein did people take wondrous pleasure,
For in his time there was no Painter
Who strove more profusely to portray the passions.[30]

*Example of the action of running, or of an exhausted figure.

(34) Every motion of the limbs or members
Of Nymphs, Goddesses, and Concubines
Must also appear pleasing and deft,*
After the manner of Ariosto's description of Alcina,
Who took ne'er a step
'Twas not a snare and net
Of Love, wherewith to hold Ruggiero captive
By means of graceful and comely demeanor.[31]

*On observing grace.

(35) This, too, is one of *Pictura*'s virtues,
To vary Figures by age:*
First of all, to fashion the forms of simple
Young folk, inclined to joy, who ever mirthful
Conduct themselves without guile in all they do;
And women, unaccustomed to work,
Whose attitudes will not much be prized
If they show a Manly force.[32]

*On giving each Figure its form according to nature and age.

(36) And still must we cross Pliny's threshold,
Thereby to implant modesty in our Female [figures],
From here calling forth a most venerable Example,*
Taken from a ruined Ancient Temple,

*Examples of Figures vouchsafed a virtuous, modest appearance.

Wherein could still be seen, more gratifying than any other picture,
A painted Helen beside Atalanta,
And in Atalanta's blushing, timorous person,
Was manifest the epitome of Maidenhood.[33]

(37) The Penelope of Zeuxis, a Painter very skilled in Art,
Serves us, too, as a lesson,
For in this Figure he had devotedly gathered
Together every laudable, demure gesture
Befitting a Princess:[34]
Similarly, Castiglione would not allow his Noble Wife*
To engage in strenuous Manly activities,
Only in Womanly ones, and then only those of a gentle sort.[35]

**Il Cortegiano, lib.* 3, fol. 121.

(38) Then let us adorn our Maidens and Women*
With a stately presence to reinforce decorum,
Even if Zeuxis (or so we read)
In another setting placed his trust too much in Homer,
Allowing the [traces] of stern, harsh, and weighty tasks
To be seen also in Wifely figures,
All which things [better] befit full-grown young men
Or the Amazons.[36]

*Women's bearing and actions [should be] sweet and modest.

(39) Men of a specially strong constitution*
Will perform powerful acts and take forcible positions:
But a Youthful presence, desirous of banishing melancholy,
Must be alert and loose-limbed,
At liberty and at ease; and Old Men will take this stance:
With their tired legs inclined to bend,
They support their weakened bodies
By holding onto something.[37]

*Stances and actions that accord with a Figure's vigor.

(40) In short, as one may easily ascertain,
Every Figure shall be found to accord*
With a Person's strengths and temperament, as also with his actions:
For a martial figure, fiercely unbridled in pose and gesture,
Will make haste differently
From a Philosopher who appears by his gestures
To argue about fundamental principles.
All this must be distinguished to the best of one's ability.[38]

*Differentiation of actions according to the temperaments and natures of People.

(41) He shall be seen to signal his Arguments earnestly,
On one finger, then another:[39]
Now, there are many other things to Depict,
[Requiring] no less Art: a Singer, for example,
Or the difference between someone laughing or crying,*
Or terrified, melancholy, haughty, irate.
But these and other such subjects,
You shall find [in the chapter on] portraying the Passions.

*This directive pertains to the Affects, about which one may read further [in chapter 6].

End of Attitude.

On the Ordonnance and Invention of Histories

The Fifth Chapter

(1) All things consist in well-appointed arrangement*
Replete with customary virtue, that is, in the Ordonnance[1]
Of everything created by God, up above and here below:
Kingdoms, Lands, free Cities,
Households, and the diverse works
That rational Persons bring about.
One sees ordering, too, in mute Beasts,[2]
As also in resourceful Bees and industrious Ants.

*All things need ordering, which is maintained, too, by Animals.

(2) Ordonnance is considered most needful*
For Painters as well, for therein the Excellence
And power of the Arts lie intertwined,
As also do perfection, spirit, profound understanding,[4]
Attention, experience of every kind.
Thus very few are those whom we hear praised,
For having climbed above the rest in fame,
Perfect, proficient in Invention.

*Ordonnance is essential for Painters.[3]

(3) Since this is the case, O Picturers bent on Picturing,[5]
Let us now attend to Ordonnance
Especially in our composition,[6]
Whether out-of-doors or in house or hall,
Or wherever we have to place our figures,
According to the certain Rules and Regulations
That History which we have resolved [to treat]
Shall herself see fit to enjoin.

(4) For the composition of a model or figure
Encloses many limbs within
The superficies of a Body:*
But History assembles
Her composition (according to her condition)
From models and Figures expedient to the task:[7]
Then see, in order to position them as properly as should be,
There are seven Actions, or axes of motion.[8]

*The *Superficium* is the outline; what History or Ordonnance is.

(5) First, erect, standing upright,*
Directed downward, to the right side,
To the left, and moving away from or leaving us,
Then coming toward us, and occupying a space in the round,
Circle-wise. But at all times
One must adapt to the dimensions of the panel,**
And avoid having the Figures carry the frame
Or hemming them in, as if in a box.[9]

*On the seven Actions, or movements, to be cultivated in the ordonnance.

**One must adapt to the size of the panel or canvas.

(6) For sweetness' sake, position your little folks loosely;
Let your spirit not leap too wide off the mark,
Making your things so large that*
Hands and feet must needs overlap the frame,
Or lie disagreeably squeezed,
Constrained by the [available] space:
Brush out and realign, as Arts' affordances allow.
Withal being freeborn, make no slaves of your folk.

*That one shall not make Figures too large for a small piece, or too compressed.

(7) At all times freely hold to the limits of the picture,*
Not overpopulating the ground plane:
But as you set to work on your invention,
You will first take care to pay close attention
To the meaning of your intended subject,**
Through reading, rereading: it can do no harm
Firmly to imprint in your memory
The true nature of the History at hand.[10]

*On looseness in ordonnance.

**First read or consider well that which you wish to picture.

(8) Picture first according to sense your imagination[11]
Ingeniously with its attendant circumstances,
In order to express your material with a fine grace,*
(As good Orators do in their speeches)
Splendidly, artfully, and fittingly;
And to bring this off with greater success,
You can readily make some sketches of it,**
As many [as required] to achieve the desired end.

*To portray everything gracefully.

**First make little sketches.

(9) Let your spirit flow: thereafter, to make your art verdant
You may, like the Italians, also draw
Cartoons on the model of your sketches,*
As large as the [final] work, but with confidence,

*To make Cartoons.

Freely not timidly. I am obliged to advise you thus
So that you avoid a manner**
Heavy and poorly disposed,
All too labored, awkward and ponderous.[12]

**To avoid a heavy manner.

(10) Also, in your Cartoon, lest you err,
You may well bring life to bear,*
Whether in Watercolor, crayon, or coal,
Heightened and shaded—everything is
There for your choosing and pliable to your will:
But if you wish to give your ordonnance
A pleasing, fine, enticing force,
Pay heed still to various matters.[13]

*Also, to use life in drawing the Cartoons.

(11) First, by investigation you shall discover
What the foundation of harmony in your ordonnance is,[14]
When you aptly fill either side corner of your demarcated space*
With sturdy foreground figures,
Buildings, or other staffage,[15]
And afterward leave the open middle ground unencumbered;
Then nothing you insert there, howsoever small,
Will fail presently to achieve a consonant effect.[16]

*On filling well the corners at either side.

(12) For our ordonnance shall be favored
With a fine character, in fulfillment of our expectation,
If we leave open a view passing into or through there,[17]*
With small background figures and distant landscapes
Into which the eyes may plough.[19]
Accordingly, we may set our figures down,
Midway in the foreground,
And over and beyond them, leave several further miles open.

*On leaving a vista open, whenever it proves serviceable.[18]

(13) But in particular, we shall secure but little grace
In our ordonnance whenever our backgrounds are[20]*
Otherwise than well executed;
Wherefor the Italians put us
Foreigners to use, considering Netherlanders
Deftly expert in Landscape,
If they prize us in anything,
And claiming to surpass us in Figures.

*Poorly executed Landscape backgrounds disfigure the work.

(14) One must endeavor in various ways
To order well and, without losing heart all of a sudden,*
Painstakingly expend one's time thereon,
Conforming all the Figures as necessity dictates;
Again, like the Italians, who much praise
Ordering into various groups,
That is, into clusters or troops of Figures,
Here standing or lying, and there sitting.[22]

*On the ordering of various groups of Figures, and leaving open ground between them.[21]

(15) Here a Battle will fiercely rage;
Elsewhere, in the distance, a knot of Figures will flee;
In the foreground, Horses and Riders,
Some cleverly foreshortened, will pounce upon each other;
Here a little group lies tussling spiritedly,
And there, too, another little group lies prostrate, dejected.
Thus, to sum up: clustering Figures into little groups
Will not go amiss, as I myself have seen.

(16) It was very much Tintoretto's usage*
To arrange in this way, with groups or knots [of Figures],[23]
And Michelangelo's [*J*]*udgment*, too, is organized
Into numerous small clusters; yet some impugn
His honor, not on account of the clustering,
But because, for the sake of the Figures,
He diverged from what ordonnance has leave to require;
For no points of entry into the image are to be observed.[24]

*Example of Ordonnancers.

(17) Not allowing there to be seen, as some should wish,*
A view opening into the Heavens,
And something large up front, as would have been preferable:
But who shall not judge this work favorably
Upon seeing how fully Buonarroti's learned hand
Infused it with Art,
With so many actions, varied in facture, of the nude figures,[25]
Which he set himself the task of fashioning.

*Michelangelo in his [*J*]*udgment* paid more attention to the Figures than the ordonnance.

(18) Moreover, anyone can easily grasp
That Laws are ordained to serve the People,[26]*
Rather than the People to serve the Law:
For Laws serve the people well

*Laws serve Persons for the best.

In that they do them no harm:
What weight should Laws otherwise bear?
So, one may well excuse Masters [such as Michelangelo]
Who value Figures more than ordonnance.[27]

(19) 'Tis very praiseworthy to strive for agreeable*
Figures and in no wise to depart from [amenity]:
But it confers an even greater abundance
Of charm when the Ordonnance
Likewise follows suit,
And just as a variety of Musical sounds
Makes for Harmony of singers and musicians,
So, too, does much variety of Figures.[28]

*It is good when Ordonnance and Figures have charm, and make for a fine Harmony.

(20) Nature is beautiful through variety.[29]*
One sees this when, with nearly a thousand colors,
The Earth in full bloom stands displayed,
Competing for the prize with the starry throne of Heaven.
Delightful pleasure can be garnered, too,
From many other things: for people
Are inexhaustibly gladdened by a Table loaded
With food and drink of all kinds.[30]

*Through variety is Nature beautiful.

(21) With reference to History also, it is a matter of great importance
That the Figures be varied*
In position, stance, performance of some action,
Form, nature, condition, and inclination,
And, as we [formerly] said about the seven axes of motion,
So, too, will some figures stand or stride
With their legs placed forward toward us,
Others with face and body [positioned] sidewise.[31]

*On much variety in the ordering of Figures.

(22) Some from behind, showing their*
Heels, some sitting, lying, crawling,
Climbing up, down, standing up, kneeling down;
Occasionally, as required, some figures will seem to fall,
Or secretly to steal upon the scene;
Some will look up, lean, or stoop.
It is necessary to fashion a mixture**
Of clothed, half-clothed, and naked [Figures].[32]

*Ordering of the Figures in a variety of motions.

**On mixing the clothed and the unclothed.

(23) Many makers of Ordonnance set great store by one thing[33]
Against which I likewise shall not argue:
Namely, they fully enclose the specified *Scopus*[34]*
Of their [pictured] events as if
It were ringed by a Circle,
So that a number of figures surround
The History which, as the Central point, stands amidst them,
In the form of the Person whom the others look at or entreat.[35]

*On ordering ring-wise, with the *scopus* in the middle.

(24) But in my view, and as I opine,*
It can scarcely anoint the Ordonnance with grace
To let half the bodies of Persons, Horses, Cattle, Calves,
Or other figures encroach upon the frame,
Unless some ground come before them,
Consisting of boulders or other such things,
Which one may suppose
To block one's view of the rest.

*I write this to express my good opinion, and not to fault any great Master who has not followed it.

(25) For artful spirits (whenever opportunity arises)
Are wont to construct the History with an abundance*
Of Horses, Dogs, or other tame Beats,
As well as forest animals and birds:
But it is especially jolly to observe
Fresh-faced young Gentlemen and lovely young Ladies,
Old Men, Matrons, all sorts
Of Children, older or younger in age.[36]

*On richly filling the Ordonnance.

(26) There besides, Landscape and architecture,
Also adornments, rigging, and ornaments,
Every kind of subtle fantasy issuing from Copiousness,
And this makes for a fine alluring Harmony[37]
On Picture's home turf,
As modern Writers attest,
For example, Leon Baptista Alberti,*
And Rivius, who has similarly taken this to heart.[39]**

*Leon was a Florentine who wrote in the year 1481.[38]

**Gualterus Rivius, mathematician; his Book was published in the year 1547.

(27) But I shall here keep silent about the *Velum*[40]*
And the commentaries on it, and instead recount
How there are two types of History, the copious
And the solitary, so that each person might choose

*I have discussed this Veil in the Chapter on Delineating; on copious and simple Histories.

That toward which their desire most inclines:
But amongst good Masters, the principal ones
For the most part avoid abundance and Copiousness
And rejoice to do well with a little, [opting for] the simple.[41]

(28) Such as these (by way of analogy) mimic
Neither the Procurators nor Advocates
Who use many words to plead their case,
But instead imitate the great Majesties,*
Kings and powerful Potentates,
Whose utterances are made with a minimum of speech,
And who make their mind known by voice or with the Pen
In but a few words.

*Great Masters rarely fashion copious Histories; they are like great Lords who speak little but with great deliberation.

(29) And their simple arguments companion
Their reputations with far more honor
Than would superfluous chattering and prattling
In the manner of empty vats that clatter the most loudly:
Thus it would seem that our great Masters teach us
To incline much toward simplicity,[42]
And they know how, with few figures,
To give their works a pleasing aspect.

(30) And, through the great perfection to be found
In their Figures, which move as if they were nearly alive,
They appear to build upon the foundations laid by the Poets
Who undertook to realize Comedy or Tragedy*
With few Characters;[43]
Or they follow Varro, who was not in the habit
Of casting round for a loud tumult of many Guests at table
When he used to hold a splendid banquet.[44]

*Example of simple Histories, by analogy with Comedies and Banquets.

(31) But to spread cheer, according to his design,
He did call to his banquet
A small number of select folk,
Nine or ten, so that the good spirits of one
Caused no impediment to another:
But misprized amongst simple [Histories]*
Are nearly all boisterous, frivolous subjects,
Which avail to bring no Harmony.

*Boisterous subjects are not to be prized in simple Histories.

(32) [Subjects] such as Zephyr coming to meet Flora,
In the place where formerly they often kissed,
And winged Singers greet Aurora;[45]
Yea, there where the new Florets sweeten the Air,*
And the searchers after Honey, craving sweetness,
Cannot rest ever upon Adonis,[46]
Wishing not to miss Crocus and Smilax,[47]
Nor Ajax, Hyacinth, and Narcissus.[48]

*Analogy between a Painting and a field rich with Flowers, where the eyes, likened to little Bees, disport amongst diverse, artfully differentiated florets.

(33) Correspondingly, the eyes, gladly grazing*
In *Pictura*'s garden, amidst its universal beauty,
Search out many places to amuse themselves
By going wherever desire and pleasure lead,
Hungry for more to see, both below and above,
Like pampered guests sampling all kinds of dishes:
For in variety's artful usage
The Graces happily find their home.[49]

*It is a real pleasure to see many varieties of things fashioned well together.

(34) Then there are some Histories that require
To be more singular, more austere,[50]
And yet others, more readily arranged,*
Wherein one may imitate what the peddler does,
Who displays fine wares to be ogled,
On high shelves, at the sides and below.
One may fashion the History's [depicted] viewers similarly,
Placing them on hills, trees, or stone steps,[51]

*On distributing Figures high and low.

(35) Or holding onto columns of buildings,
And still others, down below on the ground.
Interspersing many and various faces,*
The most distinguished of the body's parts,
Adds a further pleasing luster to the History;
And just as the World has myriad customs,
So it shall not prove inopportune
To foreground the most attractive and delectable amongst them.

*On bringing many faces to the fore in the work.

(36) The pivotal Figures will be predominant,*
Standing or sitting in an elevated position
Above the others: and those that address them
Will be stooped, showing signs of deference,

*On making the noble Figures prominent, and the others submissive.

In an unassuming and subservient place:
So, on every side all our personages
Will perform that for which they have been gathered,
Like fine Comic Actors.[52]

(37) So they execute all their actions gracefully,[53]*
In going, standing, fighting, lovemaking, playing, dancing,
In dramatizing fear, wonder, and sorrow,
In revealing by their gestures the purport of their speech:
To sum up, all the lineaments of affect,
Attitude, Reflection, reverberant light,
Everything required by our Art, must all together
Be brought off in the History.

*In the History, everything that our Art can encompass and comprehend will be brought to bear.

(38) It embellishes the History not a little
When one of the figures is disposed*
To turn toward the [surrounding] persons
In such a way as if with earnest entreaty
And compassion, he were conveying [news of] some misfortune,
Or of something dreadful yet to occur,
And through his predictions causing the Painting's beholders[54]
Almost to overflow with mournful dismay.[55]

*On fashioning a figure that appears to address the people and show them some lamentable thing that will soon take place.

(39) In the Ordonnance one shall neither braid
Nor closely entwine arms and legs,*
Making them appear to wrangle, the one with the other;[56]
Rather, one shall let the parts follow respectively,
Flowing in unison, evenly, along a straight path:
I have also heard it highly praised when
Whole Figures come into view and,
Taken together, they are not truncated.[57]

*On refraining to entwine Figures so closely in the History that they obstruct one another, and on striving to show as much of each Figure as possible.

(40) In order to keep the Arts as one's friends,
In making a Figure or a face, as the case may be,*
We shall position another one behind it, even if it should
Seem well-nigh useless, to serve no purpose,
For then (as in a dark stable)
The shadowed background figure
Will appear to recede,
And the foreground figure to come forward.

*Also, how one must attend to Figures that stand behind the principal foreground figures, their manner of standing or sitting on the ground, and further, how to fashion a shadowed face behind one coming forward before it, in order to make the latter more pronounced.

(41) We ought to take special care in the History,
As we have elsewhere noted,[58]
To bring a profusion of shadows together
Without rashly allowing our forceful
Hard browns to collide with the bright lights,[59]
Instead readily [placing] them against grayed middle-tints;*
And then we shall gather together a number of uniform lights,
Likewise letting the tenebrous brown dissolve into the gray.

*How to place a steady light in the fore- or middle ground, which conversely recedes from gray into brown.

(42) A confused disorder has long reigned in the past
Amongst wrongheaded Painters,
Whose Histories, seen from afar,
Look like Marble or chessboards,*
With black brought next to white, as in Printers' prints:
But now from Italy the *Mezze-tinte*
Have come into use, half-colored, with gentle grays
That gradually fade into a twilit background.[60]

*Works in which the brown is placed hard by the light, compared to a chessboard.

(43) Now it well behooves us not to keep silent*
About the meaning of the Histories we portray,
But instead diligently to plumb the depths;
Yet, unlike Andromeda bound to the rock,[61]
Continuing to luxuriate in our freedom:
For Painters, as Horace testifies,
In all they undertake or resolve [to do],
Have a power equal to that of the Poets.[62]

*Beforehand, it behooves one to look well into the meaning of the Histories, while yet attending solely or above all to a pleasing arrangement: for Painters and Poets exercise a like power.

(44) We see that our Forefathers, whenever they expressly
Wished to execute a devout History,
Germanely positioned the principal Figures*
In a visibly prominent place (as is proper),
Clearly differentiating them,
So that viewers without long delay
Might well divine the History and its sense:
Following such a practice has been found useful and good.

*To give prominence to the Figures in a Devout History.

(45) Some seek, in curious ways,
Skillfully to attach various appurtenances[63]
To the Historical deeds,
In such a manner that their significance could hardly be guessed,*

*How some portray their Histories curiously, making them virtually unrecognizable, whereof an example drawn from Sannazzaro, Poet of Naples.

Even if one knew the story in advance,
Whereof I here impart an example,
As recounted by Jacopo, a Poet originating
From the City named after one of the Sirens,[64]

(46) Founded by the Chalcidians or the Cumaeans.
In his *Arcadia*, the [Poet] conveys*
How the pastoral Arcadians,
Subjects of the [goddess] Pales,
Who gathered together at her Temple on her festival day,
To make offerings on the smoking Altars,
Saw painted above the [temple] portal
Hills and woods overgrown trees.

*Here follows as an example a fictive painting in the Temple of Pales, which teaches how to amplify.

(47) There one saw many cows grazing,
Spread out over the green meadows, and tended by
Ten dogs that companioned them round about, as Guardians,
Keeping them from straying.
Their footsteps were visible in the sand,
And one saw Herdsmen, too, loosening
The taut udders swollen with milk,
Others shearing the curly-haired fleece [of sheep].

(48) One saw some of them playing on Bagpipes.
Others, it seemed, in giving voice with their throats
Wished by singing to imitate the [instruments'] sounds.
What above all, in the eyes of many,
Had a particularly pleasing,
Graceful character,
Was a nude company of nymphs,
Half hidden behind the trunk of a Chestnut tree.

(49) They were looking at a Ram there before them,
Seized with merriment and laughing together,
Because it stood [on its hind legs], craving to gnaw
On an oaken wreath
Hung before its eyes,
And forgetting, through its idle desire,
The green grass all around its feet,
A pasture so ready to hand for its feeding.

(50) In the meantime, four satyrs,
With horned heads and the legs of goats,
Were come stealthily to peep round a mastic tree,
And plot how to grab them from behind
By their shoulders. One could at once see
How the nymphs, catching wind of their arrival and cunning intention,
Made ready posthaste to flee into the wood,
Oblivious to the brambles or thorn bushes.

(51) The quickest of them one saw climb
Up a Maple, holding in her hands* *Carpinus.[65]
A long branch plucked to defend herself;
Others, little prizing these earthly places of refuge,
Placed no trust in them,
But leapt into a River, swimming to flee the disgrace,
Their white bodies visible as they floated
In the translucent, billowing stormwater.

(52) With their deliverance in sight,
Having come through the water to the other shore,
Puffing and panting from their exertions,
There they sat to dry their wet hair,
And appeared from that place with one accord
Mockingly to upbraid their pursuers,
In word and deed, unrelentingly,
For having failed to seize them.

(53) In one bend of the river, blond Apollo
Could be seen, sitting and leaning
Against the trunk of a wild olive. He was
A herder at this time, to be found
[Watching over] the flocks of Admetus,[66]
And, it would seem, was attentively staring
In the direction of a pair of sturdy bulls that greeted each other in the field,
Locking horns in a rough encounter.

(54) Not espying how subtle Mercury
(Dressed in style like a Herder, with the skin of a Goat fastened
Under his left shoulder)
Was all the while stealing his Cows for himself:

There, too, stood Battus who, discontented,
Openly betrayed this thievery,
And was turned to stone in this wise,
As if seeming to point with his finger.[67]

(55) Further below, beside a great boulder,
Sat Mercury, his cheeks distended,
Playing a rustic flute, his manner sly,
His eyes peering crosswise,
A white heifer standing beside him,
And he seemed, filled full with cunning,
To consider how best he might
Deceive the many-eyed Argus.[68]

(56) On the other side, a Herder
Lay asleep amidst his Goats, underneath
And fast beside a very tall Oak.*
There, too, a Dog was sniffing, singularly
Intent on extracting something from the [man's] travel bag
Which lay beneath his head; but with
A wonderfully happy eye the Moon was gazing at him,
Whom one may thus presume to identify as Endymion.[70]

*Cerrus.[69]

(57) Here, too, was Paris, who with a sickle
Had begun to carve [the name] Oenone[71]
Into the bark of an elm, but having come underfoot
Of three goddesses, and being quite unable
To finish, he left it as is,
In order to render judgment and thus forestall the quarrel
Between these three, over who was loveliest and worthy of the prize;[72]
And for this reason they now stood naked before him.

(58) But very ingenious, pleasing, and apposite,
Worthy to be considered and seen,
Was the great attention with which
This judicious painter of fine sharp wit,
Had made Juno and Minerva to stand,*
Each in her person exceptionally beautiful,
Each so utterly perfect that he himself could not
Have presumed to do better.

*Now, this is the *scopus* of the History, that is, the judgment of Paris.[73]

(59) Now, since he knew not how to make Venus
More beautiful than the other two, as becomes her,
He portrayed these two from the front,
But taking subtle advantage of the situation.
He, a wise artist, painted Venus with her back turned,*
By this trick of artifice licensing pleasure,
Giving one to think that were she to turn around,
She would bring the others' beauty to distraction.[75]

*Note here this pleasing device, copied from the life of Timanthes, which makes the beholder think that Venus, were she to be seen head-on, would be the most beautiful of all, in the way that Agamemnon, his head covered, was judged to be the saddest of all.[74]

(60) Many more niceties, diverse in kind,
Stood painted there, after the Poet's invention,
But they proceeded to make their Sacrifices
Before the Effigy of Pales, with the exercise
Of much Ceremony, in those [sacred] precincts:
These are but mere Examples whereby to facilitate
Our copious and spirited composing
And withal our wanton poeticizing.

(61) Now, enthused [by this example], who shall not evince
A spirited Ordonnance, following in the footsteps
Of Comedies where Buffoonish clowns[76]
Or other personages take the stage,
Solely for the delight of the Spectators:
For unembellished works,
Lacking additions or supplements,
Are lost labor, Imperfect in nature.[77]

(62) Thus one may amplify the simple History,
As here exemplified for us by the text of the Poet;*
Amazed that Gentlemen such as he,
Who likely never learned to paint at first hand,
Have yet known how to write in so painterly a fashion[79]
About our secret devices,
I think we ought to content ourselves
With this example of how to augment [a picture].

*Sannazzaro was a Neapolitan Nobleman, who knew how to write thus about painting; how to amplify in a Poetic fashion.[78]

(63) One also knows well that on the World's stage
All sorts of personages play [their parts]:
Here one sees Kings wrangle over
Scepters and Crowns, elsewhere on the boards

Young lovers quarrel foolishly,
Here Peasants fatten up and slaughter pigs,[80]
There heavy-footed Peasant Women gambol and leap,
Over there flirtatious Goddesses dance a nimbler reel.

(64) As I reckon: wonderfully copious in color,
Form, and condition are the many deeds
That play out in this terrestrial Theater,
Both of idle pleasure and of careworn distress;
And as for everything else that still remains for the Painter to do,
He shall find here matter enough, all for the best,
Whereby to construct a History felicitous in its perfection,
Whatever it may be.

(65) One can further augment simple*
Histories in diverse ways:
For instance, one might amplify
A plain sacrifice of Abraham**
By devising allegorical Figures
That embellish the Sacrificial offering,
Each of these standing ready to assist—
Namely, Faith, Hope, and Love.[81]

*In addition, how one may amplify a simple History, either allegorically or in another fashion.

**Example of the History of Abraham's sacrifice.

(66) Faith might constrain Isaac,
Holding him bound by rope. Abraham might
Hold his hand outstretched while Hope hands him the sacrificial knife:
For he hopes: "I may receive him back,*
Since God can also awaken the dead."[83]
And through Faith, he took himself to the place [of sacrifice].
Love and her children might devote themselves to tending the flames,
For [she and they] burn like red-hot coals.

*Hebrews 11:19.[82]

(67) Here, too, the example of Zuccaro's *Annunciation*,*
Augmented by Angels and Prophets;[84]
And described in Vasari's life of Rosso [Fiorentino],
We read about an image of Mary
With the serpent trod underfoot,
Also our first Parents seated in chains
Beside the tree of sin; and [Mary] was seen to wrest sin,
Portrayed by an apple, from out of their mouths.[85]

*Example of the *Annunciation* by Zuccaro, and a Marian image by Rosso, on which more follows in his life.

(68) And, still painted by Rosso,
As a sign that she was clothed with the Sun and Moon,
Two nude Figures, Phoebus and Diana,
Flew in the sky overhead;
Although such things are wont to be used
Not merely to amplify, but may also be designated
Figurative images: Poetic contrivances
That allude to a specific meaning, signifying it.[86]

(69) Nealces, admired amongst the ancients,
Was accomplished in artful Invention,
As he made known with his Brush,
Having painted a naval battle in which*
Persians fought against Egyptians
On the River Nile.[87]
But he fretted for a long while
About how to portray the water of the Nile.

*Note here an Example of ingenuity in portraying a River or place.

(70) This seemed to him impracticable for the reason
That the Nile and Seawater look alike;
And so, he painted a Crocodile
That appeared to peer, entirely still,
At an Ass on the shore, which had
Wandered down to dip
Its snout in the River, its head sunken,
As if having just taken a drink there.

(71) He did all this to ensure that everyone could easily guess
Where this clash of Arms played out,
On the River Nile:
For this is the food and the place that
Crocodiles particularly like.
Such Natural features, signifying
Persons or Cities, as well as Rivers,
Give to our works a fine adornment.

(72) Be it Water, Sea, Lake, River, or Fountain,
The Ancients formerly assigned it
Some pure Divinity,
And as a rule, by virtue of likeness of character,

Let a particular effigy[88]
Body it forth in human form:
Amongst such effigies, one Example
Is the Nile, [carved] in white Marble.

(73) Be it worked by the hands of Greeks, Italians,
Or Egyptians,
That antiquity, let it not be gainsaid, is beautiful.
It lies in Rome, in the Papal courtyard at the Vatican,
Under the blue sky,
And it is wonderful and worthy of note
How artfully the Nile's disposition,
Nature, and works are portrayed.[89]

(74) As described by Herodianus,[90]
The upper body is nude, and to portray
A measure of mystery, his hair and beard
Hang down lengthily;
On his body and legs, as if rollicking,
Sit sixteen little children,
Each as long as the distance of his arm from hand to elbow;
Its significance is to be drawn from Philostratus.[91]

(75) Describing the Images of the Gods,
He concerns himself, too, with these Children,
[Telling] how the Nile waxes in such wise
That it comes flooding over Egypt,
High above its shoreward Limits,
Reaching sixteen els or Cubits:
Thus these sixteen Children signify
That the Nile's flood reaches [just] such a high-water mark.

(76) It occurs once each year at a certain time,
But when the number is four Cubits or less,
Then are the people of Egypt not content,
For thereupon they expect on both banks
To be burdened the following year by a time of scarcity;
And so, the sixteenth child was made
To sit high upon the Cornucopia,
As the measure of a fruitful Year.

(77) Along the right arm he lets the cornucopia,
Overflowing with fruits, drop downward,
While with his left arm he leans on a creature
Which many have mistakenly thought to be a Sphinx,*
Resembling a Lion at the rear, and a Maiden at the front;
But it signifies that in that land the Earth
Is submerged when the passage of the Sun
Occupies its place in Leo and Virgo.

*No Sphinx is fashioned without bird's wings, and from behind it is a Dog with a Dragon's tail.[92] Pliny, Book 5, chapter 9 and Book 18, chapter 18.[93]

(78) All round the edge, the base is carved
With a variety of such plants of the marsh
As Reeds, papyrus, trees, Colocasiae,[94]
Also the diverse Animals that graze there,
Such as the hippopotami which splash there in the water,
Their backs and full-grown manes like a Horse's,
And their tail and teeth like a wild swine's,
The muzzle blunt and the feet cloven like an Ox's.

(79) Further, Mongooses, Ibises, and Skinks,
Moreover, the small, ill-formed dwarves
From the Egyptian province of Tentyrites,*
Who from their little ships, like valiant Princes,
Vex and bait the Crocodiles,
So that faced by these lionhearted Heroes worthy of praise,
They must give way and hide themselves.
And there is yet another effigy of the Nile about which we have read.[96]

*Ptolemy, Books 4, 5, 68; Pliny, *Natural History*, Book 8, chapter 25.[95]

(80) In his thirty-sixth Book, Pliny recounts
How the Egyptians found
A kind of Marble in Ethiopia,
Like Iron in color, difficult to cut,
Named Basalt; in olden days,
Vespasian caused an effigy of the Nile,
Made of this Marble on account of its qualities,
To be set up in Rome at the Temple of peace.[97]

(81) By this Effigy one again saw sixteen children
Comporting themselves joyfully and gesticulating with mirth,
As signs of this river's [annual] resurgence,
But one of the aforementioned beasts, a Crocodile,

Formed part of this other Effigy, too, where, set amidst the children,
It strengthened the forceful effect of the figured images,[98]
As the whole of any Painter's spirit is free to do.[99]
Now it will serve to speak about the Roman Tiber.

(82) The effigy of Tiber is to be found in the very same courtyard,[100]
In the City of Academies of the Pictorial Arts:
Appearing full of kindly affection,
A She-Wolf lies there, portrayed with a like art,
And gives suck to two little children
At her side, Romulus and Remus;
But on his head, [Tiber] wears a wreath of leaves,
And bears in his right hand the full-laden cornucopia,

(83) Filled with Corn, bunches of Grapes, and Fruits,
While his other hand clasps a rudder,
Signifying that along his waterways
Great Ships and Barges
Ply their way between Rome and the Sea,
Back and forth, and, to make this point more clearly,
His plinth likewise incorporates
Depicted Ships sailing up and down.

(84) Eutychides, too, was able*
Long ago to portray an Effigy of Eurotas,
Which is the River of the Lacedaemonians,
So artfully that all who saw it
Said that the work, brimful with the arts,
Flowed more illustriously than the
Aforesaid River's waters, which, because of their turbulence,**
Were held sacred to the Furies of Hell.[101]

*Pliny, [*Natural History*], book 34, chapter 8.

**Pliny, [*Natural History*], book 4, chapter 8.

(85) All Rivers, all surging tides
Turn in and out, bending as they flow,
And therefore, to interpret it thus,
Are pictured as horned, which may embolden us,
To the benefit of our spirit, when we set about the task of portraying;
For in his Books, Ovidius, too, invokes*
The horned Numicius,
Who washed away the mortal remains of Aeneas.[102]

**Metamorphoses*, book 14.

(86) One may also portray Cities and Lands,
As Parrhasius did of old,*
Whose learned hands painted
The Image of Athens, wherein was apparent
Such a command of shrewdly wrought figuration,
That one there saw conveyed the manners of the Athenians,
Their every kind of condition, the nature of their moral conduct,
And their daily customs.[103]

*Petrus Messius, book 2, chapter 16.

(87) Rome, the capital city of the World, was
Portrayed as Pallas, helmeted on account of her valor,
Sitting armed on a pile of armor
And other weapons fitted for combat,
With a Spear or Lance in her right hand
And also a figure of Victory wreathed in
Laurel, and, in her left, a Palm frond
After the seigneurial fashion.[104]

(88) Young students eager to be taught, you have followed
My many footsteps, learning how to compose a History,
And how to depict various things along with their
Peculiar properties. Now let us be pleased to descend
This stair and transport ourselves to what follows.
Assuming I have time and my desire is quickened,
We shall once more, in another place,
Expand upon this great Subject at greater length.

End of Ordonnance.

Portrayal of the Affects, passions, desires, and sorrows of Persons[1]

The Sixth Chapter

(1) No Person is so steadfast as to prevail*
Wholly over the stirrings of the heart and susceptible inclination,
But Affects and passions do verily[2]
Move the heart and senses from within,
Causing the external limbs to react accordantly,
And, through appreciable motion,
Making symptoms evident
In form, quality, or action.[3]

*No one is free of passions, Affects, or the human inclination to weakness.

(2) Those knowledgeable of Nature vouchsafe us to hear
The various names of things
Called Affects, amongst which the first and foremost*
Are Love, desire, joy, sorrow, and choler,
Distress and melancholy, which strike the heart,
Pusillanimity, fear hard to overcome,
Also swollen pride and jealous hatred:
All such are named Affects.[4]

*What Human Affects or passions are.

(3) Aristides of Thebes was the first to express*
These qualities (named *Ethoi*
By the Greeks) with colors,[5]
Searching, too, in the garden of the Arts[6]
To pluck lovely new florets that waft a laudable fragrance:
His wounded Woman and his sick man,
Which greatly increased his fame,
Shall serve us equally well in this context.

*Aristides was the first portrayer of Affects.

(4) These Affects are neither so readily nor easily
Expressed as they are praised,
First with the features of the face,*
Ten or more, diverse in aspect,
As the brow, the two eyes, and above them
The two eyebrows, and set back below them
The two cheeks, and between nose and chin
The dual-lipped mouth and what is within it.[7]

*With what features of the face the affects are to be portrayed.

(5) Here the Painter must diligently observe
And thoroughly scrutinize the forms of Nature,
Thereby to position the body's parts,
One against the other, such that they
Make known the concerns that move the heart,
Evincing them by means of Bodily gestures:
For Nature reveals more about what induces affects*
Than one can describe.[8]

*Nature makes the Affects known.

(6) But 'twere not fitting now to withhold
Any manner, rule, or method
Of portraying these things to good effect,
So that our personages perform
According to the Histrionic Art,[9] acquitting themselves well*
In such deeds as they have been
Set on the Stage to perform, be it with joy in Comedy
Or with sadness in Tragedy.

**Histrionica* are gestures like those that Comedic actors utilize.

(7) Let us now set to work, as per the order of types,
First building the edifice whereby to portray the affect of Love*
Between Men and Women,
With a friendly, smiling visage,
With embraces and clasping of arms,
And tilting of heads mutually inclined,
As filled full with Love,
And with right hands enfolded, held as one.

*On portraying the affect of Love.

(8) So, too, between lovers, the magnitude of their Love,
Hardly to be concealed, is easily betrayed:
Through shamefaced chagrin and disquiet of the heart
The face turns rosy red;
And we wish here to append, as an example thereof,
(To confirm and follow through on the topic)
[The story of] Antiochus, who secretly*
Loved his Stepmother Stratonice.[10]

*Example of the History of Antiochus and his Stepmother Stratonice.

(9) In many ways, he sought to evade his foolish desire,
Having here despaired of procuring
The gratifying fruits of pleasure;
Finally, through prolonged sorrow and sighs,

He lay sick in bed and wished, by denying
Bodily nourishment, to let himself die:
But the Doctor Erasistratus recognized
At once that he was lovelorn.

(10) But unable to discover for whom,
He assiduously perused the Young Man's person
Each time someone entered through the doors,
[To see] if the face might not redden,
And many other symptoms that
The thoughts, affects, and internal stirrings
Of a person engender
By mobilizing external signs.

(11) But nothing whatsoever occurred
Except when Stratonice came into the chamber,
Alone or accompanied by Seleucus, his Father;
Then his Pulse throbbed, as it would when pressing down on an artery,
His voice broke with stammering,
His face, fiery red, sweated profusely:
In sum, no sign failed to show there upon him
All that about which Sappho tellingly writes.[11]

(12) Even though the Doctor now knew positively, through many a sign,
Toward which Woman he had set his heart,
He knew not how to give him a helping hand,
Yet saw him grow paler by the day,
His soul oppressed by grievous longing,
And his flesh withering ever more from illness:
He doggedly gave thought to what remedy might profit
The King's Son, averting his demise.

(13) Had he not known it was [the Son's] own Stepmother,
A thing disgraceful and queer,
Then had he surely apprised the King:
But finally, assured of the benevolent,
Great love he knew
Seleucus bore for his Son,
He was emboldened to say or write
That Love was the cause of his Son's sickness,

(14) But (said he) a Love not to be remedied:*
For the beloved Woman
Is not to be possessed by him. Thereupon, the King,
Nonplussed, inquired who she might be?
Answering, the Master withheld
The truth, and told
The King, "'Tis my Wife, upon whom
His heart's desire is wholly settled."

*Artful guile of Erasistratus the Doctor.

(15) Ah (said the King), you who are our good,
Dear friend, shall Marriage between your
Spouse and my Son not be permissible,
Him by whom alone (as you know)
Our Kingdom and Crown are to be maintained?
You, his Father, brimming with charitable love,
Were he to have fallen in love with Stratonice
(Thus spoke the other), would not grant her to him.

(16) Ah, friend, if God were to grant me ample grace,
Or if certain Men were to vouchsafe the power
Of transferring this love
To my Wife, for the sake of my Son's health,
So that he might live in the bloom of youth,
I would give her to him gladly,
Along with my Kingdom: such was the King's pledge,
[Made] with a heart heavy-laden and eyes full of tears.

(17) Then did the Master grip his right hand boldly,
Saying: take heed, as a person wisely disposed,
Of your house's well-being in this season.
You have no further need of my help,
You who are the Lover's Father, and Husband to the beloved,
As well as King; so, in this matter you yourself
May now best forge ahead:
Thus [the King] presently let his people gather to take counsel.

(18) The King's resolve was made known; he brooked
No dissent from Friends or Princes:
For Fatherly love so wrought*
That she who was first a Wife became a Daughter-in-Law,

*Wondrous love of Seleucus for his Son.

[And] that the Son, freed from heartache's firm grip,
Received still more, a parcel of Provinces.
This has been rendered in Rhyme from out of Plutarch's prose,
To make the point that love does limn herself with blushes.

(19) In order now to take the long view, there is a Proverb*
That runs, where pain is, thither goes the hand, where love is, thither goes the eye;[12]
Both are true, for wherever one feels pain,
In the head or shanks, there the hand must go;
So, too, with earnest effort the sense of sight,
At the behest of the heart and by its will,
Turns toward the cherished good, swiveling round,
As did Clytie after the Sun's rays.[13]

*A Proverb: "Where love is, there's the eye"; for the eye is the messenger of the heart.

(20) When Helen lived with Menelaus,
Paris of Troy, who was their guest,
With his eyes, as the Poets say,
In various ways made known to her
His desires, imploringly;
Thus she became greatly disquieted, lest her husband
Come to know the import of such gestures,
And take offense.[14]

(21) But on the subject of true-hearted Motherly love,
Whoever has read Sannazzaro's *Arcadia*,
Replete with sweet Pastoral Lyric,
Will have encountered the vase*
Painted from top to foot or base
By the Artificer Mantegna's hands,
On which, besides other ornaments,
Was to be seen a Nymph, naked, her every limb most beautiful.[15]

*A Vase is an ewer.

(22) Except for her feet like a Goat's,
And she sat on a goatskin full of wine,
Suckling a little Satyr, young in Years,
Gazing at it with eyes so tender and gentle*
That it appeared she herself
Might completely dissolve
From the sweet pain of Love,
As her gestures let show.[16]

*On portraying Motherly affection.

(23) At one breast, this little Child was suckling,
On the other he laid his frail little hand,
Staring at this Breast with all his might,
For fear of losing sight of it:
Euphranor, the Painter, was also much
Praised, and gained much renown
For his Trojan Paris,
Fashioned more artfully than one might believe.[17]

(24) For it seems that one saw writ large on that face*
The diverse affects that he felt within,
First understanding, and a ready wit easily sufficient to the task
Of passing judgment on the Goddesses,
And, with the attractiveness of a desirous lover,
His love for Helen, not to be tempered,
Also a Manly spirit, stout of might and main,
Capable of vanquishing Achilles.[18]

*Trojan Paris painted, in whose face and figure many affects were to be seen.

(25) The eyes of this figure might well have[19]*
Openly shown a modicum of wisdom,
And the forceful pose a Virile Potency,
The laughing mouth, unbridled concupiscence.[20]
Herein also worthy of note and well to be prized
Is the opinion of common folk:
Now, one makes desire manifest
Through the eyes' earnest beholding.[21]

*Consideration of how this might be done.

(26) If one were to read Pliny, well practiced in the study of Nature,[22]
And also the writings of Albert the Great,
One would find that the eyes are the seat of desire;[23]*
Nowhere is more apt to disclose
Love and painful longing;
They are mirrors of the spirit, the heart's firm ground,
Wherein favor and disfavor stand revealed,
Constancy, changeability, benignity, good cheer.

*The eyes are the seat of desire.

(27) From these two Lights that guide the Body,
Compassionate tears and sorrowful streams
Wash over the blooming field of the cheeks,
As the heart disburdens itself, crying out bitterly,

To such an extent that one might well wonder,
When grief is roused, where so great a pool of wetness lodged.
Lying hid, still and calm,
While one's heart was glad and joyful.

(28) Hence, to portray well a merry heart*
Wherein sorrow has been dispelled,
We shall make the half-closed eyes charming,
The mouth somewhat open, sweet, laughing, blithesome:
It behooves us also to give thought
To the Latinists' term *laetae frontis*,[24]
A carefree brow, which is smooth and clear,
Unmarked by many wrinkles.

*How to portray lightness of spirit.

(29) We ought to give attention to the brow, say I,*
(Which the Pagan races
Held sacred to *Genius*[25]), for some construe it
As the Witness of the Soul and the Apparency of thought,
Yea the Book of the heart, in which to read and assay
A Person's predilections: for wrinkles and furrows
There reveal what lies hid in us –
A spirit oppressed, anxious, full of care.[26]

*On the brow, accuser of Souls and Book of hearts.

(30) Indeed, the Air and weather are sometimes likened to the brow,*
In which a multitude of sad clouds sometimes hovers
When the heart is heavy-laden with discontent:
But every dark mist falls away
When through cheering wind and joyful beams
The Sky is swept clean, clear, blue, whereby the spirit lifts,
And the light of the Sun
Triumphs like a Hero whose battle is won.

*The brow likened to heaven.

(31) The brow unwrinkles when grief departs,
And the eyes then gaily clear:
For *Genius* is not good at deception,
Nature (they say) cannot lie:
But they who display a glad brow
Yet have a heart full of base rancor,
Are double-browed, and indeed, they who hate under the guise of friendship*
Are known as the wiliest of enemies.

*On a double brow, and what makes for the most cunning of enemies.

(32) Moreover, by observing the various ways in which
The eyebrows that protect the eyes are raised,*
One can descry cruelty or kindness;
Here one hits upon a Person's thoughts,
Positive or negative; one can also see
[That Person's] Pride, for here she holds fast[27]
To her lair: even if she first arises out of the heart,
Having climbed on high, she then stays in place.

*On the eyebrows, in which one comes up against a person's thoughts.

(33) But Phocion, whom one might call good-natured,
Appeared so forbidding due to his eyebrows
That no person would have come readily
To speak with him without a shudder,
Had they not known him previously:
To the people of Athens who laughed at his eyebrows,
(He said) they do harm to no one,
But such idle laughter has cost this City many tears.[28]

(34) But it may well be that he curbed
His own tendencies (as did the Philosophers),
Not allowing himself easily to be moved
By an irascible nature, but instead going counter
To what *Physiognomia* taught about him;[29]
He who defers to Trogus on this subject,
To Adamantius or Aristotle,
Will soon find himself exasperated by their curious nonsense.[30]

(35) We will not trouble ourselves with the disputes
Of the Philosophers, but let them take their course
As matters that little avail us;
But for art's sake, we must pay attention
To the external motions of the Body,[31]
To the changes and movements of the limbs,
Whereby one may easily recognize
What our Figures are feeling or doing.

(36) They who call us to task for our inability
To distinguish between faces that laugh or cry*
Are not mistaken:
But we see by studying life diligently

*Painters are unable clearly to distinguish between laughing and crying faces.

That in laughing the mouth and cheeks widen**
And rise, while the brow lowers, and between both,
The eyes, pinched half-shut and narrowed,
Create small furrows leading to the ears.[32]

**How one portrays laughter.

(37) But weeping faces are not so rounded;*
The cheeks contract, and further,
The lower lips and corners of the mouth turn downward.
Already in older days there were those who understood this,
Amongst whom we might here cite
Praxiteles, certainly one of the foremost
Masters, especially in working marble,
Who produced wonders of art esteemed throughout the world.[33]

*How to portray crying.

(38) He made two Figures, different
In Affect, first an honorable Matron
Who wept, letting her sorrow be seen;
There besides, with practiced art,
An apparently light-hearted Woman,
Laughing genially in a joyful way,
Who (they said) he portrayed after
Phryne, one of the most admired courtesans.

(39) It seemed that one could detect in that face
His attraction to her as well as the good favor
Shown by her toward him, to the delight of his every sense.[34]
But the Figures of Demon of Athens, with his colors*
An excellent Painter in his day,
Looked from the varied ways they gazed
To be inconstant, wrathful, angry, merciful, gentle,
Fearful, stalwart, humble, [or] majestic.[35]

*Demon was artful in portraying the affects, as one reads from his life.

(40) Indeed, he also strove to bring various affects
Together in a single Figure:
Timanthes of Cyprus, too, achieved fame,[36]*
Having painted with the utmost decorum
Great sorrow and tearful grief,
To be seen [in a picture] of the innocent Maiden Iphigenia
Before the stone Altar,
Whom they purposed to offer in sacrifice,

*Timanthes, too, in the aforesaid sacrifice of Iphigenia, was [artful] in the portrayal [of affects].

(41) In order to appease the outraged [goddess] Diana
And quell the Sea's raging tempests.
There he showed how the people standing round, who were to perform the deed,
Likewise made shows of compassion.
One saw the visage of Calcas, full of grief,
But still more woebegone, Ulysses,
Her Uncle, horrified in heart
At the gruesome prospect of the murderous sacrifice.

(42) When the Painter had utilized
To the best of his ability every sort of sorrowful gesture,
Wringing of the hands, weeping and clamorous sighing,
He at last pictured Agamemnon powerfully, who as Father,
Inconsolable, faint of heart,
Surpassing all the others,
Could not bear with his eyes to see
The cruel death blow [struck] against his Child.

(43) This he accomplished by covering the face,
With clothing or with the hands.
Diverse stanzas and Poetic verses
Have been composed on this artful work,
[Securing] its glorious reputation in distant Lands.
One could always discern
Hidden meanings in his works;[37]
He triumphed over Colotes and Demon.[38]

(44) To fashion a mournful expression, full of pity*
And inner feeling, without a flow
Of tears, as sometimes occurs,
One shall turn the eyebrows sideways, to the left,
Somewhat raising them and the half-shuttered eye,
And let the little fold running from nose to cheek
Be pulled in the same direction, and abridged:
Thus shall one portray a fearful person.

*How one shall portray interior sorrow with exterior motions of the limbs.

(45) The head shall also hang tilted to one side,
The cheek, raised toward the aforesaid eye,
Shall pull the mouth open, sidewise.
One hand shall strike the bosom at the heart,

The other attach to its proper shoulder,
With its innermost surface turned outward,
Positioned as if to seize or avert something:
Thereby one shall plumb a heavy heart.

(46) With hands on heart, laid crosswise,
[And] the head pressing down on one shoulder, yea all
The body's fellow citizens behaving as one,
[The eyes] like red clouds raining temperately
Onto the pale fields of the cheeks, moistening them,
The hands joined, with the fingers plaited;
Contrariwise, like West and East,
The face shall look dispiritedly in the opposite direction.

(47) To press or wipe the tearful eye,
The hand or a kerchief shall sometimes come forward,
And the head, heavy-laden with mournful damp,
Shall stand steadfast, helpful to the hand,
With the elbow propped up;
Indeed all the limbs ought, virtually without exception,
To lie slack or hang down
As if dead or wholly overcome by sickness.

(48) For just like the dead, the sick, the aged,
The sorrowful man must oftentimes let himself fall,
Must give way, folding back his limbs:[39]
And so, too, (as the Poets say) should*
Death, illness, old age, and sorrow**
Together populate the portal of Hell, like bedfellows,
Where they accord with others of their kind,
Like birds of a feather.[40]

**Aeneid*, book 6.

**Sorrow, death, and illness populate the entryway to Hell.

(49) The Pagans of old, fearing the power
Of sickness, included her amongst their Gods.
At Rome was to be found the Temple of Fever;[41]
Yet she was not presented as an Affect,*
But instead one saw [her] painted in the manner
Of a sick person, in such wise that brought
Greater praise to Aristides than all his other works.[42]
One could not easily turn one's eyes away from her.

*An art, too, to portray the sick and the dead.

(50) Amongst the Romans a *Meleager* was much praised,*
In which he was borne up,
Whereby one saw each bearer portrayed
As a mourner, with a grieving heart,
And also well displayed, their strenuous labor;
And over and beyond all this, the Art on show in that dead *Corpus*
Was neither lesser nor smaller:
He seemed altogether dead, his life, limb, and finger deprived of sensation.[43]

*Gualtherus Rivius, book 3.

(51) I recall a Modern picture[44]*
On the Capitoline Hill, wherein with sure grace
The affects appeared, to the Painter's glory:
It was the History of the Battlefield Combat
Between the three Horatii and three Curatii;
There one saw Tullus [Hostilius], King of Rome,
Sitting with his Generals, justly downcast alack
That their last Man must fight one against three.[45]

*This was a curious old Painting, in which Sorrow, Joy, and Death were well and naturally portrayed.

(52) And they seemed to lament the fact that two Brothers,
Their Champions, lay dead there:
The Painter proves capable of portraying,
In a proper fashion, with wonderful art,
The attitudes of these fallen Knights:
And Mettius [Fufetius] and the Albans appear there, too,
Their hearts joyfully swimming in a Sea of woe
Because their fighters (as it would seem) have the upper hand.[46]

(53) This is portrayed with a still presence so subtle
That many persons have been duly astonished;
Nor is it to be in any way disparaged,
Differing as it does to such an extent from the current norm,
For it may be about a hundred Years old.
Its workmanship[47] and paint handling aside,
There is still little that can compare
With the manner in which the Affects are [here] seen painted.

(54) Further, in a *Massacre of the Innocents**
By the subtle, faultless Bruegel is to be seen
A cadaverously pale Mother, straitened and swooning,
Yea an entire grief-stricken family,

*This picture is now (I think) in the possession of the Emperor Rudolph.

Pleading with a Herald for a child's life,
In whom a modicum of compassion is discernible,
But who yet promulgates the King's Placard, though with senses mortified
That one may be merciful to no one.[48]

(55) Thus hearkening to truly indefatigable Examples,
Both Ancient and Modern,
Let fervent desire for these affects,*
The proper kernel[49] or Soul that holds Art fast within itself,
Burn through your heart,
So that henceforth, like the pith of a nut,
They may likewise increase the virtue of the work's Art,
And crown the workman's profit with honor.[50]

*On portraying the Affects, the Soul of Art.

(56) There was one Aristonidas who strove with all his might
Expertly to portray in a bronze Figure a thing nonpareil,*
The affect of rage [exemplified by]
Athamas, the irascible and obdurate
King of Thebes,
Who threw his own Son
To his death from a high rock.
This [Athamas] he depicted in a seated pose.[51]

*Example of rage and sorrow portrayed in a cast bronze Figure admixed with Iron in the face.

(57) That such a [figure] might in form yet appear
As if, once come to his senses,
And having hatched so murderous a deed,
He was [now] reproaching himself, bitterly remorseful,
He admixed his Bronze with Iron,
In order thus to give the face, bewildered and desolate,
A more expedient flush of red,
When the Iron had rusted.

(58) This Figure was still to be seen in the open,
In the Greek city of Thebes, during the life of Pliny;
There under the lustrous bronze
The rusty Iron did disclose
In the visage a rubicund perplexity:
Now then, O Painters, hearing the magnitude*
Of the effort and exertion [expended] in matters of this sort,
Let your torpid spirits be awakened similarly.

*This example should rouse the Painters.

(59) You could fulfill the whole of your intention
More easily and handily, by a sure path, without going astray,
By fashioning and refashioning the figures with your colors,*
Until they declare, as if by word of mouth,
Every affect hidden in their hearts:
In the head of someone irate, two burning coals**
Bulge outward, glaring crosswise,
Skulking beneath two dusky eyebrows.[52]

*Painters draw great advantage from sundry colors.

**On the depiction of cruelty and rage.

(60) In the same manner Michelangelo, following Dante,
Made the Ferryman of the infernal barge
In his illustrious *Judgment*,[53] so shall you plant
The irises of the eyes amidst white borders,
Opened wide both above and below;
The face shall appear prominently swollen,
Its integument fiery red from choleric heat,
The brow wrinkled like a Lion's.

(61) Emaciated Envy, full of spite,*
Cadaverous and deathly pale, fell, bitter, accursed,
Artfully described by Ovid,
We leave to her venomous meal
In her cold, dark, grisly lair;[54]
But the downhearted or desperate,**
One sees tearing at the seams of their garments, shredding them,
Or plucking out their own hair from their heads.

*On Envy; *Metamorphoses*, Book 2.

**On Downheartedness.

(62) Lucas van Leyden, who with his sharp,*
Learned burin artfully engraved
David before Saul, playing the Harp,
Did very naturally delineate for us
The spirit and frenzied behavior of Saul:[55]
But concerning those afflicted
Interiorly with fear, they shall appear pale as dead color,[56]
With their arms outstretched as if fleeing.

*Example of Lucas van Leyden, in the portrayal of frenzy.

(63) In Rome is a work by the Etruscan Giotto,*
Made from inlaid glazed stones,
Called Mosaic, to resist easy decay;[57]
Even were it painted, 'twere not to be dismissed:

*Example of Giotto, in the portrayal of terror.

There in a storm-tossed ship
One sees amongst the Apostles
An intensely fearful, appalled astonishment very well rendered,
On the night Christ walked across the Sea.

(64) There one sees Peter, who, having already
Stepped off the boat and frightened by the wind and waves,
Begins to sink at the feet of the Lord,
And almost to drown:
In days of old, one also saw fearful alarm
In a picture wherein Amphytrion the King*
Was painted beside Alcmene,
The mother of Hercules, both of them filled with apprehension

*Example from Pliny, book 35, chapter 9.

(65) Upon seeing young Hercules in the Crib,
Who showed his strength by throttling two fierce serpents,
Which he was squeezing mightily.
Arrested by this fearsome spectacle,
The Mother's heart appeared full of anxious care.
But whose work this was ought not to be concealed:
It was Zeuxis of Heraclea, the Painter,
Than whom there were but a few more prolific at depicting the affects.[58]

(66) And still there was Parrhasius of Ephesus,
Who first set his hand
To the exterior form of the face
And to the [e]motions;[59] but in this,
Aristides was wonderfully gifted,
As was said above, and though his
Body be buried, and his work no longer found,
Yet has Death not devoured his fame.[60]

(67) This [Aristides] had also portrayed the motions of the mind[61]*
[In the picture] of a City occupied by its enemies,
Wherein a small Child, innocently groping,
Had latched onto his Mother's wound
Borne in the breast with which she gave suck:
There one saw how naturally she flinched,
Still sensitive to the grievous pain,
Though lying in a faint between death and life.

*Example: how the pain of death was portrayed, withal anxious care.

(68) This Female heart was also seen to bend
With anxious care, lest her little child,
In finding milk, might suck her blood*
Together with the rancid pap:[62] thus (as all bear witness)
Was this artful Panel so famous
That no one less than the great Alexander,
Taking such pleasure in it, had it brought
With him to his birth City Pellas.

*Pliny, book 35, chapter 10.

(69) This face might well have had a mouth*
Gaping open at one side, as we have
Described for [the depiction of] sad, piteous facial features,
A brow with mutually opposed wrinkles,
Eyebrows unevenly raised,
The flesh tint corrupted by the advent of death,
Blushing pale purple at the lips and cheeks.
The child [may have] stared intently with sad eyes.[63]

*Speculation upon how this might have been portrayed.

(70) In order to do more with this material,
One could well delve into deeper caverns,
Quite far from here, the whereabouts of the Cimmerians,
Whence the Father of Morpheus rules his empire,
And wont to lie snoring, dreams his dreams:[64]
Then is my good hope to have ignited a spark
In many a spirit and to have increased the desire
Henceforth to attend more closely to the Affects.

(71) For these are (as I think) secrets very much ad rem,
That fall sufficiently, all on their own, to Art's share,
So that good Masters (by my reckoning)*
Make use of them more than they know,
Being as perfect in all things as they are in one:[65]
Then will many not belittle the matter at hand,
Clever viewers with profound insight,
Who through the affirmation of praise convert semblance into verity.[66]

*More than they realize, great Masters engage in the portrayal of Affects, for he who is good at one thing is often good at all.

(72) As Vasari, with his magisterial pen,
There writes about Buonarroti, avowing
That noble spirits recognize in his *Judgment*
The specific sin for which each [sinner] runs [his / her] hellward course,

And that in what concerns the Affects,
Never did any Painter accomplish anything before him;[67]
But be it through ignorance or opinion,
This does contradict Pliny all too much.[68]

(73) He says, too, that Angelo with his sharp-witted senses,
Through much concourse with the World and with People
Could discern as much from a [person's] manner of life:[69]
And so, you Youths, let the same come about for you as well,
For in order that beyond instruction, you also gain
A measure of profit from my writing,
I direct you to follow the model*
Which Eupompus did show to Lysippus.[70]

*Pliny, book 34, chapter 8.

End of Affects.

On Reflection, Reverberation, re-reflected luster, or re-reflection[1]

The Seventh Chapter

(1) In speaking about Reflection or re-reflection,
One must begin with the reflected light of the Sun:
For its light is seen to outshine any other.
Clarity would depart from all the Stars*
Without the Sun's reflected luster,[2]
Which bestows on the Heavens their fine appearance,
Is the Soul of the World amidst the Planets,
And ought not, in our endeavor, to be forgotten.[3]

*Pliny, book 2, chapter 6.

(2) So, when the night, with its black sails,*
Dark in mien, perforce retreats from the field, taking flight,
And fine things in every place
On the face of the Earth are unveiled once again,
Then may one see in the lowering clouds
A Reverberation or re-reflection of the Sun[4]
When its daylight brings joy,
Spreading a multitude of colors throughout the Sky.

*On the Dawn.

(3) It gratifies heart and sense
To see coming forth at dawn
The chief light of the Terrestrial World, with its golden rays
Sowing the azure field of the East
With red Roses and purple Blossoms.
How could one christen any Reflection more beautiful
Than this which many Poets of old
Described in so painterly and artful a fashion?[5]

(4) About Aurora (as the Poets say)*
Cephalus did recount to Phocus
How she sat on mount Hymettus,
Which blooms eternally, immune to decay:[6]
Her mouth was redder than Coral,
And she, in rising and setting,
Did ever remember to gift the morning and the evening
With its first and last light.

*Aurora is the redness of both the evening and the morning.

(5) Just as Aurora reveals her florid lips*
Early in the morning and late in the evening,
So, too, in the day's sinking out of sight, and in its coming into view,[7]
Towers, Houses, Trees, Mountains, and Clifftops
Are dyed red by her garments;
And so, too, the Painter must earnestly and closely watch
To portray the presence of Aurora
Upon Mountains and Rocks in the shimmering air.

*How everything looks redder in the rising and setting of the Sun.

(6) When the Sun sets, one sees diverse things
Appear redder in color:*
The surface of the earth, stones, and bricks,
And likewise Persons' faces,
Where the rays of the Sun strike them,
Or, namely, produce a bright reflex of light,[8]
Causing them at once to blush ruddily,
So that they come to share a color fiery and glowing.[9]

*At Sunset all things become redder in color.

(7) Now, when Phoebus with his swift Horses[10]
Goes running toward the great Oceanus
To take shelter beneath the evening star,
One may observe stretching from there toward the shore
A glistening stripe on the Sea.
Like a chameleon, the water will usually adapt,
Taking on the color
Of that which is above or beside it.[11]

(8) The Sea or water transparent and shallow,*
The mirror of the Heavens, limpidly lustrous, crystalline,
Therein one sees the blushing cheeks
Of Tithonus's full-loving Bride[12]
Mirrored mornings and evenings,
And this all the more exactly
When Eolus's men-at-arms do not occupy the Air[13]
And block her entry thither with thick, dark rain clouds.

*The Sea or water is a mirror of the Heavens.

(9) Colors and Figures many and varied*
Are to be seen in clouds, expanding
And contracting, diverse in style
According as the substance of fire

*On Figures [produced] in the clouds through reflection of the Sun.[14]

Or the thickness of the clouds holds its sway:
Now must our subject yet turn
Toward reverberation in the clouds,
Which all folks find fine and wonderful to see.

(10) Just opposite the Sun is to be found,
Usually during the short days of Autumn,
A semi-circular Ring or circle, large and wide open,*
Which does show itself
When the Sun begins to decline or descend,
For then in height it occupies its farthest reach;
But not to withhold the name,
I mean the many-hued Rainbow,

*On the Rainbow in the clouds, which is a Reflection of the Sun.[15]

(11) That age-old sign placed by the Lord
Between him, Noah, and all Human souls,
And all living Things on the face of the earth,
That he would not again
Violently destroy all flesh in a Deluge:[16]
But if there be any questions
Concerning that second bow, I consider it*
To be nothing more than the re-reflected light of the first.[17]

*The Rainbow, giving forth reflected light, produces a second bow.

(12) For it well seems that one sometimes sees*
Revealed in the rising or setting of the sun
Multiple Suns, and yet it would not be creditable
To claim that there were many Suns;
Rather, far more likely these are reflections:
For in a clear sky free of clouds
One sees no such spectacle,
Barring a great miracle.

*On Reflections of the Sun that sometimes appear to be more than one Sun.

(13) Moreover, one spots the Rainbow only
When the sky is covered with clouds,
And so, one may here build on Pliny:
It must come from a cloud hollow as if excavated,
Which catches the reflected light of the Sun;
But as for its roundness,
I would ascribe this not to the cloud
But to the roundness of the Sun.[18]

(14) Pliny reckons that the Rainbow*
Is daily to be seen above
Lacus Velinus in the Duchy
Of Spoleto, which (as far as I know) is now called
The Lake of Piediluco.[19] It may credibly be thought
That the River Nera discharges from a point
Just a bit farther from there, falling with a great roar
From a very high mountain into a deep dale.

*[Pliny], book 2, chapter 62.

(15) This River, having drawn its source
From this Lake, which freely bestows its waters
By Terni, between Venice and Rome,
Falls from the cliff face so clamorously*
Onto the hollow rocks that it makes one shudder,
With noise so loud that one person
Can hardly broach a subject to another
Without almost placing ear to mouth.[20]

*On a beautiful waterfall.

(16) A plenitude of fog and mist rises*
From this powerful waterfall at all times,
Wherein one daily catches sight of the Rainbow
Amongst the Lord's natural works,
Whenever the Sun shines in, from whichever side.
I myself have seen it, as I here profess:
For on occasion, wandering from out of Terni,
I dared to traverse a quantity of those small miles.

*The Rainbow is seen in the mist issuing from the waterfall near Terni.

(17) Besides differing a bit from Pliny
As regards the lie of the land, I also feel myself compelled,
With reference to what has here been recounted, to help silence
Those who would wish to say
That a hollow cloud bends the Reflection into the form of a bow:
For at Tivoli, where a variety*
Of very high Fountains spring aloft, their beauty not to be bettered,
I saw the Rainbow exhibit itself yet again

*Also at Tivoli in the Basins from out of which Fountains spring.

(18) In the damp Air, wherein
The bright, shining Sun shoots its rays;[21]
But whence the Rainbow derives*
Its fine colors, if they who have written about this

*From where the Rainbow has its colors.

Are not mistaken,
It pleasurably elicits those same colors
From the clouds, drawing them forth together
Out of the Air and fire that mingle there.[22]

(19) Ezechiel, an ordained Prophet,* *Ezechiel 28:19.
Saw the glory of the Lord shining round
Like the Rainbow that strikes People's eyes
In the clouds after rain.[23]
One may here also bring to mind John [the Evangelist],** **Apocalypse 4:3.
Who heard a voice resounding like a trumpet blast,
And also saw, his senses watchful,
The Rainbow round the Throne, sumptuous like an Emerald.[24]

(20) Concerning the figure of the Rainbow,
Jesus Sirach says: Praise him* *[Jesus] Sirach 43:24.[25]
Whose creation and creature it is,
For it possesses (says he) very fine, pure colors,
Like unto those in the curtain whence
The High-Priest Simon came forth,
Who with his adornments in the Temple precinct
Resembled the Rainbow with its fine, bright colors.[26]

(21) Also what the Poets suppose [to be true] about Iris:[27]* *The Poets' Iris, messenger of Juno, is the Rainbow.
How [she] wears a pluricolored mantle,[28]
Radiantly beautiful; so, too, all this is said specially
About the Rainbow.
In portraying it
One must be mindful of the partitioning of colors;[29]
How subtly they flow, passing from hue to hue,
And how each grows out of the other.

(22) Closest to us comes purple, then a flesh-tint,[30]* *The Rainbow's colors.
Or whitish carmine, if you would paint it well;
Next, a kind of orange, or an opulent red,
Then massicot yellow, followed by a delicate green,
Then bright azure, like the Peacock's neck feathers,
Thereafter purple once again:
With a checker-board mantle such as this,
Juno's messenger, she who opens the way, is wont to preen.

(23) Everyone ought to take note of
Mute Poetry, wherein
Certain colors are not loath to be matched:[31]
For example, blue by purple, and purple by red,*
And by red, yellow, which looks orange;
Then, light yellow has green as its friend,
And green may well consort with blue;
Also, green is mixed from ash blue and yellow.[32]

*Painters must observe in the Rainbow which colors go well together.

(24) In such a manner, as if following sure Laws,
Painters of wet plaster prepare their palettes or boards*
Before setting to work,
And Oil Painters, too, ought
To order their palettes accordingly:[33]
White closest to hand, then out of each darker shade[34]
Two or three lighter ones;[35]
These things are handy and profitable.

*Those who work on wet plaster modulate each color into two or three lighter shades, placing white closest to hand [on their palettes].

(25) For Painters do but gain time*
By spending time on mixing colors,
But with respect to this, we need brook no argument:
Instead closely imitating [the effect of] Reverberation,
As of Moonlight, fire, lightning, candlelight, and the flame of a forge;[36]
One should intently consider how each of these**
Illuminates its surroundings,
Bringing forth a like form [of light].

*To temper colors is no waste of time; rather, it is most profitable.

**One must pay close attention to the colors and forms of all sorts of light, and learn how to distinguish amongst them.

(26) The Night's [source of] light, the Moon,
Making her mark on Houses and Churches, above and below,
Bestows a pale glow, wherever she reaches,
Just as she herself is pale;
Likewise lightning,
The harbinger of fell thunder,
With its bluish fire causes darkness to depart,
And with [darkness'] flight brings its Reflection to light.

(27) Were we to read in Pliny, we would find
That the Art of Reflection was also utilized in olden days
By Antiphilus who, being no fool,*
Had painted a youth lying down to blow

*Example of a [youth] blowing a flame, made by the ancient Painter Antiphilus.

Upon a flame, stoking it with conviction,
And his breath did cause reflected lights
To be seen throughout the interior of a fine dwelling;
So, too, the blowing boy's face deftly flickered.[37]

(28) Echion, about whom we have spoken elsewhere,*
Also wished to display the Art of Reflection,
Having shown, through the diffusion of light,
A beautiful young Bride being led to her [marriage] bed,
Following the footsteps an older Matron;
For she, in order to gild the darkness,
Carried before her a fiery, burning Torch,
And [the Bride] trod behind, her presence stately.[38]

*Example of a Bride led to bed by torchlight.

(29) In the *Furioso* the man of Ferrara, justly styled a Poet*
Recounts things in such wise
That they seem painted.
So sweetly does he describe Ruggiero and Alcina
That they virtually enchant the Reader,
As she ceremoniously leads him to her bedchamber
After a sumptuous banquet,
More freely to delight in his company.[39]

*Example from Ariosto in his *Furioso*, Canto 7.

(30) With much Torchlight the Pages marched
In front, chasing away the darkness.
In the company of merry Fellows
Ruggiero did find soft feather-beds,
For his pleasure o'erspread with sweet scents,
Upon which lay linens [sprinkled with] rosewater,
Spun from white thread so fine
That they seemed woven by Arachne herself.

(31) Disastrous fires burning fiercely (a cause of terror
To Human hearts), as they rise [ever] higher
Make with their sparks a crackling blaze;
As night's sail is darker and denser,*
So the powerful, living flames are brighter:
They tint the reflected light cast
Onto Houses, Temples, or other buildings,
And also [cast] a fearsome spectacle onto the water.

*On painting fire in darkness, with its reverberations.

(32) They exercise an imperial sway over Art*
Who portray Vulcan's ire well in color,
That desolation so ghastly:
For the fuel or stuff whereby**
His fierce flames are fed,
Flying heavenward, difficult to tame,
From this, too, they receive their color,
Whether tending to red, purple, blue, or green.[40]

*That it is an Art to paint conflagrations well.

**That flames take their form from the stuff with which they are fed.

(33) Not the flames alone but also the smoke*
Fills the Air with various colors,
So that it seems indeed like the foul, smothering smoke
Of the Styx, where with frightful spooks,
Hydra and Cerberus shriek and bellow:
Thus shall the Painters consider this,**
How to make a show of dire flames,
Or how to stoke the fire of the Poets' Hells.[41]

*That not only flames but also smoke is varied in color.

**On painting the Poets' Hells.

(34) Candlelight, a thing rare [in painting],*
Is difficult to fashion artfully:
It looks good to advance a Figure from the brown darkness,
Overshadowing it from feet to crown,
Letting the light graze
Only the silhouette of bared hair or of drapery;
Also, the shadows must take their course in every direction,
Starting from a point or strip of light.

*On Candlelight: how one shall paint it.

(35) So, too, to fashion the naked limbs*
Of Vulcan [and] the Cyclopes, whose ferocity
Did make Mount Gibello tremble
When they forged Jupiter's thunderbolts,[42]
One may wholly shadow one of their cohort against the light,
And marry to it the firelight
Grazing its front contour here and there,
Wherever the occasion permits.

*On painting Vulcan's forge and similar things.

(36) But they who stand behind the fiery sparks
Must bear the livery of re-reflected light
Gifted them by the glowing ironworks,
Which there colors the rocky cave

With shadows and fiery highlights;[43]
Coming from below they also strike
The bristly, stern faces
Which gaze with sullen intensity at their rough employment.

(37) One may anticipate where the light, from its resting place,[44]
Must bind itself to shadow as reflected light.
But speaking of daylight and night,
In the Roman Vatican it shines powerfully,*
There where Peter lies in heavy sleep
Between two Soldiers, on whose weapons
The reflected light of the Angel come into the dungeon
Testifies admirably to Raphael's abilities as a practitioner [of the Art of Reflection].

*Example of painted night, with various lights, made by Raphael.

(38) One also sees Peter walking away with the Angel,*
While a Sentinel, coming to awaken another Watch,
Holds in his hands a Torch;
And in the same place, the reflected light of this torch-fire
Strikes the cuirasses,
As also does the Moonlight, at other spots. There, too,
He took into account how daylight entering from a window
Would give to these lights a natural brilliance.

*This work in fresco is to be found in the Pope's palace, as one may read in the life of Raphael.

(39) Amongst all those wont to produce
Figured Panels in [oil] colors
With beams of [re-]reflected luster,
The elder Bassano could deceive the eyes*
Exceptionally well and naturally:
For one's eyes appear truly to see
Flames, Torches, fiery hanging lamps,
Pots and Pans catching the reflected light,

*The elder Bassano was exceptional at painting night scenes and making the lights reflect subtly.

(40) Copper, Tin, Iron implements,
Fleecy Sheep and all sorts of Animals,
The annunciation to the Shepherds, the flight into Egypt,
Various night scenes, and subtly grouped
Figures that likewise impart grace to the picture:
One sees a multitude of canvases in oil color,
Curiously devised by this Townsman and expert colorist,[45]
Well and skillfully made, and playful.[46]

(41) In sum: the heights this Man has scaled
In expressing artful Reflection well,
Not fame alone but also that assayer of gold, Battus,
Has made known in many Lands:[47]
For in the Capital City [of Rome] I chanced to see*
Some nocturnal Passion scenes
Wherein the stone ground was of a piece with the manifold darkness,
And the rays of light were [applied] in goldpoint.[48]

*I saw these small works in Rome, and they were painted on panels of slate.

(42) But why do I talk about foreigners,
When I ought to be thinking of Coignet,*
A Netherlandish-Italian Painter,
To whom all colors were subject,
And to be sure, none dared overstep
His Laws, but must rather comply
With his every thought,
Doing and becoming whatsoever he ordained.[49]

*Coignet, too, was adept at fires and lights.

(43) And when they were powerless to fulfill[50]
The outermost bounds of his intention,
Then did he boldly go with the son of Japetus
To the chariot of the King of the Planets:[51]
For by artful use of gold*
He brought his fire and light to life,
So that the fires lay glowing and sparkling,
And the lights stood about like twinkling stars.

*Coignet painted candlelight that appeared to burn, with raised bits of gilt husk.

(44) With colors he can make Pluto's city burn*
Astonishingly, or annihilate Troy,
[Show] Judith by night, displaying the head of Holofernes,
With Torches and Firebrands, also Lanterns
In the streets, and a confluence of people in the distance;
Such as the Lottery,
Which the regents of the Madhouse of Amsterdam had him make,
Not to speak of other things by him, elsewhere to be seen.[52]

*Examples of some works by Coignet.

(45) Furthermore, in that *Pictura* is now as favorable to Batavia,
As she formerly was to Sicyon,[53]
So has Nature come forth to shake gifts from out of her lap
Upon the harbor town of Haarlem[54]

Into the bosoms of two residents living there;
One of them by rights a Painter, whose*
Plato's Cave, wherein is Art of no common strain,
Is to be found in Amsterdam.[55]

*Another Example, of *Plato's Cave*, which picture, made by Cornelis Cornelisz. of Haarlem, is in Amsterdam.

(46) There one sees Reflections slip away in every direction,
But a troop of men lying trapped in the dark
Appears to dispute with Arguments[56]
About the shadows of Figures projected by Lamplight;
Others, being free, see the figures together with the shadows;
Still others, farther away, stooping not a whit,
Had cast their high gaze Heavenward,
But the meaning [of all this] I leave to him whose work it is.[57]

(47) The other [Haarlemer] wished fully to train
In the practice of line-drawing and engraving,[58]
Finally, also in Painting, and to make himself known
As a Phoenix with golden pinions;[59]*
And what metal shall not yield before singular gold,[60]
Or what light be compared to the peerless Sun,
Whereto [the Phoenix] alone is worthy to be consecrated[61]
And to bear the name of the tree of Victory.[62]

*Pliny writes that some of the Phoenix's pinions or feathers are golden.

(48) One saw [rendered] by him in the Art of Line*
On Attalus's parchment,[63]
Find-wine, Give-lust, Escape-care,[64]
Beside Abundance, adorned with clusters of grapes.[65]
To prevent pleasure from growing cold in their midst,
Love was blowing on a fire, stoking its flames,
Whereupon Reflection, another of Echo's offspring,
Conveyed a reflected light onto the Figures.[66]

*This was a large picture in pen on parchment, a *Venus, Bacchus, and Ceres*, with Cupid blowing on a fire.

(49) This Daedalian opus,[67] wherein*
The beauteous Graces rejoice to see themselves,
May in our day adorn the pleasure garden of the Hesperides:[68]
And to them who envy the honor granted to foreigners,
Fame's trumpet blast brings a double misery:
For as was the case with Zeuxis's wrestlers, easier will it be**
To chide this work brimming with the mysteries of Art,
Than to make anything as good.[70]

*This was made by Goltzius in Rome.

**Pliny, book 35, chapter 9.[69]

(50) Now departing from the darkness of night,
Finding ourselves where daylight is seasonable,
In that joyful time [of the year],
Lying and sitting amidst green meadows,
To divert ourselves.
There reflected light begins to do its work;*
For in our faces and bare flesh, we become party to the green**
Of the trees' foliage, grasses, and plants.

*On the Reflection of greenery in nudes, there where one sits amidst green meadows and gardens.

**On the re-reflection of colored things onto naked [flesh].

(51) Likewise, where faces or naked bodies
Are shadowed, adjacent to wool, silk, or linen,
Reflection will export their characteristic [colors];
Be they yellowish or reddish, the Flesh-tint*
Shall partake of such reflected lights:
So, too, where the Muscles fade into each other,
There one sees a Reverberation,
As of Flesh-tint against Flesh-tint.

*Large flat Reflections sometimes look good, but one must ensure that the small reflected lights cause the nudes to become neither dry nor awkward.

(52) Also on round columns, one sees revealed
A reflected highlight, and elsewhere, too, on bases,
White Egg shapes, and Marble spheres,
All the more when lit objects are placed alongside them;
Moreover, gold or silver vessels, vases,*
Clear, transparent ice, and glasses in which
Wine has been poured, stain tablecloths with reflected lights:[71]
Painters must pay attention to all this.

*That Painters must pay heed to reflections of all sorts.

(53) One sees markedly lustrous and shining lights
Rebound and carom from many more things,
Whereof each particular lesson
May be gleaned through diligent attention to Nature,
The Painters' Mistress:
In what manner lustrous Fish, Tins and coppers,
Mutually reverberate.
To take an example, the panels of long Peter.[72]

(54) Apropos these things, this Man played the pipes*
Wonderfully well with colors:
Everything seemed alive, the green with the ripe;
You would have thought it possible to grasp

*Example of reflected luster in a Kitchen piece painted by long Peter, which is to be seen in the home of the children of the art-loving Jacob Rauwaert.

Several chargers sitting in the dark,
Struck by just this sort of re-reflected light,
As anyone who burns with fond desire may see
At the home of an Art-lover in Amsterdam.[73]

(55) To sum up: in Art he flew high,*
Bringing Reflection subtly to pass;
Yes, a great, skillful, cunning deceiver
Of People's eyes, and also a witty liar:
For one presumes to see all sorts of things,
But they are mere color that he knows how to mix,
Causing the flat to appear round, and the level to project,
The mute to speak, and the dead to live.

*Praise of the Art of old tall Peter.

(56) I have not lost sight of a History,*
On the Loggia of Raphael, wherein
Isaac makes love with his Wife,
And the Sun shines into the chamber:[74]
The artful burin of praiseworthy Dürer
Has likewise displayed the Sun's Reflection
In his *Jerome in his Study*,
Compared to which nothing better or more skillful has been seen.[75]

*Examples of reflected Sunshine, one by Raphael, the other [engraved] with the burin by Albrecht Dürer.

(57) With reflected luster and crystalline beams,*
More numerous than one could dream,
We wish to conclude, recounting
How one sees mirrored downward perfectly
In the placid surface of clear standing water
Plants, irises, Mountains, Houses, and trees,
Also Cattle drinking, Sheep, Cows, Horses,
Or an assortment of birds refreshing themselves therein.

*On Reflections to be seen in water.

(58) We find a wild, beautiful place*
Described by the second Maro, deftly and artfully,
Whither Angelica, fleeing from Rinaldo, comes
Into a green, fragrant Coppice
Where cold Aura makes the leaflets tremble,
And two clear Streams, sluggish in their flowing,
Rustle gently against small rocks,
And do ever make plantlets newly to sprout.[76]

*A fine Example from Ariosto, in *Il furioso*, [Canto] 1, stanza 35: wherein is to be noted that Painters may profitably read the Poets' inventions, and with colors imitate the same.

(59) Nearby stood a small Hut full [overgrown] with thornbushes
And red Roses, delightful of scent,
Whereof this clear little stream between tall Oaks
Where the Sun could not come, might be called a mirror;
Here hidden in the innermost shade
A space opened up that might serve as a chill dwelling,
Beneath branches and foliage so thick
That the Sun could not pierce, nor much be seen.

(60) The tender plants therein,
Which made for an inviting bed, gladsome to all,
Sweetly enticed the tired, hot, thirsty
To come hither and take their rest:
Thus for Painters is it not ill-advised
To read Poetic verses,
For they can instill, teach, and waken
Many things that conduce to painting.

(61) Finally, O you lusty Young Sons of Giges[77]
Wandering in *Pictura's* labyrinth,*
Driven earnestly to learn her ways,
Whithersoever you roam, that you come forth with joy,
Let the skein of Nature be urged upon you;[78]
Attentively school your eyes by cleaving to her,
And let labor not dishearten you:
So may you enjoy a happy outcome.

*Ariadne gave Theseus a ball of twine whereby to get through the labyrinth of Minos: now are young Painters, that they come to a good end, advised to follow the thread of all the forms of nature.

End of Reflection.

On Landscape
The Eighth Chapter

(1) Youthful painters, having long sat hunched [over your work],*
Tangled up in Art, constantly cramming,
Ever desirous of learning more, until half blind,
You've worn out your dulled senses,
Stop for now, you've been pulling the plough long enough;
From labor allow yourselves duly to be unyoked,
For even strong men crave rest,
No bow may always be pulled taut.

*Youthful painters ought likewise to familiarize themselves with Landscape, and accordingly, as circumstances permit, they should leave the city in order to observe nature, and at the same time refresh themselves by drawing [what they see].

(2) As soon as you espy Hesperus bringing from afar,
For the Father of Morpheus the dreamer,
The black mantle, let your eyes at once
Be sprinkled with Lethe's water.[1]
Now, in floriferous Summer, when the nights are short,*
Having dined temperately, fortify
Your tired memory, your senses restive,
Through sweet sleep, making them cheerful.

*In the summer, it is advisable to go early to bed, and to rise early and listen to birdsong.

(3) And come, let's open the gate early,
Together shorten the hours, lighten the spirits,
And go look at the beauty out there,
Where the beaks of the wild Music-makers pipe;
There shall we see many sights,
That serve us to compose Landscapes
On linen canvas or hard oaken planks from the North.
Come, you shall (I trust) thank yourself for having journeyed.

(4) First of all, observe over there how the Bride of old Tithonus*
Climbs up out of her saffron bed,[2]
Announcing the advent of day's torchlight,
And soaked in the Ocean's wash,**
Four multicolored horses climb panting,***
And behold, how the hems of the purple cloudlets
Bloom rosily; how the glittering house of Eurus
Is beautifully bedecked, to receive Phoebus.[4]

*Tithonus's Bride is Aurora, the Dawn.

**"Ghewat" is a downspout for the watering of cattle.

***"Schillede" is multicolored.[3]

(5) Aye, see indeed how up above is painted*
A greater beauty of varied colors,
And so many mixtures: one might believe
That molten Gold thus glistens in the Furnace,
Like the cloudlets, which spread abroad;
The distant blue mountains ready themselves, too,
To bear the hallmark of the new Sun,
Which comes racing with bejeweled wheels.

*Pay heed to the form of the early morning.

(6) See, on the other side, early Morning[5] has already covered over
With the fine azure of lake pigments[6]
The great vault of heaven and, concealed beneath,
The lamps that illuminate the night;
Moreover, the visage of the bringer of day, fiery in its glow,
Has come to bedew the tresses of Tellus,[7]*
And, bepearled with droplets,
The tufted grassy garment of the green World.

*Tellus is the Earth; the Hair, the plants and grasses that are bedewed.

(7) See there the fiery yellow ball of the Sun,*
Already risen, having raced aloft
While we stood turning to look elsewhere;[8]
See over there the hunters and hunting dogs
Passing through the green dewy fields:
Aye, see what the trodden dew tells us,
Giving away with a greener green,
Whither they've gone, by the spoor of their footsteps.[9]

*Observe how the fields appear blue-green when seen in the raking light of the Sun, and descry therein the footsteps of the hunters and hunting dogs that have passed through.

(8) See, the whole of the distant Landscape takes on
The form of the Air, seeming almost to subside into it.[10]*
Stationary mountains appear to be moving clouds,
On either side of the vanishing point, like floor tiles.[11]
All that we see on the plain—
Ditches, furrows—narrows as it recedes.
Take note of this, be not vexed,
For it will make your backgrounds retreat into the distance.

*To let the distant landscape fade away into the air, or to effect it sweetly.

(9) Pay attention to recession and diminution:*
I speak of what one sees in life
Even if the matter at hand isn't masonry, for [the depiction of] which
Strict Rules are required; yet must you know

*It behooves us to take note of foreshortening.

How rightly to set on the Horizon your eye's vantage point
and the vanishing point;[12]**
That is, on the high-water line:
Everything below, one sees from above,
And conversely, what is shifted, one sees from below.

**The "Orisont" is where Sky and water part, or alternatively, where Earth and air part.

(10) Refrain from executing your backgrounds too dimly
And distribute your darks less generously than your lights,
Giving thought to the density of the blue-bodied Air,
Which permeates vision,
And quite obscures the effort clear-sightedly to apprehend.
On occasion, one shall here and there make it seem
As if the Sun were shining through clouds,
Casting its light down upon Cities, and Mountains.[13]

(11) Besides, one shall obscure*
The cities, sometimes wholly, sometimes partially,
Shadowing them with clouds; further shall one be mindful
Not to omit the colorful countenance of the sky
In the mirrorlike water;
And well it stands to follow the old custom,
Letting the zones of sky blend skillfully, from above to below,
And sometimes, too, [allowing] the Sun to shine.

*On shadowing mountains and cities with clouds, and letting clouds be seen in the water.

(12) But here let blustery weather be debarred,
When the sea and gushing streams are roiled:
Now, on occasion I wonder at the thought,*
Of how the colors of Apelles, being so few [in number],
Did thunder and flash with lightning,[15]
[Colors] that we now have in such abundance and purity,
Ready at hand for the portrayal of rare things.
How could they not incite in us the desire to imitate?

*Apelles painted with no more than four colors, so Pliny says, and produced lightning, thunder, and other such things: we who have so many colors must likewise desire to follow nature in everything.[14]

(13) Then occasionally let raging waves wetly be portrayed,*
Stirred by the messengers of Eolus,[16]
The work of black thunderclouds,[17] ill-favored and spectral,
And crooked lightning bolts, which come flying
Through the dark air of thunderstorms,
From out of the hand of the highest of the Gods,
Whose rule every mortal creature endowed with a Soul
Appears to fear.

*On painting stormy weather, sea storms, thunder, and lightning.

(14) Furthermore, one must explore how with color[s]*
To depict snow, hail, squalls,
Glazed frost, hoarfrost, and suffocating, oppressive mists,
All of which are necessary,
For the portrayal of gloomy winter days,
When the eyes can hardly manage
To see towers, houses, or into Cities, Villages,
Or farther than a stone's throw.

*On painting winters, snow, hail, gloomy weather, and mists.

(15) Some folks reproach us,*
For never portraying fair weather,
For always making the air stormy and overcast,
Ceding to Apollo the merest little hole[18]
Wherethrough to cast his gaze earthward
Toward his Mother, albeit to his discontent,[19]
And wherefrom in vain, his besotted flowers,
Turn, to lay hold of his beautiful countenance.[20]

*Painters are called to task for never painting good weather, but instead always [filling] the sky with clouds.

(16) Consequently, in order to avoid all these missteps,
Let us now disencumber the sky from clouds,
From time to time laying it totally bare,*
Spread over with purest blue of azure and smalt,[21]
But with clean implements, to ensure that everything remains unsullied,
And set [the blues] down sweetly, the lightest lowest,
So that next to the heaviness of the Element Earth
The greatest brightness be always joined.

*Make the skies a very pure blue, fading into a lighter shade below.

(17) If we wish there to show the yellow sun,*
We will flowingly wreath it
Round about with red lakes and a somewhat purplish tint.[22]
But a substance so pure and brilliant will never be ours,
We are powerless to command it.
Our Art, howsoever great or glorious, is remiss in this respect.
On this account, we may ourselves well fault our work,
For our Torches fail to shine so splendidly.

*Paint the sun, although its clarity cannot be emulated.

(18) Would that we knew (after the Poet's words)
How to fashion up above, at the four-horse chariot,
The secret theft of Prometheus:[23]
Still enduring punishment, on our behalf.

Let us now descend to the earthly depths,*
Nimbly sallying forth to the Landscape-grounds,
Which men are wont to subdivide on canvases and panels
For the most part into thirds and fourths.

*On the subdivision of Landscape-grounds.

(19) Above all, it shall befit our foreground*
Always to be forceful, in order to make everything else recede,[24]
And to place up front something large,
As did Bruegel, and others of great name,
On whom men confer the victor's palm for Landscape:
For in the work of these worthy Persons,
Forceful tree trunks are much to be found in the foreground.
Let us burn with zeal to imitate such as these.[25]

*Sharply defined foregrounds, and within them, something large.

(20) Now must I mention something essential,
Which greatly enhances the well-being [of our landscapes]:[26]
Namely, that starting from the foreground,*
One should bind each thing fast to the next,
As Neptune, in his domains, does with the waves,
Which observe how they roll, one into the other;
And thus shall you let the ground undulate,[27]
Rather than piling it heap upon heap.

*On interlayering grounds, one upon the other.

(21) If we weave together our [fore-, middle-, and back-] grounds,*
Letting the one issue from the other
In the manner that twisting serpents creep,
Then will our hopes for a good effect of distance be met;[28]
For the backgrounds must recede forcefully.
We will avoid pushing Mountains, Hills, Dikes,**
Up against each other, a hard brown next to a sweet light,
But instead avail ourselves of half-tints.[29]

*When the grounds interpenetrate well, the landscape will recede well.

**Do not place strong dark grounds against light ones.

(22) Set no Buildings in the foreground,*
Unless you have there something story-like,
Composed half of Landscape, half of figures;[30]
Proceed as necessity dictates, but otherwise avoid
An oppressive state of affairs, and do not smother the place;
Rather, as befits the situation,
Cultivate your [fore-]ground, though not too copiously,
By growing [there] a few fine plants.

*Large buildings will not look good in the foreground, just a few fine plants, but not too many.

(23) Much variety, both of color and form,
Must be what we imitate, wisely and sensibly;[31]
For that brings with it a great and much-prized beauty:
But in addition to this, let us refrain*
From [portraying] Cities, Buildings, Mountains, or any other thing,
Without circumspection, too copiously;[32]
For an all-too-muchness greatly detracts from pleasurable consonance,[33]
Be it nothing more than too many distant views.

*Too many Mountains, Cities, Buildings, or distances miscarry.

(24) The Italians paint Landscapes*
Seldom but artfully, almost without peer,
And usually let one see
But one view into the distance, and very solidly construct
The Grounds and Cities, yea, whatsoever they lay out:[34]
Besides Tintoretto,[35] the specially great
Titian, whose woodcuts are here our lessons,[36]
And in addition, the things to be seen by that Painter of Brescia.[37]

*The Italian Landscapists, few in number but skillful, for the most part fashion but one view into the distance, and are adept at the construction of fine, solid [fore- and middle-]grounds.

(25) Beside these I should wish proudly to celebrate[38]
The fine coloring and artful disposition
Of ingenious Bruegel's works and prints,*
In which, as in the rocky-horned Alps,
He teaches us to make, without great vexation,
Deep distant views into dizzying valleys,
Steep cliffs, cloud-kissing Pines,
Far distances and rushing streams.[39]

*The Landscapes and prints of Bruegel as examples.

(26) On rising, hilly, barren ground
Let no beautiful bluish greens be coaxed [into view],*
As appear in low-lying Meadowed Dales,
Which damp places, Cynthian Apollo with his radiant arrows,
Even under the signs of the Crab, Lion, and Maiden,[40]
Can do little or nothing to fade,
Nor diminish their beautiful green color,
Like unto the precious stone of the Medes.[41]

*On differentiating mountains and valleys with color.

(27) But in the joyful season of Spring,
It behooves us to attend to the noble
Adornments of jewel-like colors, and to be diligent
In producing that Emerald and Sapphire green[42]

Pavement with its variegated squares,
And, coiling their way amidst them, the flourishes*
Of murmuring, Crystal-clear streams
Flowing between green, grassy banks.

*Brooks that wind through the meadows.

(28) With tender rushes, reeds, and sword-like irises,*
We shall plant both sides
Of these winding watercourses, places of comfort to Fishes,
And the standing Pools as well, we shall enliven
By mirroring in them their shrub-strewn banks,[43]
Where the gentlest of Eolus's messengers[44]
Romps with his beloved friend, and they take their delight,
On the beauteous tapestry of the Hinniden.[45]**

*On embellishing waterways and banks and shores with irises and greenery.

**Hinniden are Goddesses of meadows, or of marshy pasturelands, as Tommaso Porcacchi attests.[46]

(29) Rushing streams with swelling curves,
One shall give leave to wander through these marshlands,
And allow water ever to search for hollows,*
And beside them build (in order boldly to display one's Art)
Cities reaching for higher ground,
With Fortresses on Clifftops, fallen into ruin:
Now climbing a bit higher, let us attend
To ample fields subdivided into bounded zones.

*Water in the lowlands always, fortresses on clifftops.

(30) To one side, Ceres, with blonde ears of corn,[47]*
On the other a field still full of unripe oats,
Whither Eurus, to bide his time, comes sailing in,
Making of the farmland a sea of green waves
With a gentle, murmuring roar;[48]
Here blooming vetch, there buckwheat and clover,
Red and blue flowers amongst the corn and wheat,
And bountiful flax with its Heavenly color.

*Fields with their ripe fruits, wherein the wind gambols.

(31) Ploughed Farmlands, too, cut through with furrows,*
Or sometimes fields, their harvests reaped,
Now Grasslands and Greenswards, just as they should be,
With canals, hedges, or winding roads:
Then I know not what curious fancies
Of Herders' huts and Peasants' hamlets,**
Built into cliffside grottoes, hollowed out trees, or on staves;
Thus we shall construct them, [adding] walls and roofs,

*On occasion, ploughed fields, and pathways, but one must see where the paths begin and end.

**On peasants' curious houses and herdsmen's huts.

(32) Not with fine red tiles, but with rocks,*
With earth, reed, and straw, remnants and oddments,
Curiously plastered, and covered with moss;
And behind and beyond, blue-tinted woodlands,
On grounds of ash, brushed with white,[50]
Applied on dry blue, so that they stand out,
And finely rendered light tree trunks,
Clustering thickly as they recede.

*Paint no bright, sharply defined roofs with vermilion or red lead, rather, everything as it appears in life.[49]

(33) The smallest Trees, one shall simply stipple,
But before rushing to the foreground trees,
Let us climb the steep cliffs,*
Which the driving clouds dampen with their wet lips,
Washing the topmost summits.
In general, their color is much like light ash,[51]
And sometimes their bare horns protrude
From the midst of a dense pine forest.

*Give to rocky cliffs and everything else their proper colors.

(34) Yes, indeed, the fearful rocks, that fill full*
The Swiss lands, and divide the French from the Italians,[52]
The North Wind's port of call, brimming with white lightning;
From here betimes arise peaks so high
They resemble clouds, with Castles just below:
Here give Echo her due, and imitate as well, O, you Brushes,
The water's rushing noise, as it comes tumbling down,
Raging amongst shattered stones.[53]

*On boulders, rocky substrates, and waterfalls.

(35) See there the stones, like ferrous icicles,
Hanging from the waterfall's rocks,
Green with moss, and the drunken flood,
Entirely unloosed, rambling circuitously,
Until it reaches the bottommost point, where, all higgledy-piggledy,
It cuts sinuous waterways: now imitating the likeness of Serpents.
Observe, how the Resinous Pines grow here,
And how strangely they lie about: who could dream up such a thing?

(36) And now, to drive away sadness, have we come
To the shadowy realm of the Hamadryads;[54]*
That is, to the Trees, which grace and adorn
The whole of one's work, if they are well done,

*On Trees and dark woodlands.

But if [poorly done], disgrace it, and thus is it expedient,
To acquire a subtle, fine manner,**
A good stroke, for the leaves;[56]
For therein lies their power, one must agree.[57]

**Search for a fine stroke for the leaves.[55]

(37) But were you to test every manner,
After the life or after [another master's] pleasant handling,
Constantly practicing on paper prepared [with a colored ground],
Fashioning leaves with swirls of ink wash,
Hoping in time to reach a good outcome:
Yet 'twould not seem, like [drawing] the muscular body, a teachable art:
For leaves, hair, the sky, and drapery,*
That is all spirit, and the spirit teaches how to fashion them.[58]

*Leaves, hair, the sky, and drapery are difficult to learn, being things of the spirit.

(38) One may well make use of various [species of] leaves,*
And may, in particular, enkindle various colors:
The yellow-green of oaken foliage, the pale leaves of pollarded willows.
One will not round the treetops into a ball,**
As if they had been trimmed with a comb.
And on all sides of the tree trunks,
One will let the branches grow out,
The stoutest ones beneath, the weaker ones above.[59]

*Various leaves and colors of trees.

**Treetops must not be clipped [like a topiary].

(39) Well-fashioned tree trunks must likewise be found,*
Thick underneath, and thinning as they rise;
On occasion, distinguish amongst bare white birches,
Chestnuts,[60] and lindens, and also twist
The wrinkled bark of the oak, and the green ivy;[61]
And the straight trunks as well, good for spanning
Sails, into which the wind may blow,
Clothe them all in their green foliage.

*On tree trunks and branches.

(40) Well contrived trees conduce to the best advantage:*
Whether they be great in height, or form part of spindly woodlands,
Whether they be yellower, or greener, make the foliage to turn
From the underside over, but in order to avoid [an effect of] dryness,[62]
Don't make the leaves too delicate or small,
And in fashioning them, expend your every effort
To intersperse forking little branches,
Some supplely bending upward, others downward.

*On devising trees well.

(41) It were good to know your little stories in advance,*
Whether from Prose, or Poetry, as you please,
All the better to arrange your Landscape with respect to them,
But above all forget not
To place small Figures beside large Trees,[63]**
And, having constructed your little World,[64] place some figures here ploughing,
Others there harvesting, over there loading wagons,
Yet others fishing, sailing, bird-catching, and hunting.

*It is good to know one's History in advance.

**Small figures beside large Trees.

(42) Here, along the green coasts, let the hands of Peasant Maids*
Draw Milk from the lactating little fountains,
There let Tityrus amuse Amaryllis, his much beloved sweetheart,[65]
By playing a tune on his little flute,
While, seated at rest beneath the beech tree,
He diverts his flocks with sweet melody;
Yea, activate your Countryside, City, and Waterways,
Populate your houses, and make your roadways trafficked.

*On little figures in the Landscape.

(43) Here it seems entirely fitting to mention Ludius,[66]*
Who lived at the time of the Emperor Augustus,
And was the first to discover how to paint ably and artfully**
On outer Walls or inner chambers:
Peasants' Houses, Farmsteads, Vineyards, country roads,
Also, dense Woodlands, and high Hillsides,
Ponds, Brooks, Streams, Harbors, and seashores.
What you will, he fashioned with skillful hands.

*Here the example of Ludius. Pliny, book 35, chapter 10.[67]

**Read about this in his life.[68]

(44) Here he placed people at leisure,*
Wandering about and strolling;
Others who, to pass the time, set out
On the water, taking their pleasure,
In shoreside Landscapes, wagons fully loaded;
And he placed donkeys in fields and on paths,
Next to the peasant houses and yards,
As well as other things that touch upon agriculture.

*An example of Landscapes adorned with little figures.

(45) Sometimes, here and there he'd place folks catching fish,
With angling rods, baited deceptively;
Others who satisfied their craving to hunt game birds,
Or to capture fleet hares,

Harts, boars, or who gathered in the vintage:
To furnish Landscape with such things, cleverly distributed,
Answered to his desire.
The spirit that delights in Art produces wondrous contrivances.

(46) Amongst his works, the one
Most admired by his contemporaries,
Was the one that he had specially made,
In this wise: a marshy dale,*
And a cluster of yards, wherein the adjacent paths
Were slippery, difficult to traverse without sliding;
All these things, worthy of perusal, he portrayed,
And there he depicted women slipping and falling.

*A fine geegaw: slippery paths, and folks slipping and tumbling down.

(47) One of them he made to move gingerly,
Trembling and fearful of falling down with a bang,
And another hunched over, standing crookedly,
As if carrying on her head or shoulders
A very heavy burden: yes, indeed, to sum up in closing,
He knew how to shower his work from within
With ten thousand pleasant little things.[69]
And just so many I now leave it to you to think up.

End of Landscape.

On Cattle, Animals, and Birds
The Ninth Chapter

(1) We ought to devote not the least care
To portraying various animals well:[1]*
Lest we linger too long
Over other things, without once endeavoring
At the same time to bring into view[2]
This rare branch [of art], for fear of playing
The part of Dionisius, who could fashion
To his liking nothing but Human figures.[3]

*To fashion well-beseeming
Animals is a worthy task.

(2) He received the epithet *Anthropographus*
(That is, Painter of Persons) in consequence;
For even if one has the ability to portray
The limbs of the Human Body in a reasonable and comely way,
And considers oneself special in this respect,
Yet is it more praiseworthy to be practiced in all things:*
Thus, to be considered an exceptional
Painter, you must be skillful at everything.

*Let one strive to be universal.

(3) We may commence at this juncture
By teaching about the tame Beasts,*
Amongst which the noblest livestock, of greatest worth,
Are the helpful, valiant horses:**
Noble (I say), because in horses are found
Many characteristics: like Dogs
They are true to their Masters, whom they love,
And their free, lofty spirit cannot be subjugated.[4]

*On tame Beasts.

**On the Horse.

(4) The Horse contemns fear, nay rather, it goes forth*
To confront armored troops, stout of heart, impetuous,
And rather than fleeing the sword, paws with its hooves,
Smells [imminent] battle when, in character like the hart,
It hears the sweet sound of Trumpets.[5]
Pleasant recreation entertains it, and it is tractable yet forceful;
Swift as the Wind (as Poets attest),
It learns to honor its Master, bending the knee to him.[6]

*Characteristics of the Horse.

(5) The Horse of Caesar, the Dictator, allowed itself to be ridden*
By no one, other than its Master:[7]
The Horse of King Nicomedes, in days of old,
Died soon after its master's death, by starving itself:
Another, having dishonorably bred with its own mother,
Disgraced by the scandal, tormented greatly by compunction,
Once its blindfold was removed,
Sprang aggrieved from a mountaintop, breaking every limb.

*Examples of the nature of the Horse.

(6) Shall I refrain from mentioning the Horse of the King of the Scythians,
That murdered its Master's murderer?[8]
Or the Horse of Centeretus, that threw itself with Antiochus
From a clifftop, out of rancorous wrath,
Exacting from him the price of its Master's death?[9]
Shall I keep silent about all of this? Or about Bucephalus,
Whose wonderful deeds, one after another,
Caused Alexander to name a Monument and a City after him?[10]

(7) Yea, I must needs omit many things, lest I stray
From my purpose: for better it were to defer
To Pliny's own Book about Horse*
Tournaments, wherein (so he says) he described,
Hauling out of locked storage,[11]
Everything that pertains to the beautiful appearance of a fine, full-grown steed;
Which [Book] the gnawing teeth of ancient time has nullified,
Along with many other Books, whose loss many lament in vain.[12]

*Pliny had himself written a Book on Horses. Pliny, book 8, chapter 42.

(8) Shall I not then instruct you to draw three circles
Of a certain measure, one for the buttocks,
One for the breast, and the third sufficing
For the body; next, to set upright upon it in a measured way
The bending neck, and without anomaly to assign the right
Proportion to everything?[13] Feather-light is the will,
Heavy as lead the ability: Wishing and accomplishing
Inhabit different houses.

(9) Given how difficult this is to accomplish, and since I neither
Much prize [fixed] measurements nor wish you
To accustom yourselves to a plodding manner:
And desiring to reveal the secrets of the arts to you,

Solely by means of what my pen has written, without illustrative images:*
Behold, I shall now provide you
With Circumstantial Details, necessary to know in advance:
Listen first, if you will, to what makes for a beautiful Horse.

*My intention is to demonstrate in writing, not by means of pictorial images.

(10) Paying close attention to the well-formed Horse:*
Let the horns of the hooves be lustrous jet black,
Raised and running round darkly and smoothly,
Its shanks short, neither too bent nor too straight,
The front legs long, slender in appearance,
Well sinewed, and the knees venous, as if chiseled,
Altogether leanly muscled; indeed, to be concise,
Resembling nothing more closely than the legs of a Hart.[14]

*The form of a Horse, and its beauty.

(11) Make the breast broad and full,
Similarly the shoulders and croup,
The flanks round, the belly trim, the back unbent.
The body large, a channel running along the backbone,
The neck long and wide, the flesh quite creased,
The mane long, falling down the right flank,
The tail hanging down, almost touching the ground,
Or finely braided.

(12) Round and fat, the buttocks should quiver,
But the head shall be small, thin and dry,
The brow we wish to be nothing but bone,
The ears sharp, never still,
The mouth ample, the nostrils large, each eye
Likewise large and convex, and moreover, one must
Endeavor as much as possible to give each hair its proper color,
In keeping with the many examples to be seen in life.

(13) Let us now speak somewhat about color:*
In his *Georgics* Maro recounts
That the brown-red, the blue-gray, are the most beautiful overall,
The white and sallow yellow, uglier by far:[15]
But you, Painter, are free to stray whithersoever you wish,
And to fashion whatsoever there is—piebald, white and yellow;
So long as it proves expedient, making your work
Stand out, I shall speak nothing against it.

*The Painter shall find favor through the coloring of Horses, or other Beasts.

(14) 'Tis true, brown-red is not to be despised:
One may insert it wheresoever one will in one's work,
In the foreground, to make it stand out powerfully,
Or elsewhere: but I tell you, attend to*
The luster and shine of hide,
As we see this revealed in Sunshine,
As well as on black coats: but you shall specially be thanked,
If you pay attention to the flickering hair of the flanks.

*Attend to the luster of fur, and the direction in which the hair grows.

(15) Closely observe various breeds, such as the Horses of Spain,* *Diverse Nations of Horses.
Fine in contour; so too, the Turkish, the Barbary,
The Neapolitan, or the horses of the Roman Campagna:[16]
How the hair of some is brown Chestnut,
And others look as if they have been
Coated in honey; it is nigh impossible to elucidate
How Nature in this respect, too, appears inclined
To cultivate her exceptional variety.

(16) Who could gainsay that a beautiful apple-gray color,[17]* *More on the coloring of Horses.
In which the hide seems as if partitioned overall into scales,
Is a delight to see: further, Nature will on occasion deceive us
(So it seems) into thinking that a [Horse's] white hide
Is spread over with little flies,
Amongst many other such effects; but we must keep in mind,
That the mouths and noses of Horses ought to have
Their proper color, and so, too, their tails and manes.

(17) One shall sometimes adorn a brown horse with four white feet,
And a star on its brow;
One must also attend to *Actitude*,*
Just as applies to a human figure, so that [the Horse] moves
Stands, jumps, and turns in a sweet, well-tempered way.
[Observe,] too, the white froth that they strew**
Upon the field, and all the signs therein that declare
How they passed galloping over it.[18]

*Attitude of Horses.

**On the froth of Horses.

(18) An exceptional painter once found himself much vexed,*
As the great Valerius [Maximus] describes:
He had fashioned a Horse, astonishingly
Beautiful, and when, to make headway in Art,

*Example of a Painter who fashioned the froth [of a Horse] by chance.

He wished, amongst other things,
To depict the froth that issued from the Horse's mouth,
This skillful artisan, though he expended much time and effort,
Did so in vain.[19]

(19) He could not bring his artful work
To a good end, nor live up to his expectation,
Howsoever he tried; and thus, by such an unworthy
Trifle, a thing of little regard,
He was tormented. It exasperated him so,
That intending to vandalize [his picture], he flung at it
The sponge with which he wiped away his pigments,
But the matter, as it happened, redounded to his pleasure.

(20) For the spatter of the sponge remained
Hanging, by mere chance, upon the Horse's mouth,
As would natural froth, and thus did his intention
And labor come of a happy end, by dint of luck
And not Art, though in effect it's all the same:[20]
To summarize: one discovers here with what zeal
And diligence [Painters] of old, as best they could,
Endeavored to portray every property [of Animals].

(21) In Rome, in the hall of Constantine,*
The froth [of Horses] is judiciously portrayed.[21]
Protogenes, as Pliny testifies,
Could not fashion, by his own opinion,
The froth of a Dog, and proceeded, on account of such a minor,**
Impracticable thing, to attack his work
With a sponge, in the same manner just recounted;
Here again, the result was so good, that it elicited everyone's praise.[22]

*Example of a Horse's froth, in the Battle of Constantine in the Belvedere.

**Example of a Dog's froth.

(22) For at first, the froth, rather than looking natural,
Says Pliny, instead departed too much
From what is true to life, and appeared diligently painted,
In an artificially contrived way, whereas he wished it to flow
Unbidden from [the Horse's] mouth, and labored much on it.
Nealcas, too, made a Youth leading
Or holding a Horse, and fondling it,
Wherein his sponge produced a similar miracle [of Art].[23]*

*Another Example of froth.

(23) Therefore, whenever circumstances permit, we, too,
Should attend to the froth of Horses, with diligent persistence,
And howsoever such things be done, whether with the thumbs,
Or with a sponge, or in some other way out of the ordinary,
If the result looks good, I hold it in esteem:*
But we can grasp the great assiduity
Formerly applied to portraying Horses well,
From the Prize that was won thereby.

*Whatever turns out well is good.

(24) Apelles, the chief Painter of the Ancients,
And several other Painters of his time,
Herein held amongst themselves a competition:*
But he, fearing that envious men
Might judge him unfavorably,
Showing their bias for the other side,
To the advantage of his competitors in this affair,
Preferred much more to trust to the judgment of the Beasts themselves.[24]

*Men formerly expended much effort on Horses, for thereby was a Prize to be won.

(25) Accordingly, he had living Horses brought*
Before the coursers painted by his competitors,
But it went amiss for them; for the [Horses]
Passed by, like muzzled Oxen, loosing their voices not a wit:
But when they went by Apelles's work, upon espying it
They began to snort, and to move about;
Such a judgment passed by unerring Beasts
Came to be esteemed all the more after the fact.

*Apelles desired to have the judgment of Beasts: Horses snort at his painted Horses.

(26) This contest of our Predecessors prompts us to acknowledge,
How they strove to attain mastery of Art,
As [their] existing works also demonstrate:
The four bronze Horses, for example, exceptionally beautiful,*
Above the church portal in Venice,[25]
And, on show in Rome on the Capitoline Hill,
The Horse cast in bronze, that surpasses Nature,
Wanting only in life, but in Art, flawless.[26]

*Examples of very beautiful Antique Horses, in Venice, in Rome.

(27) In addition, the Horses on Monte Cavallo,
The handiwork of Praxiteles and Phidias,[27]
By means of all these, without losing one's way,
One may attain to the knowledge of beauty,

To right understanding, and to a worthy paragon:
For there is nothing I know in any place or Land of the World,
Better suited to vouchsafe to us
The best of life, and the most beautiful.

(28) That the ancients availed themselves of flayed bodies,*
Will brook no doubt, and so, too, of [flayed] Animals,
Whereby they amply investigated all things:
Now I would wish
To introduce you, O eager spirits,
To the properties of other Creatures, and proceed,**
As follows, exhaustively to describe the greater part of Cattle,
Such as Bulls, Oxen, and Cows.

*The Ancients availed themselves of flayed Horses.

**On other Creatures.

(29) Although Heifers, Cows, Oxen, and Bulls,
Share a similar form, and are readily graced
With similar characteristics,
Yet are the Bulls less good-natured
In the cast of their eyes, but more forbidding
In the way they stare, and the hair of their ears
Is as thick at that of Oxen, though usually,
Their horns are much shorter and smaller.[28]*

*Bulls have shorter horns than Oxen.

(30) The Mantuan, giving instruction to Peasants,
Considers it worthy of note and praiseworthy,
To cultivate a breed of cow, good in form,*
That resembles a Bull, its face fearsome,
That takes aim with its horns, and is loath to pull the plough,
Marked with many colors, flecked with white,
Its neck long, its feet and limbs large,
Its long tail grazing the ground.[29]

*On the form of Cows.

(31) The flanks must be long, not sunken,
The horns bent above a pair of roughly tufted ears,
The dewlap hanging down from the chin,
Almost reaching the shins:
This lesson Maro delivered to the Peasants.
But as I have said above,
Neither Cows nor Heifers should be painted to appear
As forbidding or rough as Bulls and Oxen.

(32) For usually or commonly, the Female sex*
Of all Creatures is found to be
More slender, sleek, delicate,
And agreeable in disposition, as one observes
Amongst Persons, as well as Cats and Dogs.[30]
One shall encircle the horns**
Of Bulls or Oxen with locks of hair, and with curls,
Rolling down from the forehead to the nose.

*Amongst many creatures, the females, or the she-animals, are softer and smoother than the males, or the he-animals.

**On Bulls.

(33) You shall refrain from giving Cows and Heifers
Shaggy coats of overly rough fur,
But shall instead let their graceful limbs cut a fine figure:*
In particular (pay close attention to this),
Distributed amongst their fellows,
Let some heifers be found, fattened up [beforehand] in their stalls,
Nicely muscled, with full haunches,
Such that your eyes will be grateful for the sight of them.

*Some graceful young Cows, or Heifers.

(34) As for the contemplation of great beauty:[31]
Go and make an effort everywhere to practice
After this living thing and that.
And pay close attention, too, to the coloring*
Of Oxen and Cows, red, gray, and sallow yellow,
Wonderfully spotted all over,
With paired ears always similar in appearance,**
The one ear differing from the other not even in one flecked hair.

*The coloring of Cows.

**Cows and Oxen, etc., their [paired] ears always colored alike.

(35) This you may verify by paying heed to the Cows
You see grazing on the green:
But above all, I advise you not
To fashion Cows with deplorably long heads,*
As others are wont to make them after the life:
And take advantage of good, powerful colors,
And in coloring any Creature after the life, you shall
Confer on it a pleasing grace.[32]

*Long heads are deplorable.

(36) What profit is there in constantly advising you
To work after stone and bronze,
When Bassano, rich in art, whose dignity herein*
None can match, holds a singular advantage

*The Animal-painter of Bassano prized as an Example.

In [the depiction of] Beasts?[33]
Curly-haired sheep, and rough-haired goats,
Birds, Fish, Fruits, stuffs,
He portrayed after the life; for from here they may be extracted.

(37) But to demonstrate that amongst the Ancients
There were many fine souls
Who painted and sculpted such things,
Letting their industry shine forth, Pausias may be held out*
For an example, who was the first, many years ago,
To paint a Sacrifice at an Altar,
The sacrificial Ox standing foreshortened:
Into this [Ox] he infused his lively Art.[34]

*Example of the ancient [painter] Pausias.

(38) Whereas others would have positioned it sideways,
And modeled it with highlights, he readily placed it
Head first, applying few or no*
Highlights, but with forceful shading
Made it both project and recede, so that it appeared beguiling,
And though produced without much effort,
More subtle than any other. Nicias of Athens**
Was likewise exceptionally gifted in olden days

*Example of the foreshortening of Beasts.

**Example of Nicias.

(39) [He excelled] at painting Beasts, especially
Dogs, and he fashioned a very fine Diana,
Also the metamorphosis of Calisto into a Bear,
And of Io into a Cow: but there is
No need to adduce here his other works.
Let it suffice to acknowledge
The wonderful art with which he painted
Four-footed Creatures well in multiple manners.[35]

(40) Now we may proceed further by talking about*
Two artful brothers from Rhodes,
Apollonius and Tauriscus, sculptors
Of Figures, whose bounding Bull
All eyes can see in Rome, untrammeled by time;
There, too, is Dirce (who, fancied by the Gods, was afterward
Turned into a Stream of Water)
And with her, Zetus and Amphion, beautiful nudes.[36]

*Example of the Bull, to be seen in Rome, in the Palazzo Farnese.

(41) These Figures, the Bull, and even the ropes
With which Dirce was bound to her shame,
Were skillfully wrought, and not assembled
Piece by piece, but expertly carved from a single
White Marble block:
And transported by Ship from Rhodes,
Over the billowing sea and across sandbanks,
To Rome, where it still stands, housed in a wooden pavilion.

(42) How, O Myron, shall I let languish*
In dark obscurity, the Heifer you cast [in bronze],
More artful than any other such work,
Whose living likeness, the Greek Poets went on to praise
In many Epigrams?[37]**
From a full complement of twelve, the first runs as follows:
Herdsman, drive all your cows elsewhere,***
Lest this [Heifer] go to stall with yours.

*Example of the young Cow, or Heifer, in cast bronze, by Myron.

**Epigrams by the Ancients, in praise of the Heifer [of Myron].

***The first Epigram.

(43) No image of a Cow am I, but rather, by Myron*
Was I set upon this stone, the cause being [his] rancorous indignation
At my having grazed upon the grass of his field.
What's worthy of note is that I'm Myron the Cowherd's Cow,**
And no concocted image: thus will you set to,
Prick my flanks and lead me to go ploughing.
Why, Myron, have you left me here waiting?***
When will you set me free and drive me to my stall?

*The second Epigram.

**The third Epigram.

***The fourth Epigram.

(44) Upon seeing me, the Calf must low, and the Bull must needs go courting,*
And the young herdsman
Shall drive me to pasture in green fields.
Even though Myron did cast me in bronze,**
And set me up here, still would I bellow and sough
Like a Bull, if only he had given me a tongue.
A wasp, seeing this Cow, was deceived:***
Never have I stung, said the wasp, any Cowhide this hard.

*The fifth Epigram.

**The sixth Epigram.

***The Seventh Epigram.

(45) Here Myron holds me fast, and Herders prod*
And strike me, for they think that, hopeful in love,
I'm lingering behind for the Bulls.
Why, Calf, do you creep up to my teats?**

*The eighth Epigram.

**The ninth Epigram.

It pleased Art to endow my udder with no milk.
Why, Myron, do you hold me fast upon this stony***
Base? Had you seen fit to harness me to a yoke,
I would have pulled the plough through your fields.

***The tenth Epigram.

(46) Unless a person were to touch my back*
With his hands, he might look at me however he wished,
From far or from near, and still not hold me to account
For being cast in hard bronze.
If Myron does not quickly dislodge my feet**
From this pillar, then I'll not elude
Death, but were he to set me loose,
Then I'd wander through the flowers like other Cows.

*The eleventh Epigram.

**The twelfth Epigram.

(47) Who could satisfy your hungry desire,
O Youth, by here portraying [for you] every Animal,
Not only Lions, but also Monsters and Dragons,
Fit to instill terror? To prevent you from straying,*
I can do nothing better than direct you to Nature,
Where you shall discover a singular model.
Notice how each [Animal] lies, lopes, steps, and ambles,
But fashion them so that all are subtly rendered.

*There's nothing better than to paint all things after the life, and above all, to render everything subtly.

End of the Animals.

On Fabrics or Drapery
The Tenth Chapter

(1) We now have a singular matter to consider,*
Opportune for the well-being of the art of painting,
That is, Fabrics:[1] which duly befit the naked body
(As Bread Forms a complement to Wine):
For poverty and shame teach us to cover
The Body, and to attire ourselves with clothes,
Especially here, in cold Northern climes, beneath the Great Bear,
Which hangs ever present over our heads.

*Fabrics, an excellent branch [of Art], expedient to its well-being.

(2) The human Body, wondrously beautiful in its creation,*
Transcends in honor every variety of linen,
Worm-spun silk, and garment of Tyrian purple:
So, too, those born and bred in the peaceably disposed Kingdom of Saturn,
Whose soles are planted opposite to ours,
Know no shame, caring nothing for clothes:[2]**
Nevertheless, reason, here urging an honorable reserve,
Teaches us the just measure of modest clothing.

*The well-created Human body, more beautiful than any clothing.

**In the Indies, people walk about naked, but shame teaches us here to clothe ourselves.

(3) One's clothing shall match one's condition,*
In proportion to a person's honorable station:
Kings in purple, adorned with Crowns,**
And carefree Youths, rejoicing to prettify themselves,
Will [wear] glittering colors, exquisitely fine,
And white will best pertain to Maidens: to all this,
Painters must pay careful attention,
Placing on view persons clothed according to their condition.

*Clothing correspondent to persons.

**Likewise the colors of clothing, each fitted to [a person's] nature and age.

(4) Black, as ever it does, will signify sorrow,
About which I have written in its proper place;[3]
In this color Widows and older Folks
Are clothed; similarly let it be done
With Herdsmen and Mariners, giving them roughly woven
Varieties of gray woolens,[4]
Broadly fitted to the body, with heavy folds,
And sparingly trimmed with a few beautiful colors.

(5) All that Arachne's art produces fully,[5]*
We must observe attentively and diligently,
Beginning with Stuffs that Weavers roll in the rough
From their beams, and woollens, and other [Stuffs] as well,
Twills, Serges,[6] Silks, fashioning each [fabric's] folds
According to their proper characteristics: so that our Stuffs
Be made in a natural way, whether hanging flat or lying creased,
Rather than [looking like] ropes, cords, or tubes.

*Various Fabrics, their varied folds and creases to be observed.

(6) Raw Linen, like wet Paper, makes
Angular folds, with sharp corners.[7]
One amply sees the manner in which*
Dürer's creased Stuffs lie about:[8]
But the painting of finely spun cloth,[9]
Of the sort worn by the Christ child in pictures of the Virgin Mary,**
May best be sought out and found
In [the works of] Mabuse, to speak candidly.[10]

*Example of Dürer's Stuffs.

**Example of Mabuse's little cloths.

(7) But in the folding of Fabrics, most worthy of praise,
This deserves scrupulously to be observed:
The outermost garment or mantle of a male or female figure*
Shall be made thicker
Than any item of clothing worn underneath.
Now, I feel and find great pleasure**
in the flowing Stuffs of Lucas van Leyden,
From which the moderns have somewhat departed.[12]

*Coarser fabrics on top, not beneath.[11]

**Example of Lucas van Leyden's stuffs.

(8) I advise no one to forbear
From learning how to fashion
Various types of Fabrics after the life, as did Lucas*
Ceaselessly, or so someone who knew him
Attests about this widely admired man;[13]
Yet Stuffs even more than foliage, hair, or beards**
Are a spirited pursuit, yes one of clever invention,[15]
Through artful joining, girding, and binding together.

*Various types of Fabrics, after the life.

**Stuffs have more the nature of spirit than do foliage or hair.[14]

(9) One shall not bind drapery too low*
Around the hips, nor let it hang the wrong way round:
Attend well to how it stretches and dangles,
And how the folds go out and in, slip out of sight, recede,

*How to bunch and drape fabrics.

As their nature inclines them.
Here, too, the seven types of movement,**
Recounted earlier, ought not to be forgotten,
And one should also know where [the fabric] bunches.[16]

**Movement of folds, out and in.

(10) Wherever the body's limbs*
Fold or bend, that is, in stooping,
At the place where the thighs meet the torso,
As also at the knees, in bending back the shanks,
Or flexing the armpits and arms; at all such [bodily] parts,
Freely fold your Fabrics, pressing them together,
And let them stiffly stretch at the lap,
From knee to knee, when they push wide apart.

*Where the Fabrics must fold and crease.

(11) Whatever is found roundly to project,*
Be it the shoulders, thighs, knees, belly, calves, or buttocks,
One shall allow to rise and bow round:
Place no folds in that place, for a brightly lit ground
Permits no hard shadows:
But there, just beside, where it's dark, to bring
A multitude of creases falling and pressing together,
Cannot go amiss: for this, no one shall rebuke you.

*Where the Body and limbs are lit, avoid folds, but leave them flat, in order to avoid harsh illumination.[17]

(12) Like branches growing from a tree,*
Let the folds sprout, one from the other:[18]
Avoid pocket-folds, so that bags of cloth**
Be not found after the Stuffs are unpacked,
Stretched out and held taut;
And fashion your folds and ridges so that one may always***
See where they continue and commence,
As may be observed in nature.

*Folds that mutually arise from something that projects or is raised.

**Pocket-folds are to be avoided.

***Where folds end and begin.

(13) Above all, one thing surely requires mentioning:
Namely, that Fabrics not be crumpled*
In a confused and toilsome way,
As if tattered and torn:
Wherein our Forefathers erred very ill-advisedly,
Aldegrever, in particular, who went much astray,**
Creasing [cloth] too copiously,
In a manner characterized as confusing.[19]

*Avoid a confusion of folds.

**Example: Aldegrever, who creased too copiously.

(14) But Dürer's Stuffs, especially in his late works,*
As one sees from his prints, in which splendid
Fields of flat light appear, everything else
Receding into a multitude of shadows,
Are beautiful and exemplary, as witness his best Marian images.[20]
It would be a great crime, a dishonorable deed,
To accuse such a man of confusion,
Whose Art, by its very nature, could never brook such aspersion.

*Example: Albrecht Dürer's planar Stuffs.

(15) The honor of the Batavians and the Germans,
Lucas and Albrecht, upon whom the Choir of Muses poured out*
Their gifts, the Italians
Have from their prints and the respective
Manner of their Fabrics taken much profit and advantage,
Perchance more than anyone's judgment
Might realize, for they, being cunningly deft,
Have known how to alter [their sources] slightly.[21]

*Example: Lucas's and Albrecht's prints.

(16) In Lucas's stuffs, one finds fine trains.[22]
In the Magdalene, the Mordechai, and the Evil One
Tempting Christ, can be seen how gracefully he executes
Little folds with the burin:[23]
Who could thereupon pour out sweetness more flowingly?[24]
Now, Young Ones, like Bees from Roses,
Suck, to your noteworthy use,
This dripping *nectar*, and sweet honey.[25]

(17) Flowing Fabrics, rich, unconfined,*
Fabricate chiefly for the Women, without faltering,
In this you shall not lightly be blamed.
Let [the Fabrics] rather drag across the ground, than be too short,**
And just as little branches ornament trees,
So here give subtle flourishes to the edges and borders,
In how they hang and lie,
But refrain from piercing the ridges with gashes.***

*Flowing Garments of Women.

**Round the edges subtly [with flourishes].

***Avoid perforated ridges.

(18) Now, in silks and various lustrous stuffs[26]*
The Venetians are on the whole greatly prized,
Who know well how to manipulate
Colors, and implement them

*Example: Venetian Painters of beautiful little silks and changeant or compound silks.

In such a way that the highlights clearly stand out:[27]
But one must needs always insert
Such highlights into changeant silks,
As the adjacent color may best permit.[28]

(19) So that [these colors] do not undermine each other,[29]*
As lakes[31] duly tolerate light blues,[32]
And smalts[33] tolerate lake whites,[34]
So light massicot[35] sits well beside green,[36]
Ash-white accedes to be shaded well with yellow lake,[37]
Purple with blue or red, and the various grayish tints[38]
Readily give leave to be heightened brightly.
One must experiment with these in every possible way.

*Colors to be investigated for the purpose of painting reflections.[30]

(20) The large, flat expanses of fabric [worn by] high-placed Men,*
Sometimes look resplendent.
One occasionally also sees on the cowls of Monks,[39]
That the folds congregate
Where Stuff over Stuff, slack or taut,
Hangs, the one piece over the other; nor should one exclude
A bit of modern attire, from time to time,
[The sort] now or recently in use.[40]

*Splendid, wide expanses of Silk, with a flickering fold here and there, look good: so, too, do flat woolens, as on Monk's cowls, and also modern clothing.

(21) What shall I hold out for further inspection:*
Ruffs, collars, lappets, and panels [falling to] the thighs,
To be laced up, cut through, or knotted,
With a quick and ready wit?
Wreaths, cutouts, enlacements, and bows,
Make them all, some tied up, others left open,
Above and beneath [items of] clothing, vests and lace-ups,
Mantles, wimples, and a thousand fine concoctions.

*Diverse properties of clothing.

(22) Put to the test, investigate, formulate, sample others' things,
Seize upon every nook and cranny of invention,[41]
Modulate, modify, explore various combinations,
With what you've been able to bring to a state of well-being.
Set to, and in order to drape finely,
Apply yourself to glazing capably,*
Which enhances, when it comes right, a glowing transparency,
In making velvets and beautiful satins.[42]

*Make use of glazing.

(23) Whereas one is wont wholly to rely on highlights
In projecting the folds forward,
Velvets require quite the reverse procedure:[43]* *On Velvets and silks.
For one makes them for the most part brown,
Distributing uniform highlights only along the reflective surfaces:
But as concerns the color of Satins,
I know no example more liberal
Than life, Mistress of every Painter.

(24) One plainly sees in the works of great Masters
Various manners of Stuffs;
Raphael of Urbino, who did wonderful things in this vein,* *Examples of Italian Stuffs.
Understood how rightly to fashion folds,
Clothing some of his Figures simply, others richly:[44]
Likewise Buonarroti in his coloring,
But some of what he carved in stone,
Is less than pleasing, I should say,

(25) Due to the hard folds, which offend
When they come into the light on something prominent,
As they do especially on the lap of Moses.[45]
But Titian, great, very glorious in fame,* *Titian's woodcuts as Examples.
Whose paintings are everywhere full of life,
Not just in his nudes but also
In his splendid Stuffs skillfully folded,
As can be seen readily in his woodcuts.[46]

(26) Many other Italians whose handling is fine* *Further examples of the Italians.
Might I place before you, Reader:
Del Sarto,[47] Tintoretto,[48] Veronese,[49]
The two Zuccari,[50] and Barocci,[51]
Who earn the crown for their ridged folds,[52]
Both in kind and skill: but the beauty of Fabrics,
If they be well pleasing, always consists above all
In beautiful folds, knowledgeably executed.

(27) But I would make no mention of the Ancients,* *There are few if any good Stuffs to be found in Antiquities.
For to display their Stuffs as Examples
Is to use them for naught. They must yield
To the moderns, whom they cannot equal,

In that their linens hang wet, like cords,
And their Figures, seen in this light,
Ought to have been draped otherwise.
Such ineptitude has been a cause of surprise to many.[53]

(28) No Antique Stuffs (if my memory does not
Deceive me) did I see in Rome,
Worthy to serve [as Examples], with the singular exception*
(If my judgment be true) of [several] bronze statues
With fluttering [garments]: these were like Goddesses**
Who for their Drapery might well win the prize
Amongst the Ancients, in the new Palace of the Farnese,
Which I happened to see in an upper gallery.[54]

*Several bronze Female statues in the Palazzo Farnese.

**Good, fluttering Ancient drapery.

(29) In the same Palace, the Flora stands,*
Her sculpted Drapery not at all bad;[55]
But since I am now advising how to [make clothing] flutter:
When the Figure is in motion indoors,
Or walking forward, all [the drapery] must fly backward:
But if [the Figure] is outdoors, then [the drapery] must partially
Follow the direction whither the wind blows,
Whether forward or backward, hard or gently.[56]

*Example of the Flora there.

(30) The Spirit is to be deployed for things such as these:[57]
A blustery wind should serve to press thin fabrics and silks*
Against the body,
So that the nude figure's thighs, torso, and legs
(Were it to turn out well) appear subtly true.[58]
In this, one needs as allies the Charites
Who accompanied the son of Pythius as he set about his work.[59]**
Our *Idea* must display its force herein.[60]***

*Fluttering drapery makes a nude figure stand out.

**Pythius was the Father of Apelles.

***_Idee_: the imagination, or memory.

(31) Already I see [in my mind's eye] how gracefully
Blow the Nymphs' clothing and streaming veils,*
For the most part simply, [in one direction,] and every so often
Hither and thither with the wind; and how the
Nimble Bacchantes sway, their torches wreathed in ivy,[61]
Running up and down steep hillsides,
And Diana's Maidens hunting in the wild [woods],
Their skirts and veils billowing freely.

*Flying wimples and veils of the Nymphs.

(32) Who fails to see the Bull bathing in the Sea,*
And the Maiden's garments playing like sails [in the wind]?[62]
Who would scorn to read to us the Exile,**
Rich in conceits? How he paints this young captive's
Distress? Whom could he displease
By making veils and ribbons, and gold-blonde Hair,
Drift airbound across her Marble throat?
Condignly does our Brush listen to such writing.[63]

*Example: Europa, described by Ovid.

**The Painter's Brush must listen to the Poet's pen.

(33) Whatsoever these matters may as yet require,
Let me commend to you the [further] tasks
Of fashioning other forms of Clothing,
Varieties of Embroidery, and Cloth of Gold,*
Also many-colored figured damasks:[64]
Attend well, mishandle nothing,
In draping amply, elegantly, subtly,
For which purpose the sorting of colors will prove necessary.

*Figured Stuffs and Damasks.

End of Stuffs and Drapery.

On Sorting, and combining Colors

The Eleventh Chapter

(1) You, Students of the Art born of Nature,
Be so good as to lend your eager ears also to this:
I shall recount to you the manners in which
You may capably apportion your colors,[1]
Sorting well, consonant with sound judgment,
Which [colors] (yet without mixing)*
Gladly adjoin and accompany one another,
As you apply yourself to fashioning Stuffs.

*Which colors are most capable of being combined.

(2) If we can surely hit this mark, too,
Then with wondrous grace it will beautify our work,
Much as did the Maiden Glycera of Sicyon,*
Seller of floral wreaths, who, with uncommonly
Subtle art, knew how to plait her little flowers
Ten-thousandfold, especially with colors
So delightful that Pausias the painter,
Rejoicing [in them], subsequently wooed her.[2]

*Example: Glycera who sorted floral wreaths with finesse.

(3) Let us thus sort our Stuffs,
Insomuch as Pausias, seeing this artful congress,
Did follow her lead in making Wreaths and Posies,
And himself became wholly skilled at such things:
Finally, he firmly set himself to ploughing further,
And with the utmost pleasure portrayed her
Sitting and fabricating Bouquets:
Stephanoplocos was what this work was called.

(4) Insofar as we, apropos the sorting of colors,*
Have now somewhat advanced in giving an account of florets:
Made various by virtue of natural painting,
They are poured forth in fragrant Springtime
Across the dales of Tempe, as if onto a green Tapestry;[3]
However many thousands bloom there fully opened,
Hardly one appears green, or fails to stand out well,
Thanks to sorting.[4]

*On learning from flowers, how to sort colors.

(5) But distinguishing varieties of green from green,*
So that one stands out from the other, brings beauty to the fore,
Whether [the florets] be red, blue, purple, or pale as milk.
Observe also the tree foliage and plants on the ground,
Which, though green themselves, are exceedingly varied;
And raising our eyes from these meadows,
Let us pay heed to the well-sorted
Vault of heaven, beholding it day and night.

*The sorting and distribution of colors in all created things is duly to be noted.

(6) I let the blushing dawn,*
The messenger of Phoebus, sail past,
With her glorious sorting, early and late;[5]
But there on high (worthy of note), see
How the golden Sun, intent on lighting the World,
Dispatches the Years to and fro on a field of blue;
So, too, the compliant Moon and Stars,
How brightly they all twinkle like gold on blue.

*Example: the dawn and blue sky populated by stars, moon, and sun.

(7) Yellow and blue complement one another;*
Thus may you arrange the colors of your fabrics:
Red and green, too, love each other wonderfully;
Red and blue, for diversity's sake,
Likewise go well together; purple will not be loath
To stand by yellow, and green will quicken
By white, which adapts itself to all colors,
No less than Vineyards accord with fields of Wheat.[6]

*Which colors find each other attractive.

(8) That Nature shows us how to sow by sorting,*
Is to be grasped from all things
That pleasurably rejoice the eyes:
Examples being the eloquent Parrot,
Birds, shells, and other created things,
How all their colors mutually connect.
Thus Nature, who makes us wise in all things,
Is nurse and mother to the art of painting.

*Nature instructs in the sorting of colors.

(9) Additionally, purple by green has no paucity of grace,*
Blue and purple greet each other with alacrity,
But red goes quite poorly with flesh-tints,
For the nude [body] prefers to be in conversation

*It produces a sweet effect when no opposing colors are brought together.

With green, blue, or purple, if it can come by them;[7]
Blue coordinates well with green; if one sees fit
To dulcify, let various reds play together,
And various yellows with yellows.[8]

(10) In a word, reds beside yellow, and green beside yellow,
And also purples—for instance, bluish
And reddish ones—mutually interwoven[9]
With mixtures: but Bruegel, whose works appear alive,*
Often fashioned various gray
Stuffs, almost as if shaded without shadows,
And amongst all that gray, there blossomed
Very floridly, an azure or red that glowed like firelight.[10]

*Example: Bruegel let beautiful colors shine forth amongst a plurality of grays.

(11) In this respect, he was like the Poets, who sometimes
Construct elaborate arguments and stories,
Wherewith they gladden ears itching to hear,
Occasionally slipping a pregnant Saying
In-between, worthy to be ruminated:
Or like the finely-feathered Peacocks
Or the Indian Birds that stand out
From other Birds.

(12) We, too, may abide betimes by this usage.
I recall that a group of young Painters thus wrought
At the Belvedere; Raphael da Rezzo dressed*
His figures in an array of light grays, rather than
Using the beautiful colors sought out by other [Painters]:[11]
But little Bees, hungry for nectar, could not
Rush more hastily after thyme than our eyes
Sped merrily to his things first of all.[12]

*Example of making do with many gray tints: Raphael da Rezzo.

(13) I could adduce more particulars
About sorting colors, which the Painter
Shall every now and then encounter along the way;
Namely, with respect to nudes and fabrics,
How to set the backgrounds apart, by type and character:
And how to mix and match colors well, so that*
All things project, one in front of another,
In Landscapes and Buildings.

*Attend to projection.

(14) So, conduct yourselves according to what's just been said,
And devise for the best as you see fit;
For this great work ofttimes causes me to flag.
And I look to see whether, like Phaëton on his chariot,[13]*
Sometimes rounding the East, sometimes the West,
I might finally, after much running of the course,
Accede to wished-for rest and a night's lodging,
And unharness my panting Steeds.[14]

*I desire [to make] an end of [this] burdensome work in progress.

End of the sorting and combining of Colors.

On painting well, or Coloring[1]
The Twelfth Chapter

(1) If drawing, in a manner of speaking,*
Is comparable to the Body
With its limbs, various and commensurate,
So is painting not inaptly
Comparable to the Spirit or Soul;[2]
For through colors, drawing's dead strokes
Are made to move and to live,
And truly brought to life.[3]

*Drawing compared to the body, and painting to the spirit.

(2) Yea drawing is like the terrestrial effigy*
Made by Prometheus, a work not
Displeasing to Minerva, Goddess of the Arts;
Whereas painting is like the Heavenly Flame that he stole,
Whereby, to his perdition,
He conferred motion on his work,
Which thus quickly became a *Pandora*,
That is, the plenitude of every good thing.[4]

*Drawing compared to the rough effigy made by Prometheus, painting to the Heavenly Flame.

(3) Not unlike, indeed resembling the manner*
In which Poets, singing to entice the discerning ear,
Marry their verses and poems
Concordantly to the Lyre,
Or to some other instrument, so must we resolve
To enliven the eyes
By pairing Drawing and Painting,
Just as one pairs the voice with [an instrument's] strings.[5]

*Drawing [compared] to the sound of a musical instrument, and painting to song.

(4) I dare neither to praise nor blame*
Anyone who, well practiced and expert,
Sure of hand, quick-witted, well apprised,
(Not lightly straying onto crooked paths,
But rather, whose Art is worthy of their Master's name),
Sets to and deftly draws by hand
On their panels, whatever has been duly
Painted in their *Idea* beforehand.[6]

*It is a Master's practice presently, at first hand, to set [something] down on panel.

(5) And at once falling to work, with no undue palaver,
With brush and pigment, impassioned of sense,
These fellow-painters, painting thusly,
Skillfully launch their works in colored underpainting,[7]*
Sometimes speedily depositing a second layer,
In order better to emplace [everything]: accordingly, they, being copious
In invention, go forth boldly,
Improving a fault here and there.[8]

*To improve by means of repeated underpainting in color.

(6) Indeed, they further advance their work with alacrity,
Honorably fulfilling their intention:
This may well beseem the Painter-Augustuses[9]
Who make progress in the Arts unremittingly,
And augment the empire [of *Schilderconst*] by painting resolutely:
Yes, even if one can amply learn*
To handle colors in this way without trepidation,
This [method] will not be expedient for everyone.

*To paint all at once, without drawing, will not befit everyone.[10]

(7) There are others who, with much effortful consideration,*
Gather their things together continuously[12]
From stacks of sketches or drawings,
And afterward draw cleanly and clearly
The whole of what their mind holds fast,
On top of the priming,[13] in a single color, thinly tempered,
Free-flowing; or precisely draw it
In Black lead and then wipe [the surface] spotlessly clean.[14]

*To compose something with much care, and then draw it neatly is advantageous to a painting.[11]

(8) Yea [to draw] all things soundly and certainly,
Both the contours and what lies within them, by degrees,
Without the smallest stroke out of place,
This shall be neither detrimental nor disagreeable in any way,
But, on the contrary, greatly profits the painting,
And to ensure that it looks good across-the-board,*
And that it does not deteriorate, they
Apply well-tempered colors overall, each in its proper place.[16]

*From the first, lay each color in its place so that it does not decay.[15]

(9) But the Italians, howsoever they undertake*
Their projects, whether on walls or panels,
Diligently alert, [working] from inventive sketches,
They make their well-studied cartoons

*The Italians make cartoons on paper, large as the [final] work, drawn precisely, and then traced through.

As large as the [final] work in all its parts,
And trace through it with the stem of [their] brushes
Or with any pointed instrument that may serve,
Incising it line by line.[17]

(10) So that it surely, without fail,
Transfers and succeeds well:
Apropos an oil painting, they first coat
The back [of the cartoon] by rubbing it with chalk, or some such substance;[18]
But they press through it (as I've said),
While the [plaster] wall is still pliable, in order
To paint works in fresco with practiced hands,
Which usage is not to be found here in our Lands.

(11) Howbeit the Florentine, who could sculpt*
As well as paint in colors, when they first
Wished him to fabricate the Vatican *Judgment* in Oils,
Found this not to his liking; for, according to his way of thinking,
Such painting was to be reckoned
Nothing more than Women's labor or toil,
Whereas he prized working in Fresco
As an artful and Manly activity.[19]

*Here Michelangelo is meant, who called painting in Oil Colors Women's work, and Fresco Men's work.

(12) But [why is it] that here no other usage thrives
Other than the one ascribed by Angelo to Women:
In Holland, Fresco could scarce survive*
The Hard Weather, Wind, Snow, Hail, and Rain
Propelled by Boreas;[20]
Nor even indoors could it survive,
Nor long remain intact,
Due to the great damp of the walls.

*Fresco is impractical here, due to the dampness of the Land, and the intemperate weather.

(13) On the other hand, that Plaster
Made from burned Saltwater Shells, would prove profitless;
For it breaks out with flecks of mildew.
Stone-based plaster from places such as*
Doornik, or elsewhere, might help:
Impervious to bad weather and frost hard to resist,
It is thick-bodied in the painting,
And consequently, does not break out, but remains firm once it dries.

*Fresco must be on stone-based [i.e., lime] plaster.

(14) But enough of this: to make the cartoon*
As large in size as the work [to be painted],
Composed with bold resolution,
Is useful and serviceable, and shall ameliorate
One's labor; for you shall hang it in front of you,
To prevent yourself from wandering down the wrong path,
Or losing sight of the quiddity [of one's picture], and shall instead strive
To deepen and heighten everything according to the prototype.[21]

*The Cartoon is beneficial

(15) For your cartoon ought to be heightened and deepened well,*
Executed subtly in a painterly way on the ground color,
So that no deficit be found anywhere in it
As regards projection, depth, volume, relief,
Sweetness, flowing grace, transition, recession:
And do not let the labor involved easily distress you,
But chip away at it steadily,
Attain through diligence to an optimal state.

*Cartoons must have their highlights.

(16) Amongst the moderns, our Forefathers were wont formerly*
To cover their panels with a white ground more thickly than we,
And they then polished it as smoothly as possible.[22]
They also used cartoons rubbed on the back with something that smears,
And having placed [the cartoons] on this smooth clean white [surface],
They sat down and proceeded to trace them through,[23]
And afterwards neatly drew [on the panels]
With black chalk or black lead.[24]

*The moderns whitened their panels very thickly, and also used cartoons.

(17) But the cleverest thing was this: some of them took*
Finely ground lamp-black
Mixed with water, and now, as warranted, simultaneously
Drew and shaded their works with great care:[25]
Then they subtly spread over them
A thin layer of priming, through which one
Could see everything truly, positioned with forethought:
And the priming layer was the color of flesh.[26]

*They drew their works on the white and primed over it in oil color.

(18) When this had dried, they could clearly see their works,*
Which appeared before their eyes as if already half painted,
Whereupon they then applied everything neatly
All at one go,[27] with especial

*They made their things mostly at one go.

Labor and diligence, layering the color
Not thickly but thinly and sparingly,
The application deft, lustrous, and pure,
With whitish little hairs limned subtly with finesse.[28]

(19) O inimitable Dürer, the fame of Germany,*
Whom one sees shining in the Cloister of Frankfurt,[29]
His pure refinement, worthy of note:
Yea, Brueghel and Lucas.[30] All such flowers [of Art]**
Have justly signed themselves *Plus ultra* in the kingdoms[31]
Of the Painters, so impregnably embanked aforetime
That no one could easily overtake them;
And with them, Joannes, first amongst the first.[32]

*Dürer's work in Frankfurt as an example.

**Bruegel, Lucas, and Joannes van Eyck as examples of [painting] cleanly at one go.

(20) These all together subscribed to this refinement,
Laid their colors cleanly, finely, and sportively,
And refrained from encumbering their panels,
Unlike now, when one might almost touch them,*
As if blindly probing the work's every feature:
For in our time the colors lie
So uneven and rough that one would think
They were virtually carved in stone, in bas-relief.

*On the roughness of some at this time.

(21) Precise [brushwork], which offers the eyes*
Sweet nourishment, causing them long to linger,
Is praiseworthy, especially when closely attached
Are subtlety, spirit, and ingenuity,[33] and when
They retain their concinnity from afar
As well as close by.[34] Such things astonish him
Whose insatiable eyes cause
His heart to cleave fast with constant desire.

*Precisely rendered works that remain spirited are praiseworthy, and hold close the spectator, keeping him long at his beholding.

(22) About Titian the great, we observe*
From Vasari's writings, profitable to us,
That he, in the full flowering of his Youth,
Was accustomed to execute his artful works
With unbelievably diligent precision:
About which no querulous person could complain,
Since they all were well pleased,
Whether they stood to view them from far or near.[35]

*Example: Titian, whose works looked good, seen first from close by, then from far off.

(23) But at the last, he proceeded to carry through*
His works quite differently, with patches and rough strokes,
Which looked entirely natural when one stood back,
At a distance, but would not admit to being seen
From nearby. Various Masters,
Wishing to follow this manner of working,
Have produced nothing palatable,
And instead brought to pass an unsightly jumble.

*Titian altered his manner of handling, so that his works would fain be seen only from a distance.

(24) They aimed to execute their brushstrokes well,*
But deluded, they deceived themselves,
Thinking that his work had been done without labor,
Wherein he had toilsomely lavished
The furthermost resources of Art:
For one sees things worked over
And covered with multiple layers of color:
More effort lies therein than one might think.

*Many have thought to follow Titian and have been confounded.

(25) But this manner of work, issuing as it did from the exceptionally
Good judgment and understanding of Titian,
Is deemed wonderfully beautiful and pleasing:
For there (says Vasari) much labor is*
Concealed by Great Art, and one might almost fancy
That such painting is alive
And, as has been said, his works, though they appear
Facile, were achieved by painful effort.[36]

*Titian's works, laboriously made, appear as if done without effort.

(26) Here I should wish to body forth and place before your eyes,*
O noble scholars of Painting,
Two opposed yet apposite manners,
Allowing you to direct your eager senses
To the one that most quickens your spirit:[37]
But I would yet advise you first of all to make every effort**
Through diligent exercise to acquaint yourself
With a fastidious manner and a precise beginning.

*It is advised to choose one of two [manners].

**To start by familiarizing yourself with precise workmanship.

(27) Take courage, then, and with good cheer*
And steely patience fortify your spirits:
Whether you paint neatly or roughly, always avoid
Lacerating your work with razor-sharp highlights,[38]

*Take courage, and howsoever one paints, avoid sharp-edged highlights, for they will fail to project in the round.

The sort [painters] formerly used to make, which come across
As less than good, but instead adopt
That most agreeable manner, recently discovered;
For our Forefathers' works failed to project in the round.

(28) But a thing as sharp-edged as this looked flat.*
And thus you should endeavor to acquire a far better manner:
By way of analogy, [imagine] a Column subdivided with string
Lengthwise into three parts from side to side:**
Between these two sides mark
Two points at equal intervals, and on the first point
Place a bright highlight, and on the second
The deepest shadow, of an appropriate breadth.

*Amongst the moderns, the older works look quite flat.

**Manner of heightening and deepening. Example: A Column.

(29) In the space between, let your ground color merge with both,*
But by stages let the margins of the highlights be lost in the surrounding darkness;
The other side can elect to receive a secondary reflection.[39]
Now, concerning the colors, do not allow the cold to extinguish**
The blush [of your flesh tints], nor let it become so cold that they turn purple:[40]
For lake-white incarnadine flesh tints of this sort[41]
Cannot bloom as does the body's complexion,
But vermilion engenders a fleshlike luster.[42]

*On the ground, or the *mezza-tinta* (middle-toned hue).

**On the glow of the flesh tints.

(30) Give thought to making [the flesh tints] glow;[43]
Fashion your darks to be fully consonant
With your flesh tints, as they require;
When varied, they have a good grace:
Pay heed to Children, Maidens, and blossoming youths,*
To the varieties of Age,
To Folk burned daily by the heat of the sun,
And you shall not go wrong.[44]

*In coloring flesh tints, pay attention to life.

(31) As regards Peasants, Herders, and those who,*
Beset by storms, sail through the beating waves,
Do not spare to use yellow ocher
Under a layer of vermilion, since their naked limbs

*Coloring relative to how much each person has been outdoors in the open air.

Should appear as if half roasted;[45]
Whereas for townsfolk, freed from the daily heat [of the sun],
And seen unclothed,
Incline the flesh-tint more toward white.[46]

(32) With regard to shadows, comport yourself sensibly,
And stray not at all from what is natural:
Strive, too, to please the common eye.[47]*
On occasion, contrive [to paint] reflected daylight,
And let your shadows freely assume the likeness of flesh,**
And the shining highlight alone take the form of a flesh-tint.[48]
Heighten no naked Man or Woman with white,
For pure white is nowhere to be seen in living persons.[49]

*The common eye desires, too, to be contented.

**Flesh-colored shading.

(33) There are many who mar their nudes
By heightening them with white.
To prevent them from doing this further,
Several Writers have expressed the wish*
That Lead-White become as expensive to purchase
As fine precious stones mined at great cost
And imported from distant Lands,
Or as dear as exquisite Ultramarine.[50]

*Avoid white highlights; would that Lead-White were as costly as precious gems or Ultramarine.

(34) In order now truly to ascertain the rationale of painted highlights
I shall recount something Goltzius said:
How Titian (this is worth hearing),
Portrayed a Nativity, with a Shepherd
Coming headfirst, upon whose outstretched forehead
He placed only a single highlight,
Causing [the brow] effectively to project,
From which [point] everything else sped away into a haze of shadows.[51]

(35) To this end, the Italians are more circumspect
Than we in coloring; howsoever hard we try.[52]*
Their figures look more fleshy and supple
Than ours; moreover, we commonly prefer
To apply highlights evenly, in both the background and foreground.[53]
Not only do our works look dry,
But even where we propose, as best we might, to paint flesh,
The figures appear uniformly piscine, or as if carved in stone.[54]

*Netherlanders tend not to color well.

(36) Thus let us ensure that our brushes become freer,
More sympathetic, and bolder,
And that good coloring finds its home amongst us.[55]
If truth be told, we ought to consider how the Painter*
Necessarily musters as great a variety of colors
In painting a human face as
In painting a fine, pleasing Landscape:[56]
Green, blue, yellow, indeed every color.

*A Painter has need of as many colors in a face as in a landscape.

(37) But everything must gently merge,[57]*
So that nothing appears hard or patchy;[58]
But, rather, as if subtly raised in bas-relief,
Always modeled for the best, after the life,
The prototype that has, now as ever, quickened many a good Painter:
And forfend to cleave closely to your false opinions,
Like a contumacious Sectarian,
But instead give free rein to infidelity, 'twill be no sin.[59]

*On sweet merger.

(38) Do not cling obstinately to a bad manner,*
You have not married it, 'twould be no scandal
Double-quick to exchange it for one better.
Change for the better is praiseworthy:
One thereby attains by degrees to right understanding:[60]
Lamp-black for nudes banish from the land,[61]
Instead utilize umber[62]
Alongside bitumen,[63] Cologne earth,[64] and terre verte.[65]

*Not to remain bound to a bad manner.

(39) You may well do without lamp-black*
For your nudes, indeed forget about it altogether:
It will (says Vasari) too actively decay:[66]
For concerning Raphael, admired the World over,
In his final work, at [the church of San] Pietro Montorio,
The *Transfiguration*, to his glory
The colors would still appear freshly made,
Had he not insisted on using lamp-black.

*Lamp-black causes [colors] to degrade. Example: the panel by Raphael in Rome, at San Pietro Montorio.

(40) Wherever it underlies or is mixed with other colors,
It spoils them over time, and furthermore,
Far from casting a glow, or producing a flesh effect,
It causes everything to gray:

In order to impart the ruddy bloom* *Fleshy coloring.
With which the sun, ever shining,
Happily enlivens flesh,
Mix Massicot with the flesh tints.[67]

(41) And yet, regardless of how some settle upon this,
Let each follow the path [he deems] best:
By which I mean that you may well choose to banish Massicot,* *Massicot is to be avoided in flesh tints.
Instead substituting very fine, light
Ocher;[68] as already stated, it is far better
Than burdening the Flesh Tints
With that black color, very prone to degrade
And difficult to work due to the speed with which it dries.[69]

(42) Minium[70] and Spanish green,[71] freely abandon them as well,* *Minium, Spanish green, and Orpiment to be avoided.
And Orpiment,[72] toxic by nature.
I advise you to keep your Brushes clean,
Or to reserve certain ones for the painting of fine blue Stuffs
Or Skies; and, if you can spare the price,
Become accustomed, over the long term,
To provisioning yourself with fine colors, learning how to keep them intact,
Inasmuch as you value Art and hold it in honor.[73]

(43) The smalts need to coagulate thoroughly;[74]* *Smalts need to be congealed, in order to discolor less.
For this reason, to utilize them,
Some closely prick their panels with nails,
Others blow blotting paper [onto them],[75] letting
It lie on top, whereby
The oil is drawn out, and yet others grind
[The smalts] in Poppyseed oil, whereas still others
Employ Oil made by trial and error.[76]

End of Painting well, or Coloring.

On the origin, nature, force, and effect of Colors[1]

The Thirteenth Chapter

(1) In the beginning, when all created things
Received from their most praiseworthy Creator[2]
Their origin, form, and being,
Everything that the eye might visibly encompass,
Howsoever multiple, various, or curious in essence,
Had the whole of their color from this*
Most artful Sculptor and Painter:[3]
How could the wellspring of Colors appear more fulsome?

*Everything has its color from God.

(2) But as the abyss found itself murky,
Or as the Poets reckon *Chaos* to have been,
Before things stood in good order,
And the Sky, without light, lay consumed
By all-farraginous Darkness:[4]
So, too, the colors, with their diverse names,*
Did not yet exist, or if they did,
Remained fully submerged, yet to be revealed.

*Colors first made their appearance at the creation of the world.

(3) Now, indeed, wherever Darkness, battling with Light,*
Manages to overmaster or overwhelm it,
No colors are impeded;[5] but sight
Is neither strong nor sharp enough
To pierce the black obscurity:
Yet even then, Colors retain
Their distinctive beauty, forfeiting nothing,
Although one fails to see them through the Darkness.

*Darkness holds sway over the discernment of colors, preventing it.

(4) Further to expatiate, I consider*
That the colors, as anywise seen by us,
Were born and have their origin
From the four Elements, hard or soft,
Where the Sun shines upon them, and daylight falls:[6]
But one might ask what color itself is,
Which, with its various accidental properties,[7]
Draws form from the four Elements.

*Colors have their origin from the Elements.

(5) Color is in itself the furthermost clarity*
Of any body from within which it is materialized,
Verily the substance of Light;[8] for the propinquity
Of Darkness, with its density, compromises
The eye's ability to discriminate amongst the varieties of light:
But daylight, in particular, confers on the gift of sight**
The power to discriminate unerringly
Amongst every form of Color.

*What Color is.

**Daylight is most conducive to the differentiation of Colors.

(6) After the retreat of Darkness, the clarity of Light
Brings the beauty of Colors to the fore,
But the force and virtue of Colors shine forth [in this],[9]
That everything which bears the likeness of something, without exception,*
Has its proper color:[10] finally, in a word,
Whatever its form, howsoever strange,
Nothing we behold may exist without color,
And colors arise from a foundation of clarity.

*No visible things are without color.

(7) But colors (in the judgment of Pliny)*
Are twofold, however many the pigments:
That is, natural or made by human hands.[11]
The natural [colors] were named
After the Lands whither one went to procure them,
Which names here to translate
Were easier to wish to do than to accomplish,
Mayhap glaring disparities would oft arise.

*Colors are of two kinds, natural, and made by Art.

(8) Color, an expressly natural quickening*
Of all things, be they still or active,
Is the uppermost layer of their outermost covering,
Whether monochrome, mixed, or polychrome,
Wherefrom the names of many things derive;
It awakens the eye's hungry gaze,
Which, in the wide kitchen of the World,
Unceasingly craves the food of further sights.[12]

*Further on what Color is, and what it effects.

(9) Color can show the differences amongst things:*
How, for instance, to distinguish Gold noticeably from Copper.[13]
Color emboldens persons, or startles them,
Color disfigures, or beautifies,

*Color confers difference on things.

Color oppresses, or exhilarates,
Color causes many a thing to be censured, or praised:[14]
In sum, color holds visibly in its grasp
Everything created by God in the World.

(10) Color in nature works with wonderful force,* *On the force of Color.
Whereof further Examples are to be found
Amongst Women who, in conceiving [children], think certain thoughts,
And thus imagining, bear
The fruit aforeseen, be it black or colored otherwise:[15]
But this we know and see to occur,
That children come to be marked
By that which caused their Mothers to take fright.[16]

(11) Similarly, when they, as sometimes happens,* *Power and effect of Colors.
Are suddenly affrighted by fearsome hemorrhaging,
They give birth to children with bloody birthmarks,
Or who teem with [marks] of another color,
If certain fruits or flowers,
Plumped down before their eyes or elsewhere,
Just at the moment their pregnancy begins,
Are not immediately brushed away.[17]

(12) Herewith, the power of Colors becomes apparent. Likewise apropos,
The story of Jacob may be called to mind;* *Example of Jacob's spotted cattle.
Who, laboring for Laban in the East,[18]
With efficacious colors gave himself a helping hand
By laying speckled branches amongst the flocks
During the mating season, so that every Ram,
Goat, Sheep, Ass, that was
Colored and spotted fell surely to his share.[19]

(13) The affordances of Color
Are put on show in myriad ways by Birds and Beasts
Which are thereby given a lordly, splendid adornment:
Tigers, for example, Leopards, and Panthers,* *Example of several animals.
By whose beautiful spots and sweet scent
The forest's four-footed creatures are drawn,
The smallest along with the largest,
Even to the cost of their lives.[20]

(14) He who has seen the Phoenix bird, as Pliny's*
Colored words describe it,[21] is delighted
No less than when he sees the glorious Peacock
Making a wheel of its cheerful feathers,
Turning itself to catch the sun's dazzle.[22]
How fine it is to see Parrots display,[23]
So, too, Doves with their shining golden throats,
Wherefrom comes their Latin name, *Columba*.[24]

*Example of the Phoenix.

(15) A surfeit of Examples would inflate
Our current subject too much;
But the heart rises up and away from intolerable cares
In early summer when the fields bloom*
With lively colors aplenty, varied so beguilingly
That not even Solomon was so finely adorned
As the lily of the field,
Or so the Lord attests in the Gospels.[25]

*Floral examples.

(16) The colors of young person's bodies:
Women's in particular, marvelously arouse;*
Many a heart swims in a Sea of pleasures,
Thinking he sees the Graces play
Upon female mouths, cheeks, and dulcet eyes,
On account of whom, amidst fell wars
Numerous heroes bend their necks,
Whereby the power of Colors is affirmed.[26]

*On Women.

(17) Scipio, and the great Alexander,*
By their martial exploits did lay claim
To great renown, the one no less than the other;
Yet were they reckoned far more valiant
By dint of curbing their lust for Women beautiful in body:[27]
Veritably, to prevent themselves from gazing at Ladies' fine coloring,
Some have chosen to become blind,
Fearing to lose control over their desire.[28]

*Scipio and Alexander praised more for having triumphed over their [base] impulses than by cause of military victories.

(18) Equally pertinent to the glory of Colors
Is the Art of writing in black on white,*
Whereby Persons hold in memory
Arts, science, and a wealth of History.

*Utility of the Art of Writing.

Writing also triggers conflicts, carnage, and grief,
Instigates peace, concord, and heartfelt joy:
Yea even though Persons speed far apart,
Yet can they converse through silent tidings.[29]

(19) Hieronymus Benzonius of Milan*
Writes on this subject in a manner convenient to our purpose,
That the Indians, being simple People,
When sent as retainers by the Spaniards,
With letters [written] to other Spaniards,
Failed to grasp, even after weighing them [in their hands]
And appealing to one another, how a white object
Streaked in black could somehow speak.[30]

*This Benson spent fourteen Years in the West Indies; I have translated his book.

(20) They knew nothing about writing or reading;*
Atabaliba himself, a great Nobleman,
The powerful King of Peru,
Having been instructed in the faith by a Monk,
Prevailed upon the Brother to explain how he knew
That Christ, who gave up his life for us,
Had also created the World; [the Monk] answered
That his Breviary had told this to him.[31]

*The West Indians did not know how to write.

(21) Atabaliba, at the instigation of the Monk,*
Likewise took up the Book and looked at it closely,
But the Book, rather than speaking, remained altogether silent;
And so, he laughed, as if this were a clever prank,
And then, unfavorably disposed toward the Book,
He threw it down and thus came to a bad end.
Thus did these People view reading and writing
As an extraordinary enterprise.

*Atabaliba presumed that Books must actually speak.

(22) But there formerly hung in that Region's houses
A great number of cords*
Diverse in color, composed of cotton
And full of knots fashioned variously,
By whose number they heretofore did
Distinguish the Land's affairs of old;
And certain Persons were appointed for this task,
Who could interpret the sense of the knots.[32]

*With cotton cords of various colors, full of knots, they kept their Annals, or [marked] Yearly Events.

(23) To summarize, the world over,
Amongst various Peoples (this is not to be doubted)
The nature of Colors, their power and propensity, hold sway,* *Color is universally efficacious.
So, too, their influence and signifying effect;
Yet are they transposed amongst the Eastern Javanese,** **Amongst the Javanese, white is a sign of sorrow, and black, of joy.
For there white signifies and makes allusion
To sadness, and black is a sign
Of everything pleasurable that conduces to joy.[33]

(24) When we previously spoke of drawing,
We were not oblivious to the Art of Lettering;[34]
With respect to this, writing is subsumed by the efficacy of colors:[35]
But Euphranor's Treatise is lost to us,* *Euphranor, an ancient Painter, wrote on Colors.
Devoured by the capriciousness of time:[36]
For jealous age has robbed us
Of a proper Book on the secrets of Color,
By this ancient Painter, artful and much admired.

(25) Finally, what colors are more beautiful than those
Wherewith the Lord wished so generously to endow
Noble, rare, and costly gems:* *On the beauty of gems.
It far surpasses Human capacity to suppose,
Imagine, or contemplate with the heart
The finer colors that shall hereafter shine** **On the beauty of the new Jerusalem.
In the felicity of heaven, beautiful beyond measure,
Surpassing nature in chastity and purity.

(26) With reference to unalloyed Gold and unblemished glass,
To rare gems such as Sardonyx and Jasper,
Chrysolite, Hyacinth, Topaz,
Amethyst, Emerald, Chrysoprase,
And to superbly fine, pure colors of this kind,
John describes the sweet plain of Heaven.[37]* *Here, finally, color is transported Heavenward.
Thus let us here take leave Color, high above the Earth,
Leaving it to its Heavenly dignity.

End of the origin, nature, etc. of Colors.

On the Interpretation of Colors, and what they can signify[1]

The Fourteenth Chapter

(1) Since the Sun emits so much force*
That the Moon, Stars, and all terrestrial sources of light
Must yield to its incomparable radiance,**
And since its rays are Gold-like,***
And Gold, compared to other metals,
Is the most prominent in rank,[2]
So, we shall first lay the foundation
Of our varied subject by reference to [the color] yellow
which denotes Gold.[3]****

*On Gold.

**On the splendid light of the Sun.

***On the likeness of the Sun to Gold.

****Gold classified under yellow.

(2) Amongst all the proper and laudable colors,
We shall begin with Yellow, the most precious,
In that it denotes the color Gold;
For truly, Gold is that which satisfies without sating*
The very covetous hearts of avaricious Men:
These shining entrails, drawn forth from deep within
The fathomless depths of our common Mother's belly,
Have oft instigated much evil in the World.[4]

*Through Gold, or because of it, much occurs that is evil.

(3) For all evil can be blamed on the intemperate desire of
unholy [Men],[5]*
And not on Gold itself.[6]
Cadmus, the discoverer of Gold, was the first to get hold of it.[7]
Within the borders of Samnium, two Kings of Colchis took**
The Earth's Maidenhood, for the sake of Gold,
Striving to foregather it from out of the water
By means of the hides of Sheep,
Wherefrom the fable of the golden Fleece derives.[9]***

*The cause is intemperate desire.

**Salauces,[8] and Ebusopes.

***Wherefrom the Fable of the golden Fleece came about.

(4) Yea, the Fable, bruited well nigh round the World,*
Of the Argonauts, Jason's companions,
More curious to read than worthy of belief:
How they, unaccompanied by Hercules,
Put a woman to work [for them], thus to carry the day:[11]
But Hippocrates, adducing the origin of the Name Gold,**
Opines that it grew from the stem
Aurora, saffron-like and glowing.[12]

*Orpheus, Valerius Flaccus, and Apollonius have written on the golden Fleece.[10]

**From whence Gold has its name.

(5) Or then again, from *Aura* in Latin,
As Isodorus says, [Gold] took its name,
Which signifies luster, shining brightly,[13]
And also let us not fail to give Gregory his say
About [Gold's] special radiance;[14]
And on the whole, Persons are inclined
Ever to behold with ready sense
Whatever shines gaily, with clarity and brightness.

(6) The most beauteous beauty lies in what is invisibly
Beautiful, the gracious fountainhead of all beauty,
Whereto the bright Sun, not to be outshone,
Is likewise compared:[15] and Phoebus
Is called golden-haired, yea, altogether golden:[16]
The uses of Gold are multifarious;*
Persons maintain themselves by it in various ways,
But its misuse comes from unbridled desire.

*Gold is useful, though misused through unbridled human desire.

(7) Because no colors can surpass*
The beautiful color gold, for this reason
Emperors, Kings, and powerful people
Have their Scepters, royal chains, Crowns,**
And various adornments made of Gold,
Their broidered Mantles and golden Stuffs,
And Clothing, shot through with golden threads,[17]
Which King Attalus did first occasion.[18]***

*Why Gold is greatly esteemed.

**Whereto gold is used.

***Gold was first used for weaving at the behest of Attalus.

(8) And such [cloth of gold] has kept the name of Attalus-work:
But in Babylon was first discovered*
How, amongst many colors, to embroider with glittering Gold,[19]
Wherefore, too, they wished to dub
This costly work, priced at many thousands of pounds,
With the name Babylonian;**
For the Emperor Nero did pay a million Sesterces
For an adornment thus wrought.[21]

*Embroidering with gold was first discovered in Babylon.

**Joshua 7.[20]

(9) Holy Writ also reliably attests*
About very costly golden Ornaments,
And how wise Solomon, rich in influence,
Did clad God's House all over in pure Gold;**

*3 Kings 6:22 and 6:30.[22]

**Wondrous beauty of Solomon's Temple.

He covered even the floor with golden patens:
In sum, cheerful and beautiful beyond measure,
Indeed incredibly precious, one can well imagine
How pure gold there shone yellow.

(10) Gold is, according to the import given it by Scripture,*
The action of faith, tried and strong,
Wherewith the Bride of the Lord is everywhere
Mantled;[23] which, too, the armbands
Of Rebecca concertedly betoken:[24]
For he who is faithful and true
Adjured the church [of Laodicea], whose faith had lapsed,
To buy fire-tried Gold from him once again.[25]

*Apocalypse 3:18.

(11) Drawn from the Poets, Maro's golden bough, and such,*
Were well to ponder over:[26]
But hear how the Heralds, in blazoning,
Compare the colors of noble coats of arms:**
This highest metal denotes wealth,
Wisdom, high birth, magnanimity, and magnificence;[27]
Yet by the adjacent color,
They give it a new significance.[28]

*Maro's golden bough will signify wisdom.

**In coats of arms of the Nobility, Gold denotes wisdom, and magnanimity.

(12) Blue, wherewith [Gold] desires best to be companioned,*
Signifies for those who wear Livery[29]
Predilection for the World's joys and pleasures,
Whereas beside gray, it portends nothing more than the
careworn recrimination**
Of those who chastise themselves for desuetude:
Beside green, it [stands for] a hopeful inclination toward good content:
Beside violet, consolation in love fulfilled:***
Beside black, patience and constancy in love.[30]****

*Gold beside blue signifies predilection for the joys of the world.

**Beside gray, scrupulousness.

***Beside violet, consolation in love.

****Beside black, constancy and patience in love.

(13) Beside flesh-tints, this gold-yellow signifies*
Sober affluence: on occasion, in the same vein,
A rational Person of good estate,**
Truly temperate, and perspicacious in conduct,
And further, of very good counsel, and personable to all:
But amongst all the flawless precious stones,
This most noble gold color is likened
To Topaz (if I do but speak justly).[31]

*Beside flesh-tints, circumspect wealth.

**In a heraldic crest, gold on its own signifies a constant, good, wise, and pious Man.

(14) Accordingly, yellow is a fine, happy color,
Of light and clear mien, very close to white:[32]
In the times of both Moses and Solomon,
It was artfully worked and woven into silken
Veils or great curtains:[33]
But yellow was the most eminent color, wherefore, in fine,*
It appears in no way inappropriate
To place yellow in the first place amongst the colors.

*Yellow is the most eminent color.

(15) When ancient Painters had no more than four kinds
Of color, as was said above,[34]
Yellow Ocher was one of the four:[35]
Without it, what could they have done
To bring their work to the outward appearance of this thing or that?
Whereas we now have on the scene
Four different yellows in addition to Ocher:
Massicot,[36] schiet-yellow,[37] and two Orpiments.[38]

(16) Minium, too, will suffice for any yellow tilting
Toward Orange, that is, speaking plainly, for a golden color;[39]
One can combine it with Massicot to draw
Or render ornaments: for 'tis folly*
To use Gold [for this]; one must banish it
From one's work, and, though I have no power
Completely to forbid it, 'twould be better
Duly to effect ornaments in color.[40]

*Some writers impugn ornaments painted in gold, even though what looks good, is indeed good; 'tis an art to ornament circumspectly and well, and no less an art, by whatever means, to arrive at a good result.

(17) Even if there were some who formerly presumed
Beautifully to embellish their works with Gold,
Which those who lacked understanding prized highly,
Yet should this now be thought*
More to disfigure than enhance:
Thus, they who would depict Dido and Aeneas of Troy
Sallying forth to hunt,
Ought not to be lavish with Gold.

*I transcribe this from other [authors], but yet leave it to everyone to do as they will.[41]

(18) Even if Virgil wrote as follows:
There, triumphantly caparisoned in Purple and Gold,
Stood a Horse, high-spirited and proud,
Champing at his bit, so that spume came foaming;

And last of all, Dido ventured forth,
Her fine hair [bedecked] with golden clasps,
Wearing beautiful colored silks, beneath
An incomparable Sidonian mantle.

(19) The golden quiver, with other objects:[42]
Or he who might wish to portray prattling Croesus,
Pleased vaingloriously to express
The superabundance of his good fortune,
Showing Solon [his] many garments, Jewels, and treasures:[43]
Observe how gold-gilt highlights fall darkly onto a flat*
Daylit surface,[45] rather than lightening it;[46]
One shall best bring off this [effect] with color.

*Objects highlighted in Gold on a flat daylit surface produce a dark effect.[44]

(20) Gold cannot be accounted the best medium for [portraying] Gold;
For it tends to comport itself badly within a picture,
Even though in times gone by, they smothered it on in great quantity,
But outside, on frames, edges, and borders,
Amidst mascarons, arabesques, and fluttering ribbons;[47]
To adorn richly, subtly, and skillfully
At the sides, below, and above with Gold,
Deserves highly to be praised, not eschewed.[48]

(21) Gualtherus Rivius, a well-learned man,
Wanted every Painting expertly
[Made] by artful hands, to be honored*
With a golden frame, but more than this, to be magnified
With precious stones, true and genuine:[49]
So highly did he in his writings consider a well-made picture
Worthy of esteem; but he brooked no
Gilding of anything within the picture.

*The exterior of an artful Painting cannot be adorned too lavishly.

(22) After Gold, Silver, radiantly shining with its sheer beams,*
Rightfully claims the highest place amongst all the metals,
As regards value and beauty.[50]
It were too long a tale to tell
All that God caused to be made with it,
Under the Law, in his honor:[51] but see what is**
Thereby signified, in that it is perceived to be white—***
'Tis innocence and sinless purity.

*On Silver, which is construed to be white, and what it thereby signifies.

**Exodus 36.

***Exodus 38.

(23) Amongst the thousands, suchlike was the pure Little Lamb,*
Rich in honor, white, ravishing in its beauty;[52]
On [Mount] Thabor, his garments glistened, white as snow,[53]**
In white did the Angels of the Lord appear:[54]***
Unblemished Truth,[55] upright in nature,
Is clad all in white, and moreover,
It has ever pleased our eyes to see
Blameless Youth, Women or Maidens in particular,
Dressed in white.[56]

Canticle 5.

**Mark 9.

***Acts 1.

(24) Just as on Coats of Arms, Gold, radiant and gleaming,*
Can signify nobility and high state,
And Silver, purity and good-hearted righteousness,
So Red can signify loftiness and courageous audacity,
Blue, fidelity and the pursuit of knowledge,
Green, beauty, goodness, and joy, and further,
Purple, the abundant favor of God and of Men,
Black, iniquity and baseness that reside in the heart.[57]

*Significance of the seven Colors in heraldry.

(25) Two metals, that is, Silver and Gold,*
Are not to be found on their own
In the crests of the Nobility, and conversely,
Colors are not to be found adjoining without metals.[58]
Amongst the Planets, Gold is likened**
To the Sun, and we can identify Silver
With the Moon, and red with Mars,
Purple with Mercury, messenger of the Gods.[59]

*A certain order in the heraldry of Crests and Coats of Arms of the Nobility.

**The seven colors likened to the seven Planets, which are each to be clad in its respective color.

(26) Blue is likened to Jupiter, green to Venus,
Black to melancholy Saturn:
Undaunted, one may thus proceed similarly,
Comparing all the days of the week,*
From Sunday on, with these colors,[60]
And likewise the seven Virtues, excluding none;**
Faith with Gold, benevolent Hope
With Silver, fiery Love with Red,[61]

*[The seven colors] also likened to the days of the week.

**The seven Cardinal virtues likened to the [seven] colors.

(27) Justice, felicitous and celestial, with Blue,
Fortitude, lofty in its resolve, with Green,
Wisdom, accomplished yet unassuming, with Black,
Temperance, moderate by nature,

With a Violet flesh-tint, made from two colors mixed into one,
Their singular names forgotten:[62]
The seven Ages of human life
Are also analogous to these Colors.[63]

(28) A child up to seven Years old from birth*
Is Silver or white, innocent and pert,
An inexperienced youngster up to fifteen Years is Blue,
A Youth up to twenty Years is Gold-Yellow,
A Young Man up to thirty Years is Green,
A Man up to fifty Years and stout of heart is Red,
A Man up to seventy Years old is Purple,
And Black is reserved for mourning the dead.

*The seven Ages of Human life compared with [the seven] colors.

(29) Similarly, the four Human types or complexions appear*
Cognate with four colors: first the Sanguine,
Full of blood, to Red, the irritable Choleric
To Blue, the Phlegmatic,
Always muculent and sniveling, to White,
And the melancholic, somber in mien, to Black.[64]
So, too, if one wished [to do the same] with the Elements:
Fire with Red, air with Blue, water with white, and the earth with Black.[65]

*Four colors compared with the four Human types, and the four chief elements.

(30) Amongst the Year's four seasons, Green denotes Spring,*
Red, Summer, burning with the Sunlight's heat,
Blue, Autumn with its bunches of grapes close at hand,
And Black, Winter, sad, without mirth:[66]
Thus do the Colors evince many meanings,
From which I, having now washed my
Ink-stained hands, will here take my leave,
In order to direct the younger Generation to the Lives of the Painters.[67]

*Four colors compared with the Seasons.

(31) Had circumstances permitted, I would have wished
To produce more chapters, or make them longer:
And yet, Architectural Painting, with its constituent parts,*
Such as measure and foreshortening, has long since
Been brought into view, very clearly printed in our language:[70]
What is more, my own affairs, and domestic exigencies,
Coming to disturb me, wrest away my Pen,
Else had I easily rendered up a thousand other matters.

*That is, the Books of Pieter van Aelst, on Geometry, perspective, and architecture, of Hans Bloem,[68] and of others.[69]

(32) Let [my poem], such as it is, be pleasing to you and
Serve for the best, O Youths [desirous of] painting:
Eschew not the way to Virtue, by reason of its forbidding threshold,[71]
For, through the sweet savor of prosperity,
It draws to a close in joy:
Examples of which you shall find
In the Lives and Deeds of the Painters, and (as we intend)
Reading, you shall learn at the same time to picture.

End of the Foundation of the Art of Painting.

Table of the Foundation of the Art of Painting[1]

The first number refers to the folio: *a* to the recto; *b* to the verso. The second number, in parentheses, refers to the page in this edition of the *Grondt*.

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1 The "Tafel des Schilder-consten Grondts" is an alphabetized list of commonplaces that functions as a topical index to the *Grondt*. The entries are largely based on the marginal glosses interspersed throughout the poem, although the presence of additional topics that distill the argument of further stanzas to which they refer indicates that Van Mander himself, rather than the publisher, compiled the register. As the subtitle explains, the letter *a* designates "recto," the letter *b* "verso." The "Tafel" serves as the index to this edition of the *Grondt*.

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To embellish shoresides [i.e., *Oevers*] with irises and other plants / fol. 36.b. (297)
Oil-paint was Woman's work to Michelangelo, Fresco Man's work / fol. 47.a. (327)
Differentiation of actions [i.e., *Onderscheyt der actien*], according to the natures and estates of Men / fol. 15.a. (238)
Amongst many thousands [i.e., *Onder veel duysent*] [,] one [achieves] fame / fol. 4.b. (209)
Instruction [i.e., *Onderwijs*] for the journeys of Youths / fol. 7.a. (216)
Vices [i.e., *Ondeuchden*] come with punishments / fol. 2.b. (205)
Improper Painters [i.e., *Ongheschickte Schilders*], unworthy of the name / fol. [*sic*, 3.a.] (206)
To make sketches [i.e., *Ontwerpselen*] of [one's] inventions / fol. 15.b. (241)
Ignorance [i.e., *Onverstandt*], mother of unrest / fol. 3.b. (207)

To endure ignorant judgment [i.e., *Onverstandich oordeel*] / fol. 5.a. (212)
To paint stormy weather [i.e., *Onweder*], thunder and lightning / fol. 35.a. (293)
The Eye [i.e., *Ooghe*], messenger of the heart / fol. 25.a. (265)
The Eyes, storeroom of desires / fol. 25.a. (265)
To attend to the judgment of common folk [i.e., *Op ghemeen volcx oordeel letten*] / fol. 5.a. (211–212)
Not to puff oneself up on account of Art [i.e., *Op Const*] / fol. 6.a. (213)
To pay attention to the sense of the History [i.e., *Op den sin der Historie te letten*], but also to good disposition / fol. 18.b. (249)
To pay attention to the forms of every kind of light [i.e., *Op ghedaenten van alderley lichten*] / fol. 31.a. (282)
How not to fold or crease drapery in the round or pressed flat [i.e., *Op rondt oft vlack*] / fol. 43.a. (315)
Attend to projection [i.e., *Op t'afsteken te letten*] / fol. 46.a. (323)
Ordering is no less than necessary / fol. 15.a. (240)
Ordonnance very necessary to Painters / fol. 15.a. (240)
To order groups [of figures], and leave open ground [amongst them] / fol. 16.a. (243)
Horizon [i.e., *Orisont*] [,] what it is / fol. 35.a. (293)
Parents [i.e., *Ouders*] must take notice of the inclination of a Youth / fol. 1.b. (202)
Ancient Painters [i.e., *Oude Schilders*] wrote Books about their Art / fol. 9.a. (221)
Ancient Painters' Books have perished / fol. 9.a. (221)
Old Painting on the Capitoline, artful in its affects / fol. 27.a. (271)

P.

The face of Paris portrayed with various affects / fol. 24.b. (265)
Compass [i.e., *Passer*] in the eye, and not in the hand / fol. 11.b. (229)
Passion scenes on slate by Bassano / fol. 32.b. (286)
Form and beauty of Horses [i.e., *Peerden*] / fol. 39.a. (304)
To portray Horses of various Nations / fol. 39.b. (305)
Coloring of Horses / fol. 39.b. (305)
Attitude of Horses / fol. 39.b. (305)
Froth of Horses / fol. 39.b. (305)
Pen-work of Goltzius, Bacchus, Ceres, and Venus / fol. 33.a. (287)
The Phoenix has golden plumes / fol. 33.a. (287)
Plato's cave, by Cornelis Cornelisz./ fol. 32.b. (287)

Pliny had written his own Book on Horses / fol. 38.b. (303)
Folds [i.e., *Ployen*] arise from something that projects / fol. 43.a. (315)
To portray Poetic Hell-scenes [i.e., *Poeetsche Hellen*] / fol. 31.b. (284)
Pythius was the father of Apelles / fol. 45.a. (319)

Q.
Difficult [i.e., *Qualijck*] for Painters to distinguish laughing from crying / fol. 25.b. (267–268)

R.
Consideration [i.e., *Raminghe*], how the face of Paris was painted by Euphranor / fol. 24.b. (265)
Reflection of Sunlight sometimes makes more than one Sun appear / fol. 30.a. (279)
Reflection amidst greenery / fol. 33.a. (288)
Reflections in water / fol. 33.b. (289)
Reflection described by Ariosto / fol. 33.b. (289–290)
Rainbow reflection of the Sun / fol. 29.b. (279)
Through reflection a Rainbow makes more bows / fol. 30.a. (279)
Rainbow in the waterfall near Terni / fol. 30.a. (280)
Rainbow at Tivoli, in the ponds / fol. 30.b. (280)
Rainbow[,] from where it has its colors / fol. 30.b. (280–281)
Colors of the Rainbow / fol. 30.b. (281)
The Rainbow teaches how to sort colors / fol. 31.a. (282)
Rhetoric not recommended / fol. 5.a. (211)
The arm reaches upward [i.e., *Reyckenden arem*] from the highest shoulder / fol. 13.a. (234)
Richly to fill the ordonnance / fol. 17.a. (245)
To order in a Ring with the scopus in the middle / fol. 17.a. (245)
Smoke [i.e., *Roock*] of various colors / fol. 31.b. (284)
All things are redder in the rising and setting of the Sun / fol. 29.a. (278)
Journey to Rome [i.e., *Room-reysen*] ill-advised, why / fol. 6.b. (215)
To paint boulders [i.e., *Rootsen*], rocky substrates, and waterfalls / fol. 37.a. (298)
Raw linen folds and creases / fol. 42.b. (314)

S.
To avoid pocket-folds [i.e., *Sack-ployen*] / fol. 43.a. (315)
The noble poet Sannazzaro writes subtly about painting / fol. 20.b. (253)

Some paintings resemble a chess-board [i.e., *Schaeckberdt*] / fol. 18.b. (249)
One cannot make Painters [i.e., *Schilders*] / fol. 1.a. (201)
The art of Painting [i.e., *Schilder-const*] is biddable / fol. 1.a. (201)
Painters ever dear to the great / fol. 3.a. (206)
The Painter must attract people's hearts through his good life, just as his painting attracts [their] eyes / fol. 3.b. (207)
The art of Painting[,] nursemaid to all good Arts / fol. 8.b. (220)
For young Painters no [course of] instruction had been prescribed in our language / fol. 9.a. (221)
A Painter dislikes the figure [he has painted], not knowing the reason why / fol. 11.b. (230)
Painters and Poets have a like power / fol. 18.b. (249)
Example of the Painting in the Temple of Pales / fol. 19.a. (250)
The Painter draws great advantage from many colors / fol. 27.b. (273)
The Painter fine at one thing, is also oftentimes fine at all things / fol. 28.b. (275)
Painters must attend to many [kinds of] reflection / fol. 33.b. (288)
The Painter's brush must listen to the Poet's pen / fol. 45.a. (320)
Scipio and Alexander praised, wherefor / fol. 51.b. (338)
To paint fine weather / fol. 35.b. (294)
To accustom oneself to a fine brushstroke for leaves [i.e., *Schoonen slach van bladen*] / fol. 37.a. (299)
Beauty of gems [i.e., *Schoonheyt der ghesteenten*] / fol. 52.a. (340)
Beauty of the new Jerusalem / fol. 52.a. (340)
Shoulder lowest, where the hip swivels outward / fol. 13.a. (234)
Shoulder raised highest, where the arm reaches upward / fol. 13.a. (234)
To bring the Scopus in the middle when one orders [the History] / fol. 17.a. (245)
The art of Writing [i.e., *Schrijf-const*] suckled by the art of Drawing / fol. 8.b. (220)
Usefulness of the art of Writing / fol. 51.b. (338–339)
Sea or water, a mirror of the Heavens / fol. 29.b. (278)
Certain order in the blazoning of Coats of Arms / fol. 54.b. (346)
Seven motions or movements / fol. 15.b. (241)
What the Seven colors mean in heraldry / fol. 54.b.(346)
Seven colors likened to the seven Planets, each so to be clad in its [respective] color / fol. 54.b. (346)
Seven colors like the seven days of the week / fol. 54.b. (346)
Seven colors like the seven Virtues / fol. 54.b. (346)

Seven colors like the seven ages of men / fol. 54.b. (347)
Neither to compliment nor to disparage oneself [i.e., *Sich selven*] / fol. 5.b. (213)
To portray the sick and the dead / fol. 26.b. (270)
Silver construed as white, what it signifies / fol. 54.a. (345)
Fortresses [i.e., *Sloten*] on clifftops / fol. 36.b. (297)
Smalts and blues need to be congealed in order not to discolor / fol. 50.a. (334)
Gently to draw on the lit side [i.e., *Soet op den dagh te trecken*] / fol. 9.a. (222)
Sweetly to blend / fol. 49.b. (333)
Without nature [i.e., *Sonder natuere*] one cannot become a Painter / fol. 1.b. (201–202)
Beauty of the Sun [i.e., *Sonnen schoonheyt*] not to be attained with colors / fol. 35.b. (294)
How to paint the Sphinx / fol. 21.b. (257)
Adage of Coornhert [i.e., *Spreeckwoordt van Coornhert*], on time / fol. 2.b. (204)
Adage, more the Painter, the wilder [the man], must be banished / fol. 3.a. (206)
Adage, where the love is, there the eye / fol. 24.a. (264)
Stances and actions according to the vigor of the Figures / fol. 14.b. (238)
Bulls [i.e., *Stieren*] [have] shorter horns than cows or oxen / fol. 40.b. (308)
Briskly to set [something down] on panel [i.e., *Stracx op panneel stellen*] is a Master's work / fol. 46.b. (325)
To avoid a Heavy manner [i.e., *Swaer maniere vermijden*] / fol. 16.a. (241–242)
Black [i.e., *Swart*] [the color] of joy to the Javanese, and white of sorrow / fol. 52.a. (340)

T.

Tame Beasts / fol. 38.b. (302)
To learn Drawing in Rome [i.e., *Teeckenen leeren te Room*], and painting in Venice / fol. 7.b. (217)
Drawing, father of painting / fol. 8.a. (220)
Drawing, what it is / fol. 8.b. (220)
Advisable to draw on Paper with a [colored] ground, and after the model [in the round] / fol. 9.a. (222)
Drawing likened to the body, and painting to the spirit / fol. 46.b. (325)

Drawing likened to the figure [molded] by Prometheus, and painting to the heavenly fire / fol. 46.b. (325)
Drawing likened to a [musical] Instrument, and painting to song / fol. 46.b.(325)
Temple of Fame / fol. 4.b. (209–210)
Straightway [i.e., *Ten eersten*] to paint without drawing comports not with everyone / fol. 47.a. (326)
Too much of anything [i.e., *Te veel eenderley*] in a Landscape miscarries / fol. 36.a. (296)
Advisable to keep track of Time / fol. 2.a. (204)
Value of Time / fol. 2.b. (204)
Time passed returns not again / fol. 2.b. (205)
Woodcuts by Titian as Examples of Drapery / fol. 44.b. (318)
Titian's youthful pictures looked good both from near and from far / fol. 48.a. (329)
Titian altered his handling [i.e., *handelinghe*] / fol. 48.a. (330)
Titian's followers somewhat deceived / fol. 48.b. (330)
Tithonus's Bride is Aurora / fol. 34.b. (291)
Life [i.e., *T'leven*] is the Painters' lodestar / fol. 9.b. (222–223)
To make use of Life in drawing the Cartoon / fol. 16.a. (242)
Sloth[,] the mother of every vice, and nursemaid of poverty / fol. 2.b. (205)
The [human] face [i.e., *Tronie*] requires as many colors as a Landscape / fol. 49.b. (333)
Between Painter and Painter [i.e., *Tusschen Schilder en Schilder*][,] a great difference / fol. 1.a. (201)

V.

On the ground [i.e., *Van grondt*] or mezza-tint [i.e., middle-tint/tone] / fol. 9.a. (222)
On the roughness [i.e., *Van de rouwheyt*] of some nowadays / fol. 48.a. (329)
On the glow [i.e., *Van't gloeyen*] of the flesh-tint / fol. 49.a. (331)
Fighting [i.e., *Vechten*] is praised by the ignorant / fol. 3.a. (205)
Many things [i.e., *Veel dinghen*] well made are a joy to see / fol. 18.a. (247)
To bring many faces [i.e., *Veel tronien*] into the ordonnance / fol. 18.a. (247)
To observe many aspects [i.e., *Veel eygenschappen*] of clothing / fol. 44.a. (317)
To portray bedewed fields [i.e., *Velden*] / fol. 34.b. (292)
To portray fruiting fields / fol. 36.b. (297)

Velum [i.e., Parchment], a frame with threads / fol. 9.b. (224)
Venetian painters as an example of finely [painted] silks / fol. 43.b. (316–317)
To improve [i.e., *Verbeteren*] by repeated underpainting in color / fol. 46.b. (326)
To foreshorten too much [i.e., *Vercortinghe te veel*], not praiseworthy / fol. 13.a. (234)
Foreshortening in the Landscape / fol. 35.a. (292–293)
To let the distant Landscape [i.e., *Verre Landtschap*] vanish into the air / fol. 34.b. (292)
Variety of Figures in the ordering / fol. 17.a. (244)
Various actions of Figures in the ordering / fol. 17.a. (244)
To observe the variety of leaves and colors [i.e., *verwen*] / fol. 37.b. (299)
To temper colors [i.e., *Verwe temperen*], [is] no waste of time / fol. 31.a. (282)
Colors that best accompany each other / fol. 45.a. 46.a. (320, 322–323)
Colors that like one another / fol. 45.b. (322)
Colors were created along with the World / fol. 50.a. (335)
Colors arose from out of the Elements / fol. 50.b. (335)
Color[,] what it is, and what it awakens / fol. 50.b. (336)
Colors are of two kinds / fol. 50.b. (336)
Color bestows diversity on things / fol. 50.b. (336–337)
Force and effect of Colors / fol. 51.a 52.a. (337, 340)
Colors transported Heavenward / fol. 52.a. (340)
Four colors likened to the four types of Men and the four Planets / fol. 54.b., and to the times of the Year/ fol. 55.a. (347)
How to place a Steady light [i.e., *Vlack licht*] that diminishes on both sides / fol. 18.b. (249)
Form of Flames [i.e., *Vlammen ghedaente*] according to the stuff by which they are fueled / fol. 31.b. (284)
Flesh-colored shadows [i.e., *Vleeschachtighe diepselen*] / fol. 49.a. (332)
To color in a fleshlike way [i.e., *Vleeschich te coloreren*] / fol. 49.b. (333–334)
Advised to labor diligently [i.e., *Vlijt doen*], to surpass the Italians / fol. 7.a. (217)
Praiseworthy, to be Universal / fol. 38.b. (302)
Brow [i.e., *Voorhooft*][,] accuser of souls, and book of hearts / fol. 25.a. (266)
Brow likened to Heaven / fol. 25.a. (266)

To detect early [i.e., *Vroech te mercken*], if someone will become a painter / fol. 1.b. (202)
Inadvisable to marry early [i.e., *Vroech trouwen ontraden*]. Early to marry well praiseworthy. Early to marry badly is harmful / fol. 6.b. (215)
Early to bed and to rise in the Summer / fol. 34.b. (291)
To portray a happy temperament [i.e., *Vrolijck ghemoedt*] / fol. 25.a. (266)
Women's flesh fuller [i.e., *Vrouwen ronder van vleesch*] / fol. 11.b. (229)
A Woman's feet together / fol. 13.a. (234)
Women's actions not fierce / fol. 14.b. (238)
Women's flowing Draperies / fol. 43.b. (316)
To paint Vulcan's smithy / fol. 32.a. (284)

W.
Waterfall near Terni, which is beautiful / fol. 30.a. (280)
Water always in the lowlands / fol. 36.b. (297)
Re-reflection [i.e., *Weerschijn*] of nudes onto [adjacent] nudes and fabrics / fol. 33.a. (288)
To observe re-reflection and mixtures / fol. 43.b. (316–317)
To portray footways [i.e., *Wegh*] [trod] through the morning dew / fol. 24.b. [*sic*, 34.b.] (292)
The art of Living well [i.e., *Wellevens const*] must also be considered / fol. 3.b. (207)
To strive for Concinnity [i.e., *Welstant te soecken*] in the coloring of Horses / fol. 39.a. (304)
To paint laboring figures [i.e., *Werckende bootsen*] according to their labor / fol. 13.a. (233)
West-Indians knew of no writing / fol. 51.b. (339)
Laws [i.e., *Wetten*] best serve humankind / fol. 16.b. (243–244)
Eyebrows [i.e., *Wijnbrouwen*] showing a man's thoughts / fol. 25.a.b. (267)
Wimples and veils of the Nymphs / fol. 45.a. (319)
To paint Winter and mists / fol. 35.a. (294)
Wonderful love of Seleucus for his son / fol. 24.a. (263–264)
Wondrous beauty of the Temple of Solomon / fol. 53.a. (342–343)
Movement of pleats and folds[,] in and out [i.e., *Wt en ingaen*] / fol. 43.a. (314–315)

End of the Register.

Commentary

Chapter 1: "Exhortation, or Admonition to up and coming young Painters"

[1] In claiming that *schilder-const* (art of painting) is a noble art, Van Mander identifies it as a mode of applied learning, distinct from more mundane artisanal practices requiring lesser skills. This is to say, as becomes evident throughout the *Grondt* and the *Schilder-Boeck*, that it combines dexterity of both hand and mind. In Cornelis Kiliaan, *Etymologicum teutonicae linguae sive dictionarium Teutonico-latinum* (Antwerp: Jan Moretus, 1599), 341, *oeffeninghe* is defined as *cultura* (cultivation), *exercitium* (exercise), and *studium* (study, application, applied learning). In "Life of Pieter Vlerick," in *Schilder-Boeck*, Book IV, fol. 252r, Van Mander rails against those guilds that lump *schilders* amongst the common herd of ordinary craftsmen: "Now at last you have become a guild, in the company of horse harness-making, tin casting, kettle-mending, glass-making, and old-clothes-selling: which princes, lords, and civic administrators not only tolerate but affirm, to your shame and dishonor, O noble *Pictura*."

[2] Throughout the *Grondt*, Van Mander utilizes minimal punctuation, relying mainly on forward slashes within the stanzas to mark metrical caesurae. Since my translation, though it retains Van Mander's division of each stanza into eight lines, is rendered in prose, I have converted the slashes into commas or semicolons only when they coincide with a pause in the phrasing of a thought. The one exception to Van Mander's usage is his somewhat idiosyncratic reliance on the colon to subjoin a coordinating clause crucial to his argument. I have consistently retained this device, even when it contravenes standard English usage. Van Mander also ends every stanza with a period even when a sentence continues into the following stanza; in the cases where a sentence bridges two stanzas, I have omitted the period and either inserted a comma at the close of the final line or, in one instance, left the line unpunctuated.

[3] In Book V of the *Schilder-Boeck*, *Wtlegghingh op den Metamorphosis Pub. Ovidij Nasonis* (*Commentary on the Metamorphoses of Publius Ovidius Naso*), fol. 87r, Van Mander identifies Hebe as the daughter of Juno, consort of Hercules, goddess of youth and immortal-

ity, and former cupbearer to the gods. That she lost her position as cupbearer due to "misfortune" (*ongeluck*) perhaps speaks to the circumstances of Van Mander's purported audience of aspiring young *schilders*, who must seize the opportunities he here musters if they are to make their way in the world. His account, here and elsewhere in the *Grondt*, derives from such mythographic treatises as Giovanni Boccaccio's *Genealogia deorum gentilium* (*Genealogy of the Pagan Gods*) (Venice: Giacomo Sansovino, 1569, and reprinted frequently throughout the sixteenth century), Lilio Gregorio Giraldi's *De deis gentium varia et multiplex historia* (*Varied and Manifold History of the Pagan Gods*) (ed. prin. Basel: Johannes Oporinus, 1548), Vincenzo Cartari's *Le imagini con la spositione de i dei de gli antichi* (*Images with Exposition of the Ancient Gods*) (ed. prin. Venice: Francesco Marcolini, 1556), and especially Natale Conti's *Mythologiae, sive explicationum fabularum libri decem* (*Mythologies, or Ten Books of Explanations of the Fables*) (Venice: n.p., 1568). On Hebe, see ibid., fol. 45r–v. As K.A.E. Enenkel points out in "The Making of 16th-Century Mythography: Giraldi's *Syntagma de Musis* (1507, 1511 and 1539), *De deis gentium historia* (ca. 1500–1548) and Julien de Havrech's *De cognominibus deorum gentilium* (1541)," *Humanistica Lovaniensia* 51 (2002): 9–53, Giraldi's treatise, unlike Catari's and Conti's, was primarily aimed at serious readers of Greek and Roman literature, rather than amateurs with a practical interest in classical mythology.

[4] The term *Scholieren* (scholars) situates the aspiring *schilder* (picturer, painter) on a continuum with other types of literate student whose education was advanced by means of practical exercises. The spectrum of schools that embraced practica extended from *schrijfscholen* (writing schools), where the rudiments of reading and writing were inculcated, to French Schools favored by merchants-in-training, to humanist-run Latin Schools that placed a premium on skill-based learning of the trivium—grammar, rhetoric, and dialectic. The local chambers of rhetoric were likewise construed as schools: at their monthly meetings, members learned the art of poetry through a process of mutual instruction and performance *in camera* that then formed the basis for public performances staged at festivals; by this route the *rederijkers* (poet-rhetoricians) secured their place in elite civic society, displaying their mastery of the forms and figures of prosody and persuasive allegory. Van Mander was fully conversant with this network of workshop-like "schools" in which men such as the poet-prelate Matthijs de Castelein and the town

secretary of Nieuwerkerk, Job Gommersz., had been educated. He rose through the ranks of the chambers in Flanders and, after immigrating to Haarlem, designed blazons (emblematic devices) for two of the city's chambers, *De wijngaardranken* (The Vine Tendrils) and *De witte angieren* (The White Carnations), the latter of which he may have co-founded. In referring to young *schilders* as *Scholieren*, he most likely alludes not to the model of an academy or university but to that of a chamber wherein a refined "habitus" could be cultivated; on chambers as educational institutions and sources of practical wisdom, see A. van Dixhoorn, "Writing Poetry as Intellectual Training: Chambers of Rhetoric and the Development of Vernacular Intellectual Life in the Low Countries between 1480 and 1600," in K Goudriaan, J. van Moolenbroek, and A. Tervoort, eds., *Education and Learning in the Netherlands, 1400–1600: Essays in Honour of Hilde de Ridder-Symoens*, Brill's Studies in Intellectual History 123 (Leiden and Boston: 2004), 201–222, esp. 205 on the Amsterdam chapter *De Eglentier*'s (The Eglantine) definition of itself as a "school using the country's common language." Also see on the kinds of rhetorical instruction available to a chamber's members, who gained exposure to the rules of both *première rhétorique* (the art of versification) and *seconde rhétorique* (rhetoric in the classical sense), B. Ramakers, "Between Aea and Golgotha: The Education and Scholarship of Matthijs de Castelein (c. 1485–1550)," in ibid., 179–199. On Van Mander's blazons, see M. Leesberg, comp., H. Leeflang and C. Schuckman, eds., *The New Hollstein Dutch and Flemish Etchings, Engravings, and Woodcuts 1450–1700* (Rotterdam and Amsterdam: 1999), xxxviii–xxxix, 184–187; on his involvement with the Flemish chamber of Haarlem, *De witte angieren*, see J.C.G.A. Briels, "'Reyn Geneucht': Zuidnederlandse kamers van rhetorica in Noordnederland 1585–1630," *Bijdragen tot de Geschiedenis* 57 (1974), 28–31.

[5] On Van Mander's use of term *Schilder*, see section 4.a., "*Schilder*," of my "Introduction," *supra*.

[6] In line 8, Van Mander uses the term *aenvoeren*, which signifies "to bear," "to support," in the dual sense of sustaining and carrying.

[7] *Slappen* (repose) is corrected to *stappen* (step) on the erratum page that follows Book IV; see "Errata op't Schilder-boeck, welcke den Leser sal believen aldus te verbeteren" (Errata to the *Schilder-Boeck*, which it shall please the reader thus to emend), in *Schilder-Boeck*, fol. [Pp ix] recto.

[8] Van Mander, as Hessel Miedema speculates, in *Karel van Mander, Den grondt der edel vry schilder-const*, 2 vols. (Utrecht: 1973), 2:358, may be alluding to the popular allegory of life's journey, known as the *Tabula Cebetis*, wherein children emerge, still unformed, from nature's subterranean chambers and receive various gifts—traits and abilities—from the Genius of Nature, endowments they proceed either to cultivate or squander as they mature; see *Cebetis des Thebaenschen philosoophs tafereel, waerinne na philosophische wijse claerlyck geleert wort, wat smenschen leven aldersalichts maect* (Antwerp: Marcus Antonies Gillis, 1564). Van Mander's close friend Hendrick Goltzius designed an elaborate three-part print based on the Cebetan ekphrasis that he converted into an allegory of the visual arts, specifically of the art of engraving (*artis chacographiae*), on which, see T. Weddigen, "Italienreise als Tugendweg: Hendrich Goltzius's *Tabula Cebetis*," *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 54 (2003): 91–139. Inborn ability, vouchsafed by Nature, predisposes would-be *schilders* to take up and master the tools and materials of *schilder-const*, as Van Mander repeatedly emphasizes in Books III and IV of the *Schilder-Boeck*, the Italian and Northern Lives. Characteristic is the exordium to the "Life of Hendrick Goltzius, excellent Painter, Engraver, and Glass-Engraver / -Painter from Mulbracht," fol. 281v: "Magnificent Nature effects so to drive and powerfully to advance those youths whom she wholly predisposes and selects for the art of picturing, that she leaves none of the seeds hidden which she implanted in their bosoms, but ever bountiful causes them to grow and bear fruit, to come forth very early, and openly to gather strength." As Jürgen Müller observes, in *Concordia Pragensis: Karel van Manders Kunsttheorie im Schilder-Boeck: Ein Beitrag zur Rhetorisierung von Kunst und Leben am Beispiel der rudolfinischen Hofkünstler*, Veröffentlichungen des Collegium Carolinum 77 (Munich: 1993), 174, Van Mander occasionally treats technical mastery as if it were a direct function of natural ability, requiring neither prior instruction nor studious practice; in "Life of Bartholomeus Sprangher, excellent Painter of Antwerp," for example, the young artist is said perfectly to have executed for the pope a Passion series *en grisaille* in pen and ink on blue paper, even though he had formerly drawn only in coal or chalk. This signal accomplishment testifies to Sprangher's surfeit of inborn skill, explicitly heralded in the opening line of the Life; see Miedema, ed., *Karel van Mander, Lives*, 1:330–333: "Since Nature occasionally (though rarely), through the particular assistance of a profuse heavenly outpouring, gives some spirits such perfect stature and strength in our profession that they

apparently without effort, and gratefully, bear such fine, noble fruits whereas others, although working laboriously, hurt our eyes with nothing but deformed and onerous things; it therefore appears and is evident that only those who are born natural heirs inherit the kingdom of our art of painting." On this passage and its relation to notions of *grazia* (grace) and *sprezzatura* (apparent ease, nonchalance) codified by Baldassare Castiglione in *Il Cortegiano* (Venice: Aldo Romano and Andrea d'Asola, 1528), see ibid., 5:87. On Van Mander's equation of natural ability with nobility of blood in the "Life of Sprangher," see Müller, *Concordia Pragensis*, 191; and, on Sprangher's singular status as a courtly artist who paints for his pleasure and that of the emperor, and concomitantly refuses to trade in the courtier's usual currencies of power and wealth, see ibid., 183–184.

[9] Book III of the *Republic* concerns the selection of youths best equipped to become guardians of Plato's ideal city-state, due to their aptitude for moral virtue and disinclination to imitate anything base, such as the words and deeds of smiths and other craftsmen; see *Res publica* III.396, 412, 413 (*Plato's Republic*, trans. and ed. C. Emlyn-Jones and W. Preddy, 2 vols. [Cambridge, MA: 2013], 1:260–269, 320–329). Van Mander takes from Plato the simple point that parents should be alert to the innate abilities and dispositions of children. He offers a counterexample in "Life of Jooris Hoefgnaghel, Painter and Poet of Antwerp," in *Schilder-Boeck*, Book IV, fol. 262v, which recounts how Hoefnaghel's wealthy parents, keen to see their son become a merchant, forbade him from following the dictates of "Mother Nature" ("Moeder nature"), ultimately to no avail. Beguiled by *schilderconst*, Jooris surreptitiously fills the family attic with drawings, finally prompting his exasperated father to relent.

[10] Van Mander here uses the proverbial saying "To fall through a basket," on which see F.A. Stoett, *Nederlandsche spreekwoorden, spreekwijzen, uitdrukkingen en gezegden*, 2 vols. (Zutphen: 1923–1925), 2:9–11.

[11] On these deeds and labors of Hercules, see "On Hercules," in *Wtleghingh*, fols. 75v–76r.

[12] Van Mander's term for "Graphic Arts" is *Graphidis Consten* (Arts of the drawing-pencil or sketching-pen). *Graphis* is a Latin transliteration from the Greek.

[13] The *Thesaurus Theutonicae linguae. Schat der Neder-duytscher spraken*, ed. A. Maldoets, C. Kiliaan, Q. Steenhart, and A. van Hasselt (Antwerp: Christopher Plantin, 1573), fol. P3 recto, defines *g*[*h*]*eest* as *esprit* in French and *spiritus* in Latin. *Sin* (mind) signifies power of thought, but in certain contexts it can also mean heart, in the sense of "I am of a mind to do something." The *Thesaurus*, fol. Aa1 verso, defines *sin* as "sens, entendement, intention, pensée" in French, "mens, sensus, sententia animi" in Latin. (Latin *mens* can mean "mind, heart, soul" but is often used to refer to the ratiocinative faculties; *sensus* refers to the capacity to perceive and feel but also to one's frame of mind; *sententia animi* might best be rendered "way of thinking.") *Gheneghen*, which I have translated "affection," in the sense of affective inclination, is defined in the *Thesaurus*, fol. Q3 verso, by reference to the adjective *geneycht*: *enclin* or *addoné* in French, "inclinatus, proclivis, propensus, or pronus" in Latin. For a fuller account of *gheest* and its relation to the term *aerdigh* (subtle, artful), see chapter 10, note 14 *infra*.

[14] "Shooting the parrot" refers to the annual contests held by civic militia companies, at which the target was a bird tethered to a high pole. The winner would sometimes be awarded with a staff crowned with the gilded effigy of a bird; for one such example, see the silver gilt bird trophy, ca. 1500–ca. 1599, of the Hulst civic guard, in the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam (BK-NM-9331). Also cf. the shooting match taking place in the left background of Joannes and Lucas van Doetecum's engraving after Pieter Bruegel, *Kermis of St. George*, ca. 1558, on which, see M. Bassens, in Bassens and J. van Grieken, *Bruegel in zwart en wit: Het complete grafische werk* [exh. cat., Royal Library, Brussels] (Brussels: 2019), 204–205.

[15] The reference is to the great Christian moralist Dirck Volckertsz. Coornhert; he was also a philosopher, theologian, political thinker, dramatist, and self-taught Latinist who translated Cicero, Seneca, and Boethius into Dutch, along with the first twelve books of Homer's *Odyssey*. Active as a printmaker between the later 1540s and the late 1570s, he taught the art of engraving to Van Mander's esteemed friend Hendrick Goltzius On the close relation between Coornhert's literary and pictorial works, see I.M. Veldman, *De Wereld tussen Goed en Kwaad: Late prenten van Coornhert* [exh. cat., Het Stedelijk Museum het Catharina Gasthuis, Gouda] (The Hague: 1990).

[16] Van Mander may have in mind an image such as the print *Young Drunkard* from the *Consequences of Drink* series, in which the epony-

mous young man simultaneously drinks from a goblet and a beaker, various discarded objects, including an hourglass, a moneybag, and a couple of books, strewn at his feet; see M. Leesberg (comp.) and H. Leeflang (ed.), *The New Hollstein Dutch and Flemish Etchings, Engravings, and Woodcuts 1450–1700: Hendrick Goltzius*, 4 vols. (Ouderkerk aan den Ijssel: 2012), 4:128–129.

[17] *Kolf* was an antecedent of golf, played in the Low Countries from about the thirteenth century, on which see C. Gehring, "Material Culture in Seventeenth-Century Dutch Colonial Manuscripts," in R.H. Blackburn and N.A. Kelley, eds., *New World Dutch Studies: Dutch Arts and Culture in Colonial America, 1609–1776* (Albany: 1987), 43–50, esp. 44.

[18] The first three lines of stanza 22 continue the thread of thought enunciated in stanza 21.

[19] That is to say, "may be forgotten" and the name of Art be held in higher repute.

[20] Van Mander laments the ignominious reputation suffered by the whole of *schilderconst*, the art of picturing, due to its practitioners' dissolute behavior.

[21] On the term *schilderachtig* (painter-like) and its connotations of civility, moderation, and restraint, both here and in stanza 29, see B. Bakker, "*Schilderachtig*: Discussion of a Seventeenth-Century Term and Concept," *Simiolus* 23 (1995): 147–162, esp.149. Also see "Life of Abraham Bloemaert, Excellent Painter of Gorcum," in *Schilder-Boeck*, Book IV, fol. 298r, where Van Mander, punning on Bloemaert's name, commends the "schilderachtigen bloem-aerdt" (painterly floral quality) of his character and temperament, traits that have charmed *Pictura*, the art of painting, into bestowing on him all her favor and friendship. In *Grondt*, chapter 5, stanza 62, Van Mander implicitly connects the term *schilderachtig* to pictorial handling, using it to characterize the painterly effect of the poet Jacopo Sannazzaro's manner of pastoral landscape in his *Arcadia*.

[22] Miedema, in *Karel van Mander, Grondt*, 2:376, directs attention to Van Mander's terminology in line 2: *nederlegghen* (set, lay, place, deposit, but also put aside, dispel, drive away; cf. Kiliaan, *Etymologicum Teutonicae linguae*, 334: *deponere*, deposit, *deiicere*, cast down or aside, drive out or away, dislodge), *slechten / slichten* (smoothen,

but also nullify; cf. ibid., 490, 492: *planare*, make level, smooth, *extricare*, remove, extricate, *dirimere*, *dissolvere*, dissolve, discharge, annul, refute, nullify), and *verdrijven* (diffuse, spread out, but also scatter, chase away; cf. ibid. 585, *discutere*, diffuse, disperse, disseminate, spread abroad, *pellere, fugare*, put to flight, scatter, drive out or chase away). All three terms can thus be read as double entendres that jointly refer to the casting out of discord and, implicitly, to the technical means whereby this may be accomplished, through pigments applied with a stylus or brush in a manner both diffusive and burnishing. On *nederlegghen*, *slechten*, and *verdrijven* as terms connected to workshop practice, see Miedema, *Karel van Mander, Grondt*, 2:376; on the use of *verdrijven* to describe "light, sweeping" brushstrokes that effect "delicate transitions," see A.-S. Lehmann, "Fleshing Out the Body: The 'Colours of the Naked' in Workshop Practice and Art Theory, 1400–1600," *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 58 (2008): 87–109, esp. 94–96, 107 notes 52 and 55. In "Life of Michel Janssen Miereveldt, Painter of Delft," in *Schilder-Boeck*, Book IV, fol. 281r, Van Mander uses the term *verdreven* to mean "soft polishing with a sable-brush or a feather"; see Miedema, ed., *Karel van Mander, Lives*, 1:382 and 5:170. On the *vis-pinseel* (literally, "fish brush," i.e., a brush made from sable-, otter-, or seal-fur), usually with a fan-shaped head, see Lehmann, "Fleshing Out the Body," 96. As Lehmann further explains (107, note 55), Van Mander equates *verdrijven* with a specific kind of brushwork, which he characterizes as *swaddrigh* (swaying); see "Life of Anthonis Montfoort, called Blocklandt," in *Schilder-Boeck*, Book IV, fol. 254r.

[23] The quarrelsome behavior of fishwives was proverbial; see P.J. Harrebomée, *Spreekwoordenboek der Nederlandsche taal, of verzameling van Nederlandsche spreekwoorden en spreekwoordelijke uitdrukkngen van vroegeren en lateren tijd*, 3 vols. (Utrecht: 1856–1870; reprint ed., Hoevelaken: 1990), 2:67.

[24] In "Van Pamphilus, Schilder van Macedonien" (On Pamphilus, Painter of Macedonia), in Book II of the *Schilder-Boeck*, *Het Leven Der oude Antijcke doorluchtighe Schilders, soo wel Egyptenaren, Griecken als Romeynen* (*Lives of the Ancient Illustrious Painters, Egyptian, Greek, and Roman*), fol. 72r, Van Mander reports that this learned master, whose art was based in arithmetic and geometry, brought painting into such esteem that her practitioners came to include members of the nobility; moreover, by eternal edict common folk and anyone not freeborn were forbidden to practice the art. Van Mander ruefully concludes: "How great was the repute of the Art

which many persons now thoughtlessly scorn and denigrate, yea blindly judge to be idle and nugatory. Yet let the art of Painting pass this by as unconscionable and untrue, unremarked and unavenged, considering it sufficient that such as they continue to be punished by the hapless affliction of their ignorance, like Sisyphus with the heavy stone or Ixion with his lamentable wheel; and let her content herself (as knowledgeable writers opine) to be a loving mother and wetnurse to all honorable arts and sciences, constantly smiling with affection upon all her devoted lovers, adorning here churches, there their princely palaces, cabinets, and pleasure gardens, elsewhere their civic housefronts, antechambers, and chambers, whereby she, being estimably seen with great wonder and pleasure, makes human vision, the chiefest of the senses, party to happy, sweet nourishment."

[25] In chapter 4 of Plutarch's "Life of Aemilius Paulus," in *Vitae parallelae*, Aemilius Paulus is said to have educated his children not only after the Roman model but also the Greek, seeing to it that they were trained in grammar, oratory, and philosophy as well as sculpture and painting. As Miedema notes in *Karel van Mander, Grondt*, 2:645, Van Mander, who likely had no Greek, may have consulted one of the numerous Latin editions of the *Parallel Lives*, in addition to the French translation of Jacques Amyot (Paris: Michel Vascosan, 1559).

[26] In "Van Appelles, Prince der Schilders" (On Appeles, Prince of Painters), in *Schilder-Boeck*, Book 11, fols. 78v–79r, Van Mander states that Apelles's sweet demeanor and eloquence so pleased Alexander that he visited his workshop on more than one occasion to hear him confabulate. When the king would discourse on art, as laymen are sometimes wont to do, the artist would gently and amiably correct him, so agreeably in fact that Alexander, who was famously short-tempered, allowed him this indulgence.

[27] Namely, in "Van Protogenes, van Caunus, Schilder" (On Protogenes of Caunus, Painter), in *Schilder-Boeck*, Book 11, fols. 82r–83v.

[28] On Raphael's legendary courtesy toward the fellow artists who gravitated to him in large numbers, and toward *liefhebbers* (lovers of art), see "Het leven van Raphael Sanzio van Urbijn, Schilder, en Bouwmeester" (Life of Raphael Sanzio of Urbino, Painter, and Architect), in *Schilder-Boeck*, Book 11, fol. 117r, where Van Mander describes his Florentine entourage of young painters, and patrons such as Taddeo Taddei, who cultivated his company at home and at table. On the large community of fellow masters with whom Raphael peace-

ably collaborated on projects such as the Vatican Loggie, including the specialist in *grotisschen* and *beesten nae*[*r*] *t'leven* (grotesques and animals after the life), Giovanni da Udine, and the figure painters Giulio Romano, Giovan Francesco Penni, Perino del Vaga, et al., see fol. 120v.

[29] Van Mander's allegorical interpretation of the Lethe, the river of oblivion, in chapter 10 of the *Wtlegghingh*, complements by antithesis his call for courtesy, modesty, and liberality, undergirded by freedom from envy, in stanzas 32–35 *supra*: there the Lethe stands for enslavement to contingent bodily passions as opposed to the joy to be had from the soul's knowledge of and participation in heavenly things. The Lethe is construed as a Neo-Platonic antitype; see fol. 83r: "But the Platonists consider the damned to inhabit the world where they suffer all the pain and distress of the soul and of temperament; the soul enters hell when it comes to dwell in the mortal body, wherein it encounters the river Lethe, because here they forget and lose every joy that they possessed from the knowledge of glorious, heavenly things, and thus, inwardly sighing, themselves bring forth and produce sad rivers of tears, bitter Cocytuses and Styxes, and fiery Phlegetons of scorching impulses, of rage and suchlike that torment us so long as we live in the hell of this body."

[30] The key verses are stanzas 87–92 of Canto 34 and 11–23 of Canto 35.

[31] As Miedema points out in *Karel van Mander, Den grondt*, 2:386, Van Mander grants less freedom of choice to the swans, whom he identifies as history writers and poets in stanza 41: whereas in Ariosto they preserve the names of whomever they wish, here they pluck the few plaques inscribed with the names of renowned men, that lie on the shore, resistant to the ministrations of the old man, Time. The implication is that these men, through their worthy deeds, are partially the agents of the immortality conferred on them by the arts. In ibid., 2:382 and 2:387, Miedema interprets Van Mander's reference to *geesten* (spirits) as an allusion to Federico Zuccaro's personification of *Spirito*, who mediates access to the heavenly temples of Virtue and Honor in a pair of drawings (respectively, former Janos Scholz collection and Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin), but this appears unlikely since Van Mander's emphasis falls not on *geest* as an heavenly principle that facilitates the transcendence of terrestrial concerns but on the part it plays in maintaining civility amongst artists and in the efficient running of a peaceable workshop.

[32] An alternative reading would be "that bears that lofty image." Whereas Ariosto refers to an actual image hanging from the column, onto which the slips of paper with their names are attached, Van Mander, by referring to "that image," conflates name and image, as if he were construing the written name as itself an image. The "soet singhende Swanen" (sweet-singing Swans) are surely an allusion to Van Mander himself, whose *Schilder-Boeck* immortalizes ancient, Italian, and Northern painters, and whose heraldic device was a neck-crowned swan, as witness the paired swans atop the frontispiece *Portrait of Karel van Mander* by Jan Saenredam (Fig. 2).

[33] Van Mander plays on the pun *goedt*, which signifies both "goodness" and "goods" in the sense of possessions.

[34] The term *listen* (skill[s]), in Van Mander's time and today, also connotes subtlety and artisanal cunning.

[35] The opening couplet paraphrases the parable of the two paths, one narrow and laborious, leading to eternal reward, the other wide and effortless, leading to eternal perdition, in Matthew 7:13–15.

[36] Van Mander imagines that the sentient sheet of paper gladly awaits the many marks and strokes with which the young artist will cover it.

[37] In Latin, the name *Rapiamus* signifies "Let us seize, snatch, plunder," with the further implication that this should be done hastily.

[38] Van Mander puns on the homonymic relation between the Latin verb *rapere* (to seize, transport, carry off), the Dutch verb *rapen* (take up, gather, bring together), and the Dutch noun *raap* (turnip). The things you imitate must not only be seized but also integrated seamlessly, as if they had been cooked into a well-blended stew. Implicit is an allusion to Seneca the Younger's "Moral Letter to Lucilius" LXXXIV.5–8, in which the philosopher urges his friend fully to digest the ideas he imitates, so that they fuel his power of inventive thought (*ingenium*) rather than merely sitting in memory; see Seneca, *Epistles*, trans. R.M. Gummere, 3 vols, (Cambridge, MA: 1920), 2:280–281. Van Mander counsels the aspiring draughtsman to integrate into a whole figure the body parts he has discretely drawn. The term *rapen* figures in the rebus-motto devised by Maarten van Heemskerck for the "young" Haarlem chamber of rhetoric known as *De wijn-*

gaardranken (The Vine Tendrils): "Deur der druiven soetheiht rapen wij soelaas" (We seize comfort from the sweetness of the grapes). Van Mander incorporated this rebus into the New Year's blazon he designed for the chamber, which was engraved by Jacob Matham in 1600; see Leesberg, ed., *New Hollstein: Karel van Mander*, xxxviii, 185–186, no. 162. Distantly related to Van Mander's use of *rapen* is the Latin term *rapiaria*, which refers to collections of passages gathered from Scripture and from exegetical and spiritual works, for the purpose of personal devotion and edification; see A. Deblaere, "Preghiera tra le beguine e nella 'Devotio moderna,'" in idem, *Albert Deblaere (1916–1994): Essays on Mystical Literature*, ed. R. Faesen, S.J. (Leuven: 2004), 317–370; T. Mertens, "Lezen met de pen: Ontwikkelingen in het laatmiddeleeuws geestelijk proze," in F. van Oostrom and F. Willaert, eds., *De studie van de Middelnederlandse letterkunde: Stand en toekomst* (Hilversum: 1989), 187–200; and R. Faesen, S.J., "'Individualization" and 'Personalization' in Late Medieval Thought," in R. Hofman, C. Caspers, et al., eds., *Inwardness, Individualization, and Religious Agency in the Late Medieval Low Countries*, Medieval Church Studies 43 (Turnhout: 2020), 35–50, esp. 43–44.

[39] Van Mander equates poetry and rhetoric in the manner typical of the *rederijkers*, the rhetor-poets of his time, as witness Matthijs de Castelein's theoretical poem *De const van rhetoriken* (The Art of Rhetoric) of 1555, which is in fact a treatise on poetics. On De Castelein's poem, see G. Stuiveling, "Schaken met De Castelein," *Spiegel der Letteren* 7 (1963–1964): 161–184; S.A.P.J.H. Iansen, "Speurtocht naar het leven van Matthijs Castelein. Archivalia en onzekerheden", *Verslagen en mededelingen der koninklijke Vlaamse academie voor taal- en letterkunde* (*nieuwe reeks*) (1970): 321–446; D. Coigneau, "Matthijs de Castelein (1485?–1550)," *Jaarboek De Fonteine* (1985–1986): 7–13; and M. Spies, *Rhetoric, Rhetoricians, and Poets: Studies in Renaissance Poetry and Poetics*, ed. H. Duits and T. van Strien (Amsterdam: 1999), 40–44. *Rhetorica* in this context refers to the so-called *arts de seconde rhétorique*—not the formal and structural principles of argumentation but rather the techniques of prosody, especially rhyme, rhythm, equisonance, and, of course, colorful elocution.

[40] Stanzas 45–47, in focusing on the business of art, recall P.C. Ketel's emphasis on the commercial profit to be gained from the practice of *schilderconst*, in his "Workshop-Song for Young Painters, after the wise: 'The Lovely May, etc.,'" *supra*, stanza 1 of which ends by asserting, "Our wish, our desire and hope is to sell." Also see Advantage's

promise "to increase your pounds-weight of coin all round," in Ketel's "New Year's Song, to be sung by six personages—Order, Art, Time, Advantage, *Pictura*, and Reason. After the wise: 'Rejoice / in virtue / you Rhetorical Youth,'" translated *supra*. Ketel was responding to the practical strain that runs through Van Mander's poem.

[41] Smalt is a pigment containing ground blue potassium glass. Ash refers to the gray residue left over after ultramarine has been extracted from lapis lazuli. As Miedema notes in *Karel van Mander, Den grondt*, 2:391, a fundamental rule of the painter's workshop was that these blues not be mixed, i.e., tempered, with an excess of binding agent, in order to prevent discoloration.

[42] In "Van Pallas, oft Minerva" (On Pallas, or Minerva), in *Schilder-Boeck*, Book v, fol. 42v, Van Mander praises the goddess for combining wise counsel and good judgment, with technical ingenuity and artisanal skill: "She was also nicknamed Tritonia, after the number three [...] because three things are necessary for a person to be wise, that is, sure counsel, true judgment, and right action. [...] As Ovid, Ausonius, Virgil, Cicero, Homer, Papinius, Lucian, and Polydor Virgil testify, she discovered sewing, spinning of silk and linen, weaving of wool, the manufacture of wagons, the building of houses and cities, the utility of olive oil, metrical singing and flute-playing, and waging war." In stanza 49, he implicitly adjures young *schilders* to imbibe these qualities and accomplishments like nurslings. On Minerva's wisdom and technical ingenuity, see Conti, *Mythologiae*, fols. 93v–95v.

[43] The verb *rapen* (seize upon) returns to the theme of judicious appropriation introduced by the personification of *Rapiamus* in stanza 46.

[44] The allusion is to the famous anecdote in Pliny's *Naturalis historia* (*Natural History*), trans. H. Rackham (Cambridge, MA: 1938–1963), xxxv.xxxvi.84–85. As Van Mander tells it, embellishing on Pliny, Apelles, being "attentive and observant in all things," did not scorn to consult the common man's judgment, which he considered a "touchstone of reason." He would display newly finished works in a kind of gallery attached to his home, and eavesdrop on the public's comments, taking note of any faults they should find and "sometimes rating their opinion above his own." In adverting to Pliny, Van Mander certainly consulted Antoine du Pinet, *L'histoire du monde de C. Pline Second*, 2 vols. (Lyon: Antoine Tardif, 1584).

[45] Van Mander impugns Midas's retrograde judgment in *Schilder-Boeck*, Book V, fol. 89v, where he is criticized for rating low, "earthly things" ("aerdtsche dinghen") above high, "heavenly ones" ("hemelsche").

[46] The Dutch humanist Hadrianus Junius offers a lengthy description of Momus, the god of mockery and reproach, in his *Emblemata* (Antwerp: Christopher Plantin, 1565), 69, where he visualizes him for the benefit of painters, leaving no detail to chance, as he avers in the book's dedication. As Ilja Veldman demonstrates in "Maarten van Heemskerck and Hadrianus Juius: The Relationship between a Painter and a Humanist," *Simiolus* 7 (1974): 35–54, esp. 42, in their designs for the *Emblemata*, Geoffroy Ballain and Pieter Huys, and the woodcutters Gerard van Kampen and Arnold Nicolaï, followed Junius's instructions to the letter, codifying the image of Momus that Van Mander likely had in mind.

[47] Van Mander derives his novel personification Placebo from the Latin future verb *placebo* (I shall please).

[48] On the term *slecht* (low, modest, ordinary) and its relation to *quaet* (poor, worn out, in a bad condition), see I. Sturtewagen, "Clothing Rubens's Antwerp: Everyday Urban Dress in the Late Sixteenth and Early Seventeenth Centuries," in A.D. Newman and L. Nijkamp, eds., *Undressing Rubens: Fashion and Painting in Seventeenth-Century Antwerp* (Turnhout: 2019), 7–30, esp. 16–17.

[49] The term *vijsevasen* can also signify "conceits," but since this term is ambiguous and can be read either positively or negatively, I have chosen the more pejorative "trifles" to translate it.

[50] In *Schilder-Boeck*, Book V, fol. 45r, Van Mander characterizes the Pierides, the nine daughters of Pierus, as poetasters, hedgerow-poets, and would-be Muses: though they claim to have drunk from the poets' source, the Hippocrene, their empty verses, since they mimic the form but lack the substance of true poetry, resemble nothing more than the idle chitter-chatter of magpies. Indeed, in Ovid, *Metamorphoses* V.671–678, the Pierides are transformed into clamorous magpies.

[51] The "Horse's fountain" is the Hippocrene, source of poetic inspiration, which first flowed from the hoofbeats of Pegasus.

[52] The Satyr is Marsyas whose story, as recounted by Van Mander in *Schilder-Boeck*, Book V, fol. 54r, derives from Diodorus Siculus, *Bibliotheca historica* (*Library of History*), 3:59. Presumptuous Marsyas challenges Apollo to a musical contest requiring "that each of them show by manipulation of the fingers alone his practiced skilled in the Art" ("alleenlijck met den vingheren bewese zijn ervarentheyt in der Const te handelen"), the satyr on the double-flute, the god on the lyre. Apollo wins by instead competing on dual fronts, "two Arts against one" ("tweederley Consten teghen een eenighe"): he not only plays but also sings. He then exacts his revenge on prideful Marsyas by flaying him. On Marsyas, see Conti, *Mythologiae*, fol. 299r.

[53] Like Marsyas, overconfident Arachne challenges a god to a contest of skill, this time Minerva in the art of weaving images, and for her pains is turned into a spider. The moral of this story, states Van Mander in *Schilder-Boeck*, Book V, fol. 49v, is that inborn gifts, such as an aptitude for the arts or sciences, since they come from God alone should be no cause of undue pride: compared to divine grace and mercy, they are like the merest "cobwebs" (*spinnewebben*). Implicit in this admonition is the distinction, fundamental to the *Grondt*, between innate ability and practiced skill. On Arachne, see Conti, *Mythologiae*, fol. 299r.

[54] Van Mander illustrates this admonition against overweening pride in his exegetical *Allegory of the Transitoriness of Life*, engraved and published by Jacob Matham in 1599, for which see M. Leesberg, comp., H. Leeflang and C. Schuckman, eds., *The New Hollstein Dutch and Flemish Etchings, Engravings, and Woodcuts, 1450–1700* (Rotterdam and Amsterdam: 1999), 101. The emblematic image exhibits his mastery of the *verscheydenheden* (varieties of pictorial subject)—human figures, landscape, still life, calligraphy—even as it counsels the viewer to remain ever aware of scriptural teachings about the imminence of death.

[55] The term *maghen* signifies both "relatives" and "bellies" and thus implicitly alludes to Matthew 25:35–35: "Come, ye blessed of my Father, possess you the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world. For I was hungry, and you gave me to eat."

[56] Van Mander imagines Cupid's assaults on the heart as wily military expeditions. In *Schilder-Boeck*, Book V, fol. 8v, he states that the boy carries arms to portend the great pain and distress he generally

inflicts on foolish lovers. Citing Xenophon, he compares Erotes to bowmen since beautiful persons, even when seen from afar, shoot their beholders with torturous desire; and citing Servius, he describes Cupid's darts as weapons of regret and oppression. On *Cupidinis vis* (the power of Cupid), see Conti, *Mythologiae*, fols. 126v–127r.

[57] In *Schilder-Boeck*, Book V, fol. 22 v, Van Mander enumerates some of the ways in which the hunter Actaeon can be seen to epitomize sundering distraction: for example, whereas Ovid, in *Metamorphoses* III.232–252, recounts how Actaeon was turned into a stag and devoured by hounds as punishment for having seen the goddess Diana naked, Plutarch, in *Amatoriae narrationes* (*Amorous Stories*) 2, has him torn to bits by competing forces. The enamored Archias, founder of Syracuse, tries to abduct the boy, pulling him one way, while his father and friends pull him another, with disastrous consequences. In this allegory, he is "pulled at cross purposes" ("weersijden getrocken"). Van Mander also gives the Greek names of some of Actaeon's hounds, which likewise allude to the notion of scattering: "Follow-spoor," "Round-the-slope," and "Storm-wracked" ("volgespeur," "berghe-swerf," and "onweder"). On Actaeon and his dogs, see Conti, *Mythologiae*, fol. 200v.

[58] In *Schilder-Boeck*, Book V, fol. 92r, Van Mander juxtaposes the story of the Judgment of Paris, taken from Apuleius, *Metamorphoses* 10:30–33, with the story of Hecuba's dream, taken from Pseudo-Apollodorus, *Bibliotheca* (*Library of Myths*) 3:12.5. Seduced by Venus's promise of a wife as beautiful as she—namely, Helen of Troy—Paris judges her more beautiful than her competitors Juno and Minerva and awards her the golden apple of Eris. When she then assists him to abduct Helen from the house of her husband Menelaus, king of Sparta, the Trojan war is launched. While pregnant with Paris, Hecuba prophesies the destruction of Troy at his hands, dreaming that she would give birth to a burning torch from which all Asia would be set afire. On Paris's corrupted judgment swayed by the goddess's bribes, see Conti, *Mythologiae*, fol. 198v; on his abduction of Helen, see ibid., fol. 199v.

[59] As Miedema observes in *Karel van Mander, Den grondt* 2:402–403, stanza 63 closes with a proverb, "Van vroeg ontbijten en laat huwen kwam nooit hoofdpijn" (Never did a headache come from breakfasting early and marrying late), on which see Harrebomée, *Spreekwoordenboek der Nederlandsche taal*, 1:329 and *Bijlage* 3:232.

[60] Van Mander paraphrases from the Dutch edition of Pedro Mexía's popular treatise on morals, *Silva de varia lección* (*Miscellany of Various Lessons*); see *De verscheyden lessen Petri Messiae … waer inne beschreven worden de weerdichste geschiedenissen alder keyseren, coninghen, ende loflijcker mannen* (*The Various Lessons of Petrus Messia … in which are described the most worthy histories of every emperor, king, and praiseworthy man*) (Leiden: Jan Paedts Jacobsz. and Jan Bouwensz., 1587), 236: "I do not say that a man ought to be much older, but upon consideration, ten years were sufficient: namely, the man twenty-five years old, the woman sixteen or seventeen at the most, in view of the ages and life spans of our times."

[61] Van Mander paraphrases from Ludovico Ariosto's *Satira quinta* (*Fifth Satire*), vv. 187–189, addressed to Annibale Malaguzzo; see *The Satires of Ludovico Ariosto*, trans. H---n (London: A. Millar, 1759), 116–117: "In point of years I fancy 'twould be best, / Yours should exceed by ten or twelve at least: / With one that equals or surmounts your age."

[62] In *Grondt*, chapter 5, stanza 82, Van Mander calls Rome "De Stadt der Pictoriael Academen" (The City of Academies of the Pictorial Arts). He concludes "Het leven van Ioan Schoorel, Schilder" (Life of Jan van Scorel, Painter), in *Schilder-Boeck*, Book IV, fol. 236v, with a poem that portrays Rome as a school of art; translated from Domenicus Lampsonius, *Pictorum aliquot celebrium Germaniae Inferioris effigies* (Antwerp: Sub intersignio Quatuor Ventorum, 1572), the sexain, delivered in Van Scorel's voice, reads: "I was ever famed as the first who showed / Netherlanders that he who would be a Painter / Must go to visit Rome and bring back / A thousand brushes and as many colors, and beyond these, / Many prized works painted worthily in this school, / Before they may honorably be esteemed an Artist." The current stanza, however, warns against Rome's many blandishments and forms a complement to the earlier warning against wine, women, and song in stanzas 18–23 *supra*. Van Mander's vignette of licentious Rome as a nest of prodigals brings to mind the initiation rituals of the *Schildersbent* (Painters' Crew), celebrated by Dutch and Flemish painters in Rome throughout the seventeenth century; featuring mock didactic *tableaux vivants*, these festivities or, better, "mock baptisms" played upon the city's reputation for encouraging Bacchic revelry. On these revels, see T. Kren, "'Chi non vuol Baccho': Roeland van Laer's Burlesque Painting about Dutch Artists in Rome," *Simiolus* 11 (1980): 63–80; D. Levine, "Pieter van Laer's *Artists' Tavern*:

An Ironic Commentary on Art," in H. Bock and T.W. Gaehtgens, eds., *Jahrbuch Preußischer Kulturbesitz Sonderband 4: Holländische Genremalerei im 17. Jahrhundert* (Berlin: 1987), 169–171; and *idem*, "The Bentvueghels: 'Bande Académique,'" in M. Lavin, ed., *Essays Honoring Irving Lavin on his Sixtieth Birthday* (New York: 1990), 207–219.

[63] Van Mander refers to Petrarch's three sonnets against the corruption of Rome (written, in fact, to rebuke the papal court at Avignon), in which the poet rails against the debauchery of the Roman Babylon; see *Le rime di M. Francesco Petrarca* (Venice: Giuseppe Bortoli, 1739), 133–134 (*Sonnette* 136–138). In *Sonnet* 136, v. 2, Petrarch animadverts that Rome is a "traitorous nest where the evil spread everywhere in the world hatches."

[64] The Italians, open in what they say but closed as to what they do, are analogized to Janus whom Van Mander describes, in *Schilder-Boeck*, Book V, fol. 113v, as two-faced and whose temple, accordingly, likewise shows two aspects: its doors are open during times of war when one must frankly assess and ameliorate the bad things that led to present conflict, but closed in peacetime when, freed from care, one shuts out thoughts of the past or future.

[65] This is undoubtedly an allusion to syphilis, which the Dutch termed the "Spanish pox," and the Italians the "French disease."

[66] Van Mander's phrase, "t'ghesicht te missen," more literally translates "to let sight go missing" (i.e., "to blindfold the eyes").

[67] In *Schilder-Boeck*, Book V, fol. 111v, the enchantress Circe, daughter of Hyperion and Asterope, is described, with reference to the *Orphica Argonautica*, vv. 1218–1228, as "perfect in beauty" ("volcomelijck schoon"), with a face so charmingly radiant that upon revealing herself to the Argonauts' eyes, she immediately "dispossessed them of their hearts" ("t'hert ontroovende"). On Circe's irresistible beauty, see Conti, *Mythologiae*, fol. 173v.

[68] As the anonymous author of Van Mander's life states in "tGeslacht, de geboort, plaets, tydt, leven, ende wercken van Karel van Mander, Schilder, en Poeet" (The Lineage, birth, place, time, life, and works of Karel van Mander, Painter and Poet), in *Schilder-Boeck* (Amsterdam: Jacob Pietersz. Wachter, 1618), fol. R3r–v, he spent much of his time in Rome (1574–1577), recording "rediscovered subterranean

grotesques" ("de grotten wederomme gevonden"). However, Book IV of the *Schilder-Boeck* for the most part ignores the *Grotissen* painted by his compatriots during their study tours of Rome. His motive was probably to emphasize their wide-ranging accomplishments, not only as designers of figures and landscapes, but also as practitioners of the full range of *verscheydenheden*, on which see the peroration of "Preface on the foundation of the noble, free Art of Painting" and note 41 *supra*. "Dedicatory Prefaces…," notes 67, 76, and 77 *supra*.

[69] Many of the northern lives in *Schilder-Boeck*, Book IV mention landscapes painted by the respective masters during their time in Italy, either on commission or for the open market; typical is this remark about Sprangher, in "Het leven van Bartholomeus Sprangher, uytnemende Schilder van Antwerpen" (Life of Bartholomeus Sprangher, excellent Painter from Antwerp), fol. 270v: "He was with [Michiel Gioncoy in Rome] about six months and made some little landscapes (for he worked there for himself), and amongst other things [made] an ingenious scene of witchery in a ruin like the Colosseum, with women flying on broomsticks and suchlike spookeries, as if at night."

[70] Miedema duly observes in *Karel van Mander, Den grondt* 2:411, that these three materials allude to painting, sculpture, and copperplate engraving as well as to painting on canvas, stone, or copper.

[71] The French wars of religion between Catholics and Huguenots, and between supporters of the House of Guise and House of Condé, raged between 1562 and 1598.

[72] Van Mander refers to gold and silver imported from the New World and to the ensuing coinage struck from these metals.

[73] The term *alloys* (alloys) can refer to the mixed composition of gold and silver coinage.

[74] The phrase "teyckenen zedich" (fine manner of drawing) might also be rendered "well-ordered, apt, or pliable drawing."

[75] Van Mander distinguishes between *teyckenen* (drawing, i.e., *disegno*, the art of drawn invention) which, following the argument of Vasari's *Vite de' più eccellenti pittori, scultori, e architettori* (*Lives of the most excellent painters, sculptors, and architects*) (Florence: Giunti,

1568), he celebrates as the highest achievement of the Roman school, and *wel schilderen* (painting well, i.e., *colorito*, coloring, chiaroscuro, and paint handling) which, following Lodovico Dolce's *Dialogo della pittura, intitolato l'Aretino* (*Dialogue on painting, entitled the Aretino*) (Venice: Gabriel Giolito de' Ferrari, 1557), he instead ascribes to the Venetian school whose praises he sings in Book III of the *Schilder-Boeck, Het leven der moderne, oft dees-tijtsche doorluchtighe Italiaensche Schilders* (*Lives of the Modern or Contemporary Illustrious Italian Painters*).

[76] The maxim, "Roma quanta fuit ipsa ruina docet" (How great Rome was, its very ruins tell), derives from Francesco Albertinus's *Opusculum de mirabilibus novae et veteris urbis Romae* (*Little Work on the wonders of the new and old city of Rome*) (Rome: Jacobus Mazochius, 1510; reprint ed. Lyons: P. Ioã. Mariõ., 1520), fol. 47v. Van Mander probably knew it from the frontispiece to Book 3 of Sebastiano Serlio's *Il terzo libro … nel qual si figurano, e discrivono le antiquita di Roma* (*The third book … in which are figured and described the antiquities of Rome*) (Venice: Francesco Marcolino da Forli, 1540).

[77] Circe's mountain is Monte Circeo; on this and other sights visited by Van Mander during his Italian sojourn, from Cicero's villa at Tusculum to Cisterna di Littória by way of the Via Appia, thence to Monte Circeo, see Miedema, *Karel van Mander, Den grondt*, 2:418.

[78] The Padus is the river Po.

[79] In *Schilder-Boeck*, Book V, fol. 13r–v, Van Mander recounts the story of Phaëton, son of the Titaness Clymene, whose inability to manage the chariot of his father the Sun leads to his untimely death. He also cites the poets' euhemeristic reading of this fable, which takes Phaëton for a hapless prince struck dead by lightning when he leads his overheated army to the river Po.

[80] On the blinding of Hannibal who loses an eye while crossing Tuscan marshlands flooded by the river Arno, see Livy's *Ab urbe condita* (*From the Founding of the City*) 22:2.

[81] In Livy's *Ab urbe condita* 21:54–56, the Roman consul Tiberius Sempronius Longus is defeated by Hannibal beside the river Trebbia.

[82] The *Mare majus* (Great Sea) is either the Black Sea or the Sea of Marmara.

Chapter 2: "On drawing, or the Art of Delineating"

[1]Here *schilderen* could be translated either as "painting" or, more expansively, "picturing." Personified as a pater familias in stanza 1, *teyckenconst* becomes a wet nurse in stanza 2 where she is described by reference to Natalis Comes's mythographic treatise, the *Mythologiae*, in which he calls *pictura* an *alumna*, on which see note 2 *infra*. The appellation "Father of painting" may derive from Giorgio Vasari, who designates *disegno* (drawing) the Father of painting, as well as of painting's sister arts sculpture and architecture, in the *Vite* (*Lives*); see *Le vite de' più eccellenti pittori, scultori ed architettori, scritte da M. Giorgio Vasari Pittore e Architetto*, ed. G. Milanesi, 9 vols. (Florence: Giunti, 1568; reprint ed., Sansoni, 1981), 1:168–169. Van Mander's reference to *teyckenconst* as the door opening onto "many arts," in line 4 of stanza 1, is more wide-ranging; moreover, in *Schilder-Boeck*, Book IV, he focuses on drawing, engraving, painting and, as a subset of the latter, glass-engraving / -painting, excluding sculpture and architecture from his discussion of *schilderconst*. Following Van Mander, Jacob Matham depicts the three sister arts of painting, drawing / calligraphy, and engraving in his engraved *Portrait Epitaph of Hendrick Goltzius*, issued to commemorate his stepfather and former master, who had just died; figures personifying Goltzius's *spirito* (*gheest*, spirit, i.e., ready wit) and *disegno* (*teyckenconst*) flank his portrait, over which the three Graces, their hands linked preside. The Grace at left, who displays painters' implements, personifies Painting; her sister at right, holding a pair of quills, personifies calligraphy, which Van Mander designates a nursling of *teyckenconst* in stanza 4 *infra*; and their sister, standing between them, with engravers' tools hanging from her waist, personifies Engraving. On this print, see J.-P. Filedt Kok, "Artists Portrayed by their Friends: Goltzius and his Circle," *Simiolus* 65 (1996): 161–181, esp. 179. Jürgen Müller, in *Concordia Pragensis: Karel van Manders Kunsttheorie im Schilder-Boeck*, Veröffentlichungen des Collegium Carolinum 77 (Munich: 1993), 132–133, purports to see a contradiction between Van Mander's assertion that *teyckenconst* is father to painting and his statement in chapter 12, stanza 1 *infra*, that *teyckenconst* is "like the body, various and commensurate," whereas painting, "which brings drawing's dead strokes to life," is comparable to the life-giving "Spirit or the Soul." For Müller, this deliberate mismatch forms part of an overarching or, better, underlying argument that permeates the *Schilder-Boeck*, whereby *teyckenconst* refers to the technical production of an image, and *schilderconst* (namely, the art of painting) refers to the visualization of puri-

fied, perfected, and, in this sense, godly images of nature, for which painting qua painting is an allegorical figure. I would argue that Van Mander is making a gendered distinction between drawing that sires all pictorial forms and painting that like a good mother nurtures and nourishes what has been engendered, bringing these forms fully and mimetically to life. Viewed through this lens, *teyckenconst* and *schilderconst* are functionally incremental rather than mutually contradictory.

[2] According to Miedema, *Karel van Mander, Grondt*, 2:425, the relevant passage first appeared in the Frankfurt edition of Natalis Comes's *Mythologiae* of 1581. It comes from the chapter on the master artisan Daedalus and forms part of an encomium on the imitative properties of painting, which then leads to a discussion of the most accomplished ancient practitioners of the art, starting with Pamphilus. Although Comes talks about *pictura* rather than *graphis* proper (design, drawing), Van Mander tellingly draws on his account to characterize *teyckenconst*'s relation to nature, the visual arts, and the liberal arts. However, Comes, unlike Van Mander, ambiguates the nature of this relation, using the term *alumna* to refer to *pictura* as the "pupil / nursling" or "nurse / educator of all honorable arts" (*alumna* covers both meanings). Van Mander instead converts *teyckenconst* into the universal custodian of every art, not least the liberal arts. Since Comes's conception of *pictura* as a mimetic principle and practice underlies Van Mander's definition of *teyckenconst*, I here quote the full excerpt from *Natalis Comitis Mythologiae sive explicationis fabularum libri decem* (Padua: Petruspaulus Tozzius, 1616), 409: "Since indeed there is one sole art of painting, which differs not at all from the disciplines called liberal. For who would dare sever that selfsame *pictura*, nursling / nurse of all honorable arts and (as one might say) ape of nature, from those disciplines. For this sole art, like silent history, imitates deeds and bodily forms and colors more diligently than could be expressed by oratory, and delivers them into the hands of posterity. Familiar to Greece, nourisher of all the best arts, this art in former times approached to nature in thus imitating plants and animals whenever it issued from the studied works of the more powerful [masters], so as even to presume to vie with nature herself, since it miraculously portrays every wonder of nature in all of nature's operations. That [art] having become thoroughly known in Greece, it was justly ordained by common-law usage that the first beginnings of noble youths should be to depict the lineaments of bodies, knowledge of which by the authority and advice of Pam-

philus was imbibed by boys together with the liberal arts, while being absolutely unknown and forbidden to servants. But indeed the excellence of painting was so marvelous in certain [artists] that not only did they represent the lineaments of the body, and both figures and colors, but also from their physiognomy how much each had lived or was going to live, which Apelles was the first to achieve; and what appears more wondrous, every motion of the spirit was made known in the picture, as expressed by that same master when he fashioned the Athenian people in such a form that all this might be recognized in them."

[3] The erratum (fol. [Pp ix] recto) changes *ghehooght* (raised) to *ghesooght* (suckled). The verb that follows, *ghewassen* (raised, in the sense of brought up, reared), can also signify "bring to full development, ripen"; see Kiliaan, *Etymologicum Teutonicae linguae*, 654: *wassen* = *adolescere* (bring to maturity), *incrementum recipere* (receive an increase, i.e., be promoted in growth).

[4] On this account, *teyckenconst* enables the practice of writing whereby the rules of grammar are promulgated; on *Pictura* and *Schirijfconst* (art of calligraphy) as sister arts, see the dedicatory preface to Book III of the *Schilder-Boeck*, fol. 59r–v, in which Van Mander lauds Jacques Razet, secretary of the Amsterdam Fleet, for his joint devotion to both arts.

[5] Another translation for "ghesont verstandt," in line 2, would be "common sense," although the repetition of *verstandt*, in line 3, would suggest that "understanding" is an appropriate choice in both instances.

[6] Stanza 3 appears closely to align with Vasari's conception of *disegno*, which derives, as Karen-Edis Barzman has shown in *The Florentine Academy of the Early Modern State: The Discipline of* Disegno (Cambridge, New York, et al.: 2000), 1–12, 143–180, from Benedetto Varchi's Aristotelian definition of painting and sculpture as cognitive expressions of the Universal Reason, the superior, speculative part of which produces the sciences that search after wisdom, whereas the inferior, practical part produces the arts—painting, sculpture, architecture, and medicine—which are complementary to prudence. In the Introduction to the 1568 edition of the *Vite*, Vasari defines *disegno* as an operation of thought that correlates to the hand's ability to draw what the mind conceives. Through a process of abstraction,

thought converts sensory perceptions into universal forms purged of their accidental qualities, and these abstracted forms, which Vasari calls a "universal judgment similar to a form or idea of all the things of nature" (168), constitute the conceptual images that the trained hand then represents in a graphic medium. As Vasari puts it: "This *disegno*, once it has drawn from judgment the invention of some thing, requires that the hand, made quick and ready through study and exercise over many years, draw and express well with pen, stylus, charcoal, chalk, or something else, whatever nature has created; because the intellect, when with judgment it sends forth concepts that have been purged, imparts through those hands exercised for many years in *disegno* knowledge of the perfection and excellence of the arts along with knowledge of the artist" (169). Drawing after nature, after the human model in particular, not only instigates the process leading to the sublimation of universal form from particular substances, but also prepares the hand accurately to portray the images that this process ultimately generates. Vasari's doctrine of the relation between mind and hand, or, more precisely, amongst thought, judgment, and the practice of drawing, was enshrined in the state-sanctioned curriculum of the Florentine Accademia del Disegno. As becomes evident in stanzas 14 and 15 *infra*, Van Mander diverges from Vasari in grounding *teyckenconst* more fully in nature, the imitation of which he construes as the fountainhead of *schilderconst* but also its chief objective. Stanza 4 lays the groundwork for this assertion of the importance of drawing after nature, by claiming that the draftsman bears witness to his intention by delineating whatsoever is comprised by nature. Although Van Mander states in stanza 3 that "good judgment" ("goet oordeel") must accompany "sound understanding" ("ghesont verstandt") and "practice" (*oeffeningh*), he unlike Vasari does not instrumentalize *teyckenconst*, presenting it as a source, indeed the chief source of judgment. Vasari shored up this claim in the 1568 edition of the *Vite*, where he advanced three versions of the relation between *disegno* and *giudizio*, as R. Williams explains in *Art, Theory, and Culture in Sixteenth-Century Italy: From Techne to Metatechne* (Cambridge, New York, and Melbourne: 1997), 33–46, esp. 45. First, in the so-called Technical Preface, he states that *disegno*, since it proceeds from the intellect, not only cognizes but also evaluates the things of nature, forming in the mind a universal idea or judgment of them, which then finds material expression through the skilled operation of the hands whenever any particular thing is portrayed. Second, in the proem to Part III on the third age of art, he designates judgment

the fourth of five distinctive qualities that characterize that age, along with rule, order, measure, and manner (*maniera*). Above all, this type of judgment allows the painter to transcend precise measurement and the strict application of rule, substituting for them a harmonious *non so che* (I know not what) that confers a "grace surpassing measure" (*Vite*, ed. Milanesi, 4:9: "una grazia che ecedesse la misura"). Finally, again in respect of the third age, judgment is specifically associated with the ability to combine the body's limbs in such a way as to enliven, vary, and soften them, making them consonant, so that the most beautiful parts are subsumed into a whole more beautiful than its constituent elements, regardless of whether men, women, or children are being shown. This third kind of judgment, like the first and second, involves subordinating the part to the whole. In stanza 13 *infra*, Van Mander highlights the quality of lively grace, which he ascribes not to judgment but to "patient effort" ("oeffeninghe gheduldich"), which is to say, to diligent practice; moreover, he identifies unvarnished nature, uncontrived and true to life ("Gaet van de vercieringhe totter waerheyt, dat is, tot het leven"), as the ultimate source of grace, i.e., "unaffected sweetness" ("soetheyt eenvuldich").

[7] Van Mander connects the phonemic and graphemic functions of letter forms, which communicate hidden thoughts through the silent representation of speech, to the descriptive function of lines: in transcribing and circumscribing forms, such lines serve to represent forms, just as letters serve silently, in this sense hiddenly, to represent thoughts.

[8] Textbook examples of this device, which facilitates the depiction of figures in motion seen from various angles and variously foreshortened, may be found in Heinrich Lautensack's drawing manual, *Dess Circkelss und Richtscheyts, auch der Perspectiva, und Proportion der Menschen und Rosse* (Frankfurt: Georg Rab für Sigmund Feyerabend, 1564; reprint ed., Frankfurt: Egenolff Emmel, 1618), fols. 48v–50v. On this manual, see C.O. Fowler, *Drawing and the Senses: An Early Modern History* (Turnhout: 2016), 63–65. In *Livre de pourtraicture de maistre Jean Cousin* (Paris: David Le Clerc, 1595), fols. Aiij v–Biv r, cruciform axes superimposed on an ovoid constitute the basis for positioning, tilting, and rotating the head. On this simplified geometrical drawing book, much consulted by Van Mander, see J. Bolten, *Dutch and Flemish Method and Practice: Drawing Books, 1600–1750* (Landau, Pfalz: 1985), 179–187.

[9] Van Mander adumbrates the fuller discussion of figural *contrapposto* (antithesis) to come in chapter 4. On opposition or contrast as principles of bodily attitude, and on its relation to the competing criteria of conspicuous artifice and decorum, see D. Summers, "Contrapposto: Style and Meaning in Renaissance Art," *Art Bulletin* 59 (1977): 336–361.

[10] The term "in sned," which I have translated "of prints," can refer either to woodcut or engraving.

[11] In "On Apelles, Prince of Painters," in *Schilder-Boeck*, Book 11, fol. 77r, Van Mander states: "He produced various books wherein were compiled all the knowledge and secrets of the arts: Pliny often drew upon his writings." In "On Parrhasius, excellent Painter of Ephesus," in ibid., fol. 69r, he writes: "But Antigonus and Xenocrates, both of whom wrote books on the art of painting, praise Parrhasius for these reasons, rating him above all artful painters and therein avowing him to have been perfect."

[12] Van Mander refers to the notion that a clay pot absorbs the smell of whatever is first stored or cooked in it.

[13] On Van Mander's use of the term *manier*, see section 4.b., "*Manier*," of my "Introduction," *supra*.

[14] The *Thesaurus Theutonicae linguae*, fol. B1 verso, defines *aerdich* as "ingénieux, artificiel" in French, "ingeniosus, artificiosus, artificialis" in Latin, with the additional connotation of *venustus* (graceful, beautiful, elegant). "Subtly drawing where the light strikes" ("Aerdich trecken op den dagh"), in conjunction with the closing line of stanza 9, refers to thinning and blending one's hatches so that they become barely discernible where the surfaces are brightly lit, and increasingly visible where the shadows deepen. Many of Goltzius's red chalk drawings after the antique, executed in Rome between 1590 and 1591, were rendered in this way: *Flora Farnese*, for example (Teyler's Museum, Haarlem, N029) (Fig. 10). As Miedema points out in *Karel van Mander, Grondt*, 2:432, this technique probably derives from the brothers Zuccaro by way of Bartholomeus Sprangher. Van Mander's black chalk study of the left-hand putto from Raphael's *Isaiah* in S. Agostino, Rome, is drawn in the same technique (Prentenkabinet, Universiteit Leiden). On the term *aerdigh* (and its substantive *aerdicheyt*), with reference both to figural action and to circumstan-

tial detail as pictorial ornaments, also see H. Miedema, *Fraey en aerdigh, schoon en moy in Karel van Mander's* Schilder-Boeck (Amsterdam: 1984), 12–13, 16–17; and C. Göttler, "Fire, Smoke, and Vapour: Jan Brueghel's 'Poetic Hells': 'Ghespoock' in Early Modern European Art," in Göttler and W. Neuber, eds., *Spirits Unseen: The Representation of Subtle Bodies in Early Modern European Culture*, Intersections 9 (Leiden and Boston: 2008), 19–46, esp. 19.

[15] The term *conterfeyten* can refer to the process of portraying something, such as the human face, after the life, but in this context appears simply to refer to the notion of imitating or copying something and transferring it to paper.

[16] *Schilder-Boeck*, Book IV places a premium on mellifluous transition: see, for instance, Van Mander's remark that Van Heemskerck's second manner was better than his first only in so far as "he no longer cut off his highlights so sharply" (fol. 246r), or his praise of Goltzius for avoiding "to shadow harshly" ("hardt te schaduwen") in the faces and nudes populating his *Allegory of the Bride of Christ* (fol. 286r), or his favorable observation that Cornelis Cornelisz. acquired a "sweeter, more flowing manner of painting" after apprenticing to Gillis Coignet (fol. 292v). Also see his admonition in chapter 12, stanza 27 of the *Grondt*, against demarcating highlights sharply, and, in stanzas 35–38, his equation of a good manner with soft, flowing application of colors in the Italian manner.

[17] On the chiaroscuro woodcut, its derivation from the technique of brush drawing on prepared paper, and its relation to chiaroscuro pen drawing, see D. Landau and P. Parshall, *The Renaissance Print, 1470–1550* (New Haven and London: 1994), 183–184, 270; and Parshall, "The Origins of the Chiaroscuro Woodcut," in N. Takahatake, ed., *The Chiaroscuro Woodcut in Renaissance Italy*, [exh. cat., Los Angeles County Museum of Art; National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.] (Munich and New York: 2018), 34–41, esp. 40. On the *chiaroscuri* produced by the Bolognese printmakers Antonio da Trento and Niccolò Vincentino after designs by Parmigianino, see ibid., 98–99, 104–125, 131–147. Van Mander, even though he must have known Vasari's account of the close working relationship between Parmigianino and Antonio, probably considered both his prints and Niccolò's equally authoritative sources of the master's *teyckenconst*.

[18] Van Mander's term *daghen* (lights) indicates that he is talking here about natural light, i.e., effects of daylight.

[19] This passage, read in tandem with the prior stanza's exhortation to "go from contrivance to the naked truth," underscores the foundational importance of study after nature, especially the nude model. The notion that nature is the authoritative source not only of truth but also sweetness of effect derives from Vasari, who states in his introductory remarks on *disegno*, in *Vite*, 1:171, that "the things which come from nature (*dal naturale*) … in themselves [possess] a certain grace and liveliness, an easy, sweet simplicity that may perfectly be learned only from her." Devised images, i.e., images fashioned by invention or contrivance, if they are to appear true, must originate from prior images made after the life and then marshaled from memory during the process of drawing. According to the *Thesaurus Theutonicae linguae*, fol. Nn3 verso, *versieren*, the verb that closes stanza 14, signifies "controuver, feindre" in French (fabricate, feign), "ementire, fingere, confingere" in Latin (feign, fashion, fabricate, in the sense of contrive, design, devise, invent).

[20] Whereas *omtreck* (contour) refers to shapes in profile or silhouette, *binne-werck* (cross-contour, interior work) refers to overlapping shapes. The distinction is between external and internal articulation of forms by means of hatches.

[21] On the critical category *uyt zijn selven doen*, and the allied categories *naer t'leven* and *uyt den gheest*, see section 4.c., "*Uyt zijn selven doen*," of my "Introduction," *supra*.

[22] In addition to working after the life, as recommended in stanza 15, aspiring picturers must also cultivate their powers of invention, which entails working from the treasure-house of memory; the images stored there are the building blocks out of which novel constructions arise, in the manner licensed by the Horatian dictum *ut pictura poësis*. See R.W. Lee, *Ut pictura poësis: The Humanistic Theory of Painting* (New York: 1967); and L. Golden, "Reception of Horace's *Ars Poetica*," in G. Davis, ed., *A Companion. to Horace* (Chichester and Malden, MA: 2010), 391–413, esp. 400.

[23] The equation of *ordineren* (ordonnance) with *inventy*, and the warning that failure to exercise one's power of invention will lead to "qualijck ordineren" (inept ordonnance), reveal the degree to which

Van Mander conceives of invention, here and in much of chapter 5, as the disposition and distribution of human figures. Chapters 8–10, and the digressive emphasis on *byvoechsels* (ornaments) in chapter 5, greatly expand the scope of invention, encompassing landscape, animals, and textiles, amongst other appurtenances.

[24] Whereas chapter 1, stanza 46 invokes *Rapiamus*, urging the young picturer to imitate other masters' figures, here Van Mander warns against a paucity of invention, which leads to overreliance on another's images. The metaphor of plundering others' storehouses or granaries derives from such biblical passages as Jeremiah 50:26, where the prophet foresees the destruction of Babylon. In "Life of Michelangelo, Florentine Painter, Sculptor, and Architect," in *Schilder-Boeck*, Book III, fol. 172v, Van Mander offers an ironic anecdote about overreliance on *rapen*: asked to evaluate a painting "entirely appropriated from the works of others" ("die al uyt anderen gheraept was"), Michelangelo answers that he wonders what its fate will be when at the Last Judgment every person's bodily parts are restored to them.

[25] Whereas in line 2 Van Mander uses the term *conterfeyten* (to counterfeit) for "to portray after," here he uses it as a verbal noun to signify "copies." Literally translated, "uyt t'conterfeyten" could be read as "from their copying."

[26] *Velum* is Latin for "veil."

[27] *Poeseligh'* signifies "soft, supple" and *gladdighe* "smooth," but since they are here used to argue that figures should be ample rather than lean, I have translated them respectively as "fleshy" and "sleek." In "Life of Maarten [van] Heemskerck, artful, esteemed Painter," in *Schilder-Boeck*, Book IV, fol. 246v, Van Mander praises the flesh effect of the nudes in the master's *Bacchanal*, describing them as "seer morbido, oft poeselich" (very tender, or fleshy). Appositional to *poeselich*, the term *morbido* derives from the Italian *morbidezza* (suppleness, tenderness). Van Mander then continues that Van Heemskerck sometimes erred in giving his figures that "characteristic Netherlandish dryness, or meagerness" ("Nederlandtsche aenhanghende dorheyt, oft magherheyt").

[28] Van Mander uses the West Flemish adjective *rueselich* (from *reuzen*, *reuzelen*), which can refer to grain, seeds, ashes, etc. and, more

generally, to their property of being crumbly or granular; on this usage, see L.L. de Bo, *Westvlaams idioticon* (Bruges: 1873; reprint ed., Ghent: 1892), 933–934; and Miedema, ed. and trans., *Van Mander, Den grondt*, 2:442.

[29] Van Mander canonizes the type of swelling and tapering line perfected by Lucas van Leyden in his late prints, systematized by Cornelis Cort in his reproductive prints of the 1570s, and heightened by Hendrick Goltzius in his prints and drawings of the 1580s and (in more tempered form) of the 1590s; see W.S. Melion, "Hendrick Goltzius's Project of Reproductive Engraving," *Art History* 13 (1990): 458–487. Here and elsewhere in the *Grondt*, Van Mander, more than his Italian predecessors such as Vasari, pays close attention to *handelen / handelingh* (handling), the skilled manipulation of appliances and pigments by the master's hand, as an index of artistic authority; in stanza 9 *supra*, for instance, he lists "handling" along with "disposition," "contour," "projection," and "placement of light and shade" as hallmarks of a "good Master" ("goet Meester") who commands a "good manner" ("goede manier"). As Achim Stanneck affirms, in *Ganz ohne Pinsel gemalt: Studien zur Darstellung der Produktionsstrukturen niederländischer Malerei in* Schilder-Boeck *von Karel van Mander* (*1604*), Europäische Hoschsulschriften 393 (Frankfurt am Main, Berlin, et al.: 2000), 112–114, Van Mander attends to the characteristic materials and handling of *teyckenconst* no less thoroughly than to those of "wel schilderen, oft coloreren" (painting well, or coloring). He thus treats drawing, both in theory and practice, as a self-sufficient pictorial function or, better, mode, rather than as a mere stepping stone to painting in oil colors. It is also true, however, that the sequence of materials and techniques described in chapters 2 and 12, on *teyckenconst* and "wel schilderen, oft coloreren" respectively, parallel the sequence in which a painting would be made, leading by steps from sketch and finished drawing to underdrawing, preparation of a cartoon, priming, and the application of paint layers; on this organizational analogy, see ibid., 105.

[30] The term "crayon," as Miedema notes in *Karel van Mander, Grondt*, 2:442, derives from the French "coroyons," coined by Petrus Gregorius, on which also see C. Corrigan, "Drawing Techniques," in C. James, C. Corrigan, M.C. Enshaian, and M.R. Greco, *Old Master Prints and Drawings: A Guide to Preservation and Conservation*, trans. and ed. M.B. Cohn (Amsterdam: 1997), 73. "Pastel" is another term for a crayon composed of powdered pigment mixed with a binder

such as gum Arabic or animal blue; Van Mander's term for the binder, *lijm*, signifies both *gluten* (glue) and *colx* (lime), according to Kiliaan, *Etymologicum Teutonicae linguae*, 286. Stanneck convincingly speculates, in *Ganz ohne Pinsel*, 114, that Van Mander endorses the pastel technique precisely because it results in a drawing whose coloristic effects are so fully formed as to pass muster with any painting. This is why stanza 21 concludes by stating that nothing could resemble painting more than such a drawing, which does not simply adumbrate painting in oil colors but veritably produces it, as a father generates a child.

[31] See "On Lucius Scipio, Brother of Scipio Africanus, Painter of Rome," in Schilder-Boeck, Book II, fol. 89r.

Chapter 3: "Analogy, Proportion, or measurement of the Parts of a Human Body"

[1] "Gelijckmatigheyt puere" signifies something like "pure consonance"; to align the phrase with the gist of chapter 3, which construes proportion as the relational system that mutually binds the body's constituent parts, I have translated it as "correspondent relation."

[2] See Plutarch, *Moralia, id est opera, exceptis vitis, reliqua*, 5 vols. (Leipzig: 1796–1834), 5:117: "God was the father and framer not simply of mass or matter, but of bodily concinnity, beauty, and analogy" ("non corporis simpliciter, non molis, non materiae, sed concinnitatis in corpore, pulcritudinis, similitudinisque deum fuisse patrem et opificem").

[3] In *De architectura*, Book III, chapter 1:1, Vitruvius defines proportion—*analogia*, from the Greek—as a principle of symmetry and correlative measurement. He then states on this basis: "Without symmetry and proportion there can be no principles in the design of any temple; that is, if there is no precise relation between its members, as in the case of those of a well shaped man." See Vitruvius, *Ten Books of Architecture*, trans. M.H. Morgan (Cambridge, MA and London: 1914), 72.

[4] John 2:19–22.

[5] The proportional measurements of one-tenth, one-eighth, one-sixth, and one-third derive from Vitruvius, *De architectura*, Book III,

chapter 1:2. Vitruvius measures the forearm and the breadth of the breast as one-fourth the body's total height, whereas Van Mander measures from the summit of the chest to the crown of the head. In stanza 6, however, returning to Vitruvius, he construes the distance from wrist to elbow, i.e., the forearm, as a module of one-fourth; see *Ten Books on Architecture*, trans. Morgan, 72.

[6] On the cubit, see Vitruvius, *De architectura*, Book III, chapter 1:7; and *Ten Books on Architecture*, trans. Morgan, 74: "And further, as the foot is one sixth of a man's height, the height of the body as expressed in number of feet being limited to six, they held that this was the perfect number, and observed that the cubit consisted of six palms or of twenty-four fingers."

[7] The notion that a well-proportioned man's extended hands and feet delimit both a circle and a square wherein the fingertips and toes may be circumscribed derives from Vitruvius, *De architectura*, Book III, chapter 1:3; see *Ten Books on Architecture*, trans. Morgan, 73. As Miedema points out in *Karel van Mander, Grondt*, 2:445, Van Mander would have known the illustration of the Vitruvian man in Gualtherus Rivius, *Der furnembsten, notwendigsten, der gantzen Architectur anghörigen Künst* (Nuremberg: Iohan Petreius, 1547), 445.

[8] Pliny, *Naturalis historia* 7:17; see Pliny, *Natural History*, trans. H Rackham, W.H.S. Jones, and D.E. Eichholz, 10 vols. (Cambridge, MA and London: 1938–1963), II.vii:17, 557.

[9] In "Life of Albert Dürer, excellent Painter, Engraver, and Architect of Nuremberg," in *Schilder-Boeck*, Book IV, fol. 208v, Van Mander cites the *Vier Bücher von menschlicher Proportion* (1528), calling it a "Daedalian work on Analogy, or Proportion," in which "every form of measurement of the human body is truly portrayed, set forth, and taught in writing."

[10] These measurements, as Miedema notes in *Karel van Mander, Grondt*, 2:446, partially correlate to those listed for the palm of four fingers and the finger of four grains, in Petrus Mexía's *De verscheyden lessen* ..., 257. By Miedema's calculation, according to this system of ratios a quarter-foot = 1 palm = 4 fingers = 3 thumbs.

[11] I have translated Van Mander's "onvoeghlijcke spooren" (ill-suited spoor) as "inimitable traces," because his imagery of young painters

as hunters tracking the spoor left by their prey—namely, the masters whose works they hope to emulate—warns them against imitating what lies beyond their capacity to imitate.

[12] Van Mander implicitly warns against trying to emulate Dürer's expertise, both theoretical and practical, in proportional mensuration.

[13] Whereas Vitruvius, in *De architectura*, Book III, chapter 1:2, describes the head as one-tenth the body's length, most Italian art theoreticians favored a ratio of one-ninth. Van Mander instead endorses a canon of one-eighth, which he borrowed, as Miedema and Bolten demonstrate, from Cousin's *Livre de pourtraicture*; see Miedema, *Karel van Mander, Grondt*, 2:446 and Bolten, *Drawing Books*, 186–187. This system of measurement in turn derives, by way of Dürer, from the popular practical canon attributed by Gulielmus Philander in 1544 to Marcus Terentius Varro and thus nicknamed the [pseudo-] Varronian canon. Van Mander perhaps also consulted Giovan Paolo Lomazzo, *Trattato dell'arte della pittura, scoltura, et architettura* (Milan: Paolo Gottardo Pontio, 1584), chapter 9 of which enumerates the constituent elements of a male body eight heads high. Typically, however, Lomazzo relativizes this canon, devoting parallel chapters to male bodies of differing ages, ranging from ten to seven heads high. On Van Mander's probable familiarity with Lomazzo's *L'idea del tempio della pittura* (Milan: Paolo Gottardo Ponto, 1590), with specific reference to his "Ideal des synthetischen Bildes" unifying the *disegnare* of Michelangelo, the *colorire* of Titian, and the *convenienza* of Raphael, see Müller, *Concoria Pragensis*, 61.

[14] Cousin, "For the figure of the man seen from the front, or forward-facing," in *Livre de pourtraicture*: "In this first figure seen from the front, we specify the measures to be observed from the crown of the head to the soles of the feet, numbering eight measures of the head, with the head [numbering] four measures of the nose. Mark the measures on a perpendicular line, whereof the head is the first; the second [reaches] to the nipples; the third to the navel; the fourth to the genitals, which makes half the body; the fifth to midway down the thighs; the sixth to just below the knees; the seventh to just below the shins; the eighth to the heel and the soles of the feet." Amongst the reasons why Van Mander preferred Cousin to contemporary exponents of the canon of nine, such as Vasari, are first, the book's clear and practical address to *ouvriers* (artisans), whom Cousin teaches to

draw the human body on the plane, in space, and foreshortened; second, Cousin's conception of the illustrative plates accompanying his short texts as figural exempla comprised by varieties of drawn line—straight or curved; vertical, horizontal, diagonal, or rounded; continuous or interrupted; isolated or intersecting. He diagrams these assorted strokes in the drawing book's final chapter, "Advertissement touchant les lignes et intersections qui sont aux figures de ce livre" (Notice concerning the lines and intersections in the figures of this book). Cousin's attention to the lines he utilizes may have struck Van Mander as analogous to his own definition of *teyckenconst* as the process of "drawing, drawing over, drawing round / All that [the sense of] sight may apprehend / Within the limits of the World, / Above all, the Human form, most precious of all created things."

[15] Note the distinction between the head and the face as units of measurement. See Cousin, "Proportion and measure of the woman seen from the front," in *Livre de pourtraicture*: "The proportion and measure of the woman seen from the front are similar to those of the man, except that the width of the woman's shoulders contains no more than two measures of the face … and the hips at the buttocks [contain] two measures of the head …; the arms, legs, and thighs must be fuller and more ample than the man's …: similarly, [her] muscles must not be fashioned like the man's."

[16] Although the term *ronder* means "rounder," I have translated it as "fuller" to comply with Van Mander's implicit sense of the voluptuous qualities of female flesh.

[17] Cousin, "Proportion et mesure de l'enfant veu par le devant," in *Livre de pourtraicture*: "The proportion and measure of the child contains no more than five measures of the head, that is, three from the crown of the head to the genitals, and two more comprising the thighs and legs."

[18] Vasari, *Vite*, ed. Milanesi, 7:270: "For he used to make his figures nine, ten, and twelve heads high, seeking only, when putting them together, that there be a certain concordance of grace in the whole, and saying that the compass must be in the eyes not the hand, since the hands labor, and the eye judges." Van Mander incorporates the anecdote into "Life of Michelangelo Buonarrotti, Florentine, Painter, Sculptor, and Architect," in *Schilder-Boeck*, Book III, fol. 171v.

[19] Pliny, *Naturalis historia* 7:73; see *Natural History*, trans. Rackham, II.vii.16, 553.

Chapter 4: "On the Attitude, decorum, and decorous motion of a Human Figure"

[1] On *welstandt* and its rich array of entwined connotations, see section 4.d., "Westandt," of my "Introduction," *supra*.

[2] Not only can the rational principles on which *welstandt* rests be deduced from the study of nature, but also, as Van Mander will presently argue in stanza 2, the reasons for deficits of figural decorum.

[3] Van Mander here distinguishes between *handeling*[*h*], which sets the figure's form and describes its volume, and *actitude*, which stirs the figure to action and equilibrates it. According to the *Thesaurus Theutonicae linguae*, fol. v3 verso, the term *roerlijck* signifies *mobilis* (mobile) as well as *movens* (moving, in an affective sense).

[4] Van Mander here attaches *welstandt* to the decorum (*bienséance*) of cleaving closely to the figural rules of art.

[5] In stating that deference to nature is the sine qua non for the acquisition of *welstandt* in posing figures, Van Mander follows Rivius, *Der furnembsten … Künst, eygentlicher Bericht*, fol. ccc2r, as Miedema observes in *Karel van Mander, Grondt*, 2:450. Rivius in turn paraphrases from the Basel edition of *De pictura* (1540), conflating the references to nature as the painter's ultimate guide in Books 2:42 and 3:55–56. See *Leon Battista Alberti, On Painting: A New Translation and Critical Edition*, trans. R. Sinisgalli (Cambridge et al.: 2011), 62: "It is necessary, therefore, that the movements of the body are well known to the painter; I maintain that they must be obtained certainly, with great skill, from Nature. It is a very difficult [condition], in fact, to diversify, according to the almost infinite movements of the mind, also the body movements." In addition to consulting Rivius, who translates from the Latin, Van Mander would have known the Venetian edition of 1547, translated by Lodovico Domenichi, as well as the many Albertian precepts concerning the [*h*]*istoria* incorporated by Vasari into the prefaces to the *Vite*'s three parts. Rivius's treatise, ostensibly a theoretical text on architecture, consists of three

parts, the first of which contains the translation of Alberti's Book I, the third the translations of Books II and III.

[6] The Latin term *corpus* (body) applies to the structural elements of both a body and a building, thus implying that the (Vitruvian) rules of proportion equally pertain to architecture and the human figure.

[7] The comparison of the human figure to a column, with head and foot as capital and base, respectively, is traceable to Rivius, *Der furnembsten … Künst, eygentlicher Bericht*, fol. ccc2r, which paraphrases Alberti, *On Painting*, ed. Sinisgalli, 64: "If now the same [individual] will rest with [his] whole body on a single foot, this foot is always set like the base of a column, vertically in respect to the head."

[8] A more literal translation of "datmens' in den sin imaginere" would be "that one imagine to oneself in mind."

[9] Other possible readings of "vastelijcken wel considerere" are "determine carefully" or "continually / assiduously see to it."

[10] Stanzas 8–9 concern the disposition of the body according to the rhetorical principle of contrapposto, on which see Summers, "Contrapposto: Style and Meaning," 336–361. Van Mander insists that the torso and limbs bend in opposing directions; equilibrium of the body in rest or in motion results from strict adherence to the principle of counterposition. As Miedema notes in *Karel van Mander, Grondt*, 2:451, stanza 8 diverges from Rivius and Alberti on this point; whereas they advise that the positions of the head and the upright body be coordinated, Van Mander states that they "should incline oppositely" ("contrarie malcander moeten helden"). See Rivius, *Der furnembsten … Künst, eygentlicher Bericht*, fol. ccc2r; and Alberti, *On Painting*, trans. Sinisgalli, 64: "Indeed, the face of him who is standing almost always turns toward the direction in which the foot itself is pointed."

[11] Stanzas 10–14, elaborating upon the rule of *contrapposto* promulgated in stanzas 8–9, prescribe that figures be turned so that their limbs are mutually opposed in a swaying motion, "always crosswise" ("altijt cruyswijs"); in stanza 13, Van Mander states that he considers such an attitude so paradigmatic that its authority contravenes

even the example of nature, where head and body are usually seen to turn in concert. He thus endorses the *forma serpentinata* ordained by Giovanni Lomazzo as the epitome of graceful motion in *Trattato dell'arte*, Book VI, chapter 4, "Rules of motion of the human body," 192–196, esp. 196. However, Lomazzo unlike Van Mander construes the *corpo serpentinato* (serpentine body) as a thing of nature; see *Trattato*, 196: "Moreover, all the above-mentioned motions, with whatever others can be made, should always be represented in such a way that the body possesses something serpentine ("habbi del serpentinato"), toward which thing nature easily disposes herself." On the *figura serpentinata* as an epitome of figural beauty that reconciles the antithesis of rest in motion, see D. Summers, "*Maniera* and Movement: The *Figura Serpentinata*," *Art Quarterly* 35 (1972): 269–301; and idem, "The Archaeology of Fire: Pyramidal Composition and the *Figura Serpentinata*," *Source: Notes in the History of Art* 36.3/4 (2017): 149–158. The *figura serpentinata*, as codified by Leonardo, perfected by Raphael, and harnessed to effects of *difficultà* by Michelangelo, involves rotating and counterrotating a figure's limbs around a helical bodily axis that itself rotates. Throughout the second half of *Schilder-Boeck*, Book IV, which contains the biographies of living masters, Van Mander repeatedly commends figural works that consist of *figure serpentinate*; see, for example, "Life of Bartholomeus Sprangher, excellent Painter of Antwerp," fol. 274r, in particular the lavish commendation of the divinities in Sprangher's *Banquet of the Gods* (*Wedding of Cupid and Psyche*), engraved by Hendrick Goltzius (1587), "each [god] executing its action with the utmost grace" ("elck beeldt om te gracelijckste actie doende") (Fig. 3).

[12] That Van Mander's term for "with success" is *welstandich*, the adjectival form of *welstandt*, emphasizes how the successful picture will consist of figures whose attitudes are well ordered according to the criteria he is here defining.

[13] Amongst the works eulogized in "Life of Raphael Sanzio of Urbino, Painter, and Architect," the *Galatea*, an epitome of the *figura serpentinata*, receives special praise for its exceptional grace; see *Schilder-Boeck*, Book III, fol. 119r. In "Life of Michelangelo Buonarruotti, Florentine Painter, Sculptor, and Architect," Van Mander celebrates the Florentine *David*, which displays the master's ability to fashion figures *del serpentinato* that eclipse every ancient statue; see ibid., fol. 165v: "But certainly this statue was such that robbed all other statues, modern or antique, Greek or Latin, of their fame: one might well

say that the *Marforio* in Rome, the *Tiber* and the *Nile* in the Belvedere, the *Giants* of Monte Cavallo, have nothing to compare in respect of proportion, beauty, and *welstandt*: for in the legs of this statue, one sees a beautiful silhouette and hips that spring out; and further, one also sees wonderful grace and sweetness in the pose (*standt*), as well as perfect goodness in the feet, hands, face, and all the other limbs." Amongst the antique exemplars, as Miedema opines in *Karel van Mander, Grondt*, 2:452, Van Mander must have had the *Torso Belvedere* in mind. Miedema also points out that he must have seen the recently completed *Venus of Grotticella* in the Boboli Gardens during his visit to Florence in 1573.

[14] I have translated "beste welstandicheyt" as "best effect," which fits Van Mander's sense here, although a more literal translation would be "best decorum" or "best disposition."

[15] On Orpheus's facility at modal change and his by turns "heavier strain" and "gentler touch," see Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, trans. F.J. Miller, ed. J.P. Goold, 2 vols. (Cambridge, MA and London: 1916; reprint ed., 1984), 2:75.

[16] Van Mander's term *veranderinghen* (adjustments) also signifies "transformations," in the sense of "metamorphoses," and thus connects to the example of Orpheus who sings in Book X of the *Metamorphoses* about the transformation of intemperate Myrrha into the myrrh tree and of wanton Atalanta into a lion.

[17] Van Mander paraphrases Rivius, *Der furnembsten … Künst, eygentlicher Bericht*, fol. ccc2r, who cites Alberti; see *De pictura*, trans. Sinisgalli, 65.

[18] Miedema, in *Karel van Mander, Grondt*, 2:454, draws attention to a ribald anecdote in "Life of Cornelis Ketel, excellent Painter of Gouda," which centers on precisely this breach of decorum: upon seeing Ketel's *Danaë*, "who lay naked with her legs apart," a peasant asks the artist's wife, "Little lady, can you do likewise? Then would you well earn your keep." The same peasant then transgresses again by mistaking Danaë for the Virgin Mary, and an airborne Cupid for an angel. See *Schilder-Boeck*, fol. 280r: Van Mander implicitly characterizes decorum as a contingent virtue, since what is right for Danaë is wrong for Mary.

[19] Van Mander paraphrases Rivius, *Der furnembsten … Künst, eygentlicher Bericht*, fol. ccc2v, which compares such figures to Morris dancers; Rivius in turn expands on Alberti, *De pictura*, trans. Sinisgalli, 65–66.

[20] The term might best be translated "forcibly dislocated." Alberti asseverates, in ibid., that such movements are "overly violent" and lack "grace and beauty."

[21] Here and in stanza 26 Van Mander paraphrases Rivius, *Der furnembsten … Künst, eygentlicher Bericht*, fol. ccc2r–v, which derives from Alberti, *De pictura*, trans. Sinisgalli, 64–65.

[22] This precept goes back to the rhetorical rules of gesture, codified by Quintilian in *De institutione oratoria* XI.iii. 113, on which see R. Hoecker, *Das Lehrgedicht des Karel van Mander: Text, Übersetzung und Kommentar nebst Anhang über Manders Geschichtskonstruktion und Kunsttheorie*, Quellenstudien zur holländischen Kunstgeschichte 8 (The Hague: 1916), 412 n. 74; and Miedema, *Karel van Mander, Grondt*, 2:455.

[23] To wit, Alberti and Rivius.

[24] Van Mander quotes Rivius, *Der furnembsten … Künst, eygentlicher Bericht*, fol. ccc2v, which closely follows Alberti, *De pictura*, trans. Sinisgalli, 65.

[25] The opening two lines of stanza 29 continue the thought begun in the closing two lines of stanza 28.

[26] Van Mander paraphrases Rivius, *Der furnembsten … Künst, eygentlicher Bericht*, fol. ccc2v, which elaborates upon Alberti, *De pictura*, trans. Sinisgalli, 65.

[27] On the nymph as a licentious embodiment of youth, grace, and feminine charm, see K.A.E. Enenkel, "Salmacis, Hermaphrodite, and the Inversion of Gender: Allegorical Interpretations and Pictorial Representations of an Ovidian Myth, ca. 1300–1770," in Enenkel and A. Traninger, eds., *The Figure of the Nymph in Early Modern Culture*, Intersections 54 (Leiden and Boston: 2018), 53–148.

[28] *Statuarius* signifies "sculptor." On Canachus, scultor of the bronze Apollo Philesius at Didyma, and of the accompanying stag "so lightly

poised in its footprints as to allow a thread being passed underneath its feet," its "'heel' and 'toes' holding to the base with alternate contacts, the whole hoof being so jointed in either part that it springs back from the impact alternately," see Pliny, *Natural History*, trans. Rackham, IX.xxxiv.75, 183.

[29] Van Mander paraphrases Rivius, *Der furnembsten … Künst, eygentlicher Bericht*, fol. bbb2r, which elaborates upon Alberti, *De pictura*, trans. Sinisgalli, 57.

[30] On the painter-sculptor Demon, famed for his ability to portray every quality of the Athenian character, and whose *Soldaten* (soldiers, i.e., hoplites) were seen as epitomes of intense exertion, see "On Demon, Painter of Athens," in *Schilder-Boeck*, Book II, fol. 69v. Miedema, in *Karel van Mander, Grondt*, identifies Du Pinet, *L'histoire du monde*, 2:644, as the ultimate source of stanza 33.

[31] Van Mander excerpts the famous couplet from stanza 16 of the *Furioso*, part of the long *effictio*, comprising stanzas 11–16, on Alcina's irresistible charms; see John Harington, trans., *Orlando Furioso in English Heroical Verse* (London: Richard Field, 1607): "She had on euerie side prepar'd a net, / If so she walke, or laugh, or sing, or stand."

[32] Stanzas 35–40 treat age and gender as determinants of bodily decorum, with special reference to characteristic action and deportment; Van Mander's sources were Rivius, *Der furnembsten … Künst, eygentlicher Bericht*, fol. ccc2v; and Alberti, *De pictura*, trans. Sinisgalli, 66.

[33] On this archetypal pairing of virginal with sensual beauty, see Pliny, *Natural History*, trans. Rackham, XXXV.vi.17, 273.

[34] Van Mander assumes that the *Penelope*, which Pliny praises for its portrayal of the heroine's morality, was produced in the same manner as the famous picture painted for the temple of Lacinian Hera in the city of Girgenti, for which Zeuxis combined the "most admirable points" to be seen in five "maidens of the place"; see ibid., XXXV.xxxvi.63–64, 309. Cicero in *De inventione* II.i.1 identifies the latter painting as a Helen and places it not in Girgenti but in Croton.

[35] Van Mander refers to the well-known passage from Baldassare Castiglione, *Il cortegiano*, Book III, in which the Court Lady is advised to

cultivate "an air of womanly sweetness in her every movement"; see *The Book of the Courtier by Count Baldesar Castiglione* (*1528*), trans. L.E. Opdycke (New York: 1901), 175.

[36] In faulting Zeuxis for following Homer, Van Mander paraphrases Rivius, *Der furnembsten … Künst, eygentlicher Bericht*, fol. ccc2v; and Alberti, *De pictura*, trans. Sinisgalli, 65.

[37] The precept to distinguish robust men from youths and elders derives from Rivius, *Der furnembsten … Künst, eygentlicher Bericht*, fol. ccc2v, which expands on Alberti, *De pictura*, trans. Sinisgalli, 65.

[38] The precept to correlate strength and temperament to active pose and gesture derives from Rivius, *Der furnembsten … Künst, eygentlicher Bericht*, fol. bbb2r, which paraphrases Alberti, *De pictura*, trans. Sinisgalli, 57. In *Schilder-Boeck*, Book IV, "Life of Cornelis Cornelisz., Excellent Painter of Haarlem," fol. 292v, Van Mander adverts to his mastery of decorum, praising *Officers of the Riflemen's Company of Haarlem* (1583) for its diversified actions that convey the sitters' respective "conditions and inclinations."

[39] Van Mander refers here to the rhetorical gesture of ticking off the points of an argument, finger by finger, as one pleads one's case.

Chapter 5: "On the Ordonnance and Invention of Histories"

[1] J. Verdam, *Middelnederlandsch handwoordenboek*, ed. C.J. Ebbinge Wubben (The Hague: 1932; reprint ed., 1979), 204, supplies the terms "orde, regelmaat" as cognates for *ghereghelheyt* (arrangement). Throughout chapter 5, I use the term ordonnance—the arrangement or disposition of a structure's parts—to translate *ordinantie*; the *Dictionarium tetraglotton*, fol. 98r, gives *dispositio* as the meaning of *ordinantie*, while the *Thesaurus Theutonicae linguae*, fols. P4 verso-P5 recto, defines it as *ordonnance* in French, *constitutio* in Latin. For *inventy*, the latter source, fol. Z4 verso, assigns the terms *invention* in French, "inventio, inventus, machinatio (artificial contrivance)" in Latin. In turn, the *Dictionarium*, fol. 170r, utilizes *vindinghe* or *vont* to translate *inventio*, terms that refer to an object or thought

that is found in the sense of discovered, or devised in the sense of contrived or concocted. Van Mander treats invention as indivisible from or, better, a function of ordonnance: the disposition of a picture's constituent parts—its figures first of all, but also its other elements, not least the features comprised by the natural setting wherein the figures find themselves—is the chief expression of the *schilder*'s powers of invention. Underlying this treatment of inventive disposition is his conviction, voiced in the Preface to the *Grondt*, fol. *vi r, that the well-disposed picture must demonstrate "singular mastery in our Arts," by which Van Mander means figural History combined with the *verscheydenheden* (varieties of pictorial subject matter): Animals, Kitchens, Fruits, Flowers, Landscapes, Buildings, Perspectives, Cartouches, Grotesques, Night Scenes, Fires, Portraits after the life, Sea Pieces, Ships, et al. History on this account can be construed as one of these varieties, but the *Grondt* as a whole, in particular its various chapters dealing with attitudes, affects, reflections, landscapes, and animals, makes patently clear that History, in that it integrates figures with these other genera of *schilderconst*, constitutes the preeminent subject category precisely because of its congruent variety. The close association of invention with disposition was codified by Vasari in his "Life of Raphael" (*Vite*, ed. Milanesi, 4:375–376), the crucial passage from which Van Mander paraphrased in his "Life of Raphael Sanzio of Urbino, Painter and Architect," fol. 121r. Here he collapses *inventie* into the process of *by-een-voeginge* (compiling, assembling, piecing together), with a view to cementing Raphael's reputation as the finest of inventors: "And Raphael, realizing that excellence in Painting consists not solely in fashioning nudes, found a wide-open field wherein to advance in many things: as in Invention and the piecing together of Histories, making the same neither confounding nor confusing with too much, nor miserable and poor with too little. He also exerted himself to enrich his work with circumstances of every sort, with ornaments (*bywercken*, i.e., corollary or supplementary works) that give pleasure to the beholder: especially beautiful, graceful faces of women, children, youths, and elders, giving them all the movements they need to function; also fine veils, trains, clothing, and jewelry, until it be all but unknown what more beauty to confer; horses in flight, the cruelty of soldiers, landscapes, varied weather, perspectives, and much like this. Finally (to speak briefly) I say this: that Raphael was graceful in all things, familiar with everything or universal, and knew how to bring to pass whatever a painter needs to be considered good."

[2] On *ordeningh*, a cognate of *ordineringe*, from *ordineren*—"ordonner, mettre en ordre" in French, "componer, constituere" in Latin—see *Thesaurus Theutonicae linguae*, fol. q1 recto.

[3] Here and in stanzas 3 and 4, Van Mander draws an analogy, ultimately borrowed from Alberti, between bodily consonance, the formation of a body from its coalescent limbs, and pictorial composition, the formation of a picture from its constituent figures and setting. On this analogy, the connate terms of which are comprised by *ordinantie* (ordonnance), see note 7 *infra*, and on the term *composity*, note 6 *infra*. On Van Mander's use of *composity* to designate ordonnance of the picture as a whole, see P. Taylor, "Composition in Seventeenth-Century Dutch Art," in Taylor and F. Quiviger, *Pictorial Composition from Medieval to Modern Art* (London and Turin: 2000), 146–171, esp. 150–151.

[4] A more literal translation of "verstandts doorgronden" would be "profundity of understanding."

[5] Van Mander here switches from *Schilder* to the adjectival noun *Pictoriale*, a derivative from the late Latin adjective *pictorius* (pictorial). The Latin anticipates the preponderance of ancient examples of good ordonnance invoked in stanzas 69 to 87. Here my use of the term "picturer" is meant to register Van Mander's shift in usage.

[6] *Composity* derives from the Latin term *compositio*. According to the *Dictionarium tetraglotton*, fol. 62v, *compositio* nominalizes the verb *compono* which signifies "composer, mettre ensemble proprement (put together properly), assembler" in French, "tsamen setten, tsamen stellen (put together, construct, fabricate), by een voeghen (assemble, piece together), schicken (coordinate)" in Dutch.

[7] The notion that a pictorial narrative, i.e., an *historia* (in Dutch, *historie*), consists of concatenating elements—mobile figures that enact a coherent story, their bodies formed from congruous limbs, the limbs formed from congruous surfaces—comes from Rivius, *Der furnembsten … Künst, eygentlicher Bericht*, fol. bbb1r–v, by way of Alberti, *De pictura*, trans. Sinisgalli, 55. Alberti argues that such a history, its every part comprised by the action of the whole, conforms to the structural principle of nature herself; see ibid., 77.

[8] Van Mander's immediate sources for the canon of seven motions were Rivius, *Der furnembsten … Künst, eygentlicher Bericht*, fol. ccc2r; and Alberti, *De pictura*, trans. Sinisgalli, 64. Their source was Quintilian, who states in *Institutio oratoria* XI.iii.105 that though six motions are commonly recognized—namely, forward or backward, right or left, up or down—circular motion, i.e., turning, must be added as the seventh; see *The Orator's Education*, trans. D.A. Russell, 5 vols. (Cambridge, MA: 2001), 11:139.

[9] The admonition to give figures room to move, not cramming them into the corners, comes from Rivius, *Der furnembsten … Künst, eygentlicher Bericht*, fol. bbb4r; and Alberti, *De pictura*, trans. Sinisgalli, 59. Taylor points out, in "Composition in Seventeenth-Century Dutch Art," 155 n. 39, that Van Mander differs from his sources in referring explicitly to the panel as a pictorial field delimited by a frame—the *perck* (panel, in the sense of demarcated enclosure)—rather than to a discrete building or chamber situated within the fictive space of the image.

[10] On the importance of reading to painters of history, see Rivius, *Der furnembsten … Künst, eygentlicher Bericht*, fol. ddd1v; and Alberti, *De pictura*, trans. Sinisgalli, 76–77. Alberti stresses that the painter must reconcile what he has read with what he observes in nature; see ibid., 77: "Let the principle be that all levels of learning must be claimed from Nature herself."

[11] The *Thesaurus Theutonicae linguae*, fol. O1 recto, equates *imaginacy*, from the Latin term *imaginatio*, with *fantasie* and provides as further cognates the Dutch terms *beeldenis* and *beeldinghe* (fol. D3 verso). That the latter terms also signify pictorial and sculptural images, i.e., "icon, depicta figura, statua," speaks to the fact that picturing, sculpting, and imagining are linked image-making processes. The *Dictionarium tetraglotton*, fol. 145r, likewise underscores this connection, defining *imaginare* as "Iemants ghelijckenisse oft schijn representeren / ghelijck eenen spiegel doet" (To represent someone's likeness or appearance, as a mirror does). Van Mander's locution, "ws sins imaginacy," might also be translated as "imagination [issuing from] your sense," or alternatively, "imagination by your will / desire / inclination."

[12] The neologism *ghestenteert*, as Miedema notes in *Karel van Mander, Grondt*, 2:466, derives from the Italian term *stentato* (labored, overwrought). One of Van Mander's chief sources, Lodovico Dolce's

L'Aretino, ovvero Dialogo della pittura, utilizes the term to disparage Michelangelo's unvarying love of conspicuous difficulty, contrasting it to Raphael's "marvellous variety" and "facile ease" ("varietà tanto mirabile" and "facilità"), which make his pictures appear as if "produced without thought, neither labored nor overwrought" ("fatte senza pensarvi, non affaticate, ne istentate"). On the antithesis of *difficultà* and *facilità*, see M. Roskill, *Dolce's Aretino and Venetian Art Theory of the Cinquecento* (Princeton: 1968), 176–177, 229.

[13] Van Mander circles back to nature, even at the cartoon stage of a painting, thus emphasizing that ordonnance must have a natural appearance. The precept originates with Alberti; see *De pictura*, trans. Sinisgalli, 78–79:

[14] The term *welstan*[*d*]*t*, as noted above, is often used by Van Mander to refer to harmony or concinnity of a figure's, a landscape's, or a picture's parts; more generally, the term can also signify "fineness of form."

[15] *Stoffacy* (staffage) might be translated more neutrally as "elements"; the term is a nominative derivation from *stofferen*, which the *Thesaurus Theutonicae linguae*, fol. Ee1 recto, defines as "garnir de quelque chose" (garnish with some thing) in French, "munire, vel suppeditare" (fortify, secure the borders, or supply, furnish in abundance) in Latin. *Stoffacy* is also an abstract of "stof, materie" (stuff, matter, material), which the *Thesaurus* defines as "materia, vel materies," i.e., the "matter / material out of which a thing is made." Combined with Van Mander's use of the term to describe figures and things that bracket a view into the middle or far distance where some key protagonist is set, these linguistic roots serve to underscore the dual function of staffage—as framing device and as ornament. Stanzas 12 and 13 also introduce the topic of the inextricable relation between the ordonnance of history and that of landscape, which he further develops in stanzas 46–58 and chapter 8. Ulrike Kern, in *Light and Shade in Dutch and Flemish Art* (Turnhout: 2014), 51, makes the important observation that in applying the term *welstandt* to the method (or, better, mode) of historical ordonnance recounted in stanzas 11 and 12, Van Mander was expanding the term's scope to include the illusion of a distant view. I construe stanzas 11–12 as a first foray into the topic of the connection between history and landscape later developed at greater length in stanzas 45–59, on which see section 6 of my "Introduction" and note 73 *infra*.

[16] Van Mander uses *welstandt* here in the auxiliary sense of fine-featured, harmonious, opportune.

[17] The emphasis Van Mander places on "seeing into or through" ("insien, oft doorsien") has to do with his sense that a persuasive pictorial fiction will result when the beholder's eyes are compelled to enter the space of the image, passing from foreground to background by way of some scene that awaits to be viewed in the middle distance. Here and elsewhere in chapter 5, Van Mander stresses the importance of mobilizing the viewer's gaze. As Miedema observes in *Karel van Mander, Grondt*, 2:468, there appears to be no counterpart to this emphasis on optical articulation elsewhere in contemporary art theoretical writing.

[18] This is one of several places in chapter 5 where Van Mander imputes the success of a history picture to the landscape it comprises, in particular to the way the figures inhabit and open out onto their setting.

[19] Van Mander's term *ploegen* (to plough, i.e., pierce or penetrate) suggests that an optical furrow or corridor is being opened up, through which the eyes may pass into the middle and far distance. Significantly, ploughing is also a term evocative of landscape.

[20] The term *achter-uyten*, coined by Van Mander, signifies "backgrounds" but also connotes extension of the gaze beyond the threshold set by the nominal background.

[21] On leaving intervals of space empty of figures and things, see Rivius, *Der furnembsten … Künst, eygentlicher Bericht*, fol. bbb4r–v; and Alberti, *De pictura*, trans. Sinisgalli, 60.

[22] As Miedema points out in *Karel van Mander, Grondt*, 2:468–469, Van Mander was the first writer in Dutch to utilize the term *groepen* to refer to clustering of figures as a key instrument of ordonnance. Vasari uses *gruppo* in this way throughout the *Vite*, and Van Mander, following him, introduces variants of *groep*—"groeppe, groppe, gruppe"—to praise the ordering of figural groups in Leonardo's *Battle of Anghiari* and Michelangelo's *Battle of Cascina*; see *Schilder-Boeck*, Book III, fols. 117r and 166r. Amongst the Netherlanders, Bartholomeus Sprangher is praised for his *Wedding Feast of Cupid and Psyche* (1585), engraved by Hendrick Goltzius, and Cornelis Ketel for his ter-

racotta *Parable of the Wedding Feast*, comprising four entwined figures; see ibid., Book IV, fols. 274r and 277v.

[23] In "Life of Jacopo Tintoretto, Venetian Painter," in ibid., fol. 177v, Van Mander commends the "witty and merry assemblage of the ordonnance of his histories, excellently varied and beyond the common usage of all other [painters]."

[24] Van Mander's phrase "niet en zijn insightighe ganghen" (literally, "there are no observable passageways") faults Michelangelo for providing no spatial corridors along which the eyes may traverse the image, from the foreground to the distant background. About the *Last Judgment* Van Mander writes in "Life of Michelangelo Buonarotti, Florentine Painter, Sculptor, and Architect," in ibid., fol. 170r, that "he attended solely to the beauty, perfect proportion, and form of the human figures, in every sort of attitude, herein surpassing everyone else, while leaving to one side cheerful coloring and a thousand other pleasantries that other painters practice for the sake of pleasing decorum, along with a measure of graceful invention in the ordering of his histories."

[25] I have translated *fatsoen* as "facture" since the term signifies both *vorm* (form) and *manier van doen* (method of action, execution). A more periphrastic translation might be "form and action."

[26] A more literal translation of "s'Wets ordinanty" would be "ordinance / ordonnance of the Law": that *ordinanty* can signify both "ordinance" and "ordonnance" confers on the term the connotation of a precept.

[27] The use of *ordineren* in this context clearly signifies that the practice of ordonnance, pace Michelangelo, encompasses not only figures but also objects and environs.

[28] The reference, in stanza 19, line 4, to *welstandicheyt* (seductive charm) as an effect of variety comprised by copious ordonnance reveals that *welstandt*, which Van Mander construes in chapter 4 as the chief characteristic of a well-formed figure, may likewise be appreciated as a property of the well-ordered or, better, well-ordonnanced *historie*. He devotes more than twenty stanzas to the allied themes of copiousness and variety, on which see Taylor, "Composition in Seventeenth-Century Dutch Art Theory," 152.

[29] This apothegmatic statement is a commonplace distilled from Augustine's famous paean to the beauty of creation, in *Confessions* XXII.24, which celebrates natural variety as an expression of divine beauty. The comparison of the colors and perfumes of flowers to the splendor of the sun, moon, and stars also stems from this passage. In stanza 21, which completes the argument of stanza 20, variety as the chief criterion of beauty is seen equally to apply to *beelden* (human figures). Van Mander circles back to the topic of *verscheydenheyt* (variety) as the principal source of beauty, in *Grondt*, chapter 8, stanza 23, where he enjoins the painter of landscape to imitate nature's variety of color and form ("verw' als wesen"). As the beauty of history issues from the natural variety of its figures and setting, so the beauty of landscape results from the variety of its constituent parts. This is to say that Van Mander places the beauty of history on par with that of landscape, applying a comparable criterion to both subject categories, and thus giving them equal weight amongst the *verscheydenheden* available to the painter, i.e. "Animals, Kitchens, Fruits, Flowers, Landscapes, Buildings, Perspectives, Cartouches, Grotesques, Night Scenes, Fires, Portraits after the life, Sea Pieces, and Ships." *Verscheydenheyt* as a criterion of history and landscape is comprised by this encompassing notion of the *verscheydenheden*, each of which the painter who heeds Van Mander's advice must strive to make as varied as possible. The mixed formats of history and landscape he particularly endorses—the history in a landscape, and the landscape sown with small historical scenes—are evaluated first and foremost according to the benchmark of *verscheydenheyt*. The most various of all pictorial types, as Van Mander argues in the Preface to the *Grondt*, is the *historie* that is historical in a major rather than minor key: rather than merely featuring human figures (the more restricted sense of "history"), it encapsulates the full range of the *verscheydenheden*. On the *verscheydenheden*, see "Voor-reden," fol. * vi recto; on Van Mander's equivalent treatment of history and landscape and his refusal to distinguish them respectively as *ergon* and *parergon*, see B. Bakker, *Landscape and Religion from Van Eyck to Rembrandt*, trans. D. Webb (London and New York: 2011; reprint ed., 2016), 182–185, esp. 183–184.

[30] In calling for an abundance of various things, Van Mander, like Rivius and Alberti, endorses the principle of *varietas* in *copia*, advising the painter to leaven copiousness with variety. The *Dictionarium tetraglotton*, fol. 75v, renders *copia* as "abondance ou affluence de quelque chose que ce soit" (abundance or affluence of anything whatsoever) in French, "overvloet van eenich dinc" (plenitude of

some thing) in Dutch, and associates copiousness with the acquisition of "pouvoir et puissance" (power and strength) and "macht, moghe, gewalt" (power, capacity, and force). As one of the most desirable effects of history painting, variety issues first and foremost from a full complement of figures that enact variations on the seven canonical motions, which in turn convey various affects, as Alberti states in *De pictura*, trans. Sinisgalli, 60. Crucially, Alberti then avers that all the *historia*'s components, not just the figures, are comprised by the canon of variety, a rule Van Mander applies throughout chapters 5 and 8, "On Landscape"; see ibid., 66–67: "Let these [occurrences], briefly analyzed concerning the movement of living beings, suffice. Now, instead, because I also think that in a painting of inanimate [objects] all those movements which we have spoken of are necessary, I maintain that one must say under what condition [they] develop from there. Certainly, the represented movements of the hair, leaves, and of clothes give a pleasing impression in a painting." The comparison of history to a banquet table also comes from Alberti who, citing Varro's *Historia Augusti, Verus* (*Iuli Capitolini*) v.1, compares a well-disposed *historia* to a well-ordered banquet at which no more than nine guests are seated comfortably; see ibid., 60.

[31] On the seven motions, see stanza 4 *supra*. As Leesberg notes in *New Hollstein: Karel van Mander*, xxxiii, these seven motions are variously exemplified in the series of *Twenty Gods*, designed by Van Mander, engraved by Nicolaus Braeu and Cornelis Drebbel, and published by Hendrick Goltzius in 1598, on which, see ibid., 138–159, nos. 122–141 (Figs. 12 & 13).

[32] The variations on the seven axes of motion discussed in stanzas 21 and 22 are enumerated in *Rivius, Der furnembsten … Künst, eygentlicher Bericht*, fol. bbb4v; and Alberti, *De pictura*, trans. Sinisgalli, 64–65.

[33] Van Mander coins the terms *Ordineerders*, which I have translated literally as "makers of Ordonnance."

[34] *Scopus*, in Latin, is the target at which one shoots or the goal one strives to reach.

[35] That the *scopus* or "Centre punct" (central point), far from determining the position of corollary figures, instead receives emphasis from the way they encircle and direct their attention toward it, goes

hand in hand with the admonition in stanza 11 to position foreground figures at the sides of the picture, from where they function as repoussoirs, leaving the middle and far distance unencumbered. Van Mander elaborates upon Alberti's recommendation that the painter incorporate depicted spectators who mediate between the picture and its beholders; see *De pictura*, trans. Sinisgalli, 63: "It seems opportune then that in the *historia* these is someone who informs the spectators of the things that unfold; or invites with the hand to show … or indicates a danger or another [attribute] over there to observe …. It is necessary, in the end, that also all [the occurrences] that these painted [characters] made with the spectators and with themselves concur to realize and explain the *historia*." Miedema, in *Karel van Mander, Grondt*, 2:472, finds no art theoretical precedents for Van Mander's view of the importance of figures that ring the *scopus*. Kern, *Light and Shade*, 51, argues that whereas stanzas 11–12 associate *welstand*[*t*] with the provision of a spatial view, i.e., an *insien* or *doorsien*, stanza 23 identifies an alternative mode of well-ordered historical composition, focusing on foreground figures constitutive of a *scopus*. Although Van Mander is indeed talking about a *scopus*, it becomes clear elsewhere in chapter 5 (as also from his prints, drawings, and paintings) that the *scopus* can be situated as well in a picture's middle-ground or distant background. In fact, it is stanzas 28–31 on "simple" historical construction that delineate the alternative historical mode, on which see note 41 *infra*.

[36] This call for an abundance of figures varied by age and sex, along with animals of all kinds, paraphrases Rivius, *Der furnembsten … Künst, eygentlicher Bericht*, fol. bbb4r; and Alberti, *De pictura*, trans. Sinisgalli, 59–60.

[37] *Fantasije* is the nominative of the verb *fantaseren*, which the *Thesaurus Theutonica linguae*, fol. O1 recto, defines as *phantastiquer* in French, "phantasticari, imaginari" in Latin. Randle Cotgrave, *A Dictionarie of the French and English Tongues* (London: Adam Islip, 1611; rep. ed., Hildesheim and New York: 1970) renders *phantasie*: "A fancie, or fantasie, a conceit, an imagination." The reference to the harmony that results from an abundance of varied things implies that they will be deployed in a mutually complementary way, i.e., fitted to the narrative subject, whatever it might be.

[38] In "Life of Leon Battista Alberti," in *Vite*, ed. Milanesi, 2:537, Vasari gives 1481 as the date of Cosimo Bartoli's Italian translation of *De pictura*.

[39] The reference is to Rivius, *Der furnembsten … Künst, eygentlicher Bericht*, fol. bbb4r; and Alberti, *De pictura*, trans. Sinisgalli, 59–60.

[40] On the *Velum*, Latin for "veil," see chapter 2, stanza 18.

[41] A more literal translation of the final line would be: "And singly they rejoice to do well with little" ("En in't wynich eensaem, weldoen verblijden"). Whereas the previous stanzas placed a premium on *copia* and *verscheydenheyd*, stanzas 28–31 digress on the alternative pictorial mode of simplicity; however, at stanza 32 and thereafter, Van Mander resumes course, expatiating upon the many advantages of painting in a manner both copious and diverse. His discussion on making the most of limited means originates from Rivius, *Der furnembsten … Künst, eygentlicher Bericht*, fol. bbb4v; and Alberti, *De pictura*, trans. Sinisgalli, 60, which praises the dignity to be derived from populating the *historia* with a scarcity of figures. In both Rivius and Alberti, this kind of sobriety is treated as an exception to the rule of copious variety, which is sanctioned for the hold it exercises on the viewer's attention and its power of eliciting consent; see ibid.: "It happens, in fact, that not only the observers linger in examining objects, but that the painter's richness also gains the consent [of the people]." The "Life of Jan and Hubrecht van Eyck, brothers and Painters from Maseyck," in *Schilder-Boeck*, Book IV, fol. 200v, concludes with a veritable hymn to the copious variety on show in the *Adoration of the Mystic Lamb* from the *Ghent Altarpiece*; lauding the panel for its contravention of Pliny's dictum that no painter could portray faces as variously as does nature, Van Mander then adds: "In the landscape there are many foreign, exotic trees: small plants can be recognized, and the blades of grass are subtle and precise: so, too, one could hardly count the little hairs on the figures, in the horses' tails and manes, which are so finely and subtly executed that it astonishes every artist; indeed the whole work amazes and pleases in the beholding." Simple history, in that it focuses on figural representation, is constitutive of one of the specialized subject categories enumerated at the close of the Preface to the *Grondt*; this is first in the list of what, in the generation following Van Mander, would be codified as genres of Dutch and Flemish art: "beelden en Historien." By contrast, the copious mode of historical construction, in that it can potentially encompass several or even all of the specialties denominated by the term *verscheydenheden* (varieties)—not only figures but also architecture, animals, landscape, etc., or, as Van Mander puts it, "all that Nature most readily offers" ("t'ghene Natuere

meest aenbiedt")—constitutes a higher order or nobler genus of history, as chapter 5 of the *Grondt* makes apparent. This is the kind of *historie* already exemplified by Jan and Hubert van Eyck in the *Adoration of the Mystic Lamb*, on which see "Life of Jan and Hubert van Eyck," fols. 200r–202r.

[42] Just as the term *eensaem*, in line 1, signifies "simple" in the sense of "single" or "solitary," so *eensaemheyt*, in line 6, means "simplicity" in the sense of "singleness" or "solitariness."

[43] A more literal translation of *Personnages* would be "personages" or "personae." The analogy to playwrights who favored a small complement of actors is borrowed from Rivius, *Der furnembsten … Künst, eygentlicher Bericht*, fol. bbb4v; and Alberti, *De pictura*, trans. Sinisgalli, 60.

[44] On Varro's paradigmatic banquet, see note 30 *supra*.

[45] Van Mander lists various Ovidian subjects appropriate to history in a copious rather than simple mode. In *Wtlegghingh*, fol. 67v, Van Mander calls Flora "Mother of the Winds" who accompany the dawn, sallying forth with her.

[46] Adonis was transformed by Venus into the anemone. In *Wtlegghingh*, fol. 88v, Adonis is associated with the Venusian fecundity of summer that causes fields to green and to bloom.

[47] Crocus was transformed by the gods into the flower that bear his name; Smilax into the bindweed.

[48] Ajax, like Hyacinth before him, was transformed by the gods into the purple hyacinth.

[49] The commonplace of eyes grazing like bees in a field of flowers occurs in two *loci classici*: in Seneca's *Epistulae morales ad Lucilium* (*Moral Letters to Lucilius*) LXXXIV.3, the bees exemplify the poet's emulative transformation of other poets' pollen into inimitable nectar, whereas in Macrobius's *Saturnalia* I.5, they stand for *distinctio*, a method of imitation that aggregates discrete sources, reveling in their diversity. Van Mander's emphasis on the beauty of *Pictura*'s garden with its many places, which he compares to the dis-

tinctive savors of multifarious dishes, betrays his strong interest in Macrobian *distinctio*. On Macrobius as source of the imitative practice underlying the commonplace-book model of education, see A. Moss, *Printed Commonplace-Books and the Structuring of Renaissance Thought* (Oxford: 1996), 14.

[50] Here the term *eensamer* (simpler, more solitary) clearly refers to a subject arranged with a minimum of ornament—hence, "more austere."

[51] The reference to figures above, below, and at the sides augments the earlier remarks, in stanzas 11 and 23, about ringing the *scopus* with onlookers and placing foreground figures at either side, from where they guide the viewer's eyes toward a crucial scene in the middle-ground. That Van Mander compares these foreground figures to wares displayed on high and low shelves, or laterally, speaks to the correlative, as opposed to corollary, visual interest he grants them: like a peddler's stock they are there to be seen, even if the viewer's eyes, trained on the *scopus*, ultimately look beyond them. They contribute in no uncertain terms to the effect of copious variety after which he enjoins the *schilder* to strive. The trope of marketing, when viewed in light of Van Mander's emphasis in chapter 1, stanzas 5 and 73–74, on selling one's art, identifies figural enrichment of ordonnance as a crucial component of a picture's marketability. By specifically mentioning trees and hills, and stone steps, he enlists landscape and architecture as key instruments whereby to vary ordonnance. Moreover, the analogy of figures to things—commercial wares evocative of the *keuckens* (kitchen pieces) described in "Life of Pieter Aertsen, excellent Painter of Amsterdam," in *Schilder-Boeck*, Book IV, fol. 243v—suggests that still life is another touchstone for making a well-ordered history picture. Indeed, in ibid., fol. 244r, Aertsen is praised for the ingenuity he showed in populating his large religious panels with "architecture and perspectives," "animals and other such things," and in "adorning the figures with exotic ornaments" ("zijn beelden seer vreemdlijck cierende"). In *Karel van Mander, Grondt*, 2:476–479, Miedema draws attention to the *sui-generis* nature of the comparison between a history painter and a stallholder hawking his merchandise, plausibly suggests that Taddeo Zuccaro's frescoes in Cappella Mattei in Santa Maria della Consolazione may exemplify the pictorial type that prompted Van Mander's thoughts on multifigural ordonnance, and adduces Hendrick Goltzius's *Passion* series in the manner of

Lucas van Leyden (1596–1598) as picture-perfect exempla of the "market-stall composition." On this series, see M. Leesberg, comp., *The New Hollstein Dutch and Flemish Etchings, Engravings, and Woodcuts 1450–1700: Hendrick Goltzius*, ed. H. Leeflang, 4 vols. (Ouderkerk aan den IJssel and Amsterdam: 2012), 1:45–69, nos. 17–28. Further examples are Goltzius's *Adoration of the Magi* of ca. 1593 from the *Life of the Virgin*, on which see ibid., 1:20, 27; and Karel van Mander's *Judgment of Midas* of 1589, engraved by Nicolaes Clock, on which see Leesberg, comp., *Karel van Mander*, 162–163. Van Mander would have encountered works such as Taddeo's during his three-year sojourn in Rome (1574–1577). On the practical value of the kind of *ordinantie* purveyed in stanza 34, see E. van de Wetering, *Rembrandt: The Painter Thinking* (Amsterdam and Berkeley: 2016), 133–134.

[52] Van Mander's term for comic actors—*Comedianten*—derives from the poetic usage of the chambers of rhetoric. The *Thesaurus Theutonicae linguae*, fol. K1 verso, define *comediespel* (comic play) as a "poem or play wherein the common course of the life of the world is shown" ("ghedicht oft spel daer den ghemeynen loop des werelts leven inne ghetoont wert"). In his paintings, drawings, and prints, Van Mander consistently followed his precept concerning the higher placement of primary figures; see, for instance, the *Judgment of Midas*, cited in note 50 *supra*. He diverged from this usage to heighten the effect of peripeteia in the *Conversion of St. Paul* of 1595–1596, engraved by Jacques de Gheyn II or Zacharias Dolendo, or the effect of comic disorder in *Peasant Kermis* of 1593, engraved by Noclaes Clock, on which see Leesberg, comp. *Karel van Mander*, 86–87, 132–133, nos. 86 and 118.

[53] The criteria of graceful motion are set forth in chapter 4: in stanza 14, the counterbalancing turn of head and torso; in stanza 28, movement that even when energetic is neither strenuous nor extravagant; in stanza 29, the swiveling curves of the *figura serpentinata*; in stanza 34, relating to Ariosto's Alcina, with a view to instilling love, the functional coordination of the figure's every action. Gathered together, these criteria identify grace with sinuous, unforced movement, balanced antithesis, and concordant decorum of use.

[54] Van Mander's terminology "t'Gemhaels beschouwer" derives from the German *Gemälde* (picture, painting).

[55] On mediating figures as conveyers of affect, see Rivius, *Der furnembsten … Künst, eygentlicher Bericht*, fol. ccc1v; and Alberti, *De pictura*, trans. Sinisgalli, 63.

[56] In "Life of Jacopo Pontormo, Painter," in *Schilder-Boeck*, Book III, fol. 148r, his infamous *Last Judgment* is faulted for its "confused ordonnance, full of entanglements (*haspelinghe*) and nudes undifferentiated by flesh tint or changes of face"; in "Life of Jacopo Tintoretto," in ibid., fol. 178v, his *Last Judgment* is likewise impugned for its "deviceful ordonnance and invention, unguided by measured and comprehensible drawing," and for the "attention paid solely to the whole, not its discrete parts, in bodying forth of the confusion, tumult, and horror of that last day."

[57] On the related precept against encumbering a naked *Corpus*, see chapter 4, note 17 *supra*.

[58] See chapter 2, stanza 11.

[59] Here and elsewhere in the *Grondt*, Van Mander uses the color brown (*bruyn*) to stand for deep shadow. In advising painters to avoid sharp demarcations of light and dark, he paraphrases Vasari who champions *unione* (tonal gradation of tints) in his extended preface on painting, in *Vite*, ed. Milanesi, 1:180. On this stanza, see Kern, *Light and Shade*, 31, where "herde bruyn" is translated as "unmodulated dark colours" and "graeuwen" as "half-tints." As she plausibly suggests, Van Mander likely associates the massing of shadows with the gathering of figures rather than with tonal convergence as an end in itself.

[60] "D'Italy Mezza tinten" (middle-tints of Italy) likely refers to the relief effects achieved in the chiaroscuro prints of masters such as Antonio da Trento, Niccolò Vincentino, and Ugo da Carpi after Parmigianino, on which see Takahatake, *The Chiaroscuro Woodcut in Renaissance* Italy, 98–163, and chapter 2, note 17 *supra*. As Miedema notes in *Karel van Mander, Grondt*, 2:481–482, Van Mander also exemplifies this practice of tonal gradation in "Life of Polidoro of Caravaggio, Painter in Lombardy," in *Schilder-Boeck*, Book III, fol. 128v: "Polidoro employed such discretion, advancing flat lights in a few foreground groups, and letting his gray[s] blend increasingly into brown, losing themselves in each other: also allowing the background figures with their middle-tints and gray[s] to recede, while bringing others to the fore."

[61] On Andromeda, chained to a seaside cliff where a monster sent by Juno threatened to devour her, see *Wtlegghingh*, fol. 41r.

[62] See Horace, "De arte poetica," in *Satires, Epistles, The Art of Poetry*, trans. H. Rushton Fairclough (Cambridge, MA: 1926), 451: "'Painters and poets,' you say, 'have always had an equal right in hazarding anything.'"

[63] The term *byvoechselen* (adjuncts, additions, appurtenances)—*byvueginghe* in the *Thesaurus Theutonicae linguae*, fol. I3 recto—signifies "adionction, adioustement" in French, "adiunctio, addition, adiectio" in Latin. Van Mander uses it to mean something like an enriching ornament that adds *verscheydenheyd* (variety) to the historical ordonnance.

[64] Namely, Naples, originally known as Partenope. Van Mander's example, taken from Jacopo Sannazzaro's *Arcadia* (Naples: Sigismund Mayr, 1504), consists of a long paraphrase, fifteen stanzas long, comprising most of the third prose chapter; see *Arcadia and Piscatorial Eclogues*, trans. R. Nash (Detroit: 1966), 41–46. This chapter, which follows the "Eclogue of Montano and Uranio" and precedes the "Eclogue of Galicio," takes the form of an extended ekphrasis: the narrator and his fellows visit the shrine of the Arcadian tutelary goddess Pales, where, upon crossing the threshold, they see hanging above them an intricate landscape painting. For a fuller discussion of Van Mander's clever paraphrase from Sannazzaro, see section 6 of my introductory essay, *supra*.

[65] *Carpinus* is a species of maple known as the hornbeam maple.

[66] Charged by Jove to guard the herds of King Admetus of Thessaly, Apollo, playing upon the seven-reed syrinx, is distracted by thoughts of love and fails to see Mercury stealing cattle from the Messenian fields; see Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, trans. Miller, 1:107–109.

[67] On Battus, whose venality prompted him to betray the theft of Admetus's cattle by Mercury, who in punishment turned him into stone, see *Wtlegghingh*, fol. 20r. Van Mander's source was Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, trans. Miller, 1:109.

[68] On Mercury's deception of many-eyed Argus, whom Juno had set to guard Jove's lover Io disguised as a heifer, see *Wtlegghingh*, fol. 9r.

Van Mander's source was Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, trans. Miller, 1:49–53.

[69] *Cerrus* is Latin for a species of oak, sometimes called "Turkey Oak."

[70] Beloved by the goddess of the moon, the shepherd Endymion was made to sleep eternally, his youthful beauty perpetually intact; on Endymion and Luna, see *Wtlegghingh*, fol. 64r. Van Mander's source was probably a mythographic treatise, e.g., Vincenzo Cartari, *Le imagini de i Dei de gli Antichi* (Venice: Francesco Ziletti, 1580), 107.

[71] On the nymph Oenone, wife of Paris, who carved her name into the trunks of beeches to declare his supposedly undying love, see Ovid, *Heroides*, trans. Showerman, 57–69, esp. 59.

[72] On the judgment of Paris or, rather, on his injudiciousness in allowing himself to be tricked by Venus, whose "gift" of Helen will cause the destruction of Troy, the chief sources are *Iliad* XXIV.25–30, Ovid, *Heroides* XVI, and Apuleius, *Golden Ass* X.33, which includes a famously cynical assessment of his verdict; see Apuleius, *Metamorphoses*, trans. J.A. Hanson, 2 vols. (Cambridge, MA: 1996), 2:231–233: "Why are you so surprised, you cheap ciphers—or should I say sheep of the courts, or better still, vultures in togas—if nowadays all jurors hawk their verdicts for a price, since at the world's beginning an adjudication between gods and men was corrupted by beauty's influence, and a country shepherd, chosen judge on the advice of great Jupiter, sold the first verdict for a profit of pleasure, resulting in the destruction of himself and his entire race?" Van Mander was intimately familiar with *Les XXIII. Livres de l'Iliade d'Homère, Prince des Poëtes Grecs* (Paris: Lucas Breyer, 1580), which contains Hugues Salel's translation of the first ten books and Amadis Jamyn's of the last thirteen. His own translation of the first twelve books into Dutch, *De eerste XII. Boecken vande Ilyadas* (Haarlem: Adriaen Rooman, 1611), was taken from this edition. In *Wtlegghingh*, fol. 29v, he comments on Venus's deceptive nature by quoting Homer's description of the zone of Venus: she is the mistress of "geveynsde zeden" (feigned, deceptive mores), the "verleyder der gemoeden" (seductress of hearts). *Wtlegghingh*, fol. 31r, also briefly recounts how Venus gathers a triumphal train of divinities—Hymeneus, Cupid, Erotes, and the Graces—upon winning the apple from Paris. Van Mander, who cites Lilio Gregorio Giraldi and Vincenzo Cartari in "On Venus," consulted the chief mythographic handbooks: in addition to Giraldi's *Historia de*

deis gentium and Cartari's *Imagini de gli dei delli Antichi*, also Giovanni Boccaccio's *Genealogia deorum* and Natale Conti's *Mythologia*, on which see J. Mulryan, "Venus, Cupid, and the Italian Mythographers," *Humanistica Lovaniensia* 23 (1979): 31–41.

[73] On the *Scopus*, see stanza 23 *supra*. The type of ordonnance licensed by Van Mander's ekphrasis, its *scopus* forestalled to the end of a circuitous route punctuated by numerous intriguing divagations, each of which commands attention, differs radically from the kind of centralized composition enjoined by Lomazzo in *Trattato*, 282: "One ought chiefly to take note of the point from which all the lines derive, going thither from their place on the circumference, as in the case of the triangle, square, circle, and all other forms. And the point is properly the principal figure which is positioned at the center of the above-mentioned forms .... In the triangle, [for example,] which has three parts, the figures positioned over each of these must look equally toward the point, just as in the square which has four corners, and finally the circle: however many figures as they wish to place round about, all must look toward the point, as if it were the principal cause and premier subject wherefrom all the other parts derive. For this reason, the main figures will be placed in the middle, and all the other parts round about." By contrast, Van Mander, who undoubtedly knew this passage, recommends that the number of corollary elements be greatly amplified and varied, and perhaps more importantly, he interprets *nel mezzo* to mean not at the midpoint of a foreground wherein figures are disposed within a triangle, square, or circle, but rather, at a distant point somewhere in the middle ground, relatively far from the front of the image. Although in stanza 23 *supra*, he adheres to Lomazzo's precept that the flanking figures should cast their gaze in the direction of the key figure[s], he not only situates these figures more distantly but also, in stanzas 46–58, makes them harder to spot, greatly deferring their final discovery. He maintains the rule of decorum, i.e., thematic coherence, but has a higher tolerance than did Lomazzo or his fellow theorist Giovan Battista Armenini for the dispersal of visual interest throughout the *historie*. See, for instance, Armenini's injunction that the principal figures be conspicuous, in *De' veri precetti della pittura* (Ravenna: Francesco Tibaldini, 1586/87), 144, as cited in L. Pericolo, *Caravaggio and Pictorial Narrative: Dislocating the* Istoria *in Early Modern Painting* (London and Turnhout: 2011), 97–98: "Therefore, the main figures should be composed with colors that are naturally more beautiful, attractive, and brighter, these [figures] being of more importance

than the others for they practically serve as the ground [*campo*] for the entire work …, and since it is necessary to make the other figures on their sides of a lesser size, in accordance with the configuration of the pictorial plane, they [also] ought to lose their colors and dim little by little." As Pericolo puts it, the pivotal figure is designed to "reverberate its sense upon the other actors in a condensed yet paradigmatic manner." On this account, and as discussed in section 6 of my Introduction *supra*, the Judgment of Paris can indeed be seen to underscore the theme of deception, but it does so neither centrally nor determinatively—before the fact, as one might say—but instead retrospectively or recursively. On analogies between Lomazzo's *Trattato* and the *Grondt*, especially as regards *ordinantie* and *reflexy-const*, the subject of chapter 7, see R. Hoecker, *Das Lehrgedicht des Karel van Mander*, Quellenstudien zur Holländischen Kunstgeschichte (The Hague: 1916), 430 n. 71, 432 n. 100, 433 n. 106; B. Becker, "Karel van Mander, *Den grondt der edel vrij Schilderconst*. Hrsg. v. Hessel Miedema (Utrecht 1973)," *Kritische Berichte: Mitteilungen des Ülmer Vereins* 3.5–6 (1975): 103–109, esp. 107; and Müller, *Concordia Pragensis*, 61–63, 74 n. 162, 81, 131.

[74] Van Mander makes explicit the pictorial comparison that underlies Sannazzaro's account of the Judgment of Paris; on Timanthes's adroit portrayal of the *Sacrifice of Iphigenia*, in which, having shown Calchas sad, Ulysses heartsore, Menelaus mournful, and Ajax railing against the gods, he then educed the greater sorrow of Agamemnon by showing his face hidden beneath a cloak, see *Wtlegghingh*, fol. 70r. With reference to the Judgment of Midas, his point is that by withholding the object of sight, the painter can make it more intensely present to the mind's eye.

[75] Whereas Sannazzaro says, in *Arcadia*, trans. Nash, 44, that the circumspect painter, "mistrusting his ability to make Venus as beautiful as necessity required, had painted her with her back turned, thus with his shrewdness excusing his insufficiency," Van Mander unqualifiedly extols the painter for implementing a pleasurable trick of artifice (*liste*) that causes the viewer to visualize the goddess's inimitable beauty as if it were actually being shown. The painter's clever device, in that it appears to instantiate or actualize a quality that is seen only virtually, can be construed as a species of trompe l'oeil, albeit a peculiar one; the pictorial *liste* also functions as an analogue to the ekphrastic trick of conjuring up such a picture with mere words.

[76] The term *Buffonsch*, as Miedema notes in *Karel van Mander, Grondt*, 2:485, transliterates the Italian *buffone*.

[77] In the Dutch, the stanza concludes with the phrase "sonder additien oft adjecten" (lacking additions or supplements), thus emphasizing that the absence of such ornaments is an impediment to delight.

[78] Van Mander avers in no uncertain terms that Sannazzaro was knowledgeable about painting: the ekphrastic image he has just relayed epitomizes criteria of *vermeeren* (amplification) and *byvoeghen* (embellishment, ornamentation) that apply equally well to both poetry and painting.

[79] On Van Mander's use of the term *schilderachtig* (painterly, painter-like) to characterize Sannazaro's ekphrases as veritable pictures, see Bakker, "*Schilderachtig*," 151.

[80] For "slaughter," Van Mander uses the term *kelen*, which specifically refers to cutting the pig's throat.

[81] The reference to the "World's stage" in stanza 63, to "terrestrial Theater" in stanza 64, and to personifications of Abraham's virtues in stanza 65 are allusions to the dramatic usage of the Dutch and Flemish chambers of rhetoric Van Mander knew at first hand as a practicing poet-playwright, on which see chapter 1, note 4 *supra*. Personifications played a major role in the staged performance of affective dialogic argument, on which see B. Ramakers, "Embodied Wits—The Representation of Deliberative Thought in Rhetoricians' Drama," *Renaissance Studies* 32 (2018): 85–105. It is noteworthy that Van Mander endorses the use of personification to amplify the *historie*, converting it from simple in format to rich and various.

[82] "Accounting that God is able to raise up even from the dead. Whereupon also he received him for a parable." The term *voorbeeldt* in this context signifies a moral exemplum based in life, hence a "parable."

[83] Van Mander cites Hebrews 11:19, in *Den Bibel, inhoudende dat Oude ende Nieuwe Testament* (Prope Emdem: Nicolaes Biestkens, 1560), changing the narrative voice from third person to first. The Biestkens Bible was much favored by his Mennonite co-religionists as well as

by Lutherans; see A. Jaap van den Berg and B. Thijs, *Uitgelezen: Bijbels en prentbijbels uit de vroegmoderne tijd* (Heerenveen: 2010), 47–59.

[84] On Federico Zuccaro's *Annunciation with Prophets of the Mystery of the Incarnation*, once displayed on the apse wall of the now demolished Jesuit church of Santa Maria Annunziata, Rome, see "Life of Federico Zuccaro, Painter from Sant' Angelo in Vado," in *Schilder-Boeck*, Book II, fols. 185v–186r. Van Mander, though he summarily praises the fresco's ordonnance, refrains from describing it in any detail, instead adducing Cornelis Cort's reproductive print to justify the work's high reputation. He also adds that a few years after completing the fresco, Federico retouched it in tempera, also glazing the earth reds and greens with red lake and azure green respectively. On Cort's print, see M. Sellink, comp., *The New Hollstein Dutch and Flemish Etchings, Engravings, and Woodcuts, 1450–1700: Cornelis Cort*, ed. H. Leeflang, 3 vols. (Rotterdam and Amsterdam: 2000), 1:54; and W.S. Melion, "Cornelis Cort, *Annunciation with Prophets of the Incarnation*," in Melion and J. Clifton, *Scripture for the Eyes: Bible Illustration in Netherlandish Prints of the Sixteenth Century* [exh. cat., Museum of Biblical Art, New York City; Michael C. Carlos Museum, Emory University, Atlanta] (London and New York: 2009), 133–134.

[85] On this painting, one of four cartoons executed for the church of Santa Maria delle Lagrime in Arezzo, see "Life of Rosso, Florentine Painter and Architect," in *Schilder-Boeck*, Book III, fol. 130v. Van Mander paraphrases Vasari, *Vite*, ed. Milanesi, 3:208.

[86] As Van Mander explains in *Wtbeeldinghe der figueren*, Book VI of the *Schilder-Boeck*, fols. 124r and 135r, he uses the term *wtbeeldingh* to signify a figurative image, i.e., the concrete image of a person, animal, or thing that serves, without the aid of collateral texts, to body forth an allegorical conceit; by combining these images, the *schilder* can transmit increasingly elaborate arguments, the meaning of which the viewer must carefully parse. Citing Coornhert, whose admonition, "No gallows stands before the door," Van Mander interprets as a call to be unconstrained in one's invention of such conceits, he provides the following neo-Petrarchan example of the most complex form of *wtbeeldingh*: "Peace brings industry, industry riches, riches pride, pride discord, discord war, war poverty, poverty humility, [and] humility brings peace." The term *advijs*, as the *Middelnederlandsch handwoordenboek* indicates (48), can likewise refer to a conceit, in the sense of something thought up, a contrivance. Unlike

Giovanni Andrea Gilio, whose *Degli errori e degli abusi de' pittori circa l'istorie* of 1564 attacks Michelangelo for mixing sacred history and poetic fiction, religious truth and mythological allegory in his *Last Judgment*, Van Mander, who adhered to the allegorical practices of his fellow *rederijkers* (poet-rhetors), clearly has no reservations about using personifications to comment on biblical events. Van Mander would have become familiar with the gist if not the letter of Gilio's arguments during his years-long stay in Rome; on the significance of Gilio's art criticism for post-Tridentine painting in Rome, see C. Dempsey, "Mythic Inventions in Counter-Reformation Painting," in P.A. Ramsey, ed., *Rome in the Renaissance: The City and the Myth* (Binghamton: 1982), 55–75.

[87] In "On Nealces, Painter," in *Schilder-Boeck*, Book II, fol. 84r, Van Mander praises him for being uncommonly *versierich* (ingenious, inventive, resourceful at fabricating devices), with specific reference to his ability circumstantially to distinguish between fresh- and saltwater.

[88] In this context, *wtbeeldinghe* (effigy) might also be translated "personification," in the sense of a human figure that hypostatizes a body of water.

[89] Having licensed the use of allegory to augment the *historie*, Van Mander now launches a thirteen-stanza exemplum of how to develop a richly various personification, i.e., a figurative image made up of mutually complementary poetic contrivances, on which see stanza 68 and note 86 *supra*.

[90] As Miedema observes, in *Van Mander, Grondt*, 2:489, Van Mander's reference derives neither from the works of Heroidanus Historicus nor Herodianus Technicus; as far as I know, it does not appear in any of the standard mythographic handbooks.

[91] Although Philostratus, *Imagines* I.5 mentions the children who frisk about the Nile, it is Pliny, *Naturalis historia* XXXVI.xi.58, who describes sixteen children, each of whom measures one cubit, while together they signify the river at full flood.

[92] On the correct form of the sphinx, which has a "maiden's head and hands, a dog's body, a man's voice, a dragon's tail, and a lion's claws," see *Wtlegghingh*, fol. 80v.

[93] See Pliny, *Naturalis historia* V.x.56–58 and XVIII.xlvii.167–168.

[94] *Colocasia* is the species name of the elephant's-ear plant.

[95] The references to Ptolemy's *Geographica*, as Miedema notes in *Van Mander, Grondt*, 2:490, came partly from Du Pinet, *L'histoire du monde*, 1:310–311. For the reference to Pliny, see note 91 *supra*.

[96] On the men of the island of Tentyrus who though small in stature valiantly hunt the Nile crocodile, see Pliny, *Naturalis historia* VIII. xxxviii.92–94. Miedema, in *Karel van Mander, Grondt*, 2:490, identifies the anonymous engraving of the Nile statue in Antoine Lafreri's *Speculum Romanae magnificentiae*, along with its lengthy inscription, as a further source of Van Mander's detailed iconography of the river god.

[97] On Nilotic basalt and the statue Vespasian caused to be carved, see Pliny, *Naturalis historia*, XXXVI.xi.58–59.

[98] With reference to the title of Book VI of the *Schilder-Boeck* (*Wtbeeldinge der Figueren: waer in te sien is, hoe d'Heydenen hun Goden uytghebeelt, en onderscheyden hebben*), I have translated *uytbeeldinghen*, in line 6, as "figured images."

[99] Van Mander circles back to the principle he has been exemplifying, namely, the freedom of the painter to embellish his image copiously, variously, and judiciously, as he sees fit, in the manner of the Judgment of Paris, as described by Sannazzaro, and the effigy of the Nile and its attendant allegories. Van Mander's use of the Latin *liber* for "free" perhaps evokes *Ars poetica* 10, which insists that poets and painters are free to exercise their imaginative faculties, venturing to portray what they will ("semper fuit aequa potestas"); see Horace, "De arte poetica," trans. Rushton Fairclough, 450–451.

[100] Both the *Nile* and the *Tiber* were formerly exhibited in the Vatican Belvedere. For his description, Van Mander consulted the anonymous print in Lafreri's *Speculum Romanae magnificentiae*, on which see note 96 *supra*.

[101] Van Mander elaborates upon Pliny's description of Eutychides's *Tiber*, in *Naturalis historia* XXXIV.xix.78, and Du Pinet, *L'histoire du monde*, 2:144.

[102] On the horned river god Numicius, who obeys Venus in washing away the mortal parts of Aeneas, see Ovid, *Metamorphoses* XIV.599–604.

[103] Van Mander, in "Life of Demon, Painter of Athens," in *Schilder-Boeck*, Book II, fol. 69r–v, warns against confusing Parrhasius with Demon who first found a way of distilling a people's character, portraying the true nature of the Athenians, whom he showed to be "fickle, choleric, unjust, yet also obliging, merciful, charitable, courageous, self-important, humble, unmindful, timorous." Nevertheless, stanza 86 follows Dupinet, *L'histoire du monde*, 2:643, in attributing this achievement to Parrhasius. In "Life of Parrhasius, excellent Painting of Ephesus," fol. 69r, Van Mander states that he invented a way of depicting the "proportions, forms, actions, and essential nature of [human] faces."

[104] Van Mander's iconography of Rome triumphant derives from Cesare Ripa's *Iconologia*, especially his description of the goddess who accompanies the personified province of Latio; see *Iconologia, overo, Descrittione di diverse imagini cavate dall'antichità* (Rome: Lepido Facii, 1603), 260–261. Conversely, stanza 87 appears to have served as the basis for *Roma Victrix* in Dirck Pietersz. Pers, *Iconologia, of uytbeeldingen des verstands* (Amsterdam: Dirck Pietersz. Pers, 1644), 229.

Chapter 6: "Portrayal of the Affects, passions, desires, and sorrows of Persons"

[1] At the start of *Wtbeeldinge der figueren*, Book VI, fol. 127v, Van Mander recalls that in *Grondt*, chapter 6, he had promised to discuss figuration at fuller length. In fact, he makes this promise at the close of chapter 5; as Miedema conjectures, in *Karel van Mander, Grondt*, 2:460, this may indicate that the order of chapters 5 and 6 was ultimately reversed: whereas Van Mander had previously thought to discuss the expressive possibilities of the human face and figure before examining invention and history, he finally decided to expound the multifigure *historie* before turning to its affective building blocks.

[2] *Affecten* (Affects) encompasses the unitary passions and the more labile, mixed states of feeling that Van Mander connects in stanza 35 not simply to fixed attitudes but to motions of body. In the glos-

sary appended to Jan van Mussem, *Rhetorica, dye edele const van welsegghene* (Antwerp: Weduwe van Henric Peetersen, 1553), a Flemish rhetorical treatise Van Mander certainly knew, *affectie* is defined as *genegentheyt* (liking, inclination) and *begheerte* (desire, appetite), *passie* as "een lijden" (suffering, endurance of some thing), but also as *genegentheyt*. On this account, the two terms are near cognates, though *passie* implies greater intensity and impact.

[3] On the primary task of pictured history, which is "to stimulate the observers' hearts" by showing them the "motions of the mind … known from the movements of the body," see Rivius, *Der furnembsten … Künst, eygentlicher Bericht*, fol. ccc1r; and Alberti, *De pictura*, trans. Sinisgalli, 61–62. Underlying their conviction that the motions of the body directly express the passions of the soul is Quintilian's account, in *Institutio oratoria* VI.ii.1–35, of affect and moral feeling as both cause and effect of the closing peroration of a well-orchestrated speech. Affects and morals must be enacted by the orator, in whom they should actually be felt in some form if they are properly to be expressed so as to induce an affective, felt response in the auditor. *Insitutio oratoria* XI.iii.65–100 then focus on the motions and gestures, especially of the face, eyes, and hands, that a skilled rhetorical performer must master in order to be efficacious. Quintilian states, in VI.ii.29–32, that *fantasia*, the faculty of imagination, when it resolutely brings forth a stirring image, can make it appear so vivid and actual that the very affects and feelings it depicts are stirred in us. And having been moved by such an image, we shall find ourselves capable of producing an oratorical image that moves our audience in the like degree. Quintilian calls such an image an *enárgeia* which, citing Cicero, he defines as "illumination and actuality." His conception of *enárgeia*, like his terminology, since it concerns the process of emotive image-making, proved easily transferable to the visual arts. His special relevance to art theorists anchors as well in the explicit parallel he draws between styles of oratory and styles of painting and sculpture, in XII.x.3–9: for example, he distinguishes between the "simple coloring" of Polygnotus and the "dignity and grandeur" of Zeuxis, based on the heroic style of Homer, and discriminates between the "rude" simplicity of the sculptor Callon and the "majesty" of Phidias, concluding that just as there are "Polygnoti" and "Callones" of oratory, so there are orators whose eloquent refinements correlate to the richer pictorial and sculptural styles of other painters and sculptors; see *Institutio oratoria*, trans. H.E. Butler, 4 vols. (Cambridge, MA and London: 1920–1922), 4:451–457.

[4] As Miedema states, in *Karel van Mander, Grondt*, 2:495, Van Mander combines the lists of affects enumerated in Rivius, *Der furnembsten … Künst, eygentlicher Bericht*, fol. ccc1v–2r; Alberti, *De pictura*, trans. Sinisgalli, 62; and Pliny, *Naturalis historia*, trans. Rackham, 3:519, 523. In addition, by placing love at the head of the list, he alludes to 1 Corinthians 13:13: "… but the greatest of these is charity." Van Mander presumably places love first amongst the affects he enumerates because it is the most visual of all the passions, making its presence felt in and through the motions of the eyes, whereby, as he implies in stanza 18, love functions as an analogue to painting, "limn[ing]" itself. He devotes twenty-three stanzas to love, after which there follow one or more stanzas on each of the other affects or passions listed in stanza 2, starting with desire. Desire, joy, and sorrow, are three of the four Stoic passions (the fourth is antipathy), on which see N. Schiller, "Desire and Dissimulation: Laughter as an Expressive Behavior in Karel van Mander's *Den grondt der edel vry schilder-const* (1604)," *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 60 (2010): 83–107, esp. 83.

[5] The reference to *ethoi* reveals that Van Mander's topic here and throughout chapter 6 is *ethopoeia*—the depiction of characteristic affects, i.e., affects as indices of character—broadly defined in one of the most widely distributed rhetorical handbooks, Cyprian Soarez, S.J., *De arte rhetorica libri tres ex Aristotele, Cicerone et Quinctiliano praecipue deprompti* (Coimbra: Ioannes Barrerius, 1562; reprint ed., Paris: Thomas Brummenius, 1576), fol. 45v, as the "imitation of life and the behavior of others, a certain great ornament of oratory, supremely well suited to the winning over of spirits, but oftentimes to moving them deeply." Van Mander's usage of the term *ethopoeia* functionally embeds an allied rhetorical figure, *pathopoeia*—the portrayal of an emotion in such a way as to elicit a like response from the auditor-beholder. Both *ethopoeia* and *pathopoeia* require the orator to demonstrate performatively and verbally, in action and speech, the affects being called forth as instruments of persuasion. On Aristides's newfound ability to represent the "mind's intentions" ("voornemens der ghedachten"), "motions of sense" ("beroeringen der sinnen"), and "inclinations of the heart" ("des ghemoedts gheneghentheden"), see "Van Aristides, Painter of Thebes", in *Schilder-Boeck*, Book 11, fol. 71r.

[6] Van Mander's implication is that Aristides looked both to nature and the arts for inspiration. Pliny, in *Naturalis historia* XXXV.xxxvi.96 (trans. Rackham, 9:333–335), invoking the Greek term *ēthē*, states

that Aristides was the first to paint the motions of the mind and of sense, as well as the passions or emotions (*peturbationes*).

[7] On the face as the chief bodily locus of affective expression, see Rivius, *Der furnembsten … Künst, eygentlicher Bericht*, fol. ccc1r–v; and Alberti, *De pictura*, trans. Sinisgalli, 62–63.

[8] In avowing Nature's peerless ability to externalize the motions of the heart in the movements of the body, and calling upon painters to reproduce these affects in their painting, thereby to induce them in their viewers, Van Mander emulates Rivius, *Der furnembsten … Künst, eygentlicher Bericht*, fol. ccc1r; and Alberti, *De pictura*, trans. Sinisgalli, 61: "… one can find nothing more covetous than [Nature] regarding [emotions] similar to ourselves—that we cry with those who cry, we laugh with those who laugh, we grieve with those who suffer."

[9] Van Mander uses the term *Histrionica* to refer to the stagecraft of actors whose poses convey the passions, and who emote by means of movement.

[10] The eleven stanzas devoted to the story of Seleucus, Antiochus, and Stratonice derive from the "Life of Demetrius," in Plutarch, *Vitae* [Demetrius] xxxviii; see *Plutarch's Lives*, trans. B. Perrin (London: 1914–1926), 9:93–97. Van Mander utilizes the anecdote to demonstrate that if painters are as observant of Nature's affects as was the shrewdly observant doctor Erasistratus, they will discern how she discloses even the most deeply hidden stirrings of the mind and heart; although these symptoms are discernible equally to touch (pulse), the ears (voice), and the eyes (complexion), it is the visual signs in particular that testify to Nature's powers of artifice, her signature skill at rendering love's effects ("dat liefd haer selven wrought").

[11] Plutarch mentions the "tell-tale signs of which Sappho speaks"; see ibid., 9:93.

[12] On pain and the hand, love and the eye, see Harrebomée, *Spreekwoordenboek der Nederlandsche taal*, 1:276, 2:28, 2:145, and 3:214–225.

[13] On Clytie whose love of Apollo caused her to follow him with her eyes, whithersoever he went, as the heliotrope and the *Torn-al-Sole* (sunflower) follow the sun, see Van Mander, *Wtlegghingh*, fol. 31r.

[14] In Ovid, *Heroides* XVII.75, Helen complains to Paris about the wanton gazes with which he was wont to assail her in the house of her husband Menelaus; see *Heroides*, trans. Showerman, 231.

[15] On this vase (in fact, a maplewood bowl), one of the prizes offered by Ergasto at the funeral games staged in honor of Massilia, see the eleventh prose chapter of Sannazzaro, *Arcadia and Piscatorial Eclogues*, trans. Nash, 124: "… on which by the hand of the Paduan Mantegna (an artist cunning beyond all others and most ingenious) were painted many things: but among others a naked Nymph." Also see O. Kurz, "Sannazaro and Mantegna," in *Studi in onore di Riccardo Filangieri*, 3 vols. (Naples: 1959), 2:277–283.

[16] Van Mander introduces one of the primary themes of chapter 6—the portrayal of mixed emotions—here joy mingled with sorrow.

[17] The reference to Euphranor as a master at portraying mixed emotions derives from Pliny XXXIV.xix.77, by way of Rivius, *Der furnembsten … Künst, eygentlicher Bericht*, fol. CCC1r; and Alberti, *De pictura*, trans. Sinisgalli, 62. Van Mander greatly amplifies all three accounts; indeed, Euphranor's ability to admix a multiplicity of diverse affects goes further even than Mantegna's. The emphasis on mixed emotion is one of the hallmarks of humoral theory, which paid close attention to the mixture of humoral fluids, on which, with specific reference to compounds of anger, see J. Kromm, *The Art of Frenzy: Public Madness in the Visual Culture of Europe, 1500–1850* (London: 2002), 1–38; and eadem, "Anger's Marks: Expressions of Sin, Temperament, and Passion," *Nedelands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 60 (2010), 35–51, esp. 39. Van Mander's chief source was probably Lomazzo, *Trattato dell'arte*, Book II, especially chapter 8, "How all the motions may accidentally befall any man, though diversely"; see Richard Haydocke's condensed translation of Lomazzo's treatise, *A Tracte Containing the Artes of Curious Paintinge, Carvinge and Buildinge* (Oxford: Joseph Barnes, 1598), II.23: "Hence then the Painter may learne how to expresse not onely the proper and natural motions, but also the accidentall: wherein consisteth no small part of the difficulty of the Arte, namelie in representing diversities of affections and passions in one bodie." Like Lomazzo, Van Mander calls upon the examples of Euphranor, Parrhasius, and Aristides. Lomazzo keeps circling back to this topic, which forms part of his discussion of mirth in chapter 12, of flattery in chapter 13, and of deceit in chapter 14, and is one of the principal themes of chapter 18, "On the concord and dis-

cord of the motions, and of their uniting"; see ibid., II.77: "Wherefore (according to the fore-sayed order of the originall of the passions of the minde together with the foure humors, and their agreements) we must proceede, by making them spring forth like branches; from their bodie."

[18] Stanzas 24 and 25 apply the term *affecten* to affects such as desire, but also to character traits such as ready wit and virility. Since the term *ethos* signifies "character," *ethopoeia* was commonly seen to apply to the representation of characteristic affects, on which see note 5 *supra*.

[19] Van Mander uses the subjunctive to indicate that he is visualizing how the image must have looked.

[20] On the amorous cast of Paris's mouth, as depicted by Euphranor, see Schiller, "Desire and Dissimulation," 88–89.

[21] In this respect, desire resembles love.

[22] See Pliny, *Naturalis historia* XI.liv.145–146 (trans. Rackham, 3:523): "No other part of the body supplies greater indications of the mind—this is so with all animals alike, but specially with man—that is, indications of self-restraint, mercy, pity, hatred, love, sorrow, joy. The eyes are also very varied in their look—fierce, stern, sparkling, sedate, leering, askance, downcast, kindly: in fact the eyes are the abode of the mind."

[23] See Albertus Magnus, *De animalibus* I.ii.3, in *Opera omnia*, ed. A. Borgnet (Paris: 1891), 37.

[24] *Latae frontis* signifies "of happy face" or "of carefree brow."

[25] On *genius* ("genius" in the sense of inward or innate wit, but also of "animating spirit") and its close association with *ingenium* ("ingenuity" in the sense of "natural capacity or talents"), see M. Bass, *Insect Artifice: Nature and Art in the Dutch Revolt* (Princeton and Oxford: 2019), 37–39.

[26] The eyes that in stanza 27 prove capable of unleashing an unimaginably copious flow of tears are here companioned by the brow that discloses what a person's other features conceal. Van Mander reveals

his interest in a person's capacity bodily to express divergent affects, either consecutively when antithetical emotions come seriatim to the surface, or jointly when one emotion is feigned while a quite different one is felt, or again, multiply when affects are mixed or compounded, as in the case of Pieter Bruegel's herald, marshaled in stanza 57, whose rigor is tempered by barely suppressed compassion. Quintilian, in *Institutio oratoria* I.ix.27–28, stresses the importance of feigned emotion in oratory, praising Gaius Gracchus for his ability to terrify the patrician party even while feeling fearful of their power.

[27] Van Mander treats Pride as a personification that bodies forth a person's prideful thoughts.

[28] See [Phocion] v, in *Plutarch's Lives*, trans. Perrin, 8:155.

[29] *Physiognomia* (Physiognomics) refers to the art of reading a person's character from the features of that person's face.

[30] Van Mander paraphrases Pliny's rejection of the physiognomics of Trogus, Adamantius, and Aristotle, in *Naturalis historia* XI.cxiv.273–275; see *Natual History* 3:605.

[31] For "motions," Van Mander appropriates the Latin term *motus* (motions, emotions, gestures, impulses), which was codified by Leon Battista Alberti who used it in *De pictura* to refer to Giotto's *Navicella*, specifically his ability precisely to portray affective states; see Alberti, *De pictura*, trans. Sinisgalli, 63; and C. Grayson, ed. and trans., *On Painting and On Sculpture: The Latin Texts of Alberti's De pictura and De statua* (London: 1972), 82. On Alberti's definition of *motus*, see J.A.W. Heffernan, "Alberti on Apelles: Word and Image in *De pictura*," *International Journal of the Classical Tradition* 2.3 (1996), 345–359, esp. 350.

[32] On the difficulty of disentangling a face that laughs from one that cries, see Rivius, *Der furnembsten … Künst, eygentlicher Bericht*, fol. ccc1r.

[33] On Praxiteles's *Matron Weeping* and its pendant, a *Merry Courtesan* based on his mistress Phryne, see Pliny, *Naturalis historia* XXXIV.xix.70, in *Natural History*, trans. Rackham, 9:181.

[34] Van Mander extols the artist's power to express his love in and through the joyful features of his lover's countenance: the *Merry Courtesan* is thus a double portrait and, in that it portrays both the lover's love and his beloved's mirth, yet another epitome of mixed emotion. On reflexive portraiture of this type, especially mirthful *tronien* (facial studies of character), see Schiller, "Desire and Dissimulation," 92–93, which calls attention to Van Mander's development of this theme in "Life of Hugo van der Goes, Painter of Bruges," in *Schilder-Boeck*, Book IV, fol. 204r.

[35] As Euphranor surpasses Mantegna in the depiction of mixed emotions, so Demon outshines Euphranor by portraying the contradictory *ethoi* of the Athenian citizenry. On Demon's ability to characterize the complex *genius* of Athens, see "On Demon, Painter of Athens," in *Schilder-Boeck*, Book II, fol. 69r–v. Whereas Pliny, in *Naturalis historia* XXXV.XXXVI.69 (trans. Rackham, 9:313), attributes to Parrhasius the "picture of the People of Athens," Van Mander follows Rivius in ascribing it to Demon; see Rivius, *Der furnembsten … Künst, eygentlicher Bericht*, fol. CCC1r, which is based on a misreading of Alberti, *De pictura*, trans. Sinisgalli, 61–62.

[36] On the varieties of sorrow displayed by Timanthes in his *Sacrifice of Iphigenia*, see "On Timanthes, the very artful Painter," in *Schilder-Boeck*, Book II, fol. 70r. Stanzas 40–43 derive from Rivius, *Der furnembsten … Künst, eygentlicher Bericht*, fol. CCC1v; and Alberti, *De pictura*, trans. Sinisgalli, 63.

[37] On Timanthes's predilection for encoding implied meanings, see "On Timanthes," in *Schilder-Boeck*, Book II, fol. 70r, which paraphrases Pliny, *Naturalis historia* XXXV.XXXVI.74.

[38] On Colotes, see Rivius, *Der furnembsten … Künst, eygentlicher Bericht*, fol. CCC1v; and Alberti, *De pictura*, trans. Sinisgalli, 63.

[39] The analogy between the signs of sorrow and symptoms of sickness derives from Rivius, *Der furnembsten … Künst, eygentlicher Bericht*, fol. CCC1r; and Alberti, *De pictura*, trans. Sinisgalli, 61–62.

[40] Van Mander paraphrases Virgil, *Aeneid* VI.273–281, in *Eclogues, Georgics, Aeneid, Books 1–6*, trans. H.R. Fairclough, ed. G.P. Goold (Cambridge, MA and London: 1999), 551–553.

[41] On the Roman goddess of sickness, see Pliny II.v.15–16, in *Natural History*, trans. Rackham, 177–179; and Valerius Maximus, *Facta et dicta memorabilia* II.v.6, in *Valerii Maximi factorum et dictorum memorabilium libri novem*, ed. C. Kempf (Leipzig: 1888), 74.

[42] On Aristides's painting of a sick man, see "On Aristides," in *Schilder-Boeck*, Book II, fol. 71 v, which paraphrases Pliny, *Naturalis historia* XXXV.xxxvi.100 (trans. Rackham, 9:335).

[43] On the *Meleager*, Van Mander paraphrases Rivius, *Der furnembsten … Künst, eygentlicher Bericht*, fol. bbb2r; and Alberti, *De pictura*, trans. Sinisgalli, 57; like his sources, he praises the artist for distinguishing between living *corpora* and a dead *corpus*, and between complementary actions—namely, grieving and carrying—that are jointly enacted. His emphasis here on the composite nature of the portrayed activity supplements the larger theme of chapter 6: the complex enactment of mixed emotions.

[44] "Modern" in the sense of post-antique.

[45] On the momentary elation of the Albans and the horrified dejection of the Romans upon seeing the two fallen Horatii, see Livy, *Ab urbe condita* I.xxvi, in *History of Rome*, trans. B.O. Foster, 13 vols. (Cambridge, MA and London: 1926), 1:87–89. Like Timanthes's *Sacrifice of Iphigenia*, this modern picture lodges its affects not in actors per se but rather in the witnesses to an anticipated event: in one case this event, which one might designate the proleptic *scopus*, using the terminology of chapter 5, is the death of Agamemnon's daughter; in the other, it is the dreaded death of the last Roman standing. Similarly, in depicting Paris, Euphranor describes his multifaceted facial features, wherein, in a paradox of simultaneity, seemingly contradictory actions are merely latent. So, too, Demon's Athenians are seen at one and the same time to be multifarious not because of what they do, but in the set of their eyes and how they cast their gaze. This is to say that for Van Mander, the face (*aenghesichte*, *aenschijn*, *troenge*, *ghesicht*) is the primary conveyor of affective motion. Frans Floris's *Man with a Sword over his Shoulder* of ca. 1554 (Kassel, Staatliche Gemäldegalerie), on the subject of which see "Life of Frans Floris, excellent Painter of Antwerp," in *Schilder-Boeck*, Book IV, fol. 241r, attests to the status of such faces as pictorial subjects in their own right; on the multiple registers of affect layered in this *troenge*, i.e., festive mirth, choler, and melancholy, see Kromm, "Anger's Marks,"

39. In the marginal gloss to stanza 4, Van Mander coins the phrase "leden des aenschijns" (limbs, features of the face) to characterize facial particularities as the chief instruments whereby affect is portrayed.

Throughout chapter 6, the presentation of affective subjects is for the most part ekphrastic: this is true, for example, of the evocations of the paintings by Euphranor and Timanthes, and even the story of Seleucus, Antiochus, and Stratonice is presented as source material for a painting *in potentia*. The persuasive emotional effect of such ekphrastic images—their *energeia*—was thought to result from the impression of actual presence (*enárgeia*) the description elicits, as Quintilian explains in *Institutio oratoria* VI.ii.29–32, in *The Orator's Education*, trans. D.A. Russell, 5 vols. (Cambridge, MA: 2002), 3:59–61:

The person who will show the greatest power in the expression of emotions will be the person who has properly formed what the Greeks call the *phantasiai* (let us call them 'visions'), by which the images of absent things are presented to the mind in such a way that we seem actually to see them with our eyes and have them physically present to us .... The result will be *enárgeia*, what Cicero calls *illustratio* and *evidentia*, a quality which makes us seem not so much to be narrating something [*dicere*, in the sense of "talking about," "telling a story"] as exhibiting it [*ostendere*]. Emotions will ensue just as if we were present at the event itself.

Amongst the events Quintilian gives as examples is an assassination, at which one man having struck the fatal blow, his fallen victim lies bleeding, pallid, and groaning as he breathes out a final gasp. Citing *Aeneid* XI.43, he later adds, as a kind of supplement: "On his smooth breast, the gaping wound." Blood, pallor, and breath are made present to the mind's eye, as also is the antithesis of silken flesh and cavernous lesion, through the suspensive device of showing forth these particulars, exposing them to view. Ekphrasis, so construed, privileges the illustrative or evidentiary display of narrative circumstances over narration proper; an event's constituent details, its pregnant accessories, more than the event itself, are what bring the attendant affects to life. In stanza 53, Van Mander thus refers to the "still presence" ("wesen stille") of the modern picture ("Moderne stuck") that stanzas 51 and 52 conjure up. His reliance on an ekphrastic mode of presentation provides the rhetorical context for his association of affect with the precise, nuanced portrayal of faces, more than with storied bodily attitudes and gestures. On the relation between ekphrastic *enárgeia* and *energeia*, with specific reference to

the passage from Quintilian cited above, see U. Heinen, "Huygens, Rubens, and Medusa: Reflecting the Passions in Paintings, with some Considerations of Neuroscience in Art History," *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 60 (2010), 151–176, esp. 159–160.

[46] Van Mander conjugates the last six lines of this stanza in the present tense to emphasize how vivid was the experience of viewing this otherwise old-fashioned picture: its subject, he implies, appeared to unfold in the present time, before one's very eyes. This powerful effect of presence, as noted above, results from the painter's descriptive dilation upon constituent features of the *historie* that momentarily transfix its narrative flow in order finally to intensify its affective impact upon the beholder. On this account, *enárgeia* describes to narrate; see note 3 *supra*.

[47] The erratum (fol. [Pp ix] recto) corrects *verw-werck* (color-work, coloring), changing it to *t'verwerck* (workmanship, [paint] application); see Kiliaan, *Etymologicum Teutonicae linguae*, 611: *verwercken* = "insumere materiam operi" (apply matter to the work), "impendere laborem vel in laborem" (expend labor, engage in work, to make by craftsmanship, workmanship, esp. that of an artist).

[48] The herald combines the two registers of expression codified by Quintilian, in *Institutio oratoria* VI.ii.8–9: *pathos*, i.e., *adfectus* (passion), which he defines as the description of "the more violent emotions," and *ethos*, i.e., *mores* (morals, habits of conduct, standards of behavior based in felt experience), which he characterizes as more "subdued," "calm and gentle." Whereas *pathos* aims to "command and disturb," *ethos* aims to "persuade and induce a feeling of goodwill." He adds, in VI.ii.12, that *pathos* and *ethos* are often linked, being different more in degree than kind; see *Institutio oratoria*, trans. Butler, 2:423: "Indeed I would add that *pathos* and *ethos* are sometimes of the same nature, differing only in degree; love for instance comes under the head of *pathos*, affection of *ethos*." Disturbed by his own cruelty, the herald is thus an epitome of mixed emotion: feeling a modicum of compassion, yet constrained to show no mercy, and troubled as a result by fruitless compunction, he holds true to a habit of conduct even while falling prey to the vagaries of *pathos*. As mentioned in note 5 *supra*, Van Mander, though he appears to refer to *pathopoeia* at several points in chapter 6, especially when his theme is the arousal of empathy, never distinguishes it explicitly from the overarching category of *ethopoeia* (although see the discussion of the painting

by Aristides in note 60 *infra*). The encounter between Bruegel's herald and the peasants who accost him became a commonplace for the depiction of emotions jostling for the upper hand, or, alternatively, of admixed emotions—implacable cruelty tempered by the mortifying sensation of compassion—as is evident from the pen-and-ink drawing by Rubens after this episode from the *Massacre of the Innocents*, on which see J. Muylle, "Ethos en pathos: de literaire appreciatie van expressie in het werk van Metsijs en Bruegel," Nederlands kunsthistorisch jaarboek 60 (2010): 19–33, esp. 21. On Carolus Scribanus, S.J.'s more elaborate and pathopoeic ekphrasis of the picture in his epideictic poem *Antverpia* (1610), see ibid., 21–23.

[49] The erratum (fol. [Pp ix] recto) changes *Lernen* (instruction, learning) to *Kernen* (kernel); see Kiliaan, *Etymologicum Teutonicae linguae*, 219: *kaerle* = *kerne* = *nucleus* (kernel, nucleus).

[50] Stanza 55 constitutes a plea to the aspiring *schilder* to allow pictorial affects to enter his heart, on the model of Quintilian's dictum that what is not felt cannot persuasively be portrayed (on which see note 3 *supra*). If the painter wishes to produce an ethopoeic picture, in other words, he will first allow exemplary pictures to exercise a pathopoeic effect upon himself.

[51] The sculptor Aristonidas's clever use of iron to mimic rubicund cheeks supplies a material analogue for painters striving to imitate this symptom of strong emotion.

[52] Following from the material analogy of cheeks as red as rusty iron, Van Mander urges painters to paint eyes glaring as hotly as burning coals. He draws on Rivius, *Der furnembsten … Künst, eygentlicher Bericht*, fol. ccc1r; and Alberti, *De pictura*, trans. Sinisgalli, 62.

[53] On the Dantean origins of devilish Caron and his burning gaze in the *Last Judgment*, see "Life of Michelangelo Buonarroti, Florentine Painter, Sculptor, and Architect," in *Schilder-Boeck*, Book III, fol. 170v. Van Mander's source was Vasari, *Vite*, ed. Milanesi, 7:213.

[54] Van Mander refers to the celebrated ekphrasis of venomous Envy, whose dreadful appearance causes Minerva to avert her gaze, in *Metamorphoses* II.760–782 (trans. Miller, 1:115).

[55] On Lucas's print, which portrays Saul in the thrall of murderous envy, see "Life of Lucas van Leyden, excellent Painter, Engraver, and

Glazier," in *Schilder-Boeck*, Book IV, fol. 214r. On *David and Saul*, see C. Vegelaar, J.P. Filedt Kok, H. Leeflang, and I.M. Veldman, *Lucas van Leyden en de Renaissance* [exh. cat., Museum de Lakenhal, Leiden] (Leiden: 2011), 128, 242.

[56] *Dootverwe* (dead color) is the term for a painting's ground color, generally applied in a mat earth tone admixed with white, upon which the "living" colors and glazes are applied; see the entries *doodverf, doodverwen*, in C.H.Ph. Meyer, *Woorden en uitdrukkingen verklaard* (Amsterdam: 1919); and *doodverf*, in M. Philippa, F. Debrabandere, A. Quak, T. Schoonheim, and N. van der Sijs, *Etymologisch Woordenboek van het Nederlands* (Amsterdam: 2003–2009). This material analogy complements the earlier reference to eyes like burning coals in stanza 59: whereas the latter are portrayed by layering and overlayering glazes and pigments, pallid envy is better described by dead color since it lurks deep in the heart, hidden like a painting's underlayer.

[57] On Giotto's *Navicella*, in particular the "affectie eens enghelenden Visschers" (the affect of a fisherman fishing), a reference to the fisherman seated on the shore at left, from where he responds to the miracle, see "Life of Giotto, Painter, Sculptor, and Architect," in *Schilder-Boeck*, Book III, fol. 96v. Van Mander's praise of Giotto's mosaic echoes that of Rivius, *Der furnembsten … Künst, eygentlicher Bericht*, fol. CCCIV; and Alberti, *De pictura*, trans. Sinisgalli, 63.

[58] Van Mander's account of Zeuxis's painting derives from both Pliny, *Naturalis historia* XXXV.XXXVI.63 (trans. Rackham, 9:309) and Dupinet, *L'histoire du monde* 2:642, as Miedema points out in *Karel van Mander, Den grondt*, 2:509. On the terror evinced by both Amphitrion and Alcmene, see "On Zeuxis of Heraclea Painter," in *Schilder-Boeck*, Book II, fol. 67r. The emphasis on depicted witnesses as principal conveyors of affect hearkens back to chapter 5, stanzas 34–35, which assert the structural importance of such witnesses within a complexly ordered *historie*. Chapter 6 also adduces Timanthes's *Sacrifice of Iphigenia* and Giotto's fisherman as examples of the affective value of responsive witnesses; these figures fulfill the function of pathopoeic signposts.

[59] On Parrhasius's priority in portraying the "symmetries, proportions, features, motions, and innate qualities of faces" ("gelijckformicheden, maten, ghestaltenissen, werckinghen, en wesens der aensichten"), see "On Parrhasius, excellent Painter of Ephesus," in *Schil-*

der-Boeck, Book 11, fol. 69r. Whereas Van Mander's sources—Pliny, *Naturalis historia* XXXV.xxxvi.67 (trans. Rackham, 9:311) and Dupinet, *L'histoire du monde* 2:643—praise Parrhasius for the liveliness of his faces, he utilizes the more specifically affective term *beweeghlijckheden* (motions, agitations, emotions), a cognate of *beweginghe*, which the *Thesaurus Theutonicae linguae*, fol. G2 recto, defines in Latin as "agitation, motio, motus, incitation, excitatio," and in French as "agitation, desmenée, esmouvement,"

[60] Stanzas 66–69 supply the climactic example epitomizing the representation of mixed emotion. On Aristides, see stanzas 5 and 6 *supra*; on his painting of a mother poised between life and death, in whom pain gives way to anxious care, and insentience and sentience alternate, see "On Aristides," in *Schilder-Boeck*, Book 11, fol. 71v, which paraphrases Pliny XXXV.xxxvi.98 (trans. Rackham, 9:335) and Dupinet, *L'histoire du monde*, 2:648. Alexander's affection for this picture, and the pleasure he takes in viewing it, serve to emphasize that the quality of pathos can itself be profoundly mixed: the horror of a fraught subject, even while being felt, can yet produce an experience of appreciative delight. In fact, Van Mander's extended ekphrases, here and in the "Life of Aristides," which greatly amplify Pliny's and Dupinet's, are amongst his most explicit exercises in *pathopoeia*. They combine empathy for the mother's pain and solicitude with dismay at the plight of both mother and child. Van Mander also plays on an analogy between Aristides and his picture: as the mother jointly partakes of life and death, so Aristides continues to live even after having died, thanks to the consummate art with which he has portrayed her. On horrific imagery as a "school of the passions" ("palaestra affectuum") and on the therapeutic properties ascribed to such images, in the context of Aristotelian poetics and the neo-Senecan doctrine of consolation, see Heinen, "Huygens, Rubens, and Medusa," 153–157, 167–168.

[61] The phrase "t'verstants beroeren" (motions / movement of the mind / intelligence) conflates the chief accomplishments of Aristides, as described in Pliny, *Naturalis historia*, trans. Rackham, 332–335: he first "expressed the dispositions of the mind" ("sensus hominis expressit") and also its "motions, perturbations," i.e., the emotions (*perturbationes*).

[62] I have translated *soch* (mother's milk) as pap to underscore Van Mander's notion that the milk, contaminated by blood, has become a poisonous meal for the child.

[63] In imagining the face (*troenge*) of Aristides's maternal exemplum, Van Mander diverges from Pliny, *Naturalis historia* XXXV.xxxvi.98, as noted in Muylle, "Ethos en pathos," 20. Indeed, he devotes an entire stanza to describing how the faces of mother and child must have looked. On his handling of the expressive power of faces throughout chapter 6, see note 45 *supra*.

[64] On the god Morpheus, the son of Sleep, who populates dreams with human forms and figures, see Ovid, *Metamorphoses* XI.633–638 (trans. Miller, 2:165), and, on his cavernous lair in Cimmeria (Crimea), XI.592–615. Van Mander, who explains in *Wtlegghingh*, fol. 97v, that Morpheus signifies "form or figure" ("ghedaent, oft beeldt"), condenses Ovid's description of the god as source of the imitative impulse in men (2:165): "But the father rouses Morpheus from the throng of his thousand sons, a cunning imitator of the human form. No other is more skilled than he in representing the gait, the features, and the speech of men; the clothing also and the accustomed words of each he represents. His office is with men alone." In calling upon *schilders* to dream Morphean dreams, Van Mander invites them to imagine newly mixed varieties of affect, on the model of Aristides.

[65] Van Mander means that if a master has brought one branch of *schilderconst* to perfection—say, *teyckeconst*—then most likely, even if unbeknownst to him, he will have become practiced in other branches as well, such as the portrayal of affects. On secrecy as a recurrent theme in the *Schilder-Boeck*, and on the relation between secret knowledge and natural philosophy, see C. Göttler, Tales of Transformation: Hendrick Goltzius's *Allegory of the* (*Alchemical*) *Arts* in the Kunstmuseum Basel, *21: Inquiries into Art, History, and the Visual* 1.2 (2020): 403–446, esp. 403–404.

[66] The verbal noun *verstercken* (affirm / affirmation, augment / augmentation, magnify / magnification) alludes to epideictic oratory, which increases (or detracts from) a person's reputation by amplifying (or diminishing) it rhetorically; so, too, by affirming or amplifying the painter's achievements, his clever viewers will substantiate, i.e., give substance to his fame. On the relation between *verstercken* and *amplificeren* (amplify), see Miedema, *Karel van Mander, Den grondt*, 2:510–511. Van Mander may also be implying, in another register, that the picture's effect on these viewers is so forceful that they respond to its pictured affects as if experiencing them truly, that is, substantively rather than ostensively.

[67] On Michelangelo's ability to distinguish amongst sinful affects in the *Last Judgment*, see "Life of Michelangelo," in *Schilder-Boeck*, Book III, fol. 170v, which distils Vasari, *Vite*, ed. Milanesi, 7:214.

[68] The ancient masters and Giotto, just cited in stanza 63, give the lie to Vasari's statement about the inimitability of Michelangelo; throughout the *Grondt*, the *Leven der moderne … Italiaensche schilders*, and the *Leven der doorluchtighe Nederlandtsche, en Hooghduytsche schilders*, Van Mander repeatedly contradicts Vasari's claims, put forward with special force in the 1568 edition of the *Vite*, for the incomparable superiority of Roman-Florentine *maniera* as epitomized by Michelangelo. Instead Van Mander asserts that there are numerous *handelinghen* (styles, manners of hand), past and present, worthy to be imitated, as witness his laudatory description of Hendrick Goltzius's *Life of the Virgin* series, each plate of which distills the distinctive *handelingh* of a different school; see "Life of Hendrick Goltzius," in *Schilder-Boeck*, Book IV, fols. 284v–285r. On Goltzius's *Life of the Virgin*, see W.S. Melion, "The Meditative Function of Hendrick Goltzius's *Life of the Virgin* of 1593–1594," in R. Falkenburg, W.S. Melion, and T. Richardson, eds., *Image and Imagination of the Religious Self in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe* (Turnhout: 2008), 379–426; and P. Wandrey, *Ehre über Gold: Die Meisterstiche von Hendrick Goltzius: Biltheorie und Ikonografie um 1600* (Berlin: 2018), esp. 123–337.

[69] See note 66 *supra*.

[70] As Eupompus directed Lysippus to take nature as his master, so Van Mander likewise privileges nature above any master, even Michelangelo; see Pliny, *Naturalis historia* XXXIV.xix.61 (trans. Rackham, 9:173).

Chapter 7: "On Reflection, Reverberation, re-reflected luster, or re-reflection"

[1] The terms *teghen-glans* and *weerschijn* connote the action and effect of reflected light or re-reflected light, as in the case of a highlight reflecting from a primary surface onto a secondary, adjoining one. The definitions for *weder-glantsen* and its cognate *weder--glinsteren*, and for *weder-schijnen*, in Henry Hexham, *Het groot woorden-boeck: gestelt in 't Nederduytsch, ende in 't Engelsch* (Rotterdam: Arnout Leer, 1648), underscore this sense of re-reflected light

through their use of "againe": "*Weder-glantsen, ofte weder-glinsteren*. To give a glanse againe, to give a lustre, be Resplendent" (*611); "*Weder-schijnen*. To Shine againe, or to be Resplendent" (*612). Also see "den weder-schijn der Sonne. The Reverberation of the Sunne, or the Beating back thereof" (*612). Unlike Kern, who states in *Light and Shade*, 149 n. 15, following Miedema, *Karel van Mander, Grondt*, 2:162, that Van Mander's terms are relatively vague and comprisable by a general notion of "bijzondere lichtreffekten," I take his terminology on *reflexy-const*, combined as it is with multiple collateral references to illustrative pictorial examples—for instance, Hendrick Goltzius's *Venus, Bacchus, and Ceres* (a *penwerck* dated 1593), Pieter Aertsen's kitchen pieces, or Bassano's night scenes (see stanzas 39–40, 48, and 54–55 *infra*)—to be both descriptive and nuanced. For an emblematic still life by Van Mander, which displays his command of *daghen* (highlights), *glansen* (sheens), and *wederglansen*, see the reverse of *Before the Flood*, painted on copper and dated 1600: the effect *wederglans* occurs on the foremost of three apples, the lustrous surface of which reflects the brightly lit rim of the acanthus-scroll cornucopia beneath (Städelsches Kunstinstitut, inv. no. 2088) (Fig. 33). The obverse, which depicts humankind nonchalantly feasting before the flood, not only reveals Van Mander's ability to portray varieties of human flesh, diversely lit and shaded, but is also an epitome of the kind of open-view ordonnance ratified in chapter 5, stanza 12: the distant landscape, framed at left and right by entwined figures, incorporates the work's barely discernible *scopus*—the building of Noah's ark (Fig. 32). This cabinet picture thus epitomizes his mastery of *actitude*, *ordinantie*, *reflexy-const*, and, through its portrayal of flesh tints requiring complex mixtures of color, *coloreren* (on which see chapters 12 and 14 *infra*). On the meaning of the hieroglyphic emblem and its combined mottos, "Ex bello pax" and "Ex pace ubertas" (From war, peace; from peace, plenty), and its relation to *Before the Flood*, see H. Miedema, "Een schilderij van Karel van Mander de Oude (1548–1606); een doopsgezinde interpretatie," *Doopsgezinde bijdragen* 16 (1990): 113–128, esp. 126–128.

Rivius, *Der furnembsten … Künst, eygentlicher Bericht*, fol. ccc4r, diverges from the text of Alberti, *De pictura*, trans. Sinisgalli, 68, in calling upon painters to attend to effects of *widerglast* and *gegenschein*, as well as *glast*, *glantz* (glow, shine, luster) and *durchsichtigkeit* (transparency). Whereas Alberti focuses on the reception of light and the production of tonal effects, Rivius instead brings reflections to the fore, stressing that they must result from close obser-

vation of nature and the rules of perspectival optics. On this crucial passage interpolated by Rivius, see P. Weiss "*We*(*d*)*erschijn* als Kernbegriff der Diskussion des malerischen Lichts bei Karel van Mander," in C. Fritzsche, K. Leonhard, and G.J.M. Weber, eds., *Ad Fontes! Niederländische Kunst des 17. Jahrhunderts in Quellen* (Petersberg: 2013), 35–53, esp. 40–41; also see Miedema, *Karel van Mander, Grondt*, 2:513–514. As Weiss notes, in "*We*(*d*)*erschijn*," 46–47, Alberti makes passing mention of the coloristic properties of re-reflected light; with respect to faces that appear greenish when lit by sunlight reflected from a meadow, he writes, in *De pictura*, trans. Sinisgalli, 33: "… the reflected rays are impregnated, for no small part, of that color which they have found on the surface from which they are reflected." As Weiss further observes, in ibid., 47–48, 50, Van Mander's interest in the contingent effects of transmitted light greatly exceeds that of Alberti or Rivius; so, too, he diverges from them in treating reflective phenomena as key sources of spatial and textural articulation. Van Mander and his contemporaries held that shifts in color resulted from two causes: on one hand, biological processes intrinsic to objects in nature, such as growth, maturation, and decay; on the other, optical events extrinsic to the objects they influence, which play out in the human eye. On these two conceptions of *Farbveränderung*, see K. Leonhard, "*Verf, kleur*: Farbtheorie und Stilleben im 17. Jahrhundert," in Fritzche et al., eds., *Ad Fontes!*, 55–81, esp. 66; and *eadem*, *Bildfelder: Stilleben und Naturstücke des 17. Jahrhunderts* (Berlin and Altenburg: 2013), 332–361. Van Mander, in paying close attention to types of reflected light and color, focuses on the optics of *reflexy-const*. On these types, with specific reference to perspectival optics and *speculari* (catoptric phenomena), see S. Dupré, "The Historiography of Perspective and *Reflexy-const* in Netherlandish Art," *Nederlands kunsthistorisch jaarboek* 61 (2011): 35–60, esp. 51; and, with reference to the taxonomic display of processes of reflection and refraction in still life, C. Brusati, "Willem Kalf on *Reflexykonst*: The Aesthetics of Transformation in Still Life," in M. Baker and A. Hemingway, eds., *Art as Worldmaking: Critical Essays on Realism and Naturalism* (Manchester: 2018), 147–164, esp. 152.

On *reflecty* (reflection) and *reverberacy* (reverberation), see notes 5 and 7 *infra*. Leonardo, who discusses kinds and degrees of reflected light in his *Trattato della pittura* (*Codex Urbinas Vaticanus Latinus 1270*), distinguishes between the repercussive effects of *riverberazioni* bouncing off planar, semidense surfaces, and *reflessi*, which assimilate the characteristics of the polished surfaces they strike; see

C. Farago, J. Bell, and C. Vecce, eds., *The Fabrication of Leonardo da Vinci's Trattato della pittura*, Brill's Studies on Art, Art History, and Intellectual History 263/18, 2 vols. (Leiden and Boston: 2018), 2:659–660. Van Mander is unlikely to have known the *Trattato* at first hand, since it remained unpublished until 1651, although he perhaps had access to commonplace excerpts or knew Leonardo's views from a combination of hearsay and current workshop practice. More plausible is that he had some degree of familiarity with Lomazzo's *Trattato dell'arte*, the fourth book of which examines the nature of light, its essential or contingent properties, and its behavior upon striking various materials and superficies. The bulk of Book 4 concerns what Lomazzo calls secondary lights: these he subdivides into three species of reflected light—first, "direct lights," i.e., highlights cast by objects positioned directly opposite a source of illumination; "reflected lights," i.e., ancillary lights cast by these highlights and scattered diffusely around them; and "refracted or broken lights," i.e., re-reflected lights that bounce off lustrous materials—glass, crystal, armor, water—and strike adjacent surfaces, "reverberat[ing] the same upon al other things neere about" (*Trattato*, 226; *Tracte Containing the Artes*, trans. Haydocke, 154). Lomazzo distinguishes in Book 4, chapter 20, "How bodies require but one principal light above the rest," between a picture that appears merely *painted* and one that qualifies as a true *counterfeit*, addressed not to the common viewer but to persons endued with the "conceit of the iudicious" (ibid., 168). For both him and Van Mander, who praises Pieter Aertsen as a "great, skillful, cunning deceiver" in stanza 55, the ability to paint reflected light enables the production of truly dissimulative, as opposed to simply simulative, pictorial fictions. On this distinction, see section 6 of my "Introduction," *supra*. On Van Mander's likely familiarity with Lomazzo, in particular his discussion of light and reflection in the *Trattato*, see Dupré, "Historiography of Perspective," 37; conversely, on Lomazzo's familiarity with northern art, filtered through his close reading of Domenicus Lampsonius's *Pictorum aliquot celebrium Germaniae Inferioris effigies*, see R. van Son, "Lomazzo, Lampsonius en de noordelijke kunst," *Nederlands kunsthistorisch jaarboek* 44 (1993): 185–196.

[2] The *Thesaurus Theutonicae linguae*, fol. T2 recto, defines *glans* as *splendor* in Latin, and "resplendeur, lueur" in French, i.e., splendor, gleam, shine, luster. *Wederglans* (or alternatively, *weerglans*) signifies a re-reflected version of this range of reflective effects, on which see note 1 *supra*.

[3] Stanza 1 paraphrases the hymn to the sun as the "soul, or more precisely, the mind of the whole world," in Pliny, *Naturalis historia*, II.iv.12–13, on which see Miedema, *Karel van Mander, Grondt*, 2:514.

[4] Re-reflection refers here to reflexes of light caroming from one cloud to another.

[5] Having introduced the term *Reflexy* (reflection) in stanza 1, Van Mander now specifies how it operates, by describing the reflective properties of the sky at dawn: struck by the rising sun's red- and purple-golden rays, the azure sky's color changes, glowing with floral reds and purples. Throughout chapter 7, *reflexy*, *reflecty* refers both to the action of light that illuminates and colors the surfaces it strikes, and to the reflective reaction of these surfaces to light which they not only retransmit but also tinge with their local color. On the term *schilderachtig*, its derivation from workshop practice, general meaning ("typical of a painter," "worthy of being painted"), and particular reference to curious, eye-catching motifs, see Bakker, "*Schilderachtig*," 147–162; and idem, *Landscape and Religion*, 219, 255–256. In "On Aurora," in *Schilder-Boeck*, Book V, fol. 66r–v, Van Mander cites Hesiod, Homer, Virgil, and Theocritus as his chief poetic sources on the light of the rising sun.

[6] In Ovid, *Metamorphoses* VII.701–704, Cephalus, speaking to Phocus, son of King Aeacus, recounts how he was abducted by Aurora, goddess of dawn, who first espied him from the flowery slopes of Mount Hymettus. On Aurora's rubicund lips, see *Wtlegghingh*, "On Aurora," fol. 67r.

[7] Van Mander's term for "coming into view" is *kippen* (hatching, i.e., in the manner of a chick emerging from its egg).

[8] That is, where the sun's rays produced an effect of reflected light. On stanza 6 as an example of Van Mander's principal interest in *colores apparentes*, which result from contingent effects of reflected and / or refracted light, and differ in this respect from *colores propria*, which inhere in objects and materials, see Leonhard, "*Verf, Kleur*," 58, 67–68.

[9] Van Mander develops this theme in *Schilder-Boeck*, Book IV, where, in "Life of Goltzius" and "Life of Francesco Badens, Painter of Antwerp," fols. 285v and 298v, he commends them for their ability to paint glowing reddish flesh tints that remain luminous even when

darkly shaded. Stanza 6 makes clear that this effect of living flesh is an expression in *reflexy-const*. On Goltzius and Badens as masters of "glow" and, in particular, on their use of reflections (or, rather, *wederglansen*) to render shaded flesh lustrous, see P. Taylor, "The Glow in Late Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century Dutch Paintings," *Leids kunsthistorisch jaarboek* 11 (1998): 159–178, esp. 166. Taylor points out, in ibid., 168, that Van Mander's notion of "glow" has no precise equivalent in Italian art theoretical literature; the closest approximation, Vasari's *acceso* (fiery), connects more to the discourse of *forza* (force) and *rilievo* (relief) than of reflection.

[10] On the epithet Phoebus, given to Apollo to mark his "radiance and clarity" ("blinckentheyt en claerheyt"), see *Wtlegghingh*, "On Apollo, or Phoebus," fol. 53r.

[11] On the chameleon as an allusion to the changeable properties of *colores apparentes*, see Leonhard, "*Verf*, *Kleur*," 72–81, esp. 79–80; Van Mander, in urging young painters to observe how sunset tints the sea, implicitly encourages them to mimic such chameleonic effects, turning the chameleon into a mimetic epitome of *schilder-const*.

[12] On Tithonus, the immortal, age-old consort of Aurora, see "On Aurora," in ibid., fol. 66v.

[13] On Aeolus as master of the four winds, see "On Aeolus," in ibid., fol. 111r–v.

[14] The term *weerkaatsen*, used here as a verbal noun, signifies "reflection"; it derives from *caetsen*, *kaatsen*, which the *Thesaurus Theutonicae linguae* fol. I3 verso, translates as "jouer à la paulme" (play handball) in French, "ludere pila palmaria" in Latin. A more literal translation of the verb *weerkaatsen* would therefore be "to bounce back." As a gloss on stanza 9, the word serves to emphasize that *reverberacy* connotes a reverberant reflection, i.e., the caroming of reflected light. This meaning resurfaces in stanza 25 where the repercussion of sharply delineated nocturnal lights—moonlight, fire, lightning, candlelight, and the flame of a forge—is described. *Reverberacy* also refers back to the opening lines of stanza 9, which evoke a different kind of visual resonance—the natural mimicry of clouds whose shifting shapes appear to echo the appearance of various entities and things.

[15] Pliny, *Naturalis historia* 11.lx.150–151, states that rainbows appear directly opposite the sun when its rays, admixed with vaporous mist, fire, and air, reflect off of hollow clouds; ancient theories of the rainbow ultimately derive from Aristotle's *Meteorologica* and the commentary tradition, on which, see C.B. Boyer, "Refraction and the Rainbow in Antiquity," *Isis* 47 (1956): 383–386.

[16] See Genesis 9:12–17, in [*Biestkens*] *Bibel*, fol. 3v [O.T.].

[17] Van Mander insists on the distinction between a momentous heavenly portent sent by God to signal his divine will and a mere natural phenomenon that carries no such weight of meaning. In viewing the first rainbow through the lens of Scripture and eschewing the value of the second as a divinely sanctioned portent, Van Mander aligns himself neither with the popular authors of prodigy books nor with learned men such as Johannes Heurnius who argued, on the basis of Isaiah 13:9–10, that all exceptional heavenly events must be read as God-given signs of his intentions toward humankind. Instead, his position resembles the "middle way" mapped out in the much reprinted pamphlet *Aenmerckinghe op de tegenwoordige steert-sterre* (Observations on latter-day comets), sometimes ascribed to Jacob Cats: even while recognizing that extraordinary natural phenomena testify to the omnipotence of the Creator, Van Mander refrains from interpreting them *in toto* as fearful portents predictive of future calamities. On reception of *portenta* and *prodigia* such as comets in the early modern Low Countries, see E. Jorink, *Het Boeck der Natuere: Nederlandse geleerden en de wonderen van Gods Schepping, 1575–1715* (Leiden: 2006, reprint ed. 2007), 115–151, esp. 132–139; and, with specific reference to Van Mander and Goltzius in Haarlem, W.S. Melion, "Prodigies of Nature, Wonders of the Hand: Political Portents and Divine Artifice in Haarlem, ca. 1600," in *The Anthropomorphic Lens: Anthropomorphism, Microcosm, and Analogy in Early Modern Thought and Visual Arts*, Intersections: Interdisciplinary Studies in Early Modern Culture 34, ed. Melion, B. Rothstein, and M. Weemans (Leiden and Boston: 2014), 277–322.

[18] On Van Mander's rejoinder to Pliny's explanation of the rainbow's semicircular form, see U. Kern, "Samuel van Hoogstraeten and the Cartesian Rainbow Debate: Color and Optics in a Seventeenth-Century Treatise on Art Theory," *Simiolus* 36 (2012): 103–114, esp. 103–104.

[19] On the frequency of rainbows at Locri and the Veline Lake, see Pliny, *Naturalis historia* 11.lxii.153.

[20] Before going to Rome in 1573, Van Mander visited Terni, where he painted a *Bartholomew Night's Massacre* for the Count of Terni, on which see "The Pedigree, birth, place, time, life, and works of Karel van Mander, Painter and Poet," in *Schilder-Boeck* (Amsterdam: Jacob Pietersz. Wachter, 1618), fol. R3v, reprinted in Miedema, ed., *Karel van Mander, The Lives*, 1:17; and Leesberg, "Karel van Mander as Painter," 17–18.

[21] The opening two lines provide the conclusion to stanza 17.

[22] See note 15 *supra*.

[23] See Ezechiel 1:28.

[24] See Apocalypse 4:3.

[25] The reference is to Ecclesiasticus 43:12 and 50:1–2, 5–7, which verses are numbered 43:24 and 50:1–2, 5–7 in the [*Biestkens*] *Bibel*, fols. 125v and 127v–128r.

[26] See Ecclesiasticus 43:12, 50:8, and, on the colors of the tabernacle's ten curtains—blue or violet, purple, and scarlet—see Exodus 26:1.

[27] The scope of Van Mander's comparisons now expands from Scripture to poetic fiction: whereas stanzas 19 and 20 referred to the visions of Ezechiel and Jesus Sirach, stanza 21 begins by invoking Iris to personify the rainbow's spectrum of colors. On Iris as the rainbow born of the mingling of sun and water, see *Wtlegghingh*, "On Iris," fol. 97r.

[28] In fact, Van Mander here uses the male subject pronoun *hy* rather than the female pronoun *sy*, thus eliding his description of Iris into his account of the rainbow (male).

[29] The topic shifts from the rainbow to the representation of its colors, with an allusion to the ordering of pigments on the painter's palette as the hinge. As Leonhard duly notes in "*Verf, Kleur*," 70, whereas Aristotle, Plutarch, and authors writing in the tradition of the Pseudo-Aristotelian *De coloribus* denied that painters could portray the rainbow, Van Mander takes it for granted that the rainbow's luminous spectrum of colors falls fully within the purview of *schilderconst*.

[30] *Incarnatich* is the adjectival form of the noun *incarnatie* (incarnation, from the Latin *in carni*, in the flesh), which the *Woordenboek der Nederlandsche Taal* identifies as a transliteration of the Latin *incarnatio* (incarnation); see https://gtb.ivdnt.org/iWDB/search?actie=article&wdb=WNT&id=M027284&lemma=incarnatie&domein=0&conc=true (accessed 16 August 2022). The term denominates the mystery of the Incarnation, by which the divine Word is made flesh in Christ Jesus. As a workshop term for flesh color, *incarnatie* retained its association with enfleshment. Cennino Cennini's *Libro dell'Arte* codified the use of *incarnazione* to connote the medial processes whereby drawing and painting give bodily form to previously unseen things, on which see C. Kruse, "Fleisch werden—Fleisch malen: Malerei als 'incarnazione.' Mediale Verfahren des Bildwerdens im Libro dell'Arte von Cennino Cennini," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeshichte* 63 (2000): 305–325. Also see Miedema, *Van Mander, Den Grondt*, 2:602, on the possible derivation of the associated term *carnaty* (incarnadine) from the Italian *carnagione*.

[31] As poetry has its rhymes, so painting, which is known as *doode Poetery* (dead, i.e., mute poetry), has its color consonances. Miedema, *Van Mander, Den Grondt*, 2:519, identifies Mexía, *De verscheyden lessen*, 249, as Van Mander's source for the notion that "painting is known by the name of 'dead poetry.'"

[32] On ash blue, see M.P. Merrifield, *Original Treatises, Dating from the XIIth to XVIIIth Centuries, on the Arts of Painting*, 2 vols. (London: 1849), 1:cc–ccii; D.V. Thompson, *The Materials and Techniques of Medieval Painting* (London: 1936; reprint ed., 1956), 130–132, 151–153; and Miedema, *Van Mander, Den Grondt*, 2:519–520. The networks of affinity into which Van Mander sorts the rainbow's colors ultimately derive from Alberti, *De pictura*, trans. Sinisgalli, 72.

[33] On the arrangement of pigments on the painter's palette, starting with white and ending with black, see E. Berger, *Quellen für Maltechnik während der Renaissance und deren Folgezeit* (Munich: 1975), 260 nr. 195; and Kern, "Van Hoogstraeten and the Cartesian Rainbow Debate," 108–109. The sequence is: white, vermilion, lake, yellow ocher, yellow lake, brown-red, brown ocher, ivory black, and lamp black.

[34] Miedema, in *Van Mander, Den Grondt* 1:190, and J.W. Noldus, *Karel van Mander, Principe et fondement de l'art noble et libre de la Peinture*

(Paris: 2008), 111, translate *bruyn* as "saturated," whereas I have rendered it as "darker shade," in line with Hexham, *Groot woorden-boeck*, *83, which defines *bruyn* as "A Browne colour, or Russet."

[35] Miedema, *Van Mander, Den Grondt*, 2:520, draws a parallel between the organization of the palette's hues and tones here and in Vasari's "Technical Preface," where each set of three colors is subdivided into further corollary tints; see G. Baldwin Brown, ed., *Vasari on Technique, Being the Introduction to the Three Arts of Design*, trans. L.S. Maclehose (New York: 1960), 209.

[36] On these specific reverberative effects, see stanza 9 and its marginal gloss *supra*.

[37] On the twin effects of illumination in this famous painting by Antiphilus—the lighting of an "insien oft prospectijf" (foreshortened view or perspective) and "gilding" of the boy's distended cheeks—see "On Antiphilus," in *Schilder-Boeck*, Book 11, fol. 85r.

[38] On Echion's painting of a matron lighting the way to a bride's marriage bed, see "On Echion," in ibid., fol. 72v.

[39] For the episode in Canto VII, stanzas 22–23, where Ariosto describes the radiance of the torchlight cast by pages as they lead Ruggiero to the sorceress Alcina's bedchamber, see L. Ariosto, *Orlando Furioso*, trans. W.S. Rose (London: 1858), 103–104; whereas Ariosto points up the feel of finely woven silks, Van Mander implies that they shimmer in the nighttime firelight.

[40] On Vulcan's association with fire fueled by gross earthly matter, which differs from the higher, purer flames of the celestial sun, see "On Vulcan," in *Wtlegghingh*, fol. 14v. In portraying Vulcan's ire and showing how he materializes fire, feeding his forge with various stuffs, Van Mander fashions an analogy to the painter whose pigments, forged from various minerals and compounds, are then transformed by him into the image of flames. The phrase "Poets' Hells" refers to such *loci classici* as Aeneas's journey through the underworld in Virgil's *Aeneid*, Book 6, Orpheus's visit to Hades in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, Book 9, and Virgil's *Georgics* 4, but it also alludes to the representation of hellfire as a trope for troubled conscience. In "On Pluto," in *Wtlegghingh*, fol. 32r, Van Mander construes "poets' hells" as visual allusions to the torments sinners feel when their

conscience is wracked by the memory of evil deeds they have committed: "Now, concerning Poets' Hells: they are nothing other than various sins and the miseries and disasters that overcome and strike reckless and ungodly men through their evil deeds, and the gnawing, tormenting conscience that punishes and condemns them." On this passage, see Göttler, "Fire, Smoke, and Vapour," 43.

[41] On Vulcan's forge, lodged in the depths of Mount Aetna, whence red- and purple-tinted rocks are blasted skyward, and by day a black cloud of mist ever rises, see "On Vulcan," in *Wtlegghingh*, fol. 14v, and "On Aeolus," in ibid., fols. 111r. The same flames pierce the dark of night, as if by the halting light of the sun ("daer men soo qualijck op con sien, als op de Sonne"). On the appreciation of Jan Brueghel's hell scenes as epitomes of the "Poeetsche Hellen" touted by Van Mander, see Göttler, "Fire, Smoke, and Vapour," 38–39; and E.A. Honig, *Jan Brueghel and the Senses of Scale* (University Park: 2016), 93–94.

[42] On the fiery workshop of Vulcan and the Cyclopes in the depths of Mount Gibellus, i.e, Aetna, where the gods' weapons were forged, along with figural works such as the living effigy of Pandora, see ibid., fol. 14v.

[43] *Dach*, *dagh* (plural *daghen*) can signify "daylight" or "highlight"; in this context, Van Mander is implying that the reflected and re-reflected lights, seen within the gloomy environs of Vulcan's cave, have the concentrated force of fiery daylight.

[44] Namely, for its source or point of origin.

[45] The term *Dorpman* signifies "villager," but since Bassano, where Jacopo resided, is more a town than a village, I have translated it "townsman." To render the sense of "wel verwenden Dorpman," literally "well-coloring Townsman," I have interpolated the phrase "and expert colorist."

[46] In "Life of Jacopo Bassano, Painter," in *Schilder-Boeck*, Book III, fol. 180 r, Van Mander lavishes praise on the painter's mastery of *reflexy-const*. He states that Jacopo has a distinctive manner of painting such nocturnal *Historien* as the Nativity, in which the clarity of angelic light illuminates the shepherds and glistens on copper or metal pots and kettles lying about the shepherds' huts. Equally note-

worthy are his nocturnes painted on slate: "raylets of light emanating from firebrands, torches, and lustrous reflections were drawn in gold metalpoint on the black stone ground, and the [golden] hatches were then varnished" ("al waer lichten quamen van Fackels, Toortsen, of schijnsels, daer waren de straelkens getrocken op den swarten steenen grondt met gouden pennekens, en op dese streken vernist wesende"). On Bassano's nocturnes, with specific reference to Van Mander's chapter on Bassano, see H. Noë, *Carel van Mander en Italië: beschouwingen en notities naar aanleiding van zijn "Leven der deestijtsche doorluchtighe Italiaensche Schilders"* (The Hague: 1954), 161; and Miedema, *Van Mander, Den grondt*, 2:525.

[47] On the legendary avarice of Battus, i.e., his love of gold, see "On Chiron," in *Wtlegghingh*, fol. 20r.

[48] For one such painting on slate, lit by gold highlights, see the *Lamentation by Candlelight*, 1570s, in J.W. Mann, ed., *Paintings on Stone: Science and the Sacred, 1530–1800* [exh. cat., St. Louis Art Museum] (Munich and St. Louis: 2020), 118–119; this painted stone likely once belonged to the series of twelve Passion pictures on slate mentioned by Van Mander in "On Jacopo Bassano," fol. 180r. Also see, in ibid., 120–121, Francesco Bassano the Younger's *Christ on the Road to Calvary with the Veil of St. Veronica*, 1580s; and, on the technique of painting on slate, J.M. Reifsnyder, "Observations on Preparation Techniques for Painting on Stone Surfaces," in ibid, 77–85, esp. 80–82.

[49] On Coignet, in particular his luminous *Historikens* (small history paintings), night scenes lit by candles, torches, and lamps, their flames rendered in raised strokes of gold gilt ("ghebruyckende veel tijt verheven vergulde lichten van den Keersen, Frackelen, oft Lampen"), see "Life of Gillis Coignet, Painter of Antwerp," in *Schilder-Boeck*, Book IV, fol. 262r. Van Mander, after affirming the natural effect ("seer natuerlijck stondt") of such works, mentions that some viewers criticized Coignet for portraying these lights not with paint, the province of any true painter, but with actual gold. He then concludes by stating that there are others who appreciate these pictures for their "improved *welstandt*," measurable by the power the gilt lights display to deceive the viewer's eyes ("doch ander houden al goet wat den welstandt verbetert, en d'ooghe des aensienders best can bedrieghen").

[50] *Sy* (they) refers to the colors whose obedience to Coignet's every wish stanza 42 has just affirmed.

[51] On Prometheus, son of Japetus, who stole heavenly fire from the chariot of the sun, using it to bring to life the lifeless effigy of the first man, fashioned by him, and then used that same fire to make the first works of art, showing that "without it no art can be practiced anything but poorly" ("sonder welck qualijck eenige Const gheoeffent can worden"), see "On Prometheus," in *Wtlegghingh*, fol. 2v. As Miedema points out, in *Van Mander, Den grondt*, 2:526, Van Mander thus claims that light effects such as these enliven the paintings they grace.

[52] On this night scene, currently in the Amsterdam Museum, which depicts the nighttime lottery of 1592, staged on behalf of the Madhouse of Amsterdam, see N. Middlekoop, "Gillis Coignet and the Amsterdam Lottery of 1592: Locating an Extraordinary Night Scene," *Journal of Historians of Netherlandish Art* (2010), DOI: *10.5092/jhna.2010.2.1.4* (accessed 20 August 2021).

[53] On Sicyon, admired above all other Greek cities as a center of painting in the time of Pamphilus, see "On Melanthus, Painter," in *Schilder-Boeck*, Book II, fol. 76r.

[54] On Haarlem as home to the best painters in the Netherlands, see "Life of Dirck [Bouts] of Haarlem," in *Schilder-Boeck*, Book IV, fol. 206r; and "Life of Jan Mostaert Painter of Haarlem," in ibid., fol. 229r: "Just as Sicyon was held famous for *Schilder-const* amongst the Greeks, and afterwards Florence and Rome amongst the Italians, so too in Holland was the noble city of Haarlem admired of old, for having brought forth many very good spirits of our Art."

[55] On this lost painting, preserved in an engraving by Jan Saenredam, see P.J. Vincken, "H.L. Spiegel's *Antrum Platonicum*," *Oud Holland* 75 (1960): 125–142; and P.J.J. van Thiel, *Cornelis Cornelisz. van Haarlem 1562–1638: A Monograph and Catalogue Raisonné* (Doornspijk: 1999), 202–205, nr. 114 (Fig. 23). Van Mander's interest in the parable of Plato's Cave, as Müller astutely observes, in *Concordia Pragensis*, 137, may have been instigated by Socrates's definition of the *image*, in *Republic* VI.509e–510a, as "first, shadows, and then reflections in water and on surfaces of dense, smooth, and bright texture"; see *Plato's Republic*, trans. and ed. P. Shorey, 2 vols. (London: 1930–1935),

2:108–109. On this account, the process of reflection can be viewed as fundamentally constitutive of the process of image-making *tout court*.

[56] Although Van Mander uses the past tense here and in line 5 to emphasize that he is talking about a picture he has actually seen, in English the present tense is not only less awkward but also does nothing to contravene his pseudo-ekphrastic description of Cornelis's picture.

[57] On this closing disclaimer, see Miedema, *Van Mander, Den grondt*, 2:528. Hendrik Laurensz. Spiegel, the likely source of the print's Platonic subject, harbored strong reservations about certain kinds of allegorical reading, and Van Mander may be adverting to these, or he may be gesturing discreetly toward Spiegel's authority as the print's primary reader-sponsor.

[58] The other Haarlemer is Hendrick Goltzius, and the epitome of art described in stanzas 47–49 is his *pen-werck, Venus, Bacchus, and Ceres* of 1593 (British Museum 1861,0608.174), executed in pen and brown ink on vellum (Fig. 22). For "of line-drawing," Van Mander uses the Latin genitive *Linearis*, which perhaps derives from Pliny's reference to *pictura linearis* in *Naturalis historia* 35:5. For "engraving," Van Mander uses the Latin term *Clypeus* (shield), which likely derives from Pliny's account, in ibid. 35:3–4, of the origins of painting from commemorative portraits painted or carved on shields. He implicitly analogizes these ancient shields to contemporary chased and engraved armor. Having used the Latin terms *Linearis* and *Clypeus* for drawing and engraving respectively, he then designates his painting *Pictura*, and thereby draws the inference that Goltzius's art has the canonical status and authority of ancient art. In "Life of Hendrick Goltzius," in *Schilder-Boeck*, Book IV, fol. 285v, he tacitly refers back to stanza 47 when he avers that Goltzius resembles Michelangelo in many respects: whereas the latter excels at the sister-arts of painting, sculpture, and architecture, Goltzius is a consummate draftsman, engraver, and painter. On the parallel between Goltzius and Michelangelo, see W.S. Melion, "Karel van Mander's 'Life of Goltzius': Defining the Paradigm of Protean Virtuosity in Haarlem around 1600," in S.J. Barnes and Melion, eds., *Studies in the History of Art 27: Cultural Differentiation and Cultural Identity* (Washington, D.C.: 1989), 112–133.

[59] The term *pennen* (pinions, i.e., the flight feathers that together constitute the outer rear edge of a bird's wing) puns on "pens," and thereby alludes to Goltzius masterful penmanship, both pictorial and calligraphic.

[60] The phrase "t'eenich golt" (singular gold) puns on the homonymic presence of *gold* (gold) in the name Goltzius.

[61] On the phoenix, which here functions as a metaphor of Goltzius, see Van Mander, *Wtbeeldinge der figueren*, fol. 134v.

[62] The Greek term for "phoenix," *Φοίνιξ* (Foínix), also signifies "palm tree," on which see Van Mander, *Wtbeeldinge*, fol. 134v.

[63] As Miedema notes in *Van Mander, Den grondt*, 2:529, the attribution of the invention of parchment to King Attalus of Pergamon derives from a marginal note in Du Pinet, *L'histoire du monde*, 2:631. Miedema further suggests that Van Mander may be playing on the association between "Attalus vliesen" and the reference, in chapter 14, "Interpretation of Colors," stanzas 7–8, to cloth of gold as "Attalus werck." The Attalid connection between parchment and cloth of gold invites the reader to construe Goltzius's parchment drawing of *Venus, Bacchus, and Ceres* as a latter-day golden fleece. On Attalus and the mythic discovery of parchment, see R.R. Johnson, "Ancient and Medieval Accounts of the 'Invention' of Parchment," *California Studies in Classical Antiquity* 3 (1970): 115–122.

[64] Van Mander, in coining the nickname *Vinde-wijn* (Find-wine), uses "find" in the sense of "invent" to credit Bacchus with the discovery of wine. Intoxicating wine also incites desire, as well as allowing the drunkard to forget her / his troubles, and thus Bacchus receives the additional monikers "Give-lust" (*Gheve-lust*) and "Escape-care" (*Sorghe verliesen*). The monikers "Find-wine" and "Escape-care," by alluding to the carefree gifts of Bacchus and Ceres, encapsulate the Terentian epitome, cited in "On Venus," in *Wtlegghingh*, fol. 29v: "For Venus grows cold when she has neither Liber nor Ceres at hand" ("Want Venus is coudt, wanneer sy / Noch Liber noch Ceres heeft by"). Van Mander's source was Terence, *The Eunuch* IV.732.

[65] Ceres, the benevolent goddess of agriculture, is characterized allegorically as the personification of *Overvloedt* (Abundance).

[66] In calling reflection "Echo's offspring," Van Mander is surely referring to the exquisitely reverberant effects of re-reflected light visible on the flesh of Venus (and elsewhere) in Goltzius's *pen-werck* (Van Mander's term for drawings executed in the manner of his engravings on parchment or canvas supports). On the *pen-werck* as a distinct pictorial category, defined by its materials and technique, and on the *Venus, Bacchus, and Ceres* in particular, see "Life of Hendrick Goltzius" in *Schilder-Boeck*, Book IV, fol. 285r. Kern, in *Light and Shade*, 149, argues, wrongly in my view, that the reference to *Reflexy* in stanza 48 connotes direct light only. The reference to re-reflected light is enhanced by the allusion to Echo, on whose meaning as a trope of painting Van Mander expatiates in "On Narcissus, and Echo," in *Wtlegghingh*, fol. 26r–v, where he cites an epigram by Ausonius addressed to the would-be painter of an image of Echo. Spoken as if by Echo herself, Van Mander's long periphrasis of the epigram turns on the theme, "Echo is not to be painted" ("Echo is niet te schilderen"):

> Aye, heedless Painter, why do you labor with all your might
> To portray me, whom no member of the human race
> Did ever see. Neither form nor body, or being,
> Or color have I. I grow day and night,
> As the daughter of Air and gentle Speech.
> Not by its own power, nor from out of me does speech come forth on every side.
> But rather, it awaits another's voice, to counterfeit some part thereof;
> From what was spoken, the last word is that which altogether
> Quickly melts into the air. But would you be prized
> For fashioning my likeness on some panel:
> Then paint in effigy with your clever brush
> The voice or power of speech which sounds in one's ears: these things,
> If you but do them, shall make of you a painter above all painters.

In stanza 48, Van Mander implicitly acclaims Goltzius's ability to meet head-on the challenge posed by Ausonius: if "reflected light" is Echo's child, then Goltzius, in capturing its resonant passage from one surface to another, proves his mettle incontrovertibly. Wielding the "art of line," he fashions the likeness of something so fleeting and ephemeral that it might otherwise melt into thin air. Goltzius thereby gives the lie to Ausonius's notional painter.

[67] In *Schilder-Boeck*, Book II, "Preface to *Lives of the Illustrious Ancient Painters, both Greek and Roman*," fol. 61r, Van Mander compares Homer's famous ekphrasis of the shield of Achilles in *Iliad* XVIII, specifically the scene of Ariadne encircled by dancing youths and maidens, to a pre-Homeric picture of the same subject painted by Daedalus, rightly valued, as he avers, at the extraordinary price of one hundred oxen. In fact, Homer identifies Daedalus as the architect who designed an open-air dance floor for Ariadne and her pastoral courtiers. Van Mander, by converting him into a painter whom he describes as "exceptionally skilled in the art of painting" ("in de Schilder-const uytnemende ervaren"), implies that Homer based his poetic image of Ariadne on the earlier picture by Daedalus. Furthermore, in "Life of Jan and Hubert van Eyck, brothers, and Painters of Maseyck," in *Schilder-Boeck*, Book IV, fol. 201r, quoting Lucas de Heere's "Ode on the *Ghent Altarpiece*," he eulogizes this fountainhead of northern painting as a "Daedalian work, a treasure, a noble gage." Within the intertextual fabric of the *Schilder-Boeck*, the epithet "Daedalis stuck" (Daedalian opus) confers on Goltzius's *Venus, Bacchus, and Ceres* an Homeric ekphrastic pedigree and a canonical status equivalent to that of the altarpiece Van Mander considered the founding work of the Netherlandish canon.

[68] The Hesperides, as nymphs of the sunset, are embodiments of the kind of light described in stanzas 6 and 7 *supra*; on the Hesperides, also known as the Atlantides, who dwell in the far west where the chariot of the sun daily descends into the sea, see Natalis Comes, *Mythologiae sive explicationum fabularum libri decem* (Venice: Comin da Trino, 1567; reprint ed., 1581), 482.

[69] See Pliny, *Naturalis historia* XXXV.XXXVI.63.

[70] On Zeuxis's *Wrestlers*, inscribed by the artist himself with the epitaph, "One can rashly contemn this: but / To do anything as good, 'twere the greater labor truly," see "On Zeuxis of Heraclea, Painter," in *Schilder-Boeck*, Book II, fol. 67r.

[71] The phrase "weerschijnich smetten," a response to direct observation, implies that light has passed through the wine held in the wineglass and, having been refracted, transmits the liquor's color to the table linen, "staining" it as if the wine had actually dripped onto the cloth. The stain is *weerschijnich* in the sense that light, reflected and colored by the glass and its contents, has been relayed, in a secondary process of reflection, onto and by yet another surface.

[72] On Pieter Aertsen, the assured handling of whose paintings *nae*[*r*] *t'leven* (after / to the life) results from his unsurpassed ability to mix and temper colors, see "Life of Pieter Aertsen," in *Schilder-Boeck*, Book IV, fol. 243v. Van Mander explicitly praises a kitchen scene (*keucken*) in the Amsterdam collection of Jacob Rauwaert, which incorporates the flayed head of a recently slaughtered ox, along with a childhood portrait of Aertsen's second son, Aert Pietersz.

[73] On this kitchen scene, see note 72 *supra*; also see E.M. Kavaler, "Pieter Aertsen's *Meat Stall*: Divers Aspects of the Market Piece," *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 40 (1989): 67–92; and C. Houghton, "This Was Tomorrow: Pieter Aertsen's *Meat Stall* as Contemporary Art," *Art Bulletin* 86 (2004): 278–300.

[74] Van Mander refers to the fifth vault, where Isaac and Rebecca make love by the raking coronal light of a solar eclipse, while King Abimelech spies upon them.

[75] On the intense popularity of Albrecht Dürer's *Saint Jerome in His Study* of 1514, which was appreciated throughout the sixteenth century as an epitome of his art, see G. Bartrum, *Albrecht Dürer and His Legacy: The Graphic Work of a Renaissance Artist* [exh. cat., London, British Museum] (London: 2002), 189.

[76] Van Mander paraphrases *Orlando Furioso*, Canto I, stanzas 33, 35, and especially 37–38: Ariosto describes tufts of "flowering thorn and vermeil rose" reflected from a winding stream overshadowed by tall oaks; seeking shelter there, Angelica's fear subsides amongst the sights, sounds, and scents. As the stream mirrors its environs, so the landscape mirrors Angelica's emotions: its wind-swept trembling leaflets initially match her consternation, but her anxiety gradually abates as she penetrates deeper into the beguiling *locus amoenus*. The poet's vividly evocative hypotyposis functions as a preface to chapter 8, on the encompassing sensory and emotive effects of landscape.

[77] On Giges, the putative first practitioner of *Teyckenconst* and *Schilder-const*, see "On Gyges of Lydia, the first Painter in Egypt," in *Schilder-Boeck*, Book II, fol. 62r–v. This "Life," which inaugurates the sequence of biographies of ancient Greek and Roman painters, begins by avowing the therapeutic properties of noble arts such as drawing, painting, song, and drama: only by exercising themselves

therein can persons hope to raise their dejected spirits and make glad their flagging senses ("t'zy in Consten, die wonderlijck oft t'ghesicht, oft t'gehoor, oft anderen sin verheughen"). Van Mander, by placing painters in a lineage from Giges, anticipates one of the key arguments of chapter 8, "On Landscape," which is that this branch of art has the power to refresh and enliven the viewer's body, mind, and heart.

[78] In "On Daedalus," in ibid., fol. 70r, Van Mander infers that the "Daedalian skein" ("het Dedaelsche clouwen"), with which Ariadne assisted Theseus to extricate himself from the Cretan labyrinth built by Daedalus, was likewise fashioned by him. It, too, is a work of artifice. The "skein of Nature" ("t'clouwen der Natueren"), whereby the aspiring painter negotiates Pictura's labyrinth, may thus be construed as an epitome of artifice or, better, an allusion to natural artifice. By contrast, Müller, *Concordia Pragensis*, 139, reads the "skein" as a *Sinnbild*, not *Abbild*, of painting as a contemplative instrument or, better, process whereby the Creator, divine source of Creation, is ascertained.

Chapter 8: "On Landscape"

[1] Hesperus, son of Eos, goddess of Dawn, is the Evening Star. On Morpheus, the god of Sleep, son of Night, and brother of Lethe, the river of Oblivion, see "On the God of Sleep and Dreams," in *Wtlegghingh*, fol. 98r.

[2] *Saffranich* is the term for *croceus* (yellow-gold, orange-gold); see J. André, *Études sur les termes de couleur dans la langue latine*, Études et commentaires 7 (Paris: 1949), 153–155.

[3] In the poem "Etymology, or explanation, where the word *Schilder*, or *Schildery*, took its origin," in *Schilder-Boeck*, Book 11, fol. Hij verso, Van Mander states that the term *schillede*, which he defines as "multi- or particolored," derives from the ancient custom of painting memorial shields, known as *schilden*. *Schilder* (painter) and *schilderj* (painting) are likewise traceable to *schild*.

[4] On Tithonus and his spouse Aurora, who as goddess of the Dawn leaves her saffron-colored marriage bed and climbs heavenward at the start of each day, rising from out of the ocean in the company of the sun-god, see "On Aurora," in *Wtlegghingh*, fol. 66v; and P. Vergilius

Maro, *Bucolica en Georgica, dat is, Ossen-stal en Landt-werck. Nu eerst in rijm-dicht vertaelt, door K.V. Mander* (Haarlem: Gillis Rooman, 1597), 193. Eurus is the East Wind who dwells in the far east where the sun-god daily rises. Stanza 4 also paraphrases Virgil, *Aeneid* IV.584–585. As Miedema points out in *Karel van Mander, Grondt*, 2:541, Van Mander's Virgilian paraphrase closely corresponds to a passage in Cristoforo Sorte, *Osservazioni sopra la pittura* (Venice: Girolamo Zenaro, 1580), which in turn derives from a poem by Bernardo Tasso; see P. Barocchi, ed., *Trattati d'arte del Cinquecento fra manierismo e controriforma*, 3 vols. (Bari: 1960), 1:285–286.

[5] Van Mander may be using *Morghen-stondt* (early morning) to refer to Lucifer, herald of Aurora and the rising sun; see *Wtlegghingh*, fol. 66v.

[6] On azurite, a blue mineral pigment sometimes confused with ultramarine (made from ground lapis lazuli), see R.D. Harley, *Artists' Pigments c. 1600–1835*, Technical Studies in the Arts, Archaeology, and Architecture (London, Boston, et al.: 1970; reprint ed., 1982), 47. Van Mander may simply be using *asuerich* to evoke an intense blue color. On red lake, of which there were two kinds—lac or purplish Indian lake and cochineal or carmine lake (of a strong redder cast)—see ibid., 131–138. The phrase "asuerich laken" (azure lake), which for the sake of clarity I periphrase as "azure of lake pigments," evokes the intensely blue-red effect of the rising sun.

[7] On Tellus, goddess of Earth, whom Van Mander considers identical with Cybele, Rhea, Vesta, and Ops, see "Cybele," in *Wtbeeldinge der figueren*, fol. 125v.

[8] Stanzas 6–8 describe the coloristic effects of the sun at different phases of its rising as its light illuminates the countryside. In his notes on painting materials and techniques, Theodore Turquet de Mayerne, physician-chemist to Charles I of England, closely acquainted with court painters such as Anthony van Dyck, enumerates the colors and color mixtures whereby a landscape lit by the sun at dawn, midday, and dusk may be portrayed; see *Pictorja, sculptorja et quae subalternatum artium* (On Painting, Sculpture, and the Corollary Arts), in E. Berger, ed. and trans., *Quellen für Maltechnik während der Renaissance und deren Folgezeit* (Munich: 1901), 123. De Mayerne's technical precepts offer many parallels to Van Mander's evocation of the colors of a sunlit landscape.

[9] Stanzas 4–7, especially stanza 7 on the effect of the rising sun upon greenery, puts one in mind of Lomazzo, *Trattato dell'arte*, 474, where in Book VI, chapter 61, "Composition of painting and fashioning diverse landscapes," he commends Titian above all other landscapists for his ability to paint a field as if its greenery, marked by diverse pathways, were resplendently lit by the sun from within.

[10] On diminution of the brightness and color of visual rays as they interact with the air, taking on its properties as they travel through the atmosphere, finally becoming indistinguishable from it, see Rivius, *Der furnembsten … Künst, eygentlicher Bericht*, fol. aa4v; and Alberti, *De pictura*, trans. Sinisgalli, 29 (cf. 69). As Miedema notes, in *Karel van Mander, Grondt*, 2:543, Rivius attends to the ways in which optical rays assimilate the colors of nearby objects.

[11] The simile to floor-tiles derives from Rivius, *Der furnembsten … Künst, eygentlicher Bericht*, fol. bb3r, cc1r–v; and Alberti, *De pictura*, trans. Sinisgalli, 34, 41.

[12] Van Mander uses the term *Orisont* which, as Miedema opines in *Karel van Mander, Grondt*, 2:544, must have been common parlance and perhaps derives from Rivius, *Der furnembsten … Künst, eygentlicher Bericht*, fol. bb1v–2r.

[13] In "Life of Gillis van Conincxloo, Painter of Antwerp," in *Schilder-Boeck*, Book IV, fols. 267v–268r, Van Mander makes reference to Italian *paragoni*, treatises on the relative superiority of painting or sculpture, claiming that Conincxloo's landscapes confirm the victory of painting over its sister art: "… the painter fashions everything which the human eye apprehends by sight: heaven, air, various changes of weather, the sun sending down its rays through clouds upon cities, mountains, and valleys, occasional dark, cloudy rain, hail, snow, every variety of green in trees and fields, when laughing springtime incites and rouses birds to sing, [all] which remains impossible for the sculptor to fashion in stone …. This the artful works of the excellent landscapist Gillis van Conincxloo help to confirm and attain." Conincxloo's ability to portray a wide array of topographical features and atmospheric effects, most prominently the interaction of sun and cloud, correlates to the desiderata described in stanzas 10–12. So, too, his mastery of greenery aligns with the emphasis on kinds and degrees of the color green in stanzas 6, 7, 26–27, 30–31, 35, 38–40, and 42. On the *paragoni* consulted by Van

Mander, who mentions having seen *The Dialogue* (*T'saemspraeck*)—probably Benedetto Varchi, *Due Lezzioni* (Florence: Lorenzo Torrentino, 1549)—as well as "description[s] by other [authors]" (possibly Paolo Pino, Anton Francesco Doni, Michelangelo Biondo, Benvenuto Cellini, or Raffaele Borghini), see Miedema, *Karel van Mander, Lives*, 75. In "Life of Abraham Bloemaert," in *Schilder-Boeck*, Book IV, fol. 298r, Van Mander singles the painter out for his ability to portray sunshine and dark or fiery skies. On Van Mander's general reluctance, elsewhere in the *Schilder-Boeck*, to engage in the *disputatio atrium*, see section 5 of my introductory essay *supra*.

[14] See Pliny, *Naturalis historia* XXXV.XXXVI.96.

[15] On the ancient painters Apelles, Echion, and Nicomachus, who used a palette of four colors only—"white, yellow, red, and black"—see "On Melanthus," in *Schilder-Boeck*, Book II, fol. 75v. On Apelles's skill at painting fugitive effects of weather that had formerly appeared inimitable, such as thunder, lightning, and thunderbolts, known by the epithets *Brontes, Astrapes*, and *Ceraunobolus*, see "On Apelles, Prince of Painters," in *Schilder-Boeck*, Book II, fol. 81v.

[16] On Eolus, lord of the four winds who like messengers do his bidding, see "On Aeolus," in *Wtlegghingh*, fol. 111r.

[17] The erratum (fol. [Pp ix] recto) changes *wercken* (works) to *swercken* (clouds); see *Etymologicum Teutonicae linguae*, 544: *swaercke* = *swercke* = *nubes* (clouds).

[18] On the identification of Apollo with the sun as the "heart of heaven, the soul or life of the world, and the eye of Jupiter," see "On Apollo, or Phoebus," in ibid., fols. 52v–53r.

[19] Van Mander perhaps refers to Apollo's displeasure at seeing his mother Latona denied water by the Lycian peasants, or Niobe denying due worship to Latona and her children, on which, see ibid., fols. 53v and 50v, respectively.

[20] On Clytië, who pined for Apollo and was finally turned into the heliotrope or sunflower (in Italian, "Torn al Sole"), which ever turns its face to the sun, see *Wtlegghingh*, fol. 31r.

[21] Van Mander uses the term *asuyren* (azure) to signify the deep blue color of ultramarine or azurite, on which see note 6 *supra*. On smalt,

made from oxidized cobalt ore mixed with silica, see Harley, *Artist's Pigments*, 53–56. The quality of Dutch and Flemish smalt was considered exceptional throughout the sixteenth century. On the need to ensure that the ground layer absorbs excess oil when painting with smalt, see stanza 43 of chapter 12, "On painting well, or Coloring," fol. 50r; also see M. van Eikema Hommes, *Changing Pictures: Discoloration in 15th-17th-Century Oil Paintings* (London: 2004), 26–27.

[22] The reference to a purplish cast indicates that Van Mander is talking about Indian or lac lake, on which see Harley, *Artist's Pigments*, 131–135. On the distinction between lake- and vermilion-based flesh tints, see stanza 29 of chapter 12, fol. 49r.

[23] On Prometheus, who enlivened humankind with the stolen gift of divine flame, and, in another interpretation of the ancient myth, first modeled effigies of men and inaugurated the practice of various arts, see "On Prometheus," in *Wtlegghingh*, fol. 2v.

[24] The term *hardt* (hard, forceful) denotes in this context something sharply defined. Kiliaan, *Etymologicum Teutonicae linguae*, 185, gives the cognates *durus* (hard), *fortis* (strong, forceful), and *robustus* (firm, solid, strong); the *Thesaurus Theutonicae linguae*, fol. X2 recto, gives the cognate *durus* (hard, harsh, severe).

[25] The majority of Pieter Bruegel's *Great Landscapes* of ca. 1555, a series of twelve prints engraved after his designs by Joannes and Lucas van Doetecum, contains a large, conspicuous foreground element, either at the left or right; see J. van Grieken, "De grote landschappen," in M. Bassens and Van Grieken, *Bruegel in zwart en wit: het complete grafische werk* [exh. cat., KBR, Brussels] (Brussels: 2020), 76–97.

[26] Here I have translated *welstandt* as "well-being," in line with Hexham's definition of the adjectives "Wel-staende, ofte fraey" as "Well-becoming, Well-beseeming, or Fine"; see Hexham, *Groot woordenboeck*, *617. Alternatively, one could render it as "pleasing impression" or "pleasing appearance," to emphasize that its scope extends beyond the paradigm of figural disposition to encompass the concinnity of landscape.

[27] The term *slanghen* signifies "winding like a serpent," but in this context, with reference to the maritime motion of waves, it might

best be translated "to undulate." The serpentine relation amongst fore-, middle-, and background, as a structural feature of landscape, is analogous to the rotational attitude of the body and its limbs which anchors the conception of *welstandt* in chapter 4; especially see stanzas 10 and 12, notes 11, 12, and 13 *supra*. Throughout chapter 8, Van Mander implicitly expresses his high regard for landscape as a pictorial subject by calling attention to those respects in which it resembles the human body: as its *slanghende* grounds call to mind the *figura serpentinata*, so in its power to communicate affect it correlates to the human figure (see, for example, stanza 27 on joy, stanzas 13, 24, and 47 on fear, and stanza 45 on delight), and in its ability to mobilize the eyes moves according to the seven bodily motions distinguished in chapter 5, stanzas 4 and 5 (see chapter 8, stanza 25, on Bruegel's Alpine vistas that cause the eyes to ascend and descend, shuttle from place to place, shift between near and far, and trace the presumably winding course of rushing streams).

[28] The emphasis Van Mander places on integrative articulation of the fore-, middle-, and background of a landscape recalls Lomazzo's discussion of the landscapist's chief occupation, which is to distinguish amongst the visibility of the foreground, the diminution of clarity in the middle-ground, and the evanescence of the background, while also showing how each zone connects to the next, so that their adjacency produces a just effect of perspectival recession. See Lomazzo, *Trattato dell'arte*, 473.

[29] In "Life of Hans Bol, Painter of Mechelen," in *Schilder-Boeck*, Book IV, fol. 260r–v, Van Mander lavishes praises on a large *Daedalus and Icarus* by Bol, painted in watercolor on canvas, which combines superbly rendered foreground and distant views, with a rocky cliff, presumably in the middle-ground: "A rock lay in the water, atop which was set a fortress … the stone subtly and precisely covered with moss, overgrown, its every little color rendered in a sure manner; likewise that strange old fortress, as if growing from the rock, wonderfully devised. Furthermore, the distant landscape was very well handled, as also the water wherein the rock was mirrored, and in the shadowy brown one saw floating on the water, very naturally, feathers fallen from Icarus's wings when the wax melted. There were also some fine foregrounds and other landscape elements."

[30] On this compositional mode, comprised half by *landtschap*, half by *historie*, see the Sannazaran excursus on the overdoor from the Arcadian temple of Pales, in chapter 5, stanzas 47–60

[31] On Van Mander's embrace of *verscheydenheyt* (variety) as the hallmark of landscape painting in the northern manner, see Bakker, *Landscape and Religion*, 185–186. Variety, as we have seen, likewise governs the production of history painting in the North, on which see *Grondt*, chapter 5, stanza 20, and notes 29 and 30 *supra*. Stanza 24, by contrast, summarizes the very different landscape criteria that obtain in Italy.

[32] Here and in the prior stanza, Van Mander endorses variety while distinguishing it from copiousness, a distinction that goes back to Augustine, *The City of God* (Edinburgh: 1871), XXII.xxiv.528, by way of Alberti, *De pictura*, trans. Sinisgalli, 60: "… variety carries beauty. I hate emptiness in a[n] *historia*; nevertheless, I praise very little [any] richness which opposes dignity." But whereas Alberti primarily refers to "expressions and movements of the bodies" in an *historia*, Van Mander applies the criteria of variety and richness equally to landscape, history, and history in landscape. On Van Mander's conception of variety and its basis in Bruegel's landscapes, wherein divine order becomes discernible in and through the matrix of natural variety, see B. Bakker, "Order or Variety? Pieter Bruegel and the Aesthetics of Landscape," in K. Enenkel and W.S. Melion, eds., *Landscape and the Visual Hermeneutics of Place, 1500–1700*, Intersections 75 (Leiden and Boston: 2021), 158–194, esp. 185–189.

[33] I have translated "welstants ghenietens" as "pleasurable consonance" to evoke Van Mander's sense here of a landscape fittingly various but not disaggregated by a superabundance of variety.

[34] As Miedema points out, in *Karel van Mander, Grondt*, 2:550, Van Mander implies that northern landscapists, unlike their Italian counterparts, are skilled at incorporating multiple distant views. In "Lives of Matthijs and Hieronymus Cock, Painters of Antwerp," in *Schilder-Boeck*, Book IV, fol. 232r, Van Mander credits Matthijs with having introduced the "new Italian or Antique manner" of landscape to the Low Countries. This novel manner features "more variety" ("meer veranderingen") and "ingenious and inventive ordonnance or gathering of parts" ("versierigh en vondigh in't ordineren oft by een voegen"). According to Kiliaan, *Etymologicum Teutonicae lin-*

guae, 581, the term *veranderingh* signifies *mutatio*, *immutatio* (interchange, exchange, substitution of one thing for another) and *vicissitudo* (alternation). The *Thesaurus Theutonicae linguae*, fol. Kk1 recto, supplies the French cognates "mutation, rechangement, conversion," terms that connote the change of one thing into another, and the Latin cognates "mutatio, variatio, immutation, conversion, alternatio," and, most interestingly, *commutatio* (reciprocal opposition or change). Miedema, in *Karel van Mander, Lives*, 3:241–242, plausibly suggests that Van Mander may have had in mind the drawings and prints of Domenico Campagnola, composed in a pastoral mode: punctuated by Virgilian poetic devices such as conversing, courting, or music-making shepherds, flocks grazing peaceably, characterful trees, and age-old rustic dwellings, these landscapes also feature formal elements that alternate in mutual *contrapposto*: for example, in *Landscape with a Foreground Tree, a Building, and Distant Mountains* (British Museum, Ff, 1.69), a Campagnola-school drawing in pen and ink, the tall vertical tree at left is counterposed to the low-lying horizontal hills and house in the middle ground at right, which are then juxtaposed to the looming mountains on the distant horizon; so, too, the strong tonal variation of the tree gives way to the middle register's less forceful range of tones and to the more brightly and uniformly lit background. This *immutatio* / *commutatio* of shape and tone is matched by the distribution of varieties of pen stroke: extremely varied in the foreground, yet with hatches applied at regular intervals, less various and more loosely applied in the middle ground, and most loose yet uniform in the background. This mutual variety of form, tone, and stroke, combined with the allusions to ancient pastoral, likely constitutes the "Italian or Antique manner" of landscape that Matthijs Cock, in his landscape drawings, and Hieronymus Cock, in his prints after Matthijs, disseminated in Antwerp. They must also have studied Titian's use of landscape in his paintings, drawings, and prints.

[35] Curiously, landscape comes up only once in the "Life of Jacopo Tintoretto, Venetian Painter," in *Schilder-Boeck*, Book III, fol. 178v, where Van Mander mentions a *sacra conversazione* with a "bit of landscape" ("een stuck landtschap") in the church of St. Job, Venice.

[36] In "Life of Titian of Cadore, Painter," in ibid., fol. 174v, Van Mander, paraphrasing Vasari, states that the young Titian painted a *Flight into Egypt* in the manner of Giorgione, with a great forest and a fine landscape, at the Fondaco dei Tedeschi in Venice; for the purpose

of rendering landscapes, a task that absorbed much of his time, he retained "several fine Netherlandish masters of landscape and greenery," hosting them at his house.

[37] On the "excellent landscape painter" Girolamo Muziano, whose manner of landscape Van Mander describes as "forceful, sure, and splendid" ("gheweldighe, vaste, en heerlijcke maniere") and markedly "different from that of Netherlandish masters," see "On Various Italian Painters in Rome during my time there," in ibid., fol. 192v. In particular, he praises Muziano for his superior handling of "grounds and foregrounds" and his skillfully rendered trees, their leaves reminiscent of the chestnut tree, their roots and trunks artfully contrived ("wortelen en stammen seer versierich"). Van Mander's teacher, Pieter Vlerick, had collaborated with Muziano at the Villa d'Este, Tivoli, adding staffage to his landscape murals; see "Life of Pieter Vlerick of Kortrijk," in ibid., fol. 250v. Moreover, Van Mander's close friend Hendrick Goltzius knew Muziano well in Rome, where he drew his portrait after the life; see ibid., fol. 192v. The "Life of Muziano" contains a telling disclaimer that reveals Van Mander's high regard for landscape painting: commenting on Muziano's ambition, later in his career, to become a figure painter, he deplores the artist's misguided attempts to abandon landscape. Why should any master abjure his natural endowments, presuming to favor an acquired skill in *beelden* over a God-given proclivity for *landtschap*, asks Van Mander: "Girolamo, because he reckoned figures the noblest branch of our arts, or considered them more profitable, totally gave himself over to them, painting large canvases and panels in oil color, some of which I have viewed: yet in virtue and value his figures remained greatly deficient, far behind his landscapes. Thus goes it when one seizes upon something other than what nature has willingly bestowed."

[38] The term *trootsich* (proudly) also signifies "in a spirit of competition."

[39] On the motions of the eyes activated by Bruegel's landscapes, and their analogy to the seven bodily motions, see note 27 *supra*. On Bruegel's Alpine vistas, their mountains and boulders drawn after the life during his journey to Italy, as if swallowed whole, and later painted on canvas and panel as if "spat out," see "Life of Pieter Bruegel, excellent Painter from Brueghel," in *Schilder-Boeck*, Book IV, fol. 233r. Although the panoramic format of Bruegel's landscape

drawings, prints, and paintings allows the eyes to range freely, they maintain the fiction of a single vantage point, on which, see Bakker, "Order or Variety?," 179.

[40] Cancer, Leo, and Virgo are the zodiacal signs of the summer season.

[41] For the comparison of well-watered greenswards to the color of emeralds, see Pliny, *Naturalis historia* XXXVII.xvi.62. Stanzas 26–28 concentrate on the landscape's middle-ground, which Dutch and Flemish masters generally worked up over a green base color, whereas brown was reserved for the foreground, blue for the distance and sky; see E.M. Clifford, "Style and Technique in Dutch Landscape Painting in the 1620s," in A. Wallert, E. Hermens, and M. Peek, eds., *Historical Painting Techniques, Materials, and Studio Practice* (*University of Leiden, the Netherlands, 26–29 June 1995*) (Los Angeles: 1995), 140–147, esp. 141.

[42] On sapphire green emeralds, which are tinted blue like lapis lazuli, see ibid. XXXVII.xviii.71.

[43] Cf. chapter 7, stanza 57, on the mirroring surface of "clear standing water."

[44] Van Mander refers to Zephyr, god of fructifying springtime breezes.

[45] *Hinniden* is Van Mander's term for the Epimelides, the meadow nymphs of Greek mythology.

[46] See Jacopo Sannazzaro, *Arcadia, di nuovo ristampata, con le annotationi di Thomaso Porcacchi* (Venice: Pietro Marinelli: 1589), 70.

[47] On Ceres, goddess of the harvest, who taught men how to sow, plant, thresh, grind, and bake, see "On Ceres, and Triptolemus," in *Wtlegghingh*, fol. 48v.

[48] Eurus is the god of the autumnal east wind.

[49] On vermilion, the brightest red, also known as cinnabar, in both its natural and artificial forms, see Harley, *Artists' Pigments*, 125–128; Van Eikema Hommes, *Changing Pictures*, 27–28, identifies vermilion as red mercury sulphide. On *menie* (*minium*), also known as red lead,

more orange than vermilion and occasionally used to adulterate it, see Harley, *Artists' Pigments*, 123–125. On Van Mander's advice against using pure, saturated reds to depict rustic elements, such as roofs, which lack such colors, and his emphasis on cleaving to the likeness of life ("ghelijck het leven"), see B. Bakker, *Landscape and Religion*, 186.

[50] Van Mander may be referring to blue ash, since the term *as*, *assche* was used to designate azurite, lesser ultramarine, or copper-based blue verditer, on which, see Van Eikema Hommes, *Changing Pictures*, 30, 46 n. 91.

[51] On the bluish tint of ash, see note 50 *supra* and chapter 7, note 32.

[52] In "Life of Hans Holbein, Excellent Painter," in *Schilder-Boeck*, Book IV, fol. 220v, Van Mander coins the phrase "immovable as the Swiss cliffs" ("onbeweeghlijck als de Switsersche rootsen") to refer to the impassibility of the Alps. On this passage, see Miedema, *Karel van Mander, Grondt*, 2:554. For "Italian," Van Mander here uses the term *Welsch*.

[53] In calling upon painters to visualize Echo, Van Mander urges them to rise to the challenge posed by Ausonius in his epigram, "To a Painting of Echo"; see Ausonius, *Books I–XX*, trans. H.G. Evelyn White, 2 vols. (Cambridge, MA: 1921), 2:174–175. In "On Narcissus, and Echo," in *Wtlegghingh*, fol. 26r–v, Van Mander says about this epigram, spoken in Echo's voice, that it apostrophizes any and all painters who would presume to paint a reverberant sound or echo. He then provides a Dutch periphrasis of the epigram, accompanied by the marginal gloss, "Echo is not to be painted":

> Yea, rash Painter, why do you expend all your strength
> To portray me, whom no member of the human
> Race has ever seen? Neither form nor body, or being,
> Or color have I. I grow day and night,
> As gentle daughter of the Air and Tongue.
> Not from me alone does speech everywhere sally forth.
> It but awaits another's voice, thereafter to counterfeit
> The last word spoken, which altogether
> Swiftly disperses into the [surrounding] air. But would you be prized
> For making my likeness in a Panel:

> Then paint with your resourceful brush a portrait of
> The voice or sound that rings in the ears: doing these things
> Shall make of you the foremost Painter.

Stanza 34, by advising or, better, daring the painter to depict the echoing rush of a waterfall, gainsays Ausonius, insisting that nothing in nature is so fugitive or evanescent that it surpasses the painter's powers of description. Van Mander's tacit conviction that this is the case prepares the way for his assertion in stanza 37 that even the most spirited effects of nature—the motion of myriad leaves, of strands of hair, of airy clouds—can be portrayed by a painter capable of rendering them *uyt den gheest*. No phenomena are beyond the scope of his brush.

[54] On the Hamadryads, woodland nymphs closely associated with trees, the oak above all, see "On the Nymphs, Dryads, Hamadryads, Oreads, Naiads, and suchlike," in *Wtlegghingh*, fol. 12r. Van Mander's emphasis in stanzas 36–40 on trees as the chief source of a landscape's *cracht* (power, forceful effect) derives from three sources: the gathering of the trees in Ovid, *Metamorphoses* X.86–105, where Orpheus's power to sing various species of tree into sensate life stands for the life-giving properties of poetic song; the prominence of shade-giving trees as metapoetic markers of Virgil's literary program throughout the *Eclogues* and in *Georgics* 2, where their presence serves to evoke various genres of pastoral lyric upon which he drew—Theocritean bucolic, Callimachean and Gallan elegiac, and Hesiodic didactic; and Pierre Ronsard's famous ode, "A la forest de Gâtine" (To the Forest of Gâtine), which pays homage to this woodland's sheltering arboreal bowers where, freed from base care, the poet delivers himself to the pleasure of the book and communes with the Muses. As trees are a sign of lyric poetry in Ovid, Virgil, and Ronsard, so they index the landscapist's art in stanzas 37–40. On Ovidian and Virgilian trees and their metapoetic significance, with specific reference to an elegiac print by Goltzius and its basis in the pastoral poetics of Van Mander, see W.S. Melion, "The Trope of Anthropomorphosis in Hendrick Goltzius's *Venus and Cupid* (1590), *Venus, Bacchus, and Ceres* (1593), and *Portrait of Frederick de Vries* (1597)," in Melion, J. Woodall, and M. Zell, eds., *Ut pictura amor: The Reflexive Imagery of Love in Artistic Theory and Practice, 1500–1700*, Intersections 48 (Leiden & Boston: Brill, 2017), 158–228. On arboreal symbology in Virgilian pastoral, see J.H. Henkel, *Writing Poems on Trees: Genre and Metapoetics in Vergil's* Eclogues *and* Georgics, Ph.D.

diss., University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, 2009. For Ronsard's poem, see *Oeuvres complètes de Ronsard: tome troisième, les Odes*, ed. H. Vaganay (Paris: 1923), 114; addressed to the forest's trees, the two key stanzas read as follows:

> You who under the shelter of your trees
> Refresh me, rapt in spirit,
> You who cause the Muses at every turn
> To respond to me.
>
> You through whom, free from base care,
> I wholly deliver myself,
> When having lost myself deep within you,
> I converse with a book.

[55] Amongst the most exemplary painters of leaves, Van Mander singles out Muziano, on whose finely brushed leaves that put foliage and brushstrokes jointly on display ("seer fraeyen slagh van bladeren"), see *Schilder-Boeck*, Book III, fol. 192v, and Cornelis Molenaer, on whose brushed leaves / leafy brushstrokes, "finer and more painterly" ("fraeyer en schilderachtiger slach van bladen") than those of any other landscape painter, see "Life of Cornelis Molenaer, nicknamed squint-eyed Neel, of Antwerp," in ibid., Book IV, fol. 256v. On Van Mander's application of the term *schiderachtig* to Muziano's and Molenaer's handling of foliage, and his complementary use of it elsewhere to connote the variety of form and color and the natural appearance of depicted landscape—as in his paraphrase of Homer's ekphrasis describing the landscape on Achilles's shield, in ibid., Book II, fol. 60v, his description of Joris Hoefnagel's topographical city views, in ibid., Book IV, fol. 262v, or his appreciation of the landscape *ekphrases* in Sannazzaro's *Arcadia*, in *Grondt*, chapter 5, verse 62, fol. 20v—see Bakker, "*Schilderachtig*," 150–151. More often than not, Van Mander associates the term with landscape painting, and in particular with richly variegated landscapes into which the eyes may roam, passing across *gronden*, through *doorsienen*, and into *verre verschietens* (far distances).

[56] In "Life of Herri met de Bles, Painter of Bouvignes, near Dinant," in *Schilder-Boeck*, Book IV, fol. 219v, Van Mander praises Joachim Patenir (the painter most closely imitated by Bles) for his small landscapes, executed with "patience and diligence" ("patientie oft gedult"), and for the "enormous time and labor expended … on trees,

rocks, towns, crowds of figures." Earlier, in "Life of Joachim Patenir, Painter of Dinant," he endorses his "distinctive manner of painting landscapes, very subtle and precise, with trees somewhat stippled." The emphasis throughout falls on his exceptionally "subtle, fine manner," and on the "good stroke" evidenced by his foliage. In certain contexts, the term *aerdig* (subtle), whether used alone or together with *fraey* (fine), as in stanza 36, line 6, can also signify "beautiful, attractive, or handsome"; see P. Taylor, "Boekbespreking: Karel van Mander, *The Lives of the Illustrious Netherlandish and German Painters*, ed. H. Miedema," *Oud Holland* (2001), 131–154, esp. 132.

[57] Alternatively, if line 8 is taken to refer to landscape as a whole, it might be translated: "For know this, that therein lies the force [of your landscape]."

[58] On the closing couplet and its reference to *gheest* (spirit), see section 4.e., "*Leven* and *Gheest*," of my "Introduction," *supra*.

[59] Stanzas 38–41, on various species of trees, their patterns of furcation, and their respective motions, correspond to many features of Lomazzo, *Trattato dell'arte*, Book II, chapter 23, "On the motions of trees, and all other things that are moved," 184–186. Furcation determines how a tree bends when blown by the wind, argues Lomazzo, who then goes on to distinguish the willow from other kinds of tree. See *A Tracte Containing The Artes*, trans. Haydocke, 90–91: "The boughes growing from thence, begin a little to bend, and the others which proceede from them a little more, so that in the end they shew the same agility, in the leaves most of all. It is true that all trees have not a like motion: for the Willowe mooveth and is shaken extremely."

[60] I take *kasboom* for a contracted form of *kastijn-boom* (chestnut tree). Whereas Van Mander describes Muziano as a specialist in portraying chestnut trees and their foliage, he praises Frans Pourbus for his ability to portray numerous species of trees, amongst which the pear, the apple, and the walnut (or hazelnut); respectively see stanza 24, note 34, *supra*, and "Life of Pieter and Frans Pourbus, Painters of Bruges," in *Schilder-Boeck*, Book IV, fol. 257v.

[61] The paradigm of the well-turned tree is analogous to the *welstandt* of the well-turned figure on which *Grondt*, chapter 4, stanzas 5–12, largely concentrates; see chapter 4, note 1 *supra*.

[62] In "Life of Gillis van Conincxloo," fol. 268r, Van Mander lauds the example set by Conincxloo's trees, imitation of which has caused the former dryness of Dutch painters' trees to abate.

[63] In "Life of Joachim Patenir," fol. 219r, Van Mander praises the painter for the way he combines trees with "deftly painted little figures."

[64] Citing E.M. Tillyard's classic study, *The Elizabethan World Picture* (Harmonsworth: 1966; reprint ed., 2011), Miedema, in *Karel van Mander, Grondt*, 2:557, interprets the phrase "cleen Weerelt" (little world) as a reference to the microcosm and its relation in small to the macrocosm by which it is comprised. It is important to note, however, that the moniker "little world," as applied in such texts as Raymond de Sebonde's *Theologia naturalis sive liber naturae creaturarum* (translated by Montaigne in 1569), refers not to the natural world but to man, the highest of four linked classes of being that lead from inanimate, vegetative, and sensitive to the human, and thence to the highest class, the angelic, which mediates between the human and the apex of this chain, namely, God. By contrast, Van Mander transfers the appellation "cleyn weerelt" to landscape, thus privileging *landtschap*, which now occupies the link conventionally held by *beelden*, as if to argue that the two pictorial subjects share a like significance. On humankind's place in the chain of being, see Tillyard, *Elizabethan World Picture*, 27–28. "Cleen weerelt," in its application to landscape, may also refer to the notion of the "green world," discussed by Northrop Frye, in *Anatomy of Criticism: Four Essays* (Princeton: 1957; reprint ed., 2000), 183: "green world" refers to a convincing mimetic fiction that stands proxy for the world it purports to portray but in fact epitomizes, as that world's archetype. In Frye's formulation, the term "landscape" can be substituted for "literature," as follows: "the archetypal function of literature / landscape is visualizing the world of desire, not as an escape from 'reality,' but as the genuine form of the world that human life tries to imitate." On this account, the painted world exceeds its fictional status as a mere representation of the world, instead becoming truly representative, that is, exemplary of that which it portrays.

[65] Featured in *Eclogues* 1, 3, 6, and 8, Tityrus, a goatherd, is one of Virgil's key dramatis personae; since he gives voice to much of the verse, he is often identified with Virgil himself. Amaryllis, the wayward lover of Tityrus in *Eclogue* 1, also appears in poems 2 and 3 as

the fickle paramour of Corydon and Damoetos, and in poem 8 as a caster of love spells.

[66] On Ludius, the *inventeur* (inventor) of mural landscape painting, famed during the reign of Emperor Augustus for his countryside and seaside views, and for populating them with amusing anecdotes of all kinds, see "On Ludius, Landscape Painter," in *Schilder-Boeck*, Book IV, fols. 87v–88r.

[67] On Ludius (or Studius, or again, Spurius Tadius), see Pliny, *Natural History*, trans. Rackham, 9:346–349.

[68] See *Schilder-Boeck*, Book II, fols. 87v–88r.

[69] As Miedema notes, in *Karel van Mander, Grondt*, 2:558, this line is taken directly from Du Pinet, *L'histoire du monde*, 2:632. Miedema also draws attention to the many parallels between Ludius's pictures, as described in stanzas 43–47, and those of David Vinckboons, who intersperses scenes from Scripture and peasant life throughout his landscapes drawn or painted in various media—watercolor, gouache, and oil—in a manner reminiscent of his ancient forebear; see "Life of David Vinckeboons, Painter of Mechelen," in *Schilder-Boeck*, Book IV, fol. 299r–v.

Chapter 9: "On Cattle, Animals, and Birds"

[1] Chapter 9 focuses on animals that receive special attention in Virgil's poems on pastoral labor, the *Georgics*, especially Book 3, in which the poet describes the forms and functions of cattle and horses. Van Mander had recently translated both the *Eclogues* and *Georgics*; on his *Bucolica en Georgica, dat is, Ossen-stal en Landtwerck* (Haarlem: Gillis Rooman, 1597), see L. Wood Ruby, "Sebastiaen Vrancx as Illustrator of Virgil's *Aeneid*," *Master Drawings* 28 (1990): 54–73, esp. 54, 63; J. Benjamin Schmidt, "'O Fortunate Land!' Karel van Mander, 'A West Indies Landscape,' and the Dutch Discovery of America," *New West Indian Guide/Nieuwe West-Indische Gids* 69 (1995): 5–44, esp. 27–28; and Melion, "Trope of Anthropomorphosis," 177–221.

[2] Playing upon the theme of animal husbandry, the phrase "te voorschijne teelden," in line 5, can also signify "to bring forth," "to bring to fruition," or "to propagate."

[3] On the ancient painter Dionisius Anthropographus, famed for painting human figures but deficient at every other subject, see "On Dionisius," in *Schilder-Boeck*, Book II, fol. 84v. Van Mander contrasts him with Pyreicus Rhyparographos, who painted small, keen-witted scenes of everyday life full of circumstantial detail, and Serapio, who painted theatrical scenography at very large scale; neither could portray noteworthy persons in a manner itself worthy of note. As he goes on to emphasize in stanza 2, the truly estimable *schilder* must be "practiced in all things" rather than a mere specialist, even if that specialty consists of "Beelden der Menschen" (figures of persons), the topic of chapter 4.

[4] This conception of the mutualism between horse and master, and of the reciprocal nobility they jointly express, was codified in Federico Grisone's quintessential treatise of horsemanship, *Gli ordini di cavalcare* (Naples: G. Suganappo, 1550; reprint ed., Venice: Giovanni Andrea Valuassori detto Guadagnino, 1571), on which see, E.M. Tobey, "The Legacy of Federico Grisone," in P. Edwards, K.A.E. Enenkel, and E. Graham, eds., *The Horse as Cultural Icon: The Real and the Symbolic Horse in the Early Modern World*, Intersections 18 (Leiden and Boston: 2011), 143–171. On *maneggiare* (in French, *manège*), the art of equine handling and training, Grisone states (fol. 10v): "And do not think that the horse, although he is well put-together by nature, can work well on his own, without human aid and true teaching. It is necessary to awaken the parts of his body and the hidden virtues that are within him through means of the art of riding, and through true order and good discipline his goodness will become manifest to a greater or lesser degree .... Even and regal, he becomes one with the will of the rider who sits upon him." On this passage, which affirms the nobility of the horse, construing it as subordinate not subservient to its rider, see Tobey, "Legacy of Federico Grisone," 151. In applying the *manège*, the achievement of a balanced body and mind was the aim for both horse and rider; see P.E. Cuneo, "Visual Aids: Equestrian Iconography and the Training of Horse, Rider, and Reader," in Edward, Enenkel, and Graham, eds., *The Horse as Cultural Icon*, 71–97, esp. 79. On the faithfulness of the dog and the horse, see Pliny, *Naturalis historia* VIII.lxi.142.

[5] On the hart's habit of recklessly holding its ground when sweet trumpet calls captivate it, see Van Mander, *Wtbeeldinge der figueren*, fol. 128v.

[6] Much of stanza 4 paraphrases Job 39:21–28, which praises the martial temperament of the war horse, but also contrasts the equine tractability of the horse with the obduracy of the falcon and the eagle. Cf. [*Biestkens*] *Bibel*, fol. 198v [O.T.].

[7] On the horse of Caesar, which allowed only him to mount, see ibid., VIII.lxiv.155; on the loyalty of Nicodemes's steed, see ibid., VIII.lxiv.157–158.

[8] On the horse of the king of the Scythians, which slew its master's murderer, see ibid., VIII.lxiv.156.

[9] On the suicide of Centeretus, the horse of King Antiochus, see ibid., VIII.lxiv.158.

[10] On Bucephalus, round whose tomb Alexander built a city, see ibid., VIII.lxiv.154–155.

[11] I have used the periphrasis "locked storage" to translate *cassen*, which literally means "strongboxes."

[12] On Pliny's lost book, *Use of the Javelin by Cavalry*, see ibid., VIII.lxv.162.

[13] Miedema, in *Karel van Mander, Grondt*, 2:561, plausibly suggests that this tricircular proportional schema derives from printed German model books, such as Heinrich Lautensack, *Des Circkels unnd Richtscheyts, auch der Perspectiva, and Proportion der Menschen und Rosse* (Frankfurt: Georg Rab für Sigmund Feyerabend, 1564) or Sebald Beham, *Kunst und Lehr Büchlin, Malen und Reissen zu lernen* (Frankfurt: Christian Egenolffe Erben, 1582). Van Mander may also have consulted chapters 19–21 of Lomazzo's *Trattato*, 68–74, on the bodily parts and proportions of the horse, although he states in stanza 9 that he is chiefly interested not in specific measurements but in the "circumstantial details" of equine appearance. "Bend" was a central concern of horsemen such as Grisone and his French counterpart Antoine de Pluvinel: it refers to proper curvature of the horse's body, honed by horse and rider through the training regime of the *manège*; see Tobey, "Legacy of Federico Grisone," 153. Grisone, in *Gli ordini*, fols. 13v and 14r, utilizes the printmaker's term *stampare* (print, imprint) to describe training of this sort, implicitly construing it as a form of imagemaking.

[14] Much of stanzas 10–12 paraphrases Virgil, *Georgics*, III.79–88; see Van Mander, *Bucolica en Georgica*, 122.

[15] On these colors, see Virgil, *Georgics*, III.81–83.

[16] As Miedema observes, in *Karel van Mander, Grondt*, 2:562, Van Mander, in distinguishing between Spanish, Turkish, and Neapolitan horses, may have relied upon the series *Equile Ioannis Austriaci*, engraved by Adriaen Collaert, Philips Galle, Hendrick Goltzius, and Hieronymus Wierix, and published by Galle in 1578; see M. Leesberg, comp., *The New Hollstein Dutch and Flemish Etchings, Engravings, and Woodcuts, 1450–1700: Johannes Stradanus*, ed. H. Leeflang, 3 vols. (Ouderkerk aan den Ijssel: 2008), 3:232–264.

[17] On the color "apple-gray," see Miedema, *Karel van Mander, Grondt*, 2:562, which cites Kiliaan, *Etymologicum Teutonicae linguae*, 19, "appelgrauw verwe": in Latin, "scultulatus color" (checkered color) and "pomaceus, pomulatus," i.e., "which imitates the pale color of a Cydonian apple."

[18] The image of a galloping steed's foamy traces derives from Virgil, *Georgics* III.111; see Van Mander, *Bucolica en Georgica*, 123.

[19] Taken from Valerius Maximus, *Factorum et dictorum memorabilium libri IX*, VIII.xi(2).ext. 7, this anecdote reappears in *Schilder-Boeck*, Book II, fol. 84r, where Nealces, exasperated at his inability to paint a horse's foaming mouth, inadvertently succeeds after throwing his paint-soaked sponge against his wall-painting. The anecdote, as Van Mander indicates, resembles the story of Protogenes and his painting of a dog, in ibid., fol. 82v.

[20] Whereas stanzas 42–46, on which see *infra*, exemplify how art can reproduce the appearance of nature, and *gheest* elicit a *naer t'leven* effect, this anecdote instead shows how a spontaneous event, natural in the sense of unselfconscious, can produce an effect of art. The artifice of chance, of unregulated natural forces, can be indistinguishable from the painter's high artifice, as Van Mander takes great pains to avow.

[21] As Miedema notes in *Karel van Mander, Grondt*, 2:563, Van Mander may be referring to the flecks of foam visible on the chest collars of the two horses flanking Constantine in the *Battle of the Milvian Bridge* in the Sala di Costantino.

[22] On Protogenes's picture of a dog foaming at the mouth, "painted by art and good fortune jointly," see Pliny, *Naturalis historia* XXXV.xxxvi. 102–103; and note 17 *supra*.

[23] See note 20 *supra*.

[24] On Apelles's equine competition piece, see Pliny, *Naturalis historia*, XXXV.xxxvi.96; and *Schilder-Boeck*, Book II, fol. 241v.

[25] Van Mander refers to the four bronze horses above the loggia porch of Saint Mark's Basilica in Venice, formerly part of a Neronian quadriga brought to Constantinople by Constantine the Great.

[26] Van Mander refers to the equestrian statue of Marcus Aurelius installed on the Capitol in Rome in 1538; he may have known Goltzius's drawings after it, made *naer t'leven* in Rome, one in black chalk, the other in red, on which see E. Reznicek, *Die Zeichnungen von Hendrick Goltzius*, 2 vols. (Utrecht: 1961), 1: 332, nr. 218–219; and H. Miedema, "Het voorbeeldt niet te by te hebben: Over Hendrik Goltzius' tekeningen naar de antieken," in Miedema, R.W. Scheller, and P.J.J. van Thiel, eds., *Miscellanea I.Q. van Regteren Altena. 16.v.1969* (Amsterdam: 1969), 74–78, 289–291. As Miedema mentions, in *Karel van Mander, Grondt*, 2:565, the brief epigram that closes stanza 26 previews the epigrams on Myron's heifer in stanzas 42–46.

[27] The Quirinal *Dioscuri* were formerly ascribed to Phidias and Praxiteles respectively.

[28] Van Mander's version of the ideal bull resembles the description of the quintessential steer in Charles Etienne (Kaerle Stevens) and Jan Libaut, *De Velt-bouw, oft Landt-winninghe* (Amsterdam: Michiel Colijn, 1622), 26, on which see A. Chong, "In 't verbeelden van Slachtdieren: Associaties en betekenissen, verbonden aan het Hollandse veestuk in de zeventiende eeuw," in C. Boschma et al., eds., *Meesterlijk vee: Nederlandse veeschilders, 1600–1900*, [exh. cat., Fries Museum, Leeuwaarden; Dordrechts Museum] (Zwolle and The Hague: 1988), 56–86, esp. 63, 83 n. 18. First published as *Praedium rusticum* (Paris: Charles Estienne, 1554), Estienne's text was translated by Libaut in 1566; numerous editions followed the first Amsterdam printing of 1588.

[29] The Mantuan is Virgil, who describes the paradigmatic cow in *Georgics* III. 51–59; see Van Mander, *Bucolica en Georgica*, 121. On Van Mander's use of the *Georgics*, see Chong, "In 't verbeelden," 63. Interpolated into the Virgilian paraphrase, the reference to cultivating a breed of cow encapsulates *Georgics* III.69: "Ever will there be some kine whose mould you would wish to change."

[30] Van Mander paraphrases Aristotle, *Physiognomica* V.809a–b, on the tamer, gentler, and more slender disposition of female animals.

[31] The Latinate verbal noun *speculeren* (speculation, contemplation) derives from the Latin deponent verb *speculari*, for which the *Dictionarium tetraglotton*, fol. 285v, provides the cognates "wachten, bespieden" (attend, descry, observe). A related term is *spectare*, "to look at or observe certainly and attentively" ("vastelick ende aendachtelick aensien oft aenschouwen"). Kiliaan, *Etymologicum Theutonicae linguae*, 42, connects *bespieden* and *speculari*, and adds the verbs *explorare* (to explore, investigate), *dispicere* (to descry, discern), *observare* (to observe), *insidiari* (to watch for, turn to one's advantage), and *insidere* (to seize upon, take possession of) as analogues. Kiliaan associates the term *spieden* (511) with *speculari*, *explorare*, *sciscitari* (examine, investigate), *indagare* (search into), and *inquirere* (inquire into). Another allied term is *beschowuen*, which signifies *contemplari* (to contemplate), *intueri* (to behold), *lustrare* (to survey, observe, examine), and, of course, *speculari*. These linked constellations of terms turn on the notion that speculation / contemplation involves close observation of some object of sight, which through watchful examination is claimed for the beholder's use. Stanza 34 goes on to link *speculeren* with the portrayal of the various colors of cattle after the life. On the roots of *speculation* in contemplative practices of devotion whereby the sense of sight is mobilized for the purpose of knowing God, see J. Hamburger, "Speculations on Speculation: Vision and Perception in the Theory and Practice of Mystical Devotion," in W. Haug and W. Schneider-Lastin, eds., *Deutsche Mystik im abendländischen Zusammenhang: neu erschlossene Texte, neue methodische Ansätze, neue theoretische Konzepte* (Tübingen: 2000), 353–408.

[32] Van Mander here states the obvious: it is possible to paint ill-proportioned animals after the life, so, the painter should avoid them, instead focusing on cattle fine of form and color. The graceful appearance of such animals is produced *nae*[*r*] *t'leven*.

[33] See, for example, the reference to the four bronze horses of St. Mark's and the *Dioscuri* of Phidias and Praxiteles, in stanzas 26–27 *supra*. That chapter 9 closes with a cluster of ekphrastic epigrams on yet another work of sculpture, Myron's famous heifer, reveals the degree to which Van Mander, his deprecatory remark about sculpture aside, relies upon ekphrases to generate *pictorial* paradigms. It is as if ekphrasis has the power to convert anything it describes into a picture suitable for painting. On Jacopo Bassano's exceptional ability to paint animals and their coats of fur, see "On Jacopo Bassano," in *Schilder-Boeck*, Book III, fol. 180r: "And he had a distinctive, particular manner of fashioning beasts, horses, dogs, sheep, and suchlike, with exceptionally fine and very subtle locks: the young sheep and lambkins so soft and downy that it seemed, were the hand to stroke them, one would feel nothing but fleece; also taking care to observe their ringlets and strands, such as was a wonder to see." In singing the praises of Bassano's depiction of fur and hide, Van Mander extends his prior eulogy of the still-life elements, such as lustrous copper and metal pots and kettles, in his Annunciation scenes.

[34] On the foreshortened ox of Pausias, the precise length and breadth of which could be discerned head-on, see "On Pausias," in *Schilder-Boeck*, Book II, fol. 73r–v.

[35] On the *Diana*, the *Callisto*, and the *Io* of Nicias, and on his exceptional skill at portraying four-footed animals of all kinds, including the famous *Bull* of Marathon, see "On Nicias," in ibid., fol. 74v.

[36] On *Zetus, Amphion, Dirce, and the Bull*, sculpted by Apollonius and Tauriscus, see Pliny, *Naturalis historia* XXXVI.34. Van Mander accepts the identification of the *Farnese Bull* with the sculptural group described by Pliny, who states, in *Natural History*, trans. Eichholz, 10:27, that the ardent enthusiast Asinius Pollio acquired it for his collection in Rome.

[37] The twelve epigrams enumerated in stanzas 32–46 are closely based on "Traduction de quelques épigrammes grec, sur la *Jenisse d'aerain* de Myron, excellentement bien gravée," in Pierre Ronsard, *Continuation des Amours* (Paris: Vincent Certenas, 1555), 53–55, selected by Ronsard from the first sequence of thirty epigrams on Myron's heifer, in *The Greek Anthology*, 5 vols. (London: 1948), trans. W.R. Paton III, 3:392–403, epigrams 713–742; an additional sequence

of six completes the set of thirty-six in toto (428–431, epigrams 793–798). On Van Mander's compressed sequence of ekphrastic epigrams, see section five of my "Introduction," *supra*. On the ekphrastic form and function of the epigrams on Myron's heifer in the *Greek Anthology*, and the interpretative significance of their presentation in an anthology, see M. Squire, "Making Myron's Cow Moo? Ecphrastic Epigram and the Poetics of Simulation," *American Journal of Philology* 131 (2010): 589–634, esp. 612–616.

Chapter 10: "On Fabrics or Drapery"

[1] I translate *Laken* as "stuffs" when Van Mander's emphasis appears to fall on materials—weight, density, texture—but as "fabrics" when the emphasis shifts to the function of these materials as clothing. These are merely inflections of the same word, however, rather than categorical distinctions. Very occasionally, as in stanzas 28 and 29, where the reference is clearly to the movement of cloth, I translate *Laken* as "drapery." Depending on context, *laken* could specifically signify "wool," as was the case in Leiden where *laken* referred to pure wool, on which usage see L.A. Stone-Ferrier, *Images of Textiles: The Weave of Seventeenth-Century Dutch Art and Society*, Studies in the Fine Arts: Art Patronage 4 (Ann Arbor: 1985), 1–40.

[2] For his conception of the antipodes and their shame-free inhabitants, Van Mander drew on Pedro Mexía and Girolamo Benzoni; see Mexía, *De verscheyden lessen*, 705, and Ieronimus Benzonius, *De historie, van de nieuwe weerelt, te weten, de beschrijvinghe van West-Indien* (Haarlem: Paschier van Wesbus, 1610), 23. Van Mander associates the antipodes with the kingdom of Saturn, which he construes, in *Wtlegghingh*, fol. 3v, as a synonym for the "Golden Age." These indigenous peoples, he thus implies, live a "peaceable, tranquil, happy life" under the rule of "upright, wise" leaders, or rather, lived such a life before the incursions of their latter-day Spanish overlords.

[3] See *Grondt*, chapter 14, stanza 28.

[4] As Miedema points out, in *Karel van Mander, Grondt*, 2:573, the association of the color gray with common folk had already been codified in Kiliaan, *Etymologicum Teutonicae linguae*, 159, where *grauw* is defined both as "ash-gray" (*leucopaeat*[*us*]) and as "rabble, lees/dregs

of the people," "people of slender means/poorer fortune" ("popellus, faex plebis, tenuioris fortunae vulgus").

[5] On the legendary weaver Arachne, discoverer of spun linen, see *Wtlegghingh*, fol. 49r.

[6] The term *saeye* is defined in *Thesaurus Theutonicae linguae* fol. x2 recto, both as *sarge* (serge) and *sayette* (a blend of silk and wool); in English, it might also be translated "say." On Dutch and Flemish production of say, see Stone-Ferrier, *Images of Textiles*, 23–29.

[7] On the workshop practice of draping damp paper on manikins to study fold patterns and their lighting and modeling, see Miedema, *Karel van Mander, Grondt*, 2:574.

[8] As Van Mander declares in "Life of Albrecht Dürer, excellent Painter, Engraver, and Architect of Nuremberg," in *Schilder-Boeck*, Book IV, fol. 208r, Dürer's ability to describe the texture and drape of woven cloth, like his mastery of ordonnance and figural disposition, is remarkable for appearing jointly to derive from close imitation of nature *and* from creative invention ("uyt der Natuer, oft als uyt zijn selven"): "It is very much to be admired how he brought forth or discovered out of Nature so many properties of our art, as if from out of himself, both with regard to felicity of figural action and to ordonnance, and also to evenness and beauty of the fabrics, observable in his last Marian images, where one sees a fine nobility of attitude, and, in the rich draperies, great expanses of bright light beside praiseworthy shadows and a few deep darks." Fabrics and draperies, then, testify to the singular finesse with which Dürer reconciles nature and art, fabricating *lakenen* that seem accurately lifelike. This reference to Dürer anticipates the discussion, in stanza 8, of the complementary relation between portraying fabrics *naer t'leven* and depicting them *uyt den gheest*.

[9] "Fijn dwadighe doecken" (finely spun / finely threaded cloth) would include fabrics such as silk, satin, and velvet, on the relatively wide availability of which amongst "urban middling groups" and "wealthier families of merchants, innkeepers, and thriving craftsmen," see I. Sturtewagen, "Clothing Rubens's Antwerp: Everyday Urban Dress in the Late Sixteenth and Early Seventeenth Centuries," in A.D Newman and L. Nijkamp, eds., *Undressing Rubens: Fashion and Painting in Seventeenth-Century Antwerp* (London and Turnhout: 2019) 7–30, esp. 22–27.

[10] On the exceptionally well painted "fabrics and folded draperies" ("lakenen, en ghecrockte doecxkens") in a *Deposition* by Jan Gossart, and on the "lustrous blue" mantle in a Marian image made for the Marquis of Veere, so fine in coloring it still looked "freshly painted / woven" ("schoon, oft versch ghedaen"), see "Life of Jan de Mabuse, Painter," in *Schilder-Boeck*, Book IV, fol. 225v. The term *schoon* signifies *mundus* (fine, elegant) or *nitidus* (lustrous, shining).

[11] The erratum changes "Grauw laken" (gray stuffs, fabrics) to "Grover laken" (rough stuffs, fabrics).

[12] On Lucas's prints, in which "one sees varieties of faces and clothing after the old manner, hats, caps, and veils, every one unlike every other," see "Life of Lucas van Leyden," in ibid., fol. 212r, where Van Mander also praises the large engraved *Ecce Homo* for its figures costumed in the "finery of various peoples" ("versieringhe der cleedingen van verscheyden volcken"). Van Mander states that Italian masters borrowed profitably from such works. For an extended digression on the vagaries of modern fashion—French, Italian, Spanish, and Dutch—which particularly deform the female body, squeezing it into pinched bodices and inflating it at the hips with "cach'enfants," see "Life of Lucas de Heere, Painter and Poet of Ghent," in ibid., fols. 255v–256r. Van Mander exonerates the Germans and the Swiss, whom he characterizes as content to remain clothed in their old-fashioned *broeck / bruyck* (breeches / customs). The pun associates customary dress with customary morals, although Van Mander wittily credits these views to Elizabeth I of England, herself a legendary clothes horse.

[13] On Lucas's continual habit of "drawing everything after the life—faces, hands, feet, houses, landscape, and every manner of fabric," see "Life of Lucas van Leyden," in ibid., fol. 211v. Miedema, in *Karel van Mander*, Grondt, 2:575, plausibly suggests that the "someone" mentioned in stanza 8 may be Dürer, on whose meeting with Lucas and admiration for him, see "Life of Albrecht Dürer," in *Schilder-Boeck*, Book IV, fol. 209v; on their mutual portraits after each other, drawn during Dürer's visit to Holland, see "Life of Lucas van Leyden," in ibid., fol. 212v.

[14] This gloss looks backs to Van Mander's remarks about the depiction of leaves and hair, in chapter 8, stanzas 36 and 37, on which see note 54 *supra*. Kiliaan, *Etymologicum Theutonica linguae*, 148,

gives *aerdigh* (subtle, artful) as one of the meanings of *gheestigh*, which also comprises "ingeniosus, solers, argutus" (ingenious, cleverly skillful, sharp-witted). In *Thesaurus Theutonicae linguae*, fol. P3 recto, *geestich* is defined as "qui a de l'esprit" (he who/that which has spirit/is spirited) and as "promptus ingenio, acris ingenij vir" (of ready wit, a man of keen wit). Stanza 8 in conjunction with its two glosses asserts that varieties of fabric and stuffs, though one learns to portray them *nae*[*r*] *t'leven*, are best depicted *uyt den gheest*, i.e., from "spirited conjecture" ("gheestich soecken") and "clever invention" ("versierich vinden"). This is true, too, of foliage and hair, and presumably also of skies, as Van Mander argues in chapter 8, but more than they, fabrics and drapery are sourced from *gheest*, yet produce a descriptive effect of *leven*.

[15] An alternative translation of "gheestich soecken, jae versierich vinden," in line 7, would be "spirited discovery, yes a clever devising / contriving."

[16] The seven types of motion exemplified by the human figure and by landscape (respectively see chapter 5, stanzas 4–5, chapter 8, stanza 25, and chapter 5, notes 8 and 30 *supra* and chapter 8, notes 27 and 39 *supra*), are now seen to apply also to drapery.

[17] Van. Mander's term for harshness, *hardicheyt*, more literally translates as "hardness."

[18] The comparison between furcation and fold patterns derives from Rivius, *Der furnembsten … Künst, eygentlicher Bericht*, fol. ccc3r; and Alberti, *De pictura*, trans. Sinisgalli, 67.

[19] On Aldegrever's otherwise praiseworthy prints featuring "exotic costumes" ("vreemde cleedinghen") that drape confusedly with an overabundance of "creases and folds" ("kroken en vouwen"), see "Life of Aldegrever, Painter and Engraver of Soest," in *Schilder-Boeck*, Book IV, fol. 227v.

[20] On these Marian images, see note 8 *supra*.

[21] On Dürer's prints as models of ordonnance and drapery, much emulated by the Italians, see "Life of Albrecht Dürer," in ibid., fol. 208r. On Lucas's prints as models for the Italians, who emulate his artful drapery and *tronien* (faces), introducing only minor variations,

see "Life of Lucas van Leyden," in ibid., fol. 212r. Stanza 15 implies that the Italians have failed fully to acknowledge their debts to Lucas and Dürer.

[22] Kiliaan, *Etymologicum Theutonicae linguae*, 492, defines *sleur* (*sloer*) as *tractus* (a train, track, or course drawn, pulled, or stretched); with reference to the notion of a "track or course drawn or pulled" across/through something, an alternative translation might be "hollows." A related term, *syrma*, designates an item of clothing with a long train. In "Life of Antonio of Correggio," in *Schilder-Boeck*, Book III, fol. 116r, Van Mander praises the painter's drapery for its "schoon sloeren en swieringen" (fine trailing and turning, or alternatively, fine hollows and curves). Kiliaan, *Etymologicum*, 546, defines *swier* as *gyrus* (circle, circuit) and *circumvolutio* (circling, turning round).

[23] On the *Worldly Life of the Magdalene*, *Triumph of Mordecai*, and *Temptation of Christ*, see Vogelaar et al., *Lucas van Leyden en de Renaissance*, 264, 252; and J.P. Filedt Kok, *The Hew Hollstein Dutch and Flemish Etchings, Engravings, and Woodcuts 1450–1700: Lucas van Leyden*, ed. G. Luijten (Rotterdam and Amsterdam: 1997), 69, nr. 41.

[24] On Lucas's "animated and flowing draperies, as considered as they are artful" ("drijvende en vloeyende lakenen soo verstandich als constich"), see "Life of Lucas van Leyden," in *Schilder-Boeck*, Book IV, fol. 212r.

[25] A commonplace for emulative imitation, the trope of bees that suck nectar, converting it into honey, derives from Seneca the Younger's *Epistle LXXXIV*; see Seneca, *Epistles*, trans. R.M. Gummere, 3 vols. (Cambridge, MA: 1917), 2:276–285, esp. 276–281. It may be significant that Van Mander identifies Lucas's prints not merely as nectar, which the bee must transform into honey, but as themselves a honeyed source, thus implying that his draperies brook no adjustments: perfect in themselves, they require only to be imitated.

[26] A more literal translation of "weerschijnsels verscheyden" (various lustrous stuffs) would be "various re-reflections," i.e., the caroming of light from fold to fold.

[27] Lodovico Dolce, in *L'Aretino*, his treatise on the distinctive qualities of Venetian *colorito* (coloring and its constituent elements, i.e., hue,

tone, and brushwork), considers drapery—its color, weave, weight, and texture—one of the greatest difficulties of art, second only to the description of human flesh. Van Mander subscribes to the view that the Venetians are chiefly masters at painting changeant and compound silks, i.e., silks that combine various weaves, threads, and heights of pile, such as lampas, damask, and figured velvet (and presumably also cloth of gold). See *L'Aretino, ovvero Dialogo della pittura di Lodovico Dolce*, ed. C. Téoli (Milan: 1863), 67; M.W. Roskill, ed. and trans., *Dolce's "Aretino" and Venetian Art Theory of the Cinquecento*, Monographs on Archaeology and the Fine Arts 15 (New York: 1968), 154–155; and *Aretin: A Dialogue on Painting, from the Italian of Lodovico Dolce*, trans. W. Brown (London: P. Elmsley, 1770), 158–159: "It is also necessary to know the colour of the draperies, silks, gold, etc. with such precision, that one may seem to see the hardness or softness more or less, according to the nature of the stuff … that they may all appear natural, and not satiate the eyes of the spectator. And let no one think the force of colouring consists in the choice of beautiful colours; as fine whites, beautiful azures, greens, or the like, for these are equally beautiful before they are made use of; but in knowing how to manage them properly." Also see Roskill, ed. and trans., *Dolce's "Aretino*," 150–151: "Where clothes are concerned, the painter should also pay attention to the matter of quality; for velvet and watered silk, a fine linen and a coarse cloth, all produce folds of different kinds." On Van Mander's close study of Dolce's *L'Aretino*, see W.S. Melion, "Karel van Mander et les origines du discours historique sur l'art dans les Pays-Bas au XVIIe siècle," in E. Pommier, ed., *Histoire de l'histoire de l'art de l'Antiquité au XVIIIe siècle* (Paris: 1996), 1–49.

[28] Miedema astutely observes, in *Karel van Mander, Grondt*, 2: 578, that Van Mander's closing remark about adjacent colors, though it derives from Vasari, *Vite*, ed. Milanesi, 1:49, changes Vasari's meaning: instead of focusing on textile colors that enhance the color of flesh when placed beside it, Van Mander lists various colors (and shades of color) suitable for depicting effects of shot silk. Stanza 19 then offers specifics about some of these color combinations, pairings that best describe the reflective properties of cloth. At issue, then, as the first marginal gloss to stanza 19 clearly states, is the application of *relfexy-const* to the depiction of draperies. On color combinations that best describe the appearance of changeant fabrics in light and shade, see Berger, ed., *Quellen für Maltechnik*, 286–287.

[29] Van Mander is finishing the thought launched at the end of stanza 18.

[30] In fact, Van Mander uses the term *weerschijnen* (re-reflections) to indicate that he is talking about the way light, when it strikes lustrous folded silk, resonates from surface to surface. On *weerschijn*, see chapter 5, note 1 *supra*.

[31] *Lac* (lake) is the term for various shades of red pigment: if made from lac or kermes, it tends to have a purple cast; if made from cochineal, it is a redder carmine; see Harley, *Artist's Pigments*, 131–138. As Harley notes (131), unless the pigment is identified by its source-name, the raw material used in its manufacture is almost impossible to determine; also see D.V. Thompson, *The Materials of Medieval Painting* (London: 1936), 111; and Van Eikema Hommes, *Changing Pictures*, 13, 26, 28.

[32] *Lichte blaeuwen* (light blues) probably refers to blue made from azurite, smalt, or ultramarine; that the next line begins with a reference to smalt may indicate that this is the pigment Van Mander has in mind here.

[33] *Smalt* (smalt) is the term for a blue pigment, often with a slight purple cast, made from oxidized cobalt ore mixed with silica; see Harley, *Artist's Pigments*, 53–56; and Van Eikema Hommes, *Changing Pictures*, 18, 22, 30, 39.

[34] *Lacke witten* (lake whites) may be the term for a range of pigments now known as rose pink or light red, made from various organic materials, such as buckthorn berries, broom, or weld; see Harley, *Artist's Pigments*, 107–112

[35] *Masticot* (massicot) is the term for a lead-based yellow pigment, generally lead-tin or, occasionally, lead monoxide; see ibid., 95–96; and Van Eikema Hommes, *Changing Pictures*, 30, 77.

[36] *Groen* (green) probably refers to verdigris, a copper-based pigment used for glazing; however, Van Mander may mean a green mixed from yellow (lead-tin yellow or yellow lake) and blue pigments (azurite, smalt, or ultramarine); see Harley, *Artist's Pigments*, 80–83; and Van Eikema Hommes, *Changing Pictures*, 78–80.

[37] *Schiet-geel* (yellow lake) is a lake pigment of yellow or pink-yellow color, made from various organic yellow dyes, such as tincture of broom; see Harley, *Artist's Pigments*, 111–112; and Van Eikema Hommes, *Changing Pictures*, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 35, 36, 70, 77.

[38] The term *graeuwen* (grayish tints), as Miedema surmises in *Karel van Mander, Grondt*, 2:579, most likely refers to half-tints, i.e., colors intermediate between the brightest lights and deepest shadows.

[39] In the "Life of Brother Filippo Lippi, Florentine Painter," in *Schilder-Boeck*, Book II, fol. 103v, Van Mander praises Lippi for the "astonishingly beautiful folds" ("wonder schoon ployen") that crease the monks' cowls in his *Death of St. Bernard*, painted for a patron in Prato (Germiniano Inghirami); see Miedeman, *Karel van Mander, Grondt*, 2: 579.

[40] In the "Life of Frans Badens" in *Schilder-Boeck*, Book IV, fol. 298v, Van Mander commends the painter for his skilled depiction of "nocturnal banquet scenes and masquerades" populated by revelers in "modern and up-to-date costumes" ("oock veel bancketten, en Mascaraden op den nacht, en op zijn Moderne, oft dees-tijtsche wijse van cleedinghe, daer hy seer fraey van in"). Miedema, in *Karel van Mander, Grondt*, 2: 579, notes that Van Mander, in ibid., fol. 223v, approves Holbein's prints of *David and Abisag* and *Solomon with the Hiram's Emissary* from the *Icones* (1538) for their portrayal of David and Solomon in "rich, regal robes," i.e., in the modern manner, rather than "draped round with a blanket in the Antique manner, [and] with arms bared, made to look impoverished" ("niet met naeckte armen, met een deken om oft ghelijck men die op zijn Antijcksche soo beroyt"),

[41] Van Mander's use of the term *raept* (seize) hearkens back to *Grondt*, chapter 1, stanza 46, where he counsels the aspiring draughtsman to play the part of *Rapiamus*, seizing upon the body's various parts and combining them into a well-cooked stew—a figure whose limbs are consonant rather than disparate. Here, in chapter 10, the emphasis falls not on harmonizing various kinds of cloth, drapery, and patterns of fold but on sampling a wide range of types and aggregating them into mixtures and combinations (*verminghen*), almost as if assembling a patchwork garment.

[42] For a complex example of single- and double-glazing used to describe the textural and coloristic properties of double-pile red brocade, see M. Gifford, "Van Eyck's Washington Annunciation: Technical Evidence for Iconographic Development," *Art Bulletin* 81.1 (1999): 108–116, esp. 108. To describe Gabriel's cope of velvet and cloth-of-gold, Van Eyck applied a red lake glaze deepened with black, over a preliminary layer of vermilion; he then added a second layer of glaze to distinguish the raised tufts of double-pile at the center of the crimson florets. Moreover, a copper-green glaze intensifies the green velvet color of Gabriel's dalmatic; see ibid., 116 n. 5.

[43] Jan van Eyck's *Virgin and Child with the Chancellor Nicholas Rolin* (ca. 1435) provides an example of such a technique, in which a layer of opaque brown paint describes the velvet of Rolin's houppelande, its bouclé wefts highlighted with thin strokes of bright yellow; see L. Monnas, *Merchants, Princes, and Painters: Silk Fabrics in Italian and Northern Paintings, 1300–1550* (New Haven and London: 2008), 110–116; as Monnas points out, Van Eyck tends to paint gold weft threads diagonally, i.e., not as they are actually woven (vertically) but as they appear when seen by an eye attentive to their reflective properties. On Van Mander's "reverse procedure," see Van Eikema Hommes, *Changing Pictures*, 13.

[44] On the different modes of painting used by Raphael to depict textural effects—simplified in altarpieces such as the *Saint* Cecilia, detailed and more pronounced in small devotional works painted for a domestic setting—see R. Duits, *Gold Brocade and Renaissance Painting: A Study in Material Culture* (London: 2008), 239–240. On the "simplicity and dignity" ("simpelheyt en eerbaerheyt") of Mary's clothing in the *Madonna dell'Impannata*, see "Life of Raphael Sanzio of Urbino, Painter and Architect," in *Schilder-Boeck*, Book III, fol. 120r; and, on the rich fabrics in Raphael's *Portrait of Leo X with Two Cardinals*, especially the "natural velvet[s], pelts, and damasks" ("fluweel, vellen en damast") and the "gold and silk, the whole of which rustles, gleams, and resonates" ("goudt en sijde, dat het al ruyscht, blickt en clinckt"), see ibid.; also worthy of note, he continues, is the cloth of gold hung upon the papal chair, wherein flickers the light re-reflected from the pope's garment, the light of a window, and the image of the room in which he sits ("daer men in siet vlickeren het weerschijn van des Paus cleedt, t'licht van de venster, end de ghedaente van de Camer"). Like much of Book III, the "Life of Raphael" was distilled and redacted from the 1568 edition of Vasari's *Vite*. On Van Man-

der's insertions and adjustments, see H. Miedema, *Karel van Manders Leven der modern, oft dees-tijtsche doorluchtighe Italiaensche schilders en hun bron: een vergelijking tussen van Mander en Vasari* (Alpen aan den Rijn: 1984), 5–21, esp. 19–21; and S. Cohen-Willner, "'Between painter and painter stands a tall mountain': Van Mander's *Italian Lives* as a Source for Instructing Artists in the *deelen der consten*," in F. Scholten et al., eds., *Art and Migration: Netherlandish Artists on the Move, 1400–1750* (Leiden and Boston: 2014), 348–383. In addition to selecting excerpts from the *Vite*, Van Mander composed and interpolated seven new chapters—the lives of Jacopo Basano, Federico Zuccaro, Federico Barocci, Jacopo Palma Giovane, Giuseppe Cesari Cavalier d'Arpino, Italian masters active in Rome during Van Mander's extended stay (1573–1577), and Italian masters active in Rome ca. 1603—on which, see Noe, *Carel van Mander en Italië*, 208–324; and P. Taylor, "Introduction," in P. Arblaster, trans., "Excerpts of the 'Lives of Italian Artists' from the *Book of Painters*," *Art in Translation* 6.3 (2014): 245–270.

[45] Van Mander, finishing the thought launched at the end of stanza 24, implies that Michelangelo, in the *Moses* and elsewhere, diverges from nature when he allows deep drapery folds to cut across body parts, such as knees and thighs, ostensibly projecting outward. However, in "Life of Michelangelo, Florentine Painter, Sculptor, and Architect," in *Schilder-Boeck*, Book IV, fol. 166r, he lauds the *Moses* for its exceptionally artful drapery ("untnemende Const").

[46] In "Life of Titian Vecellio, of Cadore, Painter," in *Schilder-Boeck*, Book III, fol. 174v, Van Mander states that from an early age, in paintings imitating the manner of Giorgione, Titian showed his mastery of "costumes and silks, fashioned livingly" ("cleederen en sijden, seer levende ghedaen"). Amongst the woodblock prints made at Titian's behest after his paintings, Van Mander adduces two in particular: *Triumph of the Faith* (fol. 175r) and *Virgin and Child with Saints Nicholas, Francis, Catherine, and Sebastian* (fol. 175v), both of which feature varieties of fabric and drapery.

[47] In "Life of Andrea del Sarto, Excellent Florentine Painter," in ibid., fols. 124r, 125r, 125v, 126v, Van Mander adduces many examples of expertly painted fabrics: the clothing of Saint Anne's attendants dressed in the modern manner in *Nativity of the Virgin* (Chiostro dei Voti, Santissima Annunziata), the Magdalene's fine drapery in *Disputation on the Trinity* (San Gallo), the strip of finely folded cloth on

which Jesus lies in *Mary, Joseph, and John the Baptist Contemplate the Boy Christ*, and the costume of Abraham in *Sacrifice of Isaac*.

[48] In "Life of Jacopo Tintoretto, Venetian Painter," in ibid., fol. 178v, Van Mander speaks highly of the many circumstantial details that enrich such paintings as the *Miracle of St. Mark* in the Scuola di San Marco, but specifically mentions neither fabrics nor drapery.

[49] In "Life of Paolo Caliari, Painter of Verona," in ibid., fols. 179v–180r, Van Mander frequently commends his well-painted stuffs, citing amongst other examples the "fine silk fabrics, portrayed very naturally" ("seer fraeye sijden lakenen, seer natuerlijck uytgebeeldt") in his *Altarpiece of the Mystical Marriage of St. Catherine*. He returns to this theme in the "Life of Hendrick Goltzius," in ibid., fol. 285v, where he states that Goltzius returned from Italy with Veronese's "fine silks and well-painted stuffs" ("schoon sijdekens en wel gheschilderde dinghen") "imprinted in his memory, as if in a mirror."

[50] In "Life of Federico Zuccaro, Painter from San Agnolo in Vado," in ibid., fols. 185v–186r, Van Mander praises the "fine draperies" ("schoon Lakenen") in Federico's *Annunciation with Prophets of the Mystery of the Incarnation*, formerly in the Jesuit church of the Collegio Romano, Rome; as proof, he cites Cornelis Cort's print of 1571, after the fresco. He also says that Federico later retouched the fresco, glazing the original layer of water-based earth pigments (*terra rosa* and *terra verde*) with red lake and azure green respectively ("Lacke … Asuyr groen"). In "Life of Taddeo Zuccaro, Painter from San Agnolo in Vado," Van Mander characterizes the artist's manner as "sweetly tender / supple" ("soete poeselig"), calling his "faces, hair, hands, and nudes" "very skillful" ("seer aerdigh"), but does not comment on his draperies.

[51] In "Life of Federico Barocci, excellent Painter of Urbino," in ibid., fol. 187v, Van Mander praises Barocci's "flowing and spirited" ("vloeyende en geestich") draperies, which he further characterizes as "unruffled" (*vlack*), "neither inept nor confused in their folds and wrinkles" ("niet onverstandich, noch confuys in vouwen en kreucken"), and "made with good judgment very attentive to life" ("gebruyckende met goet opmerckigh oordeel veel het leven"). He also states that Barocci, who placed a premium on "flowing brushwork" ("schilderen seer vloeyende"), avoided sharply delineated contours, painting across borders to unify garments with the adjacent ground ("hy de

boorden der Lakenen op den gront liggende oock niet onverdreven liet") (fol. 186v).

[52] The term *pinsueren*, in line 5, which I have translated as "ridged folds," most likely derives from the nouns *poyntsoen* and *poentsoen* (needle, pin); it would seem generally to refer to point work and may have the more specific connotations of pintucking or stitched-in pleats; see Kiliaan, *Etymologicum Teutonicae linguae*, 410.

[53] Miedema plausibly suggests that Van Mander has in mind such statues as the Vatican *Ariadne* (then known as *Cleopatra*); see Miedema, *Karel van Mander, Grondt*, 2:582.

[54] Miedema, in ibid., conjectures that Van Mander may be referring to the two *Maenads*, formerly on display in the Palazzo Farnese, both of which are carved from a dark stone that resembles bronze. On the "upper gallery," probably the loggia mentioned by Vasari in *Vite*, ed. Milanesi, 7:222–223, see ibid.

[55] Van Mander refers to the *Flora Farnese*, now in the Museo Nazionale, Naples.

[56] See Rivius, *Der furnembsten … Künst, eygentlicher Bericht*, fol. ccc3r; and Alberti, *De pictura*, trans. Sinisgalli, 66.

[57] Van Mander's invokes *Geest*, circling back to his reference to "spirited conjecture" in stanza 8, on which see note 14 *supra*.

[58] See Rivius, *Der furnembsten … Künst, eygentlicher Bericht*, fol. ccc3r; and Alberti, *De pictura*, trans. Sinisgalli, 66.

[59] On Apelles, son of Pythius, whose paintings were esteemed for their singular quality of "loveliness" (*Venus*), called *Charis* (grace) by the Greeks, see "On Apelles, Prince of Painters," in *Schilder-Boeck*, Book 4, fol. 77r. Van Mander capitalizes "Venus" and "Charis," thus implying that the goddesses of Beauty and Grace themselves inhabit Apelles's paintings, like tutelary *genii loci*. In stanza 30, he invokes the *Charites* (Three Graces), urging painters to let them preside over pictures in which drapery is seen to flutter with consummate grace.

[60] The context in which the term *idee* (idea) is invoked, a chapter on the depiction of fabrics and drapery, makes clear that it refers not to the Platonic doctrine of ideal Form but to the Aristotelian notion

that mimetic form expresses that which one knows about the object of imitation; such knowledge, though it resides in the inferior parts of universal reason, arises from the particular reason and its parts, i.e., from sensation, especially from the images produced by vision and stored in the memory. On this conception of the Idea, which underlies Vasari's understanding of *Disegno* as a principle of universal reason and licenses its connection to *disegno* as the manual practice of drawing, see Barzman, *The Florentine Academy*, 145–151; also see E. Panofsky, *Idea: A Concept in Art Theory* (Columbia, SC: 1968), 60–68. Van Mander underscores the connection between *idee* and the imaginative, mnemonic, and manual functions of image-making by stating in the second marginal gloss to stanza 30 that "idea" signifies "imagination" (*imaginaty*) and "memory" (*ghedacht*). The representation of drapery, like the portrayal of leaves, hair, and sky, thus occurs at the threshold between the universal and the particular reason.

[61] On ivy, sacred to Bacchus, and on the Bacchantes who dance and spring in eager service to their god, see "On Bacchus, or Dionysus," in *Wtlegghingh*, fol. 25r–v.

[62] Cf. the famous closing line of Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, 11.875 (trans. Miller, 120–121): "tremulae sinuantur flamine vestes" (And her fluttering garments stream behind her in the wind).

[63] Van Mander issues yet another ekphrastic call to arms.

[64] Van Mander refers to polychrome silk damasks woven from warps and ground wefts of contrasting colors, on which see Monnas, *Merchants, Princes, and Painters*, 295–296; damasks of this sort could also be brocaded. The reversible weave of these figured textiles would have enhanced the effect of varied color patterns.

Chapter 11: "On Sorting, and combining Colors"

[1] In conjunction with the collateral reference to *sorteren* (sorting) in line 4, the term *schackieren* (apportion) indicates that the distributed colors will be clearly demarcated; Kiliaan, *Etymologicum Teutonicae linguae*, 453, gives *variegare* (variegate), *alternare* (alternate), and *variare* (vary) as cognates, adding the more colloquial *scacare* (to chequer, to reticulate into squares, as on a chessboard). Van Man-

der has in mind the apportionment of colors on a painter's palette as this relates to the perspicuous disposition of adjacent colors in a painting. De Mayerne provides various schemes for laying out a palette calibrated to specific descriptive tasks, e.g., for the painting of a nude, in the extensive manuscript notes he compiled on pictorial materials and practices, dated 1620; see *Pictorja, sculptorja*, 260–261, 288–291, and chapter 8, note 8 *supra*. The simplest of De Mayerne's diagrams identifies the sequence from arm rest to thumb hole as "white, vermilion, lake, yellow earth ocher, yellow lake, brown-red, ivory black, and lamp black," on which see Kern, "Van Hoogstraeten and the Cartesian Rainbow," 109–110. As Van Mander's marginal note on color combination declares, adjacency of hue is his subject here. The final line of stanza 1 clarifies the connection between chapters 10 and 11: the "sorting and combining colors" of *laken* (stuffs) is his chief concern.

[2] Stanzas 2 and 3 recount the story of the ancient painter Pausias and his beloved Glycera, another version of which appears in "On Pausias, Painter of Sicyon," in *Schilder-Boeck*, Book 2, fol. 73r. There we learn that Pausias became enamored of the inventive variety of Glycera's bouquets, chaplets, and wreaths, whose miscellaneous blooms she assembled with such subtle art ("seer aerdigh was, en thien duysent invention hadde"). Her multiplicitous color combinations ("soo menichvuldich de byeenvoeginghen der verwen") inspire him to keep apace by replicating in paint, after the life ("conterfeyten nae t'leven"), what she achieved by manipulating the colors of nature ("met haer bloemen te vermenghen"), pitting his artifice against her natural art ("het natuerlijck werck van Glycera, tegen de Const van den Schilder Pausias"). Only after painting the *Stephanoplocos*, his celebrated portrait of Glycera plaiting her wreaths, does Pausias finally win the contest, having turned her floral devices, epitomes of nature's artifice, into his true objects of imitation. The inclusion of Glycera implicitly previews a pair of new topics—the painting of flesh tints and the color mixtures upon which such tints are based—to be treated in chapter 12. Van Mander drives home his point about the power of erotic desire to supercharge mimetic feats of daring in stanza 3, where he analogizes Glycera's color combinations and Pausias's imitations of them to congress, compares his portrait painting to ploughing, and avows the "utmost pleasure" he derived from painting the *Stephanoplocos*.

Stanzas 2 and 3 adumbrate a procedure for learning how to handle colors, more fully enunciated in the "Life of Jacques de Gheyn,

Painter of Antwerp," in *Schilder-Boeck*, Book IV, fol. 294v: wishing to learn how to paint in oil colors, De Gheyn begins with *schackieren* and *sorteren*, subdividing a panel into one hundred numbered squares and then filling them with "various grays, greens, yellows, blues, [and] reds," and "flesh tints and other mixed colors" ("verscheyden graeuwen, groenen, ghelen, blaeuwen, rooden, carnatien, en ander vermengselen"). Next he paints a small vase of flowers, and afterward a second larger bouquet, at the same time compiling a volume of floral and animal specimens painted in gouache after the life. Now deciding that he has taken "precision [of observation and execution] in his studies [after nature]" ("netticheyt in't vervolghen van zijn studie") as far as it could go, and wishing to introduce "boldness" and "scale" ("stouticheyt … en wat groots") into his painting, he portrays the fine horse captured by Archduke Albert from Count Maurice of Nassau at the Battle of Nieuwpoort, spirited and large as life. Finally, he masters flesh tints, painting a life-size *Sleeping Venus with Cupid and Two Satyrs*, which Van Mander calls "exceptionally fine and marvelous in ordonnance, attitudes, proportion, handling, and fluency" ("van ordinantie, steldsel, proportie, handelinghe, en vloeyentheyt, uytnemende volcomen en verwonderlijck"). On the works itemized by Van Mander, see Miedema, ed., *Van Mander, Lives*, 6:48–50.

[3] The association of the vale of Tempe with floral plenitude derives primarily from Catullus, *Carmen* LXIV.279–286, an epyllion centering on the glorious marriage feast of Peleus and Thetis; see Catullus, *Poems*, ed. and trans. G.P. Goold (Cambridge, MA: 1913), 116–117. The poet describes the god Chiron's wedding gift of mixed floral garlands, comprising countless blossoms plucked from the "face of Thessaly"; here they grow in such abundance that when blown by the west wind's fruitful breezes, the flower heads appear to billow like the waves of a stream. On the vale of Tempe, the other *loci classici* are Aelian, *Varia historia*, III.1; Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, I.568; Pliny, *Naturalis historia*, IV.8 and IV.15; and Virgil, *Georgics*, II.469.

[4] Van Mander means that the local colors remain clearly sorted, i.e., discernible, never eliding into the green of the grassy background field.

[5] The reference to *sorteren*, in line 3, ascribes to the Dawn the power of sorting colors.

[6] As Miedema observes in *Van Mander, Grondt*, 2:585–586, the paired, strongly complementary colors cited in this stanza differ from those associated with the dawn in chapter 7, stanzas 3–6, and chapter 8, stanzas 4–6, where the emphasis falls on transitions from orange to red, and red to purple, against an azure sky. The combinations of red and green (and blue) and of green and white (and purple) appear, too, in Rivius, *Der furnembsten … Künst, eygentlicher Bericht*, fol. ccc4v; and Alberti, *De pictura*, trans. Sinisgalli, 72.

[7] The reference to flesh tints, which are mixed colors par excellence, introduces the topic of the relation between mixed and unmixed colors, and how they may be harmonized. Van Mander visualizes the interaction of flesh and fabrics.

[8] Whereas the prior stanzas discuss contrastive complementary colors, stanza 9 instead considers juxtapositions of colors situated adjacently in the spectrum.

[9] As Miedema notes in *Van Mander, Grondt*, 2:587, the reference to woven fabric brings to mind the fluctuating colors of changeant silks.

[10] Van Mander's reference to grays "shaded without shadows" ("schier gheschaduwt sonder schaeuwe"), i.e., without blacks, indicates that he is using *graeuwe* not in the specific sense of "gray in hue," but in the more general sense of "dusky, tawny, dun- or dark-colored." On these two senses of *grauw*, see Kiliaan, *Etymologicum Teutonize linguae*, 159: on one hand, *canus*, *cinereus*, *cineraceus* (hoary, ash-colored); on the other, *leucophaeus*, *pullus*, *pullulus*, *fuscus* (dusky, etc.). On Van Mander's use of *Grauwe* in this context to signify "half-tints" comparable in effect, though not actual hue, to gray and brown, see Miedema, *Van Mander, Grondt*, 2:587.

[11] On Raffaellino da Reggio's "subtle lap-fabrics" ("aerdich schoot-laken"), frescoed in the loggia of Gregory XIII, and the "beautiful stuffs" ("schoon lakenen") in his *Peter and John Healing the Crippled Man*, formerly above the main doorway to St. Peter's, Rome, see "On various Italian Painters during my time in Rome, between 1573 and 1577," in *Schilder-Boeck*, Book III, fol. 193r. Raffaellino, even while adopting elements of the *cangiante* technique, whereby juxtapositions of color are used to model forms, mainly attempts to harmonize his colors by tempering the transitions of value and hue amongst them. In lavishing praise on this painter, whose first sig-

nificant Roman work Van Mander identifies as a façade notable for its "little grays / half-tints and temperings [of color]" ("graeuwkens, oft temperinghen"), he encourages his readers to strive for coloristic harmony rather than dissonance. In effect, rather than endorsing *cangiante* modeling and its hallmarks—namely, hue shift and an overall blonde tonality—ultimately perfected by Michelangelo, he declares his strong preference for the *unione* method of coloring, perfected by Raphael, which features lively colors mutually balanced by tone. On Raffaellino's papal commissions for Gregory VII, see J. Marciari, "Raffaellino da Reggio in the Vatican," *Burlington Magazine* 148, no. 1236 (2006): 187–191. On the distinction between the *unione* and *cangiante* modes, and their relation to two further modes, *sfumato* and *chiaroscuro*, which are based on tonal coloring, see M. Hall, *Color and Meaning: Practice and Theory in Renaissance Painting* (New York, Port Chester, et al.: 1992), 92–115; and, on Van Mander's preference for tempered rather than contrasting colors, see Miedema, *Van Mander, Grondt*, 2:587.

[12] Cf. chapter 10, stanza 16, note 25 *supra*.

[13] On Phaëton, who lost control over the chariot of the sun, allowing it to wander off course with disastrous consequences, see "On Phaëton," in *Wtlegghingh*, fol. 13v. Van Mander, in comparing himself ironically to the wayward Phaëton, declares that he intends to keep instead to his allotted path and bring his four-part excursus on handling colors to a suitable conclusion. He also subtly adverts to a change of theme in chapter 11: having begun by describing the complementary colors of the dawn, he now evokes the mutually correspondent colors of the sun from dawn to dusk. As Van Mander states in "On Phaëton," the youth's four horses—Pirois, Eous, Ethon, and Phlegon—stand for the changing colors and intensities of sunlight over the course of a day: red at dawn, glittering as it rises higher, fiery at midday, and yellow-black as it sets.

[14] The closing reference to hard-won rest, as Miedema hypothesizes, in *Van Mander, Grondt*, 2:310, may indicate that the subsequent chapter, "On painting well, or Coloring," was to have been the poem's last, chapters 13 and 14 having then been added ex post facto. He further suggests that by increasing the total number of chapters, Van Mander was able to impose a clear symmetrical structure, with stanzas 1–7 focusing on the person of the *schilder* and his depiction of the human figure, rooted mainly in *teyckenconst*, and stanzas 8–14 focusing on

the figure's circumstances and appurtenances—landscape, animals, stuffs, etc.—as well as the pictorial means, rooted mainly in *schilderconst*, whereby the figure and setting are brought to life. Attractive as this hypothetical scheme is, it is probably too determinate: the substance and argument of chapters 5 and 8, for instance, as I contend in the "Introduction," *supra* and the annotations to both chapters, are in many respects imbricated, and chapter 7, on the reflective properties of colored light, lays the groundwork for the discussion of painting and coloring in chapter 12. More convincing is Miedema's grouping of chapters 2 and 3–6, which discuss how the human figure may be delineated, and 12 and 8–11, which discuss how a picture's more *geestig* constituent parts—the texture and motion of greenery, the fall of hair and fur, the weave and drape of cloth—may be painted. Chapter 7 on light and color would then constitute the transition leading from the chapters largely concerned with *teyckenconst* to those on *schilderconst* proper. But even this scheme may be too circumscribed, given Van Mander's organic method of argumentation, by turns anticipatory and recursive.

Chapter 12: "On painting well, or Coloring"

[1] On *wel schilderen* (painting well) and *coloreren* (coloring) as categories of pictorial excellence, see section 4.f., "*Wel schilderen*," of my "Introduction," *supra*.

[2] Codified by Aristotle, in *On the Soul* II.412a–b, the philosophical doctrine that defines the soul as the life of the body undergirds Van Mander's conception of color as the life of "drawing's dead strokes." Chapters 2, "On Drawing," 3, "On Proportion," and 4, "On Attitude," largely concern the delineation of the human body; chapter 12, which focuses on flesh tints, now purveys the means whereby the drawn body may be enlivened. On the soul's life-giving properties, see Aristotle, *On the Soul, Parva naturalia, On Breath*, trans. and ed. W.S. Hett (Cambridge, MA: 1957), 68–69: "The soul may therefore be defined as the first actuality of a natural body potentially possessing life." Also see, ibid., 70–71: "That which has the capacity to live is not the body which has lost its soul, but that which possesses its soul." However, in claiming that painted color can animate inert lines, Van Mander controverts a key Aristotelian analogy between the soul and the living eye, which turns on the further distinction between the living eye and the painted eye; see ibid.: "If the eye were a living creature,

its soul would be its vision: for this is the substance in the sense of formula of the eye. But the eye is the matter of vision, and if vision fails there is no eye, except in an equivocal sense, as for instance a stone or painted eye." On the analogy between color and soul, see V. Krieger, "Die Farbe als 'Seele' der Malerei: Transformationen eines Topos vom 16. Jahrhundert zur Moderne," *Marburger Jahrbuch für Kunstwissenschaft* 33 (2006): 91–112

In stanza 1, the alterity of the draughtsman's strokes and the painter's colors also recalls Dolce's distinction between contour lines, which inhibit the portrayal of nature and life, and unified colors, whose diffusion ensures a painting's appearance of nature; see Roskill, ed. and trans., *Dolce's Aretino*, 154–155. The association between colors and life constitutes an assertion of the ultramimetic functions of color, both for Van Mander and Dolce. Typical of Dolce's conviction that colors are life-giving in a mimetic sense is his statement, in ibid., that the painter "should know how to simulate the glint of armor, the gloom of night and the brightness of day … flowers and fruits, buildings and huts, animals and so on, so comprehensively that all of them possess life." Lomazzo, in *Trattato*, 187, similarly states that color perfects the mimetic properties of painting, making it appear truly natural; see Lomazzo, *Tracte Containing the Artes*, trans. Haydocke, 93: "It is manifest, that all those things which are first proportionably drawne, and then artificially coloured, will beare the true and natural resemblance of the *Life*, by expressing all the actions and gestures thereof." The conflation of life and lifelikeness in Dolce, Lomazzo, and Van Mander, like the antithesis of line and color, ultimately derives from Plutarch who argues, in his moral discourse "How the young man should study poetry," that just as color-painting is more stirring than line-drawing, so "fabulous narrative" leavens the dryness of a veridical oration, making it more lively, appealing, and thus persuasive; see Plutarch, *Moralia*, trans. and ed. F.C. Babbitt, 15 vols. (Cambridge, MA: 1927), 1:16c: "But, just as in pictures, colour is more stimulating than line-drawing because it is life-like, and creates an illusion, so in poetry falsehood combined with plausibility is more striking, and gives more satisfaction, than the work which is elaborate in metre and diction, but devoid of myth and fiction." Van Mander draws three parallel distinctions in stanzas 1, 2, and 3 respectively: as inert lines are to vibrant colors, so the lifeless effigy made by Prometheus is to that same effigy now enlivened by heavenly fire and christened Pandora, and so, too, the melodious sound of the lyre is to the livelier, more concordant harmonies of lyric song.

[3] The notion that the colors of painting have the power to confer life or, better, an afterlife, goes back to Petrarch's *Canzone* 308, in which the poet dwells on the colors of poetry, asking whether his poem, by painting a virtual image of Laura, has the power to restore her to life. His term for [re]enliven—*incarnare*, to incarnate—comes from the theology of the mystery of the Incarnation. Implicit in his use of "incarnate" is the conviction that just as the invisible, unrepresentable Godhead became visible and representable in / through Christ incarnate, so, too, that which is otherwise lifeless and indiscernible is restored to life, made newly discernible through the colors, the figures, of poetry, as if reclothed in flesh and blood. Of course, Petrarch ultimately acknowledges that the currency of poetry is mere lifelikeness, the insubstantial fiction of life, but his poetics of color, in association with the doctrine *ut pictura poesis*, appears to have become a commonplace of sorts by the turn of the fifteenth century, judging from Cennino Cennini's use of the incarnation trope in his *Libro dell'arte*. The use of *incarno, incarnare* to signify the mixing of flesh tints in Italian art treatises dates from around this time. The priority Van Mander grants to flesh tints—that is, to *carnaty* and *vleeschich coloreren*—and to the painterly process of incarnation throughout chapter 12, suggests that the analogy between Incarnation and incarnation, the mystery of enfleshment and the production of a flesh-effect, underlies his association of color with embodied life (or enlivened body) in stanza 1. On the theological etymology and medial significance of *incarno*, *incarnare* in Italian poetics and Cennnini's *Libro*, see Kruse, "Fleisch warden: Fleisch malen," 314–322.

[4] See "On Prometheus," in *Wtlegghingh*, fol. 2v: assisted by Minerva, Prometheus steals a spark of the heavenly flame whereby all things are ensouled, using it to animate the newly wrought but lifeless effigies of humankind he has just fashioned from earthly matter. For his pains, as Van Mander recounts in "On Pandora," in ibid., fol. 3r, Prometheus is punished eternally by Jupiter, who also takes revenge upon Promethean humanity, sending Pandora to unleash the contragift of universal vices. Van Mander draws a parallel between color and heavenly fire, and more extraordinarily, construes Pandora positively. As he explains in "On Pandora," her name—"All Gifts," from *Pan* (all) and *Dora* (gifts)—refers to the box she carried, which held every virtue and vice; after she liberated the contents, the virtues flew back to their heavenly source, leaving behind only the vices to populate the earth and contaminate its inhabitants. In stanza

2, however, Pandora stands for the capacity of colors to impart motion and life to everything the painter portrays. On Van Mander's positive association of Pandora with *teyckenconst*, brought to a plenitude of life through the animating colors of *schilderconst*, see Göttler, *Tales of Transformation*, 33–37. Van Mander conflates the Promethean effigy, fashioned from lifeless clay, with Pandora who, as he notes in "Van Pandora," was in fact made by Vulcan at the behest of Jupiter; by the same token, he subsumes Prometheus into Vulcan, Vulcan into Prometheus. He thus alludes to the power of coloring to convert titanic *teyckenconst* into divine *schilderconst*. For another possible reading of Pandora, one that places greater weight on her fatal allure and associates her with the seductive charm of *schilderconst*, its power to deceive the viewer's eyes, mind, and heart, see C. Göttler, "Yellow, Vermilion, and Gold: Colour in Karel van Mander's *Schilder-Boeck*," in S. Burghartz, L. Burkart, Göttler, and U. Rublack, eds., *Materialized Identities in Early Modern Culture, 1450–1750: Objects, Affects, Effects* (Amsterdam: 2021), 233–280, esp. 249–250.

[5] Van Mander changes tack, emphasizing that *teyckenconst* and *schilderconst* must be fully reconciled if a work of art is to come alive for the beholder. The effect of lifelikeness is now seen to inhere not in the work itself but in the eyes struck and animated by it. Implying that drawing and painting together bring the viewer's eyes to life, Van Mander diverges somewhat from Lodovico Dolce who, even while insisting on the collaborative relation between *disegno* and *colorito*, credits coloring with the power to animate; see, for example, Roskill, ed. and trans., *Dolce's Aretino*, 116–117: "The whole sum of painting is, in my opinion, divided into three parts: invention, design, and coloring. The invention is the fable or history which the painter chooses … as material for the work he has to do. The design is the form he uses to represent this material. And the coloring takes its cue from the hues with which nature paints (for one can say as much) animate and inanimate things in variegation." In ascribing the optical illusion of life to both *Teyckeningh* and *Schilderen*, Van Mander more closely concurs with Lomazzo, as cited in note 2 *supra*. More original is Van Mander's dual analogy between poetic verse and drawing, musical setting and coloring, which, as Miedema notes, in *Karel van Mander, Grondt*, 2:593, derives from Ronsard's *Abbregé de l'art poétique français* (Compendium on the French Art of Poetry), whrein he avers that poetry without instrumental and vocal accompaniment lacks in agreeableness, just as any instrumental melody will be enlivened

by the human voice; see Ronsard, *Abbregé*, in *Oeuvres complètes*, ed. P. Laumonnier, 20 vols. (Paris: 1914), 1:9.

[6] On Van Mander's conception of the *idea*, see chapter 10, stanza 30, note 60 *supra*. Here his use of *Ide'* resembles Vasari's, which designates an image formed in the artist's mind and, as Panofsky argues, in *Idea*, 66, is equivalent to the expressions *pensiero* and *concetto*. Van Mander differs from Vasari, however, in equating the *idea* to a pictorial image, i.e., a mental image that appears fully painted, on which the painter then bases his underdrawing; the painter, on this account, strives to imitate coloristic effects even before laying brush to panel.

[7] The technical term *doot-verwe* (dead color) is used here to refer to the sketchlike underpainting applied directly onto the ground and the underdrawing before application of the final surface layers. Earlier in the sixteenth century, as Hessel Miedema explains in "Over kwaliteitsvoorschriften in het St. Lucasgilde: over 'doodverf,'" *Oud Holland* 101 (1987): 141–147, with specific reference to the quality-control statute issued by the painters' guild of Den Bosch in 1546, *doot-verwe* denoted the local colors applied in a thin monochrome layer over the underdrawing, which were then overpainted by multiple layers of translucent glaze. The process Van Mander describes is more abbreviated and sketchy, involving relatively opaque colors mixed on the palette rather than modulated by the interaction of light, tinted oil-glazes, and a polished reflective ground. With respect to this revised technique, *doot-verwe* is closely associated with the process of painting "all in one go," described in stanza 18 *infra*. This involves completing the picture surely and speedily with a thin layer of paint whose variations of tone and hue result from color combinations mixed on the palette. Van Mander identifies Bosch, Dürer, Lucas, and Bruegel as masters of this concise, virtuosic technique. In the seventeenth century, dead-coloring came to designate the process of setting out the color scheme, usually in thin, muted, grayish shades of pigment that then served as the underlayer for a picture's middle tones, lights, and darks; see Van Eikema Hommes, *Changing Pictures*, 14, 144–146.

[8] Van Mander here initiates his discussion of the bold manner of painting, which he then amplifies in stanzas 21–26 *infra*, where it is presented as an alternative to the fine manner which the student should first master. In practice, the addition of a second layer of

underpainting, as Stanneck remarks, in *Ganz ohne Pinsel*, 152–153, assimilates the bold manner of coloring to the more meticulous technique of the fine, allowing the reader to infer that the appearance of boldness is painstakingly produced, a point Van Mander develops explicitly in his discussion of Titian's late works (see stanza 23).

[9] Like the Roman emperor Augustus, founder and first holder of the *imperium*, the most accomplished painters will execute their ideas directly on the panel, transferring them presently from mind to hand. Van Mander adverts to the processes of underdrawing and underpainting that initiate the process of painting proper. Amongst the masters whom he praises in this respect for their sureness of hand are Apelles, "Prince of Painters" (fol. 76v), and Goltzius, "Monarch" of pen-handling (fol. 285v). Implicit here, once again, is the pacifying conversion of the warrior's heroic deeds into those of the painter, of weaponry into the painter's colors, of war into *schilderconst*.

[10] On this bold method of painting, which involves direct application of the topmost layers of color without benefit of the preliminary dead-coloring stage, see Van Eikema Hommes, *Changing Pictures*, 39.

[11] The term *net* can mean "neat," "precise," "detailed," so I have translated *netlijck* as "precisely" in the stanza, and *net* as "neatly" in the marginal gloss.

[12] Van Mander uses the term *rapen* (gather or, translated more forcefully, seize, appropriate), on which see chapter 1, stanza 46, notes 37–38 *supra*. The implication is that these more timid painters will assemble their composition by aggregating from these drawn templates. On this method, see Van Eikema Hommes, *Changing Pictures*, 14, which cites Vicente Carducho's *Diálogos de la pintura* of 1633: "The expert painter's tasks are to make sketches, to study every part of a composition separately, and then to join all the parts in a finished cartoon or drawing, arriving at the composition according to the precepts of good art."

[13] On Van Mander's use of the term *primuersel* in two senses—for the polished and lime-coated gesso ground (in Italian, *ingessatura*) upon which the priming layer or layers of thinned paint were laid, often in a brown, gray, ocher, or pale pink color, and for the priming layer itself (*imprimatura*)—see Miedema, *Karel van Mander, Grondt*, 2:594–595. On the likelihood that *primuersel* also

refers to the semitransparent priming layer applied over the underdrawing by early Netherlandish masters, see R. Billinge, L. Campbell, J. Dunkerton, S. Foister, J. Kirby, J. Pilc, A. Roy, M. Spring, and R. White, "Methods and Materials of Northern Europea Painting in the National Gallery, 1400–1550," *National Gallery Technical Bulletin* 18 (1997): 6–55, esp. 24. Peter Paul Rubens typically used both types of *primuersel*; see N. van Hout, "Rubens and Dead Colouring: Some Remarks on Two Unfinished Paintings," in H. Vlieghe, A. Balis, and C. Van den Velde, eds., *Concept, Design, and Execution in Flemish Painting* (*1550–1700*) (Turnhout: 2000), 279–288. Although the surface layers of his *Battle of Henry IV of France* (Antwerp, Rubenshuis) are boldly brushed, the panel shows many traces of the kind of brush drawing described in stanza 7, executed with thinly tempered paint in a single color.

[14] The term *potloot* may refer either to a lead- or graphite-based stylus or to a stick of black chalk; see Miedema, *Karel van Mander, Grondt*, 2:597. In both cases, residual grains would have been cleared away, sometimes with the help of a feather. On these materials, which were sometimes also used as the basis for black pigments, see Harley, *Artist's Pigments*, 156–158.

[15] On precise paint-application after the dead-coloring stage, as a preventative of discoloration, see Van Eikema Hommes, *Changing Pictures*, 39, 49 n. 159. On the regulation passed by the 's-Hertogenbosch Guild of St. Luke in the mid-sixteenth century, requiring painters first to dead-color and forbidding them from completing pictures with only a single layer of paint, see Miedema, "Over kwaliteitsvoorschriften."

[16] On the procedures used by painters to combat the discoloration of binding media and pigments, see Van Eikema Hommes, *Changing Pictures*, 26–43, 47–50, esp. 26–27 on Van Mander's technique of ensuring that the oil sinks in when painting with smalt. *Wel ghetempert* (well tempered) signifies that the pigments have been properly prepared, admixed with oil (or another binding agent), and, for color mixtures, blended.

[17] Van Mander exemplifies the use of *cartons* (cartoons) in the "Life Raphael Sanzio da Urbino," where he describes the twin impact on Raphael of the cartoons by Leonardo (*Battle of Anghiari*) and Michelangelo (*Battle of Cascina*), formerly housed in the Palazzo

Vecchio, Florence (fol. 117r). He then discusses Raphael's cartoon for the *Deposition* that previously hung in the Baglioni Chapel, Perugia, and the cartoons used by Raphael's workshop—Polidoro da Caravaggio, Pellegrino da Modena, Giovan Francesco Penni, Giulio Romano, and Perino del Vaga—to paint the Vatican Loggie. On the technique of tracing through the cartoon, see *Vasari on Technique*, ed. Baldwin Brown, trans. Maclehose, 215.

[18] Already in Vasari's time, the use of cartoons to prepare oil-paintings had become quite rare, as he attests; see ibid. According to Van Mander (stanza 16 *infra*), the early Netherlandish masters were wont to use the transfer method he describes here, for the preparation of panel paintings. Also see C. Currie, "The Final Piece of the Puzzle: Bruegel's Use of Cartoons in the *Battle between Carnival and Lent* and Reflections on His Preparatory Work for Painting," in Currie, ed., *The Bruegel Success Story: Papers Presented at Symposium XXI for the Study of Underdrawing and Technology in Painting* (*Brussels, 12–14 September 2018*) (Paris, Leuven, and Bristol, CT: 2021), 81–104.

[19] Reacting against the initial terms of the commission to paint the Sistine *Last Judgment* in oils on plaster, Michelangelo is reputed to have made this gendered distinction between oil painting and fresco painting; see "Life of Sebastiano del Piombo, Venetian Painter," in *Schilder-Boeck*, Book III, fols. 138v–139r. Van Mander adds that Michelangelo broke with his protégé Sebastiano for having convinced the Pope (Clement VII) to request this technique that he himself had pioneered.

[20] On hard-hearted Boreas, god of the fierce north wind, see "On Boreas," in *Wtlegghingh*, fol. 57r.

[21] On cleaving closely to the cartoon's colors and values, see *Vasari on Technique*, ed. Baldwin Brown, trans. Maclehose, 209.

[22] Early Netherlandish panels were generally prepared with a ground of natural chalk of calcium carbonate, usually applied in several layers, then scraped and polished until level; see Billinge, Campbell, Dunkerton, et al., "Methods and Materials," 20–24. In stanzas 16–18, Van Mander implicitly contrasts two methods of underdrawing: whereas the Italians are said merely to trace their design from a cartoon, following it like a template, the early Netherlandish masters,

though they too used traceable cartoons, painstakingly added to the tracing, drawing in pencil or chalk and shading with wash; once the priming layer had been applied, the end result appeared barely less finished than the painting to follow. These two approaches testify to the perfection of the northern manner of painting founded by Jan van Eyck and his followers; see Stanneck, *Ganz ohne Pinsel*, 148–150.

[23] Technical analysis of several paintings in the National Gallery, London—Simon Marmion's *The Soul of Saint Bertin Carried up to God* and *A Choir of Angels*, for example—reveals that the underdrawing, as a whole or in part, was applied by mechanical transfer, either by tracing from a drawing or pouncing from a pricked cartoon; see Billinge, Campbell, Dunkerton, et al., "Methods and Materials," 27, and L. Campbell, "Memling's Creative Processes as Seen in His Paintings in the National Gallery, London," in H. Verougstraete and R. Van Schoute, eds., *Le dessin sous-jacent dans la peinture. Colloque x: Le dessin sous-jacent dans le processus de création* (*Université Catholique de Louvain, 5–7 September 1993*) (Louvain-la-Neuve: 1995), 149–152. In "Life of Pieter Aertsen, excellent Painter of Amsterdam," in *Schilder-Boeck*, Book IV, fol. 244r, Van Mander records the existence of a cartoon at one-to-one scale for Aertsen's *Altarpiece of the Nativity*, formerly in the New Church of Amsterdam, comprising an *Annunciation*, *Circumcision*, *Epiphany*, and *Martyrdom of Saint Catherine*.

[24] On underdrawing in dry charcoal or black chalk, sometimes strengthened with thin black paint, in early Netherlandish painting, see Billinge, Campbell, Dunkerton, et al., "Methods and Materials," 28. On discernible distinctions amongst underdrawn lines executed in black chalk, charcoal, and lead point, see J.P. Filedt Kok and P. Wardle, "Underdrawing and Other Technical Aspects in the Paintings of Lucas van Leyden," *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 29 (1978): 1–84, esp. 160 n. 66. On Jan van Eyck's use of detailed underdrawing in the *Adoration of the Mystic Lamb*, see C. Périer-D'leteren, "Le rôle du dessin sous-jacent et de l'ébauche préparatoire au lavis dans la genèse des peintures de l'*Agneau Mystique*," in C. Currie, B. Fransen, V. Henderiks, C. Stroo, and D. Vanwijnsberghe, eds., *Van Eyck Studies: Papers Presented at the Eighteenth Symposium for the Study of Underdrawing and Technology in Painting* (*Brussels, 19–21 September 2021*), Underdrawing and Technology in Painting Symposia, 18 (Paris, Leuven, and Bristol, CT: 2017), 121–136.

[25] The fluid medium in which black pigment was suspended for use in painted underdrawing has proved difficult to characterize; see Billinge, Campbell, Dunkerton, et al., "Methods and Materials,"28. On Lucas van Leyden's use of detailed underdrawing in several of his paintings, and its determinative relation to shading in the paint layers, see Kok and Wardle, "Underdrawing and Other Technical Aspects," 16, 18–36 (*Chess Players* [Berlin], *Potiphar's Wife Showing Joseph's Robe*, *Card Players* [Wilton House]), 49–56 (*Virgin and Child with Saint Mary Magdalene and a Donor*), 72–77, 90–93 (*Last Judgment*). Whereas the brush underdrawing of the foreground figures in the interior of the *Last Judgment* is richly detailed, executed with a great variety of strokes in black and gray, the figures in the middle and far distance are more summarily handled (73–74). In places, Lucas mixes brush drawing with drawing in red and black chalk (73). To cite a different example, Joachim Beuckelaer's black chalk underdrawing, though looser in handling than Lucas's, tended to be more detailed before 1565, more abbreviated afterward; see M. Wolters, "Drawing to Underdrawing to Painting: Compositional Evolution in the Working Process of Joachim Beuckelaer," in *Journal of the Historians of Netherlandish Art* 4.2 (Summer 2012), DOI: 10.5092/jhna.2012.4.2.2 (accessed 15 May 2021). Surviving ink-and-wash modelli indicate that Beuckelaer often introduced changes at the underdrawing and painting stages.

[26] On the various colors used by early Netherlandish masters for the semitransparent *primuersel* or priming layer, including lead white tinted with red and black, and pale pink—perhaps Van Mander's flesh-tint—see Billinge, Campbell, Dunkerton, et al., "Methods and Materials," 22–24, esp. 24. In certain cases—Hans Holbein's *Lady with a Squirrel and a Starling*, for instance—the priming layer is surprisingly rich in medium (22). As Stanneck argues, in *Ganz ohne Pinsel*, 142–144, Van Mander's treatment of the priming layer differs considerably from Vasari's in the technical preface to the *Vite*, on which, see *Vasari on Technique*, ed. Baldwin Brown, trans. Maclehose, 230. Van Mander conceives of the preliminary stages of a painting as fully representational, rather than merely preparatory: just as the underdrawing can be resolved to such an extent that it brings the picture near to completion, so too, the priming layer can make a picture appear "as if already half painted." Stanneck further points out that Van Mander considered these effects of virtual finish desirable and achievable irrespective of the manner in which the northern master draws or paints, rough or fine, broad or precise; see ibid., 124–127, 143.

[27] On the phrase "net aenlegghen ginghen, en teen eersten op doen" (applied everything neatly, all at one go), which may signify that each part of the picture was completed before the painter moved on to another part, see Miedema, *Karel van Mander, Grondt*, 2:598. Miedema further reads the verb *opdoen* as a likely reference to the application of the final paint layers; this reading would correlate to such meanings of *opdoen* as *recondo* (lay in place), *pando* (spread out), and *recludo* (close off), in Kiliaan, *Etymologicum Teutonicae linguae*, 375.

[28] See the references to finely painted strands of fur and / or hair as the final perfection of painting in Jan van Eyck's *Adoration of the Mystic Lamb*, in "Life of Jan and Hubert van Eyck," fol. 200v, and in Dürer's *Four Apostles*, in "Life of Albrecht Dürer," fol. 209r. Viewed through the lens of Van Mander's remarks on hair and fur in chapter 8, stanza 37, and throughout chapter 9, these "whitish little hairs limned subtly with finesse" (or alternatively, "drawn subtly [with the brush]") should be appreciated as epitomes of *gheest*.

[29] Van Mander cites Dürer's *Heller Altarpiece*, once housed in the Dominican Church, Frankfurt, on which see "Life of Albrecht Dürer," in *Schilder-Boeck*, Book IV, fol. 209r: "… an *Assumption of Mary*, wherein … everything is handled neatly and subtly, the hairs very surely drawn, entwined with lively (*cluchtigh*) strokes of the brush, as in his praiseworthy prints." Kiliaan, *Etymologicum Teutonicae linguae*, 243, defines the term *kluchtigh* (lively) as *gestuosus* (full of action, gestural), *festivus* (lively, gladsome), *facetus* (elegant, fine, witty), and *lepidus* (neat, fine, charming). In applying it to Dürer's *hayrkens*, Van Mander wanted to indicate that these hairs are lively traces of the painter's manual dexterity that equally testify to his fine liveliness of mind.

[30] On Bruegel's (spelled Brueghel by Van Mander) *net* (precise) yet *gheestigh* (spirited) paint handling, see C. Currie, S. Saverwyns, L. Depuydt-Elbaum, P. Fraiture, J.-A. Glatigny, and A Coudray, "Lifting the Veil: The *Dulle Griet* Rediscovered through Conservation, Scientific Imagery, and Analysis," in Currie, ed., *The Bruegel Success Story*, 19–44. On his use of black chalk (identified as a "greasy, naturally occurring graphite, found in Piedmont …, Cumbria … and other regions"), to articulate myriad details in the underdrawing that are then refined in the painting, see Billinge, Campbell, Dunkerton, et al., "Methods and Materials," 28. On practices of underdrawing and painting in Lei-

den consonant with Van Mander's remarks in stanzas 16–19, with particular reference to Cornelis Engebrechtszoon, Aertgen van Leyden, and Lucas, see J.P. Filedt Kok, E. van Duijn, A. Bandivere, A. Wallert, and M. Woters, "De Leidse schilders aan het werk," in Vogelaar et al., *Lucas van Leyden en de Renaissance*, 78–101. On Lucas's "diligent and meticulous" application of "clear and pure colors" ("vlijtich en sorghvuldich," "verwen schoon en suyver"), see "Life of Lucas van Leyden," in *Schilder-Boeck*, Book IV, fol. 212v. On his *Healing of the Blind Man of Jericho*, with its "environs [painted] clearly and luminously" ("gronden … schoon, en gloeyende"), "precisely rendered and true to nature" ("net en eyghentlijck ghehandelt"), see ibid., fol. 213r.

[31] The famous motto "Plus ultra," often combined with the pictorial device of the pillars of Hercules, encapsulates the Habsburg imperial idea that no curbs can be placed on their territorial ambitions; so, too, the achievements of Bruegel, Lucas, and other northern colorists know no bounds.

[32] On Jan van Eyck's supple manipulation of oil colors and glazes, and on early appreciation of his peerless skill at harnessing these media to descriptive ends, see A. Roy, "Van Eyck's Technique: The Myth and the Reality, I," in S. Foister, S. Jones, and D. Cool, eds., *Investigating Jan van Eyck* (Turnhout: 2000), 97–100; and R. White, "Van Eyck's Technique: The Myth and the Reality, II," in ibid., 101–106. On the link made by Jan's early admirers between his oil-glazing technique and the purifying effects of medical alchemy, see N. Turel, *Living Pictures: Jan van Eyck and Painting's First Century* (New Haven and London: 2020), 84–95, esp. 94. Van Mander, like Vasari, attributes the invention of oil colors to Van Eyck, stating that he thereby made his "colors much livelier, giving them an inherent luster" ("de verwen veel levender maeckten, en van selfs een blinckentheyt deden hebben"). The phrase "van selfs" (inherent) implies that the reflective properties of such colors made them particularly apt for the depiction of extrinsic effects of reflection. Van Mander then elaborates upon other practical advantages of this new medium: pigments mixed with oil are easier "to apply and work" than colors bound in "egg or glue," and can be brushed onto the panel "rather than requiring to be hatched" ("niet en hoefde so ghetrocken te zijn gedaen"); see "Life of Jan and Hubert van Eyck," in *Schilder-Boeck*, Book IV, fol. 199v. When handled consummately, oil colors produce an effect of exceptional precision ("uytnemende netticheyt"), even while liberating the brush from the gestural marks of the stylus; "subtle and meticu-

lous," "finely and subtly worked" ("aerdich en net," "dunne en aerdich gedaen"), Jan's *Adoration of the Mystic Lamb* combines *gheesticheyt* and *netticheyt*, and abounds in deftly rendered trees, hair, and fabrics (fol. 200r–v). Van Mander asserts that even at the dead-coloring stage, Jan's pictures were "clearer and sharper than the finished works of other masters"; see ibid., fol. 202v. On Van Eyck's legendary status as a learned painter-alchemist and the first to distill oil colors, see L. Davis, "Renaissance Inventions: Van Eyck's Workshop as a Site of Discovery and Transformation in Jan van der Straet's *Nova Reperta*," *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 59 (2009): 222–247.

[33] The term *cloeckheyt*, in this context, can refer to both manual and mental ingenuity, dexterity of the hand and mind. Van Mander calls for brushwork that is precisely applied and yet *gheestigh* (subtle, spirited, ingenious), so that the picture retains its "concinnity" (*welstandt*), i.e., consonance of its component parts, when viewed either from near or far.

[34] "Concinnity" might also be translated as "coherence." Rendered more literally, line 5 states that such works "renounce their concinnity neither from far nor near." Van Mander adapted this criterion of pictorial excellence from a poetic dictum codified by Horace in *Ars poetica* 361–362; see Horace, *Satires, Epistles, The Art of Poetry*, trans. and ed., Rushton Fairclough, 480–481: "A poem is like a picture: one strikes your fancy more, the nearer you stand; another, the farther away." Van Mander, who paraphrases Horace after having canonized Jan, Lucas, Dürer, and Bruegel for their handling of colors, implies that their pictures cohere from any vantage point, attracting the eyes whether seen from a distance or close at hand. On the meaning of Horace's couplet, which argues the merits both of the highly wrought style of love poetry and of the forceful, less finished style of Homeric epic, see W. Trimpi, "Horace's 'Ut pictura poesis': The Argument for Stylistic Decorum," *Traditio* 34 (1978): 29–73. Miedema, in *Karel van Mander, Grondt*, 2:599–600, cites Jacques de Hemelaer's translation from Latin into Dutch, dedicated to Van Mander: Q. Horatius Flaccus, *De arte poetica, dat is: Vanden wel-dichtens kunst, aende Pizones toegeschreven, ende in Nederlandschen rijme tot een proef stuxken van des gheest-spelige oeffenynge vertaeld* (Haarlem: Vincent Kasteleyn voor Daniel de Keyzer, 1612), fol. B3r:

> 'Tgedicht is even eens gelijk de Schilderij.
> Het eene konstig stuk beschauwt wil zijn van by,

Het ane'r heft meerder aerds indien men't ziet van wyde.
[Poetry is just like Painting.
Whereas one artful work will wish to be viewed from nearby,
Another [will] have greater quality when seen from afar.]

[35] Stanzas 22–25 closely follow Vasari, *Vite*, ed. Milanesi, 7:452. Van Mander provides an abbreviated account in "Life of Titian Vecellio of Cadore, Painter," in *Schilder-Boeck*, Book III fol. 177r: "For he first made his works very precisely ('heel net'), so that one gladly beheld them from near or far: but at last, he fashioned them with bold brushstrokes, and patchily ('cloecke pinceel-streken henen, en ghevleckt'), so that from close by they had no perfection, but when seen from afar, possessed good concinnity." By contrast, Michelangelo is a painter whose late works—above all, the *Last Judgment*—appear fully resolved from whatever vantage point one views them, as Van Mander emphasizes in the "Life of Michelangelo," fol. 170v. But for all that, he follows Vasari in making clear that from close up, the fresco is handled like a drawing, "retouched, the shadows completed with very precise hatches, not just below [i.e., where they were patently visible] but also above, all the way at the top." This kind of drawn painting (or painted drawing) is quite different from the paradigm of spirited *netticheyt* put forth in stanza 21, underlying which is the conviction, more fully developed in "Life of Jan and Hubert van Eyck," that oil colors allow for precise, supple handling that appears painted rather than delineated; see note 31 *supra*.

[36] What Vasari construes as the "great art" ("grande arte") of Titian's late works, the deception they perpetrate by concealing the painter's "diligence" (*diligenza*) and "effort" beneath a veil of *macchie* (stains, spots, blots, splotches), was seen in the Venetian art theoretical tradition as an expression of Titian's inimitable *sprezzatura*. Dolce in the *Aretino* defines *sprezzatura* as a "certain proper casualness" ("certa convenevole sprezzatura") in the handling of colors, so that they seem to show "neither too much beauty … [nor] too high a finish." The *Aretino*'s interlocutors, Aretino and Fabrini, argue for the virtues of *sprezzatura* by disparaging "overconscientiousness" ("troppa diligenza") and "excessive meticulousness" ("soverchia diligenza") in painting; see Roskill, ed. and trans., *Dolce's "Aretino*," 156–157. Whereas Vasari, in discussing Titian's late style, concentrates on the theme of concealed effort ("nascondendo le fatiche"), Van Mander, by invoking the antithesis between "facile" handling ("lichtveer-

dich") and "painful effort" ("ghedaen met pijnen"), couches his defense of Titian in terms of Dolce's opposition of ease to difficulty, facility to effort, casualness to conspicuous diligence. The notion that Titian disguised his effortful technique so thoroughly that it completely eluded the epigones who presumed to copy him, gives evidence of his inimitable *sprezzatura*, characterized by Dolce in the *Aretino* as a "certain proper casualness" ("certa convenevole sprezzatura") in the handling of colors, so that they seem to show "neither too much beauty … [nor] too high a finish." Dolce's interlocutors Aretino and Fabrini argue for *sprezzatura* by disparaging "overconscientiousness" ("troppa diligenza") and "excessive meticulousness" ("soverchia diligenza"); see Roskill, ed. and trans., *Dolce's "Aretino*," 156–157. In the "Life of Titian," fol. 177v, however, Van Mander incorporates Vasari's ambivalent remark that the master's later commissioned works did damage to his reputation as the foremost painter of Venice. Spirited *netticheyt*, as stanza 21 affirms, and such paragons as Jan van Eyck, Pieter Bruegel, and the young Titian certify, was clearly the ideal after which the aspiring *schilder* should aspire. On Vasari's defensive account of Titian's two styles, early and late, and of the *macchie* and *colpi* (forceful blows, strokes) so prevalent in the latter, see P. Sohm, *Pittoresco: Marco Boschini, his Critics, and their Critiques of Painterly Brushwork in Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century Italy* (New York, Port Chest, Melbourne, and Sydney: 1991), 46–53; his conception of Titian's early diligence and late effort-concealing facility, derives from the Aristotelian distinction between forensic and epideictic oratory (the former finely detailed in argument, the latter more broad and bold because addressed to a crowd of people rather than a knowledgeable judge and jury). Van Mander, in describing Titian's late works as beautiful, pleasing, and lively, praises them in precisely the terms he applies to Jan van Eyck's *Ghent Altarpiece*, in "Life of Jan and Hubrecht van Eyck," in *Schilder-Boeck*, Book IV, fol. 200v. That Titian's "rough strokes" ("rouw' streken") and Jan's *netticheyt* elicit a like response testifies to Van Mander's conviction that the Venetian master's patches and strokes, visible as they are, yet testify to his infinite care and surpassing diligence. On the complementarity of the fine and rough manners, the former of which is seen in stanzas 22–25 to incubate the latter, see Stanneck, *Ganz ohne Pinsel*, 126–127. Stanza 24 leaves it to the *virtuoso*, i.e., the *liefhebber* (lover of art), to discern this connection, as Stanneck asserts.

[37] Titian's two manners are presented as two modes to be exercised according to inclination and / or choice, the chief criterion being

enlivenment: the painter must pick the mode that most animates him, imparting the spirit and resolve to produce a lively picture. As Miedema points out, in *Karel van Mander, Grondt*, 2:600, the two modes are emphatically demarcated in "Life of Jacques de Gheyn," in *Schilder-Boeck*, Book IV, fol. 294v: having painted small floral and insect subjects marked by exceptional *nettichheyt* in the portrayal of nature after the life, he then endeavors to improve himself by painting "in a different way" ("op een ander wijse"), and portrays "with greater boldness, at nearly life-scale" ("tot meerder stouticheyt … en tot wat groots") the horse recently captured by Count Maurits of Nassau at the battle of Nieuwpoort. The master whom Van Mander most praises for his equal skill at painting small and precisely, as well as large and boldly, is Joachim Wtewael; see, for example, "Life of Joachim Wtewael, Painter of Utrecht," in ibid., fol. 296v: "So, too, one would hardly know to say whether he was more excellent at [painting] large or small, which is a sign of having in one's possession a very good judgment and understanding, something rarely found amongst painters: for one often sees large and small works and figures by one and the same hand, which one would think had been done by two masters, being very disparate in virtue of art." In almost the same breath, Van Mander cites large paintings, "loosely ordonnanced" yet "excellent in drawing and coloring" ("los geordineert, uytnemende in zijn teyckeninge en coloreringe"), such as the *Nativity with Adoration of the Shepherds* in the Amsterdam collection of Joachim's cousin Lucas (resident at the house known as Apelles), and "small works, exceptionally sharp and precise" ("van uytnemende scherpheyt en netticheyt"), such as the "richly detailed, very subtle and polished" ("aerdigh en suyver ghedaen") *Banquet of the Gods* on copper, in the Amsterdam collection of Joan Ycket. The term *suyver* can mean *mundus* (pure, clear), but also *nitidus, splendidus* (bright, shining, polished) as well as *lautus* (neat, elegant) and *integer* (fresh, spotless, blameless, irreproachable); see Kiliaan, *Etymologicum Teutonicae linguae*, 542. As Göttler ascertains, in "Yellow, Vermilion, and Gold," 255, Van Mander himself essayed the two manners of painting—precise and bold—in his *Continence of Scipio* of 1600, the finely painted obverse of which depicts the eponymous exemplum, whereas the reverse, an allegory of natural law (but also of nature as source of the rules of art) is more boldly and loosely painted, both with the brush and, in places, directly with the fingers. As Göttler further indicates, Van Mander may have been imitating his friend Cornelis Ketel, whose ability to paint broadly, not only with his thumb and fingers but also his feet, he describes in

"Life of Cornelis Ketel, excellent Painter, of Gouda," in *Schilder-Boeck*, Book IV, fol. 278r.

[38] In "Life of Lucas van Leyden," in *Schilder-Boeck*, Book IV, fol. 213v, Van Mander deprecates the nude figures in the *Last Judgment*, too sharply silhouetted on the side from which the light falls: "… as was then the custom amongst painters … these nudes were lit very sharply, or rather, cut off" ("op den dagh wat seer centich, oft ghesneden"). In "Life of Maarten [van] Heemskerck, artful, esteemed Painter," in ibid., fol. 245r, he levels the same criticism against the master's *Saint Luke Painting the Virgin and Child*, which he characterizes as painted "in the manner of Scorel, very sharply demarcated on the daylit side" ("seer cantich afgesneden op den dagh"). His repudiation of sharply lit and demarcated forms, recalls Dolce's injunction to avoid silhouetted colors, either bright or shaded; see Roskill, ed. and trans., *Dolce's Aretino*, 154–155: "Now the blending of the colors needs to be diffused and unified in such a way that it is naturalistic, and that nothing offends the gaze such as contour lines, which should be avoided (since nature does not produce them), and blackness, a term I use for harsh and unintegrated shadows."

[39] This is a typical example of Van Mander's tendency to give prosopopoeic agency to a picture's constituent elements. Miedema, in *Karel van Mander, Grondt*, 2:601, cites the column rising above the Virgin in Van Heemskerck's *Annunciation* from the *Drapers' Altarpiece* (Frans Hals Museum, Haarlem) as a textbook example of the lighting scheme Van Mander here codifies. Added by Cornelis Corneliszoon, the topmost segment of the column follows this scheme even more closely.

[40] Red lake was generally mixed with a blue pigment such as azurite to produce various shades of purple; see Billinge, Campbell, Dunkerton, et al., "Methods and Materials," 37. Van Mander counsels against modulating the flesh-tint too far in this direction, which can result from using red pigments other than vermilion. De Mayerne, in Berger, ed., *Quellen für Maltechnik*, 110–111, indicates that mixing lake and white, or lake, cinnabar, and white, presumably for flesh tints, was standard practice in the early seventeenth century. De Mayerne considers lake (unlike vermilion) one of several colors lacking in body; see ibid., 132–133. Starting with stanza 29, where he turns from preliminary topics such as ground colors, priming, and shading to coloring proper, Van Mander focuses primarily on flesh tints,

virtually equating *carnaty* with "wel verwen, oft coloreren." Citing H. Miedema, "Koloriet, lichtval en stofuitdrukking," in idem, *Kunst, kunstenaar en kunstwerk bij Karel van Mander: Een analyse van zijn levensbeschrijvingen* (Alphen aan den Rijn: 1981), 156–162, Lehmann acutely observes that the construal of *coloreren* as *wel verwen* in chapter 12 also fully informs the Netherlandish and German lives in *Schilder-Boeck*, Book IV, where every specific reference to color has to do with flesh color; see Lehmann, "Fleshing Out the Body," 99, 108, n. 82. Typical is the "Life of Joos van Cleef, called jester Cleef, Excellent Painter of Antwerp," fol. 227r: "He was the master who, in his day, was rightly [considered] the best colorist, who modeled his works very subtly, and painted them very fleshily, solely using the flesh-tint itself to heighten them."

[41] Kiliaan, *Etymologicum Teutonicae linguae*, 708, defines *incarnaet* as *ruffus* (red, reddish), *purpureus color* (purple, reddish violet), and colloquially, as *incarnatus* (from *incarno*, *incarnari*, to make flesh, become incarnate, in the theological sense), "colorem vivae carnis referens" (referring to the color of living flesh), and "ex albo rufescens" (to become red from white). The premium Van Mander places on a blooming / blushing flesh-tint, and on a color shading toward lustrous vermilion rather than consisting of a generic mixture of lake and white, aligns with the two latter connotations. His investment in generating a persuasive flesh-tint corresponds to the emphasis on becoming flesh, explicit in the derivation of *incarnatus* from *incarno, incarnari*. However, here (in the phrase "incarnaten carnaty") and elsewhere in the *Schilder-Boeck*, he distinguishes between *carnaty* (flesh-tint) and *incarnaten* (carnation, incarnadine). On the distinction between flesh-tint, mixed from vermilion, lead white, and other colors, and carnation, mixed from red lake and lead white, see Lehmann, "Fleshing Out the Body," 106, n. 35. Van Mander's acute interest in flesh tints partially derives from his first-hand familiarity with Venetian and Lombard coloring as well as with Dolce's discussion of *colorito* in the *Aretino*, on which see Melion, "Karel van Mander et les origines du discours historique sur l'art," passim. On the art theoretical connection between *colorito* and *carni*, from out of which Dolce was writing, see D. Bohde, "'Le tinte delle carni': Zur Begrifflichkeit für Haut und Fleisch in italienischen Kunstraktaten des 15. bis 17. Jahrhunderts," in Bohde and M. Fend, eds., *Weder Haut noch Fleisch: Das Inkarnat in der Kunstgeschichte* (Berlin: 2007), 41–63.

[42] Van Mander advises that vermilion, or a combination of orange-tinged madder lake and opaque vermilion, should form the basis of a blooming, i.e., blushing, flesh-tint; see ibid. 38–39. On the term *gloeyen* (luster), which can also be translated "glow," and Van Mander's use of it to refer to glowing shadows warmed by the action of re-reflected light, see Taylor, "The Glow in Late Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century Dutch Paintings," 173–174. In paintings by Hendrick Goltzius, for example, *weerglans* is one of the chief devices whereby shadowed flesh is both enlivened and warmed. As Taylor shows, Van Mander also considered "glow" a means to enhance the rounded appearance of a figure's limbs. On the nomenclature around lake pigment, which extends from lac and kermes to cochineal, see Harley, *Artists' Pigments*, 131–135; and H. Schweppen and H. Roosen-Runge, "Carmine—Cochineal Carmine and Kermes Carmine," in B.H. Berrie, R.L. Feller, E.W. Fitzhugh, and A. Roy, eds., *Artists' Pigments: A Handbook of Their History and Characteristics*, 4 vols. (Washington, D.C.: 1993–2007), 1:255–265. On vermilion (red mercuric sulphide), which was available in both natural and manufactured forms, see Harley, *Artists' Pigments*, 125–128; and R.J. Gettens, R.L. Feller, and W.T. Chase, "Vermilion and Cinnabar," in Roy, ed., *Artists' Pigments*, 2:159–167. Vermilion was also used to reproduce the lustrous glow of shaded flesh, a pictorial device that goes back to Jan van Eyck and Geertgen tot Sint Jans; Lehmann, in "Fleshing Out the Body," 100–101, calls attention to the fact that in using a red paint layer to shade flesh tints, Goltzius and his followers were, unbeknownst to them, reviving and adapting an early Netherlandish pictorial technique. As she further observes (103), the terminology Van Mander and later Dutch art theorists use to talk about *coloreren* derives from workshop practice, focuses on materials and techniques, and turns flesh color into a synecdoche for coloring at large. Van Mander's discussion of glowing flesh tints (more precisely, of "flesh-like luster" ["vleeschigher gloeyen"]) in stanzas 29 and 30, should be read in tandem with his treatment of an allied category of luster—*blinckentheyt*—in the "Life of Jan and Hubrecht van Eyck" in *Schilder-Boeck*, Book IV, fol. 199r–v, as Christine Göttler has recently pointed out. Whereas *gloeyen* and *gloeyentheyt* refer specifically to the warm glow of flesh tints and evoke the tactile sensation of warmth also associated with fiery hot coals or metals, *blincken* and *blinckentheyt* refer to the cool "shine and sparkle of metallic or crystalline surfaces"; see Göttler, "Yellow, Vermilion, and Gold," 241, 244–245. The joint appeal of *gloeyentheyt* to sight and touch qualifies it, in Aristotelian terms, as a common sensible that activates two senses and can properly be perceived only

when these senses operate in conjunction with the cognitive faculty of judgment, known as the "common sense"; on common sensibles as a theme of art in Antwerp painting of the early seventeenth century, see Honig, *Brueghel and the Senses of Scale*, 53–54.

[43] Cf. *Grondt*, chapter 10, stanza 22, in which Van Mander advises painters to rely on glazes if they wish to produce an effect of "glowing transparency" ("gloedich doorschijnen"). In "Life of Hendrick Goltzius," in *Schilder-Boeck*, Book IV, fol. 285v, Van Mander lauds to Goltzius, newly returned from Italy, for inspiring his fellow masters to fix their attention on glowing flesh tints: "It was a joy to [other] painters, a source of nourishment, to hear him speak about such things: for his every word was a glowing flesh-tint, a glowing shadow, and [full of] other such rare, little heard-of tales." Goltzius thus finds himself impelled to turn from his former practice of *teyckenconst* to drawing in colored crayons, and then to painting in oils.

[44] As Miedema remarks, in *Karel van Mander, Grondt*, 2:602, Van Mander's insistence that flesh tints be varied in respect of age and station accords with Vasari's similar advice regarding varieties of flesh-tint, in the technical preface; see *Vasari on Technique*, ed. Baldwin Brown, trans. Maclehose, 220. Vasari encourages painters to vary the colorings of flesh to such an extent that they achieve an effect of "concordant discord" ("fa nel dipinto una discordanza accordatissima"); see Vasari, *Vite*, ed. Milanesi, 1:181. In "Life of Cornelis Corneliszoon, excellent Painter of Haarlem," in *Schilder-Boeck*, Book IV, fol. 293r, Van Mander extols Cornelis for his ability to describe "various flesh tints" ("verscheyden carnatien"), praising his *Massacre of the Innocents* of 1591 for differentiating between male and female flesh ("van mannen, vrouwen"), between young and old ("van verscheyden ouderdommen"), and for describing the "tender young flesh" of infants ("dat teer jongh vleesch der kinderen") as well as the bloodless complexion of the murdered children ("den uytgebloedde lichamen").

[45] Cf. Roskill, ed. and trans., *Dolce's Aretino*, 152–153: "It is true that their tones should vary and equally display a respect for the sexes, age, and station."

[46] In "Life of Pieter Bruegel," in ibid., fol. 233v, Van Mander extols the master's "very subtle" ("seer aerdigh") *Peasant Wedding* for its peasants whose faces and bodies are painted in "yellow and brown, as if

burned by the sun, their skin ugly unlike that of city folk" ("gheel en bruyn, als van de son verbrandt, en leelijck van huydt wesende, den stee-luyden niet ghelijckende"). In "Life of Dirck Barendszoon," Van Mander praises the "tanned faces of several old sailors" in Barendszoon's *Civic Militia Company of Saint Sebastian*, on which see Miedema, ed., *Van Mander, Lives*, 4:200.

[47] Van Mander equates cleaving close to the appearance of nature, in line 2, with pleasing the eye of the ordinary viewer, in line 3, and presumes that mimetic truth will elicit a positive response from the "common eye" ("de ghemeen ooghe"). Rivius, *Der furnembsten … Künst, eygentlicher Bericht*, fol. ddd4r, likewise invokes the "common eye" as a judicious judge of a picture's worth. The conception of the common eye goes back to the anecdote, told by Pliny in *Naturalis historia* XXXV.xxxvi.84, and codified by Alberti in *De pictura*, that Apelles was wont to display his paintings in a public gallery to solicit the opinions of common men. See Alberti, *De pictura*, trans. Sinisgalli, 83–84: "… one also needs to receive all observers from everywhere during the execution of the work itself and [to] listen to them. This way, in fact, the painter's work will be pleasing to a great number of people. Therefore, one will not refuse [the] criticism and judgment of a great number of people, when it is still possible to meet with suggestions. They say that Apelles used to hide behind the picture both in order that the observers spoke more liberally and that he personally listened to them while they showed in a more sincere way faults of his work. Therefore, I wish that our painters both listen more often freely and ask all people what they think, since this is an aid not only for definite objects but also to catch favor with respect to the painter." Van Mander incorporates this anecdote into "Life of Apelles," in *Schilder-Boeck*, Book II, fol. 78v, stating that Apelles "held the judgment of many a poor, common man in no contempt," and further, that "he frequently placed the judgment of common men above his own."

[48] Throughout *Schilder-Boeck*, Book IV, Van Mander returns frequently to the topic of "flesh-colored highlights": see, for example, "Life of Jacques de Backer, excellent Painter of Antwerp," fol. 232r, on pictures such as *Venus, Juno, and Pallas*, in which De Backer secures his reputation as one of the best colorists in Antwerp through his "fleshy manner of painting" ("vleeschachtighe manier van schilderen"), and by "heightening not only in white but with flesh tints" ("soo niet met enckel wit, maer met carnatie verhoogende"); "Life of Hendrick

Goltzius," fol. 286r, on Goltzius's *Allegory of the Church as Bride of Christ* and its "flesh-colored highlights" ("carnatiachtighe hooghselen") in high relief; and "Life of Francesco Badens," fol. 298v, on the "luminosity of [Badens's] flesh tints" and his "flesh-colored shading" ("de gloeyentheyt in lijf-verwe en vleeschachtighe diepselen") which counter the tendency of many Netherlandish painters to paint flesh as if it were "a stony gray, or pale, fish-like, chilly in color" ("van een steenachtige graeuwicheyt, oft bleecke Vischachtighe, coudtachtighe verwe").

[49] Although I have translated *in't leven* as "in living persons," a more literal translation would be "in the life." By white, Van Mander probably means lead white, which is formed from lead, in the form of an acetate or a carbonate, although he may also be referring to ceruse, a pigment made from lead or tin with an admixture of chalk; see Harley, *Artists' Pigments*, 165–166 (on ceruse), 166–172 (on lead white), and R.J. Gettens, H. Kühn, and W.T. Chase, "Lead White," in Roy, ed., *Artists' Pigments*, 2:67–69. Also see De Mayerne's remarks on the common colors lead white and ceruse (which consists of half chalk), in Berger, ed., *Quellen für Maltechnik*, 118–119.

[50] Stanza 33 largely paraphrases Rivius, *Der furnembsten … Künst, eygentlicher Bericht*, fol. ccc4v; and Alberti, *De pictura*, trans. Sinisgalli, 71. Rivius and Alberti are surely the "several writers" to whom Van Mander refers in line 4. On ultramarine, see Harley, *Artists' Pigments*, 43–46 (natural), 58–59 (artificial); and J. Plesters, "Ultramarine Blue, Natural and Artificial," in Roy, ed., *Artists' Pigments*, 2:37–44.

[51] Van Mander comments on Goltzius's high regard for Titian's "advancing lights and receding, blended darks," in "Life of Hendrick Goltzius," in *Schilder-Boeck*, Book IV, fol. 285v, on which see note 42 *supra*. Van Mander's description precisely matches no surviving picture by Titian: the *Nativity with Adoration of the Shepherds* in the Pitti, identified as the picture in question by Helen Noë, in *Carel van Mander en Italië*, 99–100, includes no shepherd with a spotlit brow; Miedema, in *Karel van Mander, Grondt*, 2:603, adverts to the second king in Titian's *Adoration of the Magi* in the Prado, who is no shepherd but does have a spotlit brow. Van Mander's information came from Goltzius, who perhaps misremembered a picture by Titian or misattributed to him a picture by someone else.

[52] See, for example, the canon of Italian masters—Raphael, Correggio, Titian, Veronese, et al.—cited by Goltzius for their *wel verwen*, in *Schilder-Boeck*, Book IV, fol. 285v. The larger context for this canon is Van Mander's conviction that the Venetians are the supreme colorists; see "Life of Jacopo Bassano," in ibid., fol. 180r: "Just as the art of painting had finally chosen Venice as her well-pleasing home." Also see "Life of Jacopo Palma," fol. 187r: "So may no city proclaim itself above Venice for having had for so long a time so many fine, eminent colorists and well-coloring painters."

[53] Van Mander deplores lighting and shading that are too even and unmodulated, preferring the sorts of tonal variation endorsed in *Grondt*, chapter 7, stanzas 30–45, and chapter 8, stanzas 10–12, amongst others.

[54] On the recent resurgence of *coloreringhe* in the Netherlands, see the exordium to "Life of Francesco Badens," in *Schilder-Boeck*, Book III, fol. 298v: "We have lately seen an improvement and change in the better appearance of coloring, flesh tints, and shading in our Netherlands, which have increasingly abandoned the [former] stony grayness, the pale, piscine, chilly colors, in that glowing flesh tints and flesh-colored shading have now very much come into use." One of several predecessors celebrated for their fine figures, which is to say, implicitly for their masterful flesh tints, is Frans Floris, whom Van Mander cites to contest Vasari's deprecating remarks about northern figure painters; see "Life of Frans Floris, excellent Painter of Antwerp," fol. 239r.

[55] Amongst the Italian masters, Van Mander particularly praises Federico Barocci for the graceful audacity of his paint handling; see "Life of Federico Barocci, outstanding Painter of Urbino," in ibid., fol. 186v: "In his painting he has ever been very flowing, diffusing [oil colors] so subtly, that he works them even a ways across drapery hems into the ground upon which they trail, finding it intolerable that anything should be sharply cut off." The phrase "aerdich verdrijvende" (diffusing subtly) evokes the swaying motion of Barocci's brush that imbricates fields of color, causing them to flow seamlessly ("schilderen seer vloeyende"). On the term *verdrijven* and the brushwork it betokens, see chapter 1, stanza 29, note 18 *supra*.

[56] Just as in chapters 4 and 8, the reader learned that the motions of the human body are analogous to the ways in which a varied land-

scape mobilizes the viewer's eyes, so the colors of the human face are now seen to be analogous to the full spectrum of a landscape's many colors. The parallel Van Mander draws between facial complexion and multicolored landscape somewhat recalls Palma Giovane's account of Titian's late manner of coloring; printed posthumously in the foreword to Marco Boschini's *Ricche minere della pittura Veneziana* (Venice: Francesco Nicolini 1674), fols. B4v–b5r, Palma's text describes how Titian crafts the illusion of living flesh by building layers of colors upon a particolored ground. Flesh color thus incorporates a full assortment of hues. For a translation, see U. Birkmaier, A. Wallert, and A. Rothe, "Technical Examinations of Titian's *Venus and Adonis*: A Note on Early Italian Oil Painting Technique," in Wallert, Hermens, and Peek, eds., *Historical Painting Techniques*, 117–126, esp. 120: "He used to sketch his pictures with a great mass of colours, which served as a base for the compositions he had to construct .... When he wanted to apply his brush again ... he would treat his picture like a good surgeon would his patient, reducing if necessary some swelling or excess of flesh .... Thus he gradually covered these quintessential forms with living flesh, bringing them by many stages to a state in which they lacked only the breath of life." De Mayerne, by contrast, limits the flesh tints to combinations of lead white, yellow, ocher, and brown-red, and even allows ivory-black, presumably for the deepest shadows; see Berger, ed., *Quellen für Maltechnik*, 254–255. In recipe books on color, flesh tints often require the most complex mixtures: in the *Schedula* of Theophilus Presbyter, for example, the chapter on the flesh-tint *olchus* states that it is made from vermilion, lead white, and green earth, while *mensch* incorporates a bluish hue; see Lehmann, "Fleshing Out the Body," 89–90. On the wide variety of pigments mixed and layered to produce different shades of flesh tints in miniatures, see N. Turner, "The Manuscript Painting Technique of Jean Bourdichon," in T. Kren and M. Evans, eds., *A Masterpiece Reconstructed: The House of Louis XII* (Los Angeles: 2005), 63–80; A.S. Lehmann, "Jan van Eyck und die Entdeckung der Leibfarbe," in Bode and Fend, eds., *Weder Haut noch Fleisch*, 21–40, esp. notes 28, 31, and 51; and eadem, "Fleshing Out the Body", 93. On the equally wide variety of pigments used to portray flesh in the medium of oil painting, see E. van de Wetering, "Reflections on the Relation between Technique and Style: The Use of the Palette by the Seventeenth-Century Painter," in Wallert, Hermens, and Peek, eds., *Historical Painting Techniques*, 196–201.

[57] The phrase "moet … zijn al in een verdreven," which I have adjusted from passive to active for the sake of sense, more literally translates "must be driven / pressed / blended into one." Van Mander envisages forceful handling that yet produces an effect of sweetness.

[58] The admonition not to paint patchily paraphrases Vasari, *Vite*, 1:179; and *Vasari on Technique*, ed. Baldwin Brown, trans. Maclehose, 218. Also see Dolce's remarks on unified diffusion of colors in note 38 *supra*; and, on the *unione* mode of coloring, chapter 11, stanza 12, note 11 *supra*.

[59] In the closing lines of stanza 37, Van Mander speaks modally in the voice of an experienced, well-traveled painter, as Miedema aptly observes in *Karel van Mander, Grondt*, 2:605. Whereas publications such as his 1602 Dutch translation of Dirk Philips's rigorist tractate (1602) on congregational discipline indicate that he espoused the orthodox views of the Mennonite sect known as Oude Vlamingen (Old Flemings), here he compares bad coloring to sectarian obstinacy and counsels the aspiring colorist to jettison false doctrines, indeed to "give free rein to infidelity [against such doctrines]." Literally translated, "overspeelt hier vry" signifies "freely commit adultery." For a devout Mennonite such as Van Mander, it was inquisitorial Catholics, the Walloon Malcontents, and hard-line Calvinists who would have been viewed as obstinate sectarians. David A. Shank has shown, in "Karel van Mander's Mennonite Roots in Flanders," in *Mennonite Quarterly Review* 79 (2005): 231–249, that Van Mander, who came from a prosperous noble, Catholic family, probably converted to Mennonitism soon after his return from Italy in 1577. His assertion, in the Preface to Book IV, that in writing the *Schilder-Boeck* he has deliberately chosen "not to assemble a Heroes-Book (*Helden-Boeck*) of war, or of gun-powder's exploding cruelties, but rather to describe brush-strokes and painted panels," can be seen to express the avowed pacifism of a full-fledged member of the Mennonite *gemeente* (community); see "Voor-reden op t'Leven der Nederlandtsche en Hooghduytsche vermaerde schilders" (Preface to the Lives of the Netherlandish and High German Painters), fol. 198r. On Van Mander's pacifism as it relates to other strictly held tenets of the Old Flemish congregation, see Shank, "Van Mander's Mennonite Roots," 233–241. Other coded references to Mennonitism punctuate the *Schilder-Boeck*, on which see ibid., 245 n. 39: for instance, there is Van Mander's predilection for nuptial imagery. To cite one salient example, he reads Hendrick Goltzius's *Heaven or Heavenly Joy*, painted for Jan Mathijssen

Ban (and now lost), as a nuptial allegory of the Church of God as the bride of Christ, in the guise of St. Catherine. On this painting, see "Life of Hendrick Goltzius," in *Schilder-Boeck*, Book IV, fol. 286r–v. Menno Simons taught, on the basis of Ephesians 5:25, that the brethren are the Church of God or *gemeente Christi*, the "holy and blameless bride of Christ." Shank argues plausibly that Van Mander, throughout his writings, speaks in dual modes of address. We might apply this insight as follows: at the end of stanza 37, his curious use of a facetious sectarian metaphor, along with his witty tone, accords with the Mennonite belief that it is permissible to accommodate one's voice to the expectations and usage of nonbelievers; but in throwing his support behind Bishop Hans Busschaert and defending Dirck Phillips's call for strict discipline and excommunication of apostates, he speaks in the voice of a Mennonite brother addressing his fellow brethren. This modal binary arises from the Mennonite doctrine of the duality of church and world; see Shank, "Van Mander's Mennonite Roots," 239.

[60] Van Mander affirms that practical experience, and trial and error, are the sure bases of understanding (*verstande*).

[61] Dolce issues a similar prohibition against using black pigment to portray human flesh; see Roskill, ed. and trans., *Dolce's Aretino*, 154–155. On lampblack, the blackest version of which comes from charred ivory, see Berger, ed., *Quellen für Maltechnik*, 104–105, 274–275, and, on using ivory-black to shade lampblack, 110–111; and Harley, *Artists' Pigments*, 159–161. Lampblack is one of a family of carbon-based pigments, on which, see J. Winter and E.W. Fitzhugh, "Pigments Based on Carbon," in B.H. Berrie, ed., *Artists' Pigments*, 4:1–37.

[62] On the natural and burnt forms of umber-earth, see Berger, ed., *Quellen für Maltechnik*, 106–107, 120–121; on umber and its relation to brown ocher, see Harley, *Artists' Pigments*, 148–149. Umbers are members of the iron-oxide family of pigments, on which, see K. Helwig, "Iron Oxide Pigments (Natural and Synthetic)," in Berrie, ed., *Artists' Pigments*, 4:39–109.

[63] On bitumen, also known as asphaltum, a dark brown pigment used for shading and glazing, see Berger, ed., *Quellen für Maltechnik*, 270–271; and Harley, *Artists' Pigments*, 150–152.

[64] On Cologne earth, a reddish brown, see Berger, ed., *Quellen für Maltechnik*, 106–107; and Harley, *Artists' Pigments*, 149–150.

[65] On terre verte, a mineral pigment also known as *bol vert*, see Berger, ed., *Quellen für Maltechnik*, 142–143; Harley, *Artists' Pigments*, 76–77; and C.A. Grissom, "Green Earth," in Berrie, Feller, et al., eds., *Artists' Pigments*, 1:141–146.

[66] On the dangers of lampblack, with specific reference to its deleterious effect on Raphael's *Transfiguration* in San Pietro in Montorio, see Vasari, *Vite*, ed. Milanesi, 4:378.

[67] On massicot, a lead-based yellow, sometimes called lead-tin yellow, see Harley, *Artists' Pigments*, 95–98; and H. Kühn, "Lead-Tin Yellow," in Roy, ed., *Artists' Pigments*, 2:83–93. De Mayerne, rather than using it to brighten flesh tints, recommends massicot as the base color for the bright green of sunlit trees; see Berger, ed., *Quellen für Maltechnik*, 118–119.

[68] On yellow ocher and its use as a bright underlayer, see Berger, ed., *Quellen für Maltechnik*, 104–105, 336–337; on the many types of yellow iron oxide known as ochers, which can vary from dull yellow to red, see Harley, *Artists' Pigments*, 89–91.

[69] On lampblack and its liability to degrade, see stanzas 39 and 40 *supra*.

[70] On minium, an orange-red pigment also known as red lead, see Harley, *Artists' Pigments*, 123–125; and E. West Fitzhugh, "Red Lead and Minium," in Berrie, Feller, et al., eds., *Artists' Pigments*, 1:109–118.

[71] On Spanish green, a copper acetate also known as verdigris, see ibid., 80–83; Van Eikema Hommes, *Changing Pictures*, 78–80; and H. Kühn, "Verdigris and Copper Resinate," in Roy, ed., *Artists' Pigments*, 2:131–136.

[72] On yellow sulphide of arsenic, known as orpiment, see Harley, *Artists' Pigment*, 93–94; and E. West Fitzhugh, "Orpiment and Realgar," in West Fitzhugh, ed., *Artists' Pigments*, 3:47–51. In the "Life of Hendrick Goltzius," in *Schilder-Boeck*, Book IV, fol. 282r, Van Mander mentions that during Goltzius's childhood, his father Jan had once unwittingly let him put *auripigmentum* (orpiment) in his mouth

[73] Van Mander refers here to such treasurable colors as ultramarine and azurite, on which see Berger, ed., *Quellen für Maltechnik*, 110–111, 226–227, 250–253; Harley, *Artists' Pigments*, 43–49; and Billinge, Campbell, Dunkerton, et al., "Methods and Materials," 34–37.

[74] On smalt, made from cobalt mixed with silica, see Berger, ed., *Quellen für Maltechnik*, 110–111, 270–271, 332–333; Harley, *Artists' Pigments*, 53–56; Billinge, Campbell, Dunkerton, et al., "Methods and Materials," 36; and B. Mühlethaler and J. Thissen "Smalt," in Roy, ed., *Artists' Pigments*, 2:113–115.

[75] Kiliaan, *Etymologicum Teutonicae linguae*, 237, defines *cladtpapier* both as *charta emporetica* (packing-paper) and *papyrus bibula* (blotting-paper).

[76] On these various techniques of ensuring that smalt mixes properly with oil, becoming suffused by it, see Van *Eikema Hommes*, *Changing Pictures*, 26–27. On Peter Paul Rubens's method of mixing smalt with varnish and applying it thinly to preserve its brightness and stabilize its oil-saturation, see Berger, ed., *Quellen für Maltechnik*, 332–333.

Chapter 13: "On the origin, nature, force, and effect of Colors"

[1] Chapter 13 opens and closes with brief accounts of the ontologies of color, at the creation of the world and at its end, when colors, ceasing to be phenomenal, will achieve their final perfection in the celestial Jerusalem. The middle stanzas concern the affective and cognitive functions of colors as well as their seductive properties and the need for an appropriate moral response to colors' effects on the senses, mind, and heart.

[2] Like much of chapter 13, the opening couplet originates from Hyppolyte Cocheris Sicille's popular book on heraldic blasons, devices, and *impresae*; see *Le blason des couleurs en armes, livrées et devises. Livre tres-utille et subtil pour sçavoir et congnoistre d'une et chacune couleur la vertu et propriété. Et la manière de blasonner, et faire livres, devises, et leur blason* (The Blasons of Colors and Arms, Liveries and Devises. A very Useful and Subtle Book for Knowing and Recognizing the Virtue and Property of Each and Every Color. And the Manner of Blazoning, and Fashioning Liveries, Devices, and Their Coats of

Arms.) (Paris: Anthoine Hoüic, 1582), fol. 21r. On Sicille, see C. Göttler, "'Sicille': *Les metaulx en Grec*, in *Le blason des couleurs en armes, livres & devises*, 1540?," in L. Markey, ed., *Renaissance Invention: Stradanus's Nova Reperta*, exh. cat., Newberry Library (Evanston: 2020), 229.

[3] The conception of God as a divine painter and / or sculptor derives from the metaphor of *Deus Artifex* (God the Artificer) in Lactantius, *De opificio Dei, vel de formatione hominis* (On the Workmanship of God, or the Formation of Man) II, VIII, IX, X, for which, see P.E Herbert, ed., *Selections from the Latin Fathers* (Boston, New York, et al.: 1924), 43, 48, 49, 50; and in Ambrose, *Hexaemeron* III, for which, see ibid., 52. On the significance of the trope for the visual arts, see E. Østrom, "*Deus artifex* and *Homo creator*: Art between the Human and the Divine," in S.R. Havsteen, N.H. Petersen, H.W. Schwab, and Østrom, eds., *Medieval Rituals, the Arts, and the Concept of Creation*, Ritus et Artes 2 (Turnhout: 2007), 15–48. God is characterized as *Deus Artifex* in Rivius, *Der furnembsten … Künst, eygentlicher Bericht*, fol. mmmIV; and Vasari, *Vite*, ed. Milanesi, 1:215–216.

[4] Van Mander paraphrases Genesis 1:2, in [*Biestkens*] *Bibel*, fol. 1r [O.T.], as well as Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 1.7, in *Metamorphoses*, trans. Miller, 1:3: "Before the sea was, and the lands, and the sky that hangs over all, the face of Nature showed alike in her whole round, which state have men called chaos: a rough, unordered mass of things, nothing at all save lifeless bulk and warring seeds of ill-matched elements heaped in one." In *Wtlegghingh*, fol. 1r, Van Mander gives *Demogorgon* as an alternative name for *Chaos*, also citing Hesiod, Euripides, and other wise pagan poets: "Therein [the poets] devise to say either that the all-powerful Creator had somewhere a passel of stuff with which to construct the world, or, that same stuff being merely unformed, disposed it in its proper place, making the inapt apt. For they opine that there was but one form in the whole of nature, which was a rough, formless heap, everything lying altogether conjoined, awaiting to be arranged in a better order. This was Chaos, which some call Demogorgon, father of all things, older than the gods." Van Mander borrowed the term *Demogorgon* from Boccaccio, *Genealogia deorum gentilium*, "Prohemium" and I.vi; see *Genealogie deorum gentilium libri*, ed. V. Romano, 2 vols. (Bari: 1951), 17, 19, 33. On Van Mander's portrayal of Chaos as a Titanesque old man exhaling a cloud of formless vapor, and his exposition of this figure as an embodiment of the ancient secrets and mysteries he proposes to unfold in the *Wtlegghingh* (fol. *4v), see C. Göttler,

"Imagination in the Chamber of Sleep: Karel van Mander on Somnus and Morpheus," in C. Lüthy, C. Swan, P. Bakker, and C. Zittel, eds., *Image, Imagination, and Cognition: Medieval and Early Modern Theory and Practice*, Intersections 55 (Leiden and Boston: 2018), 147–176, esp. 170–172. On the iconography of Van Mander's title-page, engraved by Jacob Matham, see A. Hamilton and J. Becker, "From Mythology to Merchandise: An Interpretation of the Engraved Title of Van Mander's *Wtleggingh*," *Quaerendo* 14 (1984): 18–42. Van Mander plays wittily upon notions of divine artifice and manufacture, on which see M. Thimann, "Weltschöpfung—Werkschöpfung: Zur Metaphorik von Chaos und Kosmos im 16. Jahrhundt am Beispiel des Archäologen Jean Jacques Boissard," in G. Guthmüller, B. Hamm, and A. Tönnesmann, *Künstler und Literat: Schrift- und Buchkultur in der europäischen Renaissance* (Wiesbaden: 2006), 253–295.

[5] Van Mander conceives of color as an inherent quality that lodges in objects even when darkness makes their colored surfaces indiscernible to the human eye. The same principle underlies chapter 8, stanzas 1–6 *supra*, which recount how "fine things in every place on the face of the Earth are unveiled once again," along with their proper colors, at daybreak when the sun rises. On the Aristotelian-Thomist notion that color is a complete quality of the natural existence of a colored body, see C.A. Decaen, "The Viability of Aristotelian-Thomistic Color Realism," *The Thomist: A Speculative Quarterly Review* 65.2 (2001): 179–222.

[6] As Miedema observes in *Van Mander, Grondt*, 2:609, although the ascription of color to elemental composition is Aristotelian (*De coloribus* 791a), the version of this theory in stanza 4 paraphrases Sicille, *Le blason*, fol. 21r, by way of Rivius, *Der furnembsten … Künst, eygentlicher Bericht*, fol. bb1v; and Alberti, *De pictura*, trans. Sinisgalli, 31–32. In saying that colors are elemental by origin, and then adding that they result from the fall of light, namely, the kind and degree of sunlight, Van Mander changes tack, referring to colors not as essential qualities but as phenomena contingent on visual perception. Van Mander may also have consulted the discussion of elemental color in Raffaello Borghini, *Il riposo in cui della pittura, e della scultura si favella* (Florence: Giorgio Marescotti, 1584), 229.

[7] Van Mander may be implying that color is an essential quality that also carries accidental properties, as in the case of a pale complexion that looks rosy at dawn or dusk.

[8] To insist on the process of substantiation, Van Mander utilizes anaphora; line two literally translates; "Of any body from within which it is embodied." The definition of color as materialized clarity comes from Sicille, *Le blazon*, fol. 21r–v. He argues that the absence of color in darkness pertains not to the color itself but to the optics of the eye, since acuity of vision depends upon clarity of illumination ("il ne tient pas à la couleur: mais à la veuë qui n'est pas assez suffisante et aguë").

[9] On the virtue of colors, see Sicille, *Le blazon*, fol. 22r.

[10] As light makes the beauty of colors apparent, so the colors proper to things are quintessential to securing a proper likeness. This notion comes from Rivius, *Der furnembsten … Künst, eygentlicher Bericht*, fol. bb1v; and Alberti, *De pictura*, trans. Sinisgalli, 32.

[11] See Pliny, *Naturalis historia* XXXV.xii.30 (*Natural History*, trans. Rackham, 9: 282–283) for the distinction between natural and artificial colors.

[12] The reference to the "eye's hungry gaze" recalls chapter 5, stanza 33 *supra*, where Van Mander compares the eyes, "hungry for more to see," to pampered guests "sampling all kinds of dishes," and insists that the history painter must compile many "varieties of things" if his ordonnance is to prove beguiling to the beholder. Also see chapter 5, stanza 34, which develops the trope of the hungry eye by drawing an analogy between a complex, multilayered *ordinantie* and a market-stall.

[13] On the power of colors to differentiate one thing from another, including metals, or, in another reading, the likeness of one thing from the likeness of another, see Sicille, *Le blason*, fol. 22v. De Mayerne gives various recipes and techniques for producing the pictorial illusion of lustrous gold; see Berger, ed., *Quellen für Maltechnik*, 284–285, 336–337, 340–341. In "Life of Gillis Coignet, Painter of Antwerp," in *Schilder-Boeck*, Book IV, fol. 262r, Van Mander confirms that the ability to paint a convincing likeness of gold was considered a key measure of pictorial excellence; reacting against Coignet's ingeniously painted night scenes, in which he frequently applied raised gold to represent candle-, torch-, and lamplight, some of his viewers expressed their disapproval, saying that "painters ought to portray everything with colors." Van Mander concludes in a typ-

ically eirenic vein, stating that other viewers, well satisfied with such pictures, countered that "whatsoever improves concinnity (*welstandt*, i.e., good appearance overall) and best deceives the eye of the beholder is good" ("al goet wat den welstandt verbetert, en d'ooghe des aensienders best can bedrieghen").

[14] Anaphora is used to stress the powerful agency of colors, their capacity to produce this vast range of antithetical effects.

[15] On the power of colored things, imagined or actually seen, to induce a change in the appearance of an unborn child, see Sicille, *Le blason*, fol. 22r, with specific reference to a child born black to a woman who while pregnant had envisaged the head of a black person. The ultimate source was Pliny, *Naturalis historia* VII.xii.52; see *Natural History*, ed. Rackham, 2:540–541: "Also a thought suddenly flitting across the mind of either parent is supposed to produce likeness or to cause a combination of features, and the reason why there are more differences in man than in all the other animals is that his swiftness of thought and quickness of mind and variety of mental character impress a great diversity of patterns, whereas the minds of the other animals are sluggish, and are alike for all and sundry, each in their own kind."

[16] Van Mander documents a striking instance of maternal impression in "Life of Gillis Coignet," in *Schilder-Boeck*, Book IV, fol. 262r: Coignet was nicknamed "Gillis with the spot" because of a birthmark on his cheek, "hairy as a mouse because his mother had been frightened by one" during pregnancy.

[17] On birthmarks induced by the sight of blood, see Sicille, *Le blason*, fol. 22r–v. Sicille cites Genesis 30:37–43, the story of Jacob and the flocks to prove the power of spotted plants and bark to imprint their many colors by force of sight; Van Mander paraphrases this story in stanza 12 *infra*.

[18] As Miedema notes, in *Van Mander, Grondt*, 2:611, the phrase "in the East" is interpolated from Genesis 29:1; see [*Biestkens*] *Bibel*, fol. 11r [O.T.].

[19] See [*Biestkens*] *Bibel*, fol. 12r [O.T.].

[20] On the multifarious colors adorning various birds and beasts, see Sicille, *Le blason*, fol. 29v–30r.

[21] On the phoenix, gold at the neck, purple in body, and azure at the tail, see Pliny, *Naturalis historia* X.ii.3–4 (*Natural History*, ed. Rackham, 3:292–295).

[22] On the peacock's plumage which gleams like jewels when struck by sunlight, see Pliny, *Naturalis historia* X.xxii.43–44 (*Natural History*, ed. Rackham, 3:316–319); and Sicille, *Le blason*, fol. 30r.

[23] On the parrot, "stained with diverse colors," see ibid., fol. 29v.

[24] On the dove's multicolored throat feathers, see ibid., fols. 29v–30r, the ultimate source of which is Isidorus, *Etymologiae* XII.vii.61, as Miedema notes in *Van Mander, Grondt*, 2:611. However, the reference to "shining golden throats" appears to have come from firsthand observation.

[25] See the parable of the lilies in the field, Matthew 6:28–29, in [*Biestkens*] *Bibel*, fol. 4r [N.T.].

[26] The sudden shift of theme from pleasurable Graces to "fell wars" recalls chapter 6, stanzas 19–20 *supra*, where Van Mander associates an adage about the connection between pain and desire, the hand and the eye, with the story Paris and his illicit desire for Helen, sparked by his roving eye and fed by his imploring gaze. Also see chapter 5, stanza 57–59, where the judgment of Paris is seen to license visual pleasure but also to epitomize trickery and deception.

[27] On the continence of Scipio Africanus, who returned a captive Carthaginian woman to Allucius, her husband-to-be, see Livy, *Ab urbe condita* XXVI.50. Valerius Maximus, in *Facta et dicta* IV.iii.1, converted the story into an epitome of abstinent continence; see *Valerii Maximi factorum et dictorum memorabiium libri novem*, ed. C. Kempf (Leipzig: 1888), 177–178. On the continence of Alexander who treated the captive mother, wife, and two unmarried daughters of King Darius like "sacred and inviolable virgins," see Plutarch, "Life of Alexander" XXI–XXII (*Plutarch's Lives*, trans. B. Perrin, 11 vols. [Cambridge, MA: 1914–1926], 7:282–287). Scipio and Alexander also feature prominently in Mexía, *Silva de varia lección* II.xxix; see idem, *De verscheyden lessen*, 304–307. In "Life of Apelles," in *Schilder-Boeck*, Book II, fol. 79r, Van Mander lauds Alexander for having gifted his beloved mistress Campaspe to the lovesick Apelles: "… thus did he confer

[on Apelles] his most beloved possession, thereby showing that his heart was noble and strong, that he had command over himself and had mastered his desires; for which, being lord over himself, he is as worthy to be honored, as for his conquest of the Persians, Medes, and other peoples, cities, and lands. This was an uncommon courtesy, to have given away that which he esteemed more than high estate or riches, thus subduing his very nature and love [itself]." Van Mander diverges from his source text (Pliny, *Naturalis historia* XXXV.xxxvi.86–97) by adding that Alexander's "self-conquest," in that it surpasses every martial virtue, exceeds his victories over the Persians, Medes, and others. The distinction between the two kinds of conquest—moral and martial—correlates to the larger distinction between *schilder-boeck* and *helden-boeck*, on which, see chapter 12, stanza 37, note 59 *supra*.

[28] Van Mander refers to Democritus who blinded himself to safeguard his thoughts from visual distractions of every kind; see Aulus Gellius, *Noctes Atticae* X.xviii (*Attic Nights*, trans. J.C. Rolfe [Cambridge, MA: 1927], 258–261).

[29] The term *boden* can also be translated "messengers," which would emphasize that written words have a kind of embodied agency. As is patently clear from texts such as Lomazzo, *Trattato dell'arte*, 191–192 (*A Tracte Containing the Artes of Curious Paintinge*, trans. Haydocke, 99), and De Mayerne, *Pictoria, sculptoria*, fol. 8r, 10v–11r (Berger, ed., *Quellen für Maltechnik*, 108–111, 118–119), black and white were considered colors. Van Mander, in addressing the dedicatory preface of *Schilder-Boeck*, Book II, to Jacques Razet, a notary and secretary of the Amsterdam Convoy (naval fleet and warships), celebrates his dedicatee's equal love of *Pictura* (Painting, Picturing) and *Schrijf-const* (Calligraphy, Art of Writing), which are designated sister-arts ("Pictura, en haer suster de Schrijf-const"). Stanza 18 complements chapter 2, stanza 2 *supra*, in which writing, construed as a branch of *Grammatica*, is said to enable distant parties to communicate and differing opinions to be reconciled. On the appreciation of calligraphy as *teyckencost*, see W.S. Melion, "Memory and the Kinship of Writing and Picturing in the Early Seventeenth-Century Netherlands," *Word & Image* 8 (1992): 48–70.

[30] This anecdote about the foreignness of European writing and the inability of Native Americans to understand how it functions as a kind of silent speech derives from Jerónimo Benzoni, *Historia del mondo nuovo* (Venice: Francesco Rampazetto, 1565), fols. 108v–109r;

see Benzonius, *De historie, van de nieuwe weerelt*, trans. Van Mander, 245.

[31] Benzoni, *Historia del mondo nuovo*, fols. 121v–122r, was the source of the anecdote relayed by Van Mander in stanzas 20 and 21; see Benzonius, *De historie, van de nieuwe weerelt*, trans. Van Mander, 276. Atabaliba is Benzoni's fractured version of Atahualpa.

[32] On the *quipos camâyos* and their dual function as "memorialen ofte registeren" (memorials or registers), see Josephus de Acosta, *Historie naturael ende morael van de Westersche Indien*, trans. Jan Huyghen van Linschoten, (Enkhuizen: Jacob Lenaertsz. Meyn, 1598), fols. 294v–295r.

[33] Van Mander may have learned about the affective significance of white and black in Java from someone connected with the Dutch East India Company (Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie), which founded a trading post in Banten, West Java, in 1603.

[34] See chapter 2, stanza 2 *supra*.

[35] Van Mander presumably refers to the colors black (ink) and white (paper), although there were other shade of paper and ink, of course; see stanza 18, note 29 *supra*.

[36] Van Mander reports in "On Euphranor, Painter, Sculptor, Bronze Founder, and Engraver," in *Schilder-Boeck*, Book II, fol. 74r, that Euphranor wrote about *Schilder-const*, specifically, on measure and proportion, and on mixing and tempering of colors ("mate en proportie, en van de temperinghe der verwen"). Unlike his source texts—Pliny, *Naturalis historia* XXXV.xl, 128–129; Rivius, *Der furnembsten … Künst, eygentlicher Bericht*, fol. ccc4v; and Alberti, *De pictura*, trans. Sinisgalli, 46—Van Mander specifies that the book on colors focused on *temperinghe*. Kiliaan, *Etymologicum Teutonicae linguae*, 554, defines *temperen* as *temperare* (mix, mingle in due proportion), *moderare* (moderate, temperate, regulate), and *convenienter miscere* (mix fitly, accordantly).

[37] See Revelation 21:18–21, in [*Biestkens*] *Bibel*, fol. 107v [N.T.], although Van Mander's selective sequence diverges from the biblical series of twelve precious stones: jasper, sapphire, chalcedony, emerald, sardonix, sardius (carnelian), chrysolite, beryl, topaz, chrysopase, hyacinth (jacinth, zircon), and amethyst.

Chapter 14: "On the Interpretation of Colors, and what they can signify"

[1] Miedema convincingly argues, on the basis of discrepancies of style and iconography with the rest of the *Schilder-Boeck*, that this was the first chapter of the *Grondt* to be written.

[2] On the incomparable clarity of gold, ranked first amongst metals, see Sicille, *Le blason*, fol. 3r–v. Miedema, in *Van Mander, Grondt*, 2:615, identifies the version of Sicille's treatise consulted by Van Mander as one that also included an anonymous Aristotelian treatise on colors. Chapter 14 follows Sicille's sequence of colors, which starts with gold and silver, before proceeding from red to purple; the Aristotelian sequence begins with white and red and concludes with blue and mixed colors. Van Mander diverges from both Sicille and the Pseudo-Aristotle in that rather than focusing on gold qua gold and its intrinsic meaning, he instead lays stress on the issue of representation, and doubly so, first by likening gold to the appearance of radiant light, and then by likening yellow to the appearance of gold. He thus emphasizes that the meanings he is about to unfold attach to or, better, underscore the representational function of colors. His insistence, in stanzas 17–21, that paintings (as opposed to frames) not be dressed with actual gold, and the close attention he pays, from stanza 15 on, to types of pigment, such as the five species of yellow, and their representational properties, demonstrate the degree to which Van Mander like Vasari before him (though without Vasari's academic commitments) espoused a view of the arts based in Aristotelian epistemology—namely, in the conviction that *schilderconst* is a rational activity that even while dealing mainly with particulars yet partakes of an understanding of universals. Williams argues in *Art, Theory, and Culture in Sixteenth-Century Italy*, 35, that the Aristotelian conception of art fully informs Vasari's doctrine of *disegno*, as worked out in the theoretical statements incorporated into the technical preface of the *Vite* and the proem to part III on the third age of art, both of which first appeared in the second edition of 1568. According to Aristotle, art originates in and issues from the mind's deliberative faculty, which is attuned to variable, i.e., terrestrial things. This faculty consists of two parts: prudence (*phronesis*) is active in that it concerns the action of doing, whereas art (*techne*) is factitive in that it concerns the action of making. Doing and making are seen as somehow complementary to the activities that result from the mind's speculative faculty, which is attuned not to variable

things but to eternal verities: science (*episteme*) discovers necessary truths, intelligence (*nous*) apprehends first principles, and wisdom (*sophia*) approaches to the perfection of divine knowledge. Crucially, these faculties and their respective activities, since all are considered to be rational, are appreciated as essentially related. As Williams felicitously puts it, the speculative and the factitive are construed as "different aspects of an essentially similar mental function" (36), susceptible to analogical elaboration.

When Van Mander states, in stanza 6, that the "most beauteous beauty lies in what is invisibly beautiful, the gracious fountainhead of all beauty," i.e., the Godhead, and then adds, "whereto the bright sun, not to be outshone, is likewise compared," he enters into a chain of association eventually leading from the universal to the particular, from God and the sun to the uses of the color yellow, and conversely, from kinds and degrees of yellow to various intensities of sunlight, and thence to light as an index of divine presence. The ease with which Van Mander moves back and forth along this graduated scale testifies to his belief, anchored in Aristotle, especially the *Nicomachean Ethics*, that the faculties of mind are relational, and that the particularities of artistic practice are entirely compatible with the speculative discernment of universals. In this respect, my reading of the *Grondt* differs fundamentally from that of Jürgen Müller, whose alternative view, set forth with considerable eloquence and force in *Concordia Pragensis*, esp. 123–144, is that the poem embeds, which is to say, conceals at its heart, a neo-Platonic argument about the relation between matter and spirit, or, in the words of Marsilio Ficino's *Commentarium in convivium Platonis de amore* (Commentary on the Symposium of Plato on Love), about the dichotomous relation between light in nature and the light of God, corporeal and spiritual vision, the *vita activa* and the *vita contemplativa*. For Müller, the *Grondt* is composed of two halves: focusing on technical matters bound up with *teyckenconst*, chapters 1–7 enact a kind of *descensus* (descent) into the flawed material world, whereas chapters 8–14, focusing on issues around *schilderconst*—notionally the art of painting, but more precisely, painting as an allegorical apparatus that instrumentalizes the recognition of God—enact a kind of *ascensus* (ascent) from the contingent realm of artistic production to the philosophical or even theological realm of pure speculation. An discussed *supra* (chapter 7, stanzas 45–46, note 55, and stanza 61, note 78), Müller interprets two key extended metaphors invoked in chapter 7—the philosophical parable of Plato's Cave and its symbolic counterpart, the ball of twine with which Ariadne ensured The-

seus's safe passage through the labyrinth—as meta-allegories of the *Grondt* itself, in particular of the epistemological itinerary it tracks from *descensus* to *ascensus*: the Platonic journey from darkness into light, leading from the misapprehension of shadows to the recognition of the mimetic relation between objects and their images, and finally to the cognition of real things, like the journey out of the labyrinth, stands for the transition from a material and technical discourse on picturing (chapters 1–7) to a transcendental discourse on the ethical truths that *schilderconst* enshrines (chapters 8–14). As Müller puts it (139): "The way out of Plato's Cave is analogous to the task of extricating oneself from the 'Labyrinth of Painting.' Ariadne's thread exists in the recognition that painting—rightly understood—is a symbol (*Sinnbild*) not a likeness (*Abbild*)." My quite different sense of the *Grondt* is that far from fleeing the labyrinth of nature and art, Van Mander revels in their material and technical complexities, as witness his reference to Gotzius's *Venus, Bacchus, and Ceres* of 1593, an ink-on-parchment *penwerck* (drawing rendered in the manner of an engraving), as a "Daedalian opus … full of the mysteries of Art" ("Dedalis stuck … vol Consten mistery"); see chapter 7, stanza 49 *supra*. Daedalus was the inventor of the labyrinth, of course, and in calling Goltzius's astonishing command of *reflexy–const* Daedalian, Van Mander asks us to dwell in this artistic maze, at least for a time, and thereby to bear witness to the draftsman's incomparably painterly *teyckenconst*. Rather than advocating that this *mistery* be allegorized, seen as a placeholder for higher mysteries of a different order and kind, he invites us to consider by what mysterious means Goltzius, to quote stanza 46, has depicted the "shadows of Figures projected by [fire]light." The emphasis falls on "Reflections slip[ping] away in every direction," on "figures together with the shadows" they project. It is as if the definition of "image" with which Socrates prefaces the parable of the cave in the *Republic* has become the true subject of Goltzius's labyrinthine *penwerck*; see *Plato's Republic*, trans. Shorey, 2:108–109: "By images I mean, first, shadows, and then reflections in water and on surfaces of dense, smooth, and bright texture, and everything of that kind."

[3] On yellow as the color most like gold and sunlight, see *Sicille*, *Le blason*, fol. 26r. De Mayerne's notes describe massicot, yellow ocher, and minium as the colors best suited for imitating gold; see Berger, ed., *Quellen für Maltechnik*, 265. On Jan van Eyck's technique of painting wet-in-wet with various tones of black and yellow to render the reflective properties of gold brocade, see Gifford, "Jan van Eyck's

Annunciation: Developments and Alterations," in H. Verougstraete and R. van Schoute, eds., *Le dessin sous-jacent dans la peinture* (*Colloque x, 5–7 septembre 1993*) (Louvain-la-Neuve: 1995), 85–93, esp. 87; eadem, "Van Eyck's Washington *Annunciation*," 108; and Monnas, *Merchants, Princes, and Painters*, 110, 113.

[4] Van Mander's imagery of the earth's golden entrails derives from both Ovid, *Metamorphoses* I.137–140 and Ovidius, *Metamorphoses dat is, die Herscheppinge oft veranderinghe*, trans. Johannes Florianus (Amsterdam: Harmen Jansz. Muller, 1588), fol. B2r.

[5] See 1 Timothy 6:10, in [*Biestkens*] *Bibel*, fol. 87v [N.T.].

[6] On the insatiable longing for gold that permeates avaricious men, penetrating more deeply than the earth's deepest recesses, and yet looming over them, higher than its highest heights, see Van Mander's allegorical reading of the tale of Jupiter and Danaë, in "On Danaë, and Perseus," in *Wtlegghingh*, fol. 39r–v.

[7] On Cadmus as the discoverer of gold, Miedema, in *Van Mander, Grondt*, 2:616, identifies Van Mander's source as Carolus Stephanus (Robert Estienne), *Dictionarium historicum, ac poeticum* (Geneva: Jacobus Stoer, 1579), *vide* "Cadmus."

[8] More commonly known as Saulaces.

[9] Van Mander, like most of his contemporaries, misreads Pliny's reference to "Colchis Saulaces Aeetae suboles" (Saulaces the descendant of Aeetes), translating it "Salauces, and Ebusopes"; see Pliny, *Naturalis historia* XXXIII.xv.52 (*Natural History*, trans. Rackham, 9:42–43). On this myth of origin, also see Ottavio Antonio Bayardi, *Prodromo delle antichità d'Ercolano alla maestà del re delle due Sicilie. Parte IV* (Naples: Stampería Palatina, 1752), 1850.

[10] On these supposed co-authors of the *Argonautica*, see "On the Painter Cydias," in *Schilder-Boeck*, Book II, fol. 74r; Cydias was renowned for his painting of the Argonauts. Miedema, in *Van Mander, Grondt*, identifies Stephanus, *Dictionarium historicum*, *vide* "Argonautae," as Van Mander's source.

[11] Van Mander insinuates that the fable, little worthy of belief, should be read as an allegory of the search for gold. In "On Jason," in *Wtleg-*

ghingh, fol. 62r, he states that the voyage of the Argo signifies the alchemist's struggle to find the philosopher's stone that transforms base metals ("lichamen der stoffen," i.e., material bodies) into gold. Medea, viewed through this lens, is the book of secrets ("pergamijnen Boeck," i.e., parchment book) "wherein the true art of making gold was described" ("waer in de rechte Const om goudt maken in was beschreven").

[12] Miedema, in *Van Mander, Grondt*, 2:616, cites two sources for this remark about Hippocrates: Stephanus, *Dictionarium historicum*, *vide* "Aurum"; and / or M. Verrius Flaccus, *Quae extant; et Sex. Pompei Festi de verborum significatione, libri xx*. (Lyons: Petrus Santandreanus, 1593), *vide* "Aurum." On *safferanich* (yellow-gold, orange-gold), see chapter 8, stanza 4, note 2 *supra*. Underlying Van Mander's etymological allusion to Aurora is the supposed derivation of the Latin *aurum* from both *aura* (gleam, glow, bright light) and *Aurora*; see Göttler, "Yellow, Vermilion, and Gold," 256.

[13] On the etymology of *aurum* from *aura*, and its source in Isodorus, see Sicille, *Le blason*, fol. 4r.

[14] On Gregory's association of gold with radiance, see ibid.

[15] The *locus classicus* for the definition of God as radiant, essential beauty is Augustine, *Confessiones* IV.x and IV.xvi; *Confessions*, trans. and ed., C.J.-B. Hammond and W. Watts, 2 vols. (Cambridge, MA: 2014), 1:172–175: "Turn us, O God of Hosts, show us the light of thy countenance, and we shall be whole. For which way soever the soul of man turns itself, unless toward thee, it is even riveted into dolours: yea, though it settles itself upon beautiful objects without thee, and without itself: which beauties were no beauties at all unless they were from thee." Also see ibid., 198–199: "… O my God (whose essence is most wonderfully simple and unchangeable): imagining whatsoever had being, to be comprehended under those ten Predicaments; as if thyself had been subject to thine own greatness or beauty; and that these two had an inheritance in thee, like accidents in their subject, or as in a body; whereas thy greatness and thy beauty is in thy essence." In *Schilder-Boeck*, Book VI, *Wtbeeldinge der figueren*, fol. 133v, the sun is said to signify the "one, true God, also righteous truth."

[16] In turning suddenly from the godly significance of golden sunlight, to "golden-haired" Apollo, Van Mander compiles, in the sense

of aggregates, another connotative analogical device for gold. These devices operate paratactically rather than hypotactically, since he declares in the *Wtlegghingh*, Preface, fol. *4v, that "'twould be "indecorous to interpret pagan fables in a spiritual or Christian sense" ("niet docht te behooren, te weten, dese Heydensche Fabulen te trecken op eenen gheestelijcken sin, en op Christum te duyden"). Sicille, *Le blason*, fol. 3v, licensed the paratactic parallels Van Mander draws between gold and the supraluminous light of the sun, and between the divine radiance of sanctity and both the luster of gold and the clarity of sunlight.

[17] On golden accoutrements of state and their associations with royalty, see Sicille, *Le blason*, fol. 5v.

[18] On Attalus, during whose reign gold embroidery was ostensibly invented, see Pliny, *Naturalis historia* VIII.lxxiv.196 (*Natural History*, trans. Rackham, 3:136–137); and Du Pinet, *L'histoire du monde*, 1:330. In *Grondt*, Preface, fol. *4r, and "Life of Aristides, Painter of Thebes," in *Schilder-Boeck*, Book II, fol. 71v, Van Mander invokes Attalus to underscore the fame of Aristides and, more generally, to attest the high status of the art of painting; with reference to Pliny, *Naturalis historia* XXXV.xxxvi.101, he recounts that Attalus offered six thousand sesterces to ransom the painter's *Bacchus* from Lucius Mumnius, the conqueror of Achaia.

[19] On Babylon as the place of origin for the weaving of multi-colored stuffs, which Van Mander amplifies to include cloth of gold, see Pliny, *Naturalis historia* VIII.lxxxiv.196 (*Natural History*, trans. Rackham, 3:126–137); and Du Pinet, *L'histoire du monde*, 1:331.

[20] See Josue 7:21, in [*Biestkens*] *Bibel*, fol. 82v [O.T.].

[21] On Nero's extravagant love of cloth of gold, see Pliny, *Naturalis historia* VIII.lxxiv.197 (*Natural History*, trans. Rackham, 3:138–139); and Du Pinet, *L'histoire du monde*, 1:331.

[22] See 3 Kings 6:21–23, 28–30 [Vulgate], in [*Biestkens*] *Bibel*, fol. 129v [1 Kings 6:21–23, 28–30].

[23] Van Mander paraphrases Sicille, *Le blason*, fol. 5v, incorporating his reference to Psalm 44:10 [Vulgate], in [*Biestkens*] *Bibel*, fol. 207r [Psalm 45:10].

[24] See Genesis 24:22, in [*Biestkens*] *Bibel*, fol. 8v [O.T.].

[25] See Revelation 3:18, in [*Biestkens*] *Bibel*, fol. 102v [N.T.].

[26] On the bough "golden in leaf and pliant stem" and its "golden-tressed fruitage," see Virgil, *Aeneid* VI.136–139 (*Aeneid: Books 1–6*, trans. H.R. Fairclough, ed. G.P. Goold, 1:542–543). In *Wtlegghingh*, fol. 110r, Van Mander states that the golden bough, which allows Aeneas, guided by the Cumaean Sibyl, to visit both Hell and Elysium, stands for "true wisdom" ("rechte wijsheyt"), without which the "hellish miseries, soul-tormenting desires, and specious joys of the inconstant world" cannot be bypassed. The term *gloseren* (ponder over) calls to mind the writing of a philological gloss.

[27] On the noble attributes of gold, Sicille, *Le blason*, fol. 26r.

[28] On the meanings of gold when it combines with other heraldic colors, see ibid., fol. 26r–v. Van Mander's paraphrase of Sicille extends into stanza 13.

[29] As Miedema plausibly suggests, in *Van Mander, Grondt*, 2:619, by reference to Hadrianus Junius, *Nomenclator, omnium rerum propria nomina variis linguis explicata indicans* (Antwerp: Christopher Plantin, 1567), 181, the term *levreye* (livery), as used here by Van Mander, simply signifies a "richly or diversely colored garment."

[30] On these meanings of gold respectively adjacent to blue, gray, green, violet, and black, see Sicille, *Le blason*, fol. 26r–v.

[31] On the golden topaz, see ibid., fol. 3v.

[32] On yellow's proximity to white (and red), see ibid., fol. 26r.

[33] On the temple veil made from the colors yellow, scarlet, and rose-red, combined with twice-spun white silk (or linen), see Exodus 26:31 and 2 Chronicles [Paralipomenon] 3:14, in [*Biestkens*] *Bibel*, fol. 31r, 163r [O.T.].

[34] On the four-color palette used by the ancient Greek and Roman painters—white, yellow, red, and black—see "On Melanthus, Painter," in *Schilder-Boeck*, Book II, fol. 75v, which paraphrases Pliny, *Nat-*

uralis historia XXXV.xxxii.50 (*Natural History*, trans. Rackham, 9:298–299).

[35] On yellow ocher, see chapter 12, stanza 41, note 68 *supra*.

[36] On massicot, see chapter 12, stanza 40, note 67 *supra*.

[37] Another term for *schiet-geel* is "Dutch pink"; see T. Primeau, "The Materials and Technology of Hand-Colored Prints," in S. Dackerman, ed., *Painted Prints: The Revelation of Color in Northern Engravings, Etchings, and Woodcuts* [exh. cat., Baltimore Museum of Art; Saint Louis Museum of Art] (University Park, PA: 2002), 49–78, esp. 59.

[38] On orpiment, see chapter 12, stanza 42, note 72 *supra*. The two orpiments were orpiment proper (*auripigmentum*) and realgar, also known as *rosgeel* (rose yellow) and *rubis d'orpiment*. On these four colors, also see Göttler, "Yellow, Vermilion, and Gold," 257–262, esp. 260–261 on the two kinds of orpiment.

[39] On minium, see chapter 12, stanza 42, note 70. Here, Van Mander appears to describe orange lead or orange mineral (*mine orange*), which is closely related to minium and prepared from fine, pure red pigment and lead white. As West Fitzhugh explains, in "Red Lead and Minium," in Berrie, Feller, et al., eds., *Artists' Pigments*, 1:110, orange lead was held to have a finer texture and lighter color than minium.

[40] This injunction against the use of actual gold in a painting derives from Rivius, *Der furnembsten … Künst, eygentlicher Bericht*, fol. dddır, who greatly expands upon the prohibition in Alberti, *De pictura*, trans. Sinisgalli, 72–73; with reference to the famous description of gold-bedizened Dido, in Virgil, *Aeneid* IV.138–139, Rivius avers that the painter who portrays her golden ornaments with oil colors, eschewing gold gilt, shows himself to be "more skilled [in practice] and elevated in understanding" ("würde er solches goldt mit farben zuwegen bringen, welches vil küntlicher und ein höchern verstandt anzeigt"). Perhaps thinking of Gillis Coignet's predilection for gilded highlights (see chapter 13, note 13 *supra*), Van Mander tempers Rivius's prescriptive tone, declining to forbid the use of gold and adding in the marginal gloss that "all's well that ends well."

[41] Miedema, in *Van Mander, Grondt*, 2:620–621, makes the credible suggestion that Van Mander moderates his initial objections to gold, in recognition of recent technical developments in Antwerp, such as Gillis Coignet's use of gold to depict firelight and Frans Francken II's enhancement of reflective effects through the experimental application of glazes over locally applied gold grounds. De Mayerne records various techniques of laying glazes and varnishes over gold; see Berger, ed., *Quellen für Maltechnik*, 192–195, 224–225, 258–259.

[42] This line finishes the sequence of golden accoutrements adapted from Virgil.

[43] See Plutarch, *Lives*, trans. Perrin, 1:480–481.

[44] Van Mander again uses *bruyn* (brown) for "dark."

[45] Van Mander's terminology for "fall darkly" ("bruyn vallen") translates literally as "fall brownly." On the inverse effects of gold-leaf, which makes a light-painted surface look dark and a dark-painted surface light, see Rivius, *Der furnembsten … Künst, eygentlicher Bericht*, fol. dddiir, which greatly expands upon the prohibition in Alberti, *De pictura*, trans. Sinisgalli, 72–73.

[46] The term *vlicken*, here translated as "lighten," more specifically signifies "flicker, glitter." Gold-leaf, warns Van Mander, deadens the effect of daylight.

[47] Whereas *bendich* signifies "pennon-like, ribbon-like," Miedema proposes that *t'jotsels* (ribbons) likely transliterates the Italian term *chiocciola* (spiral, volute, whorl): hence my rendering of "t'jotsels bendich" as "fluttering ribbons." In "Life of Maarten van Heemskerck, artful, esteemed Painter," in *Schilder-Boeck*, Book IV, fol. 245r, Van Mander uses *t'Iotselen* to describe the curving ornamental bands woven into the Virgin's mantle and draped across her lap, which leads Miedema to surmise that the term also refers to strapwork-like curls.

[48] Rivius, *Der furnembsten … Künst, eygentlicher Bericht*, fol. dddiir, urges that gold be confined to the frame, where it best serves as a precious ornament, signaling a painting's great worth; also see Alberti, *De pictura*, trans. Sinisgalli, 73.

[49] See note 48 *supra*.

[50] Van Mander's account of silver derives from Sicille, *Le blason*, fol. 6r.

[51] On silver as an honorific sanctioned by Moses, with specific reference to Exodus 36 and 38, see ibid.

[52] See *Song of Songs* 5:10, in [*Biestkens*] *Bibel*, fol. 239r [O.T.].

[53] See Mark 9:3, in [*Biestkens*] *Bibel*, fol. 6r [N.T.].

[54] See Acts 1:10, in [*Biestkens*] *Bibel*, fol. 48v [N.T.].

[55] The loci classici for the association of Truth with spotless purity, i.e., whiteness ("sine macula, candida"), are Revelation 14:5 and 19:8 in the Vulgate, but [*Biestkens*] *Bibel*, fols. 105r and 107r directly translate neither term.

[56] On white as the color of blameless boys and innocent maidens, see Sicille, *Le blason*, fol. 35r–v.

[57] Van Mander amalgamated the two lists of "vertus mondaines" (mundane virtues) respectively signified by the colors gold, silver, red, blue, green, purple, and black, in Sicille, *Le blason*, fols. 15v–16r.

[58] On these rules for the heraldic use of gold, silver, and adjacent colors, see ibid., fol. 13v.

[59] On the seven principal planets and their associated colors, see ibid., fol. 20v.

[60] On the colors of the days of the week, see ibid., fol. 19v.

[61] On the theological and cardinal virtues and their associated colors, see ibid., fol. 19r–v.

[62] By contrast, Sicille states that the prior six colors, when mixed together, produce a seventh that in armorial usage is called purple; see ibid., fol. 12v.

[63] On the colors of the seven ages of man, set forth in stanza 28, see ibid., fol. 16r.

[64] On the colors of the four tempers, see ibid., fol. 16r–v.

[65] On the colors of the four elements, see ibid., fol. 16v.

[66] On the colors of the seasons, see ibid., fol. 20r.

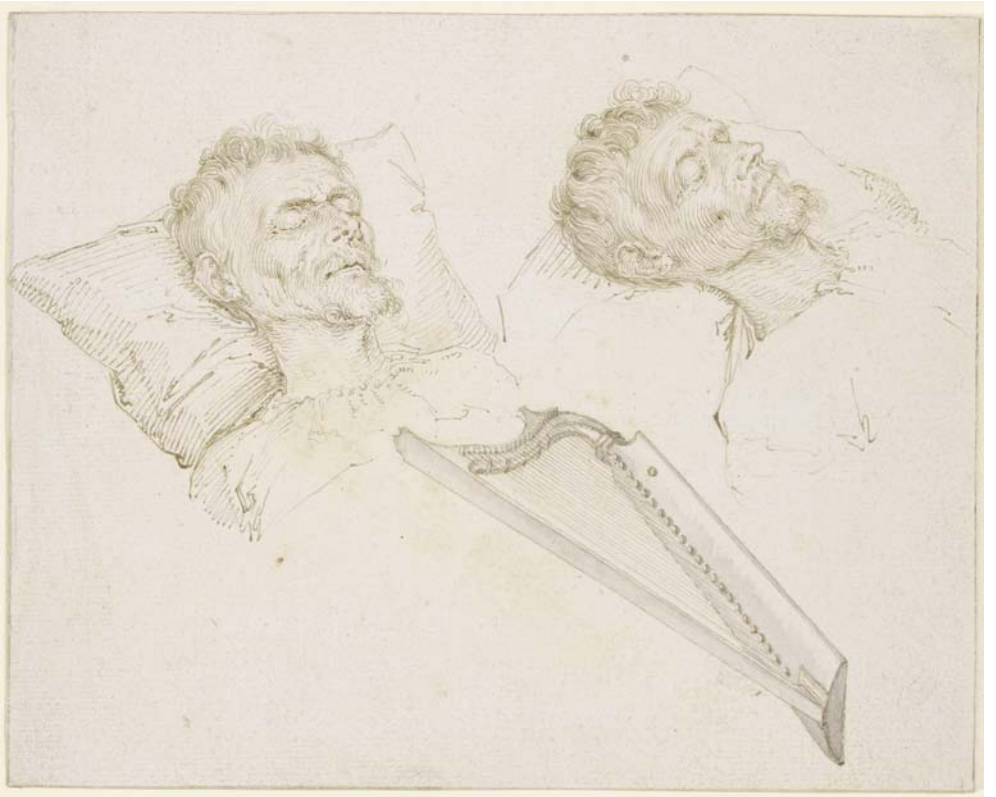
[67] Having fulfilled the task inaugurated in chapter 1, stanza 83, where he declared his intention "to put the natural feature [of *schilder-const*] on show," Van Mander, master of the *Grondt*, now takes his leave, inviting the reader to embark upon the *Lives*, Books II–IV of the *Schilder-Boeck*. He jointly portrays himself as author in his study and master in his workshop, washing his "ink-stained hands."

[68] See Hans Blum, *Quinque columnarum exacta description* (Zürich: Christophorus Froschoverus, 1550), and, in Dutch, *Vande vijf colomnen van architecture, te weten, Tuscana, Dorica, Jonica, Corinthia ende Composita* (Antwerp: Hans Liefrinck, 1562).

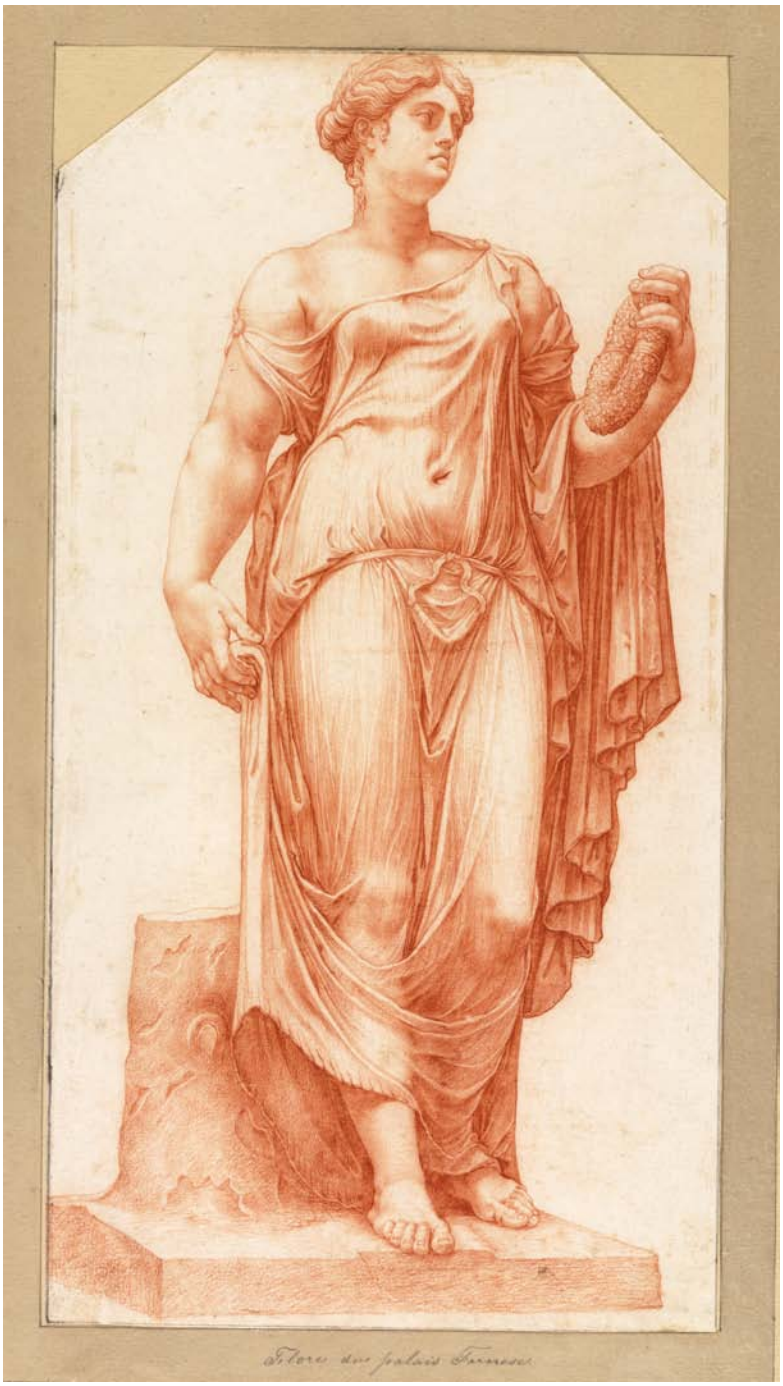
[69] See, for example, the handbooks, treatises, and print series listed in "Life of Hans Vredeman de Vries, Painter of Leeuwarden," in *Schilder-Boeck*, Book IV, fol. 266r.

[70] Van Mander likely alludes to the multiple editions of Sebastiano Serlio's *Regole generali di architettura sopra le cinque maniere de gliedifici* (Venice: Francesco Marcolini da Forlì, 1537), as translated into Dutch, French, and German by Pieter Coecke van Aelst, beginning with *Generale reglen der architecture op de vyve manieren van edificie* (Antwerp: Pieter Coecke van Aelst and Gillis II Coppens van Diest, 1539).

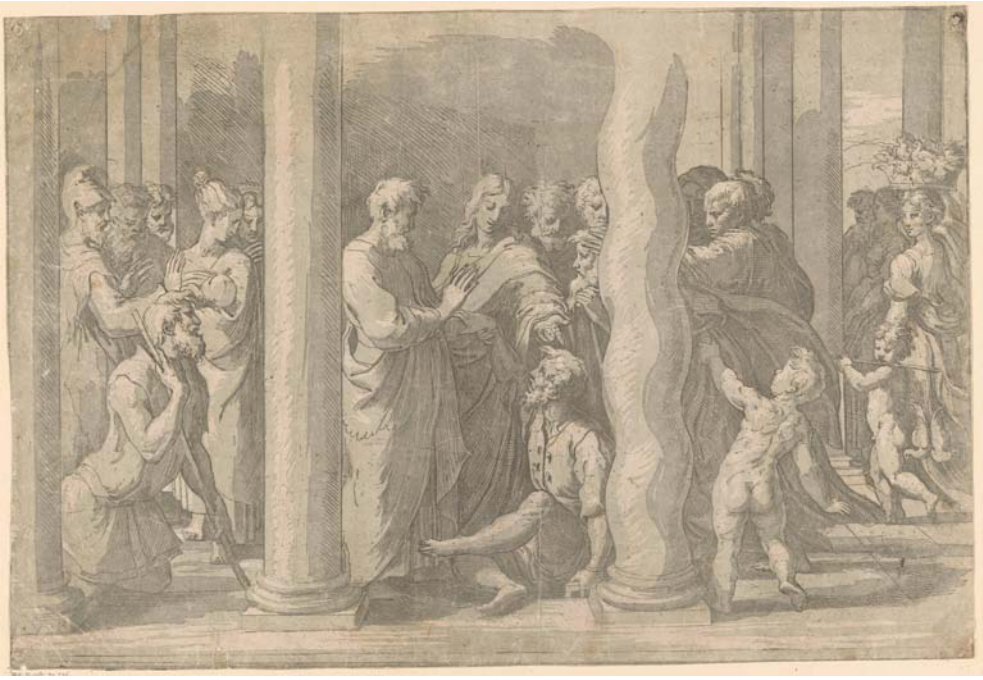
[71] "Scherpen ingangh" (forbidding threshold) more literally translates as "sharp- or razor-edged entryway." Having shown his wards how to cultivate their inborn gifts of nature (*see* chapter 1, stanza 5 *supra*), Van Mander lays down the *Grondt* and invites his readers to occupy themselves with the tripartite sequence of parallel lives that follows.



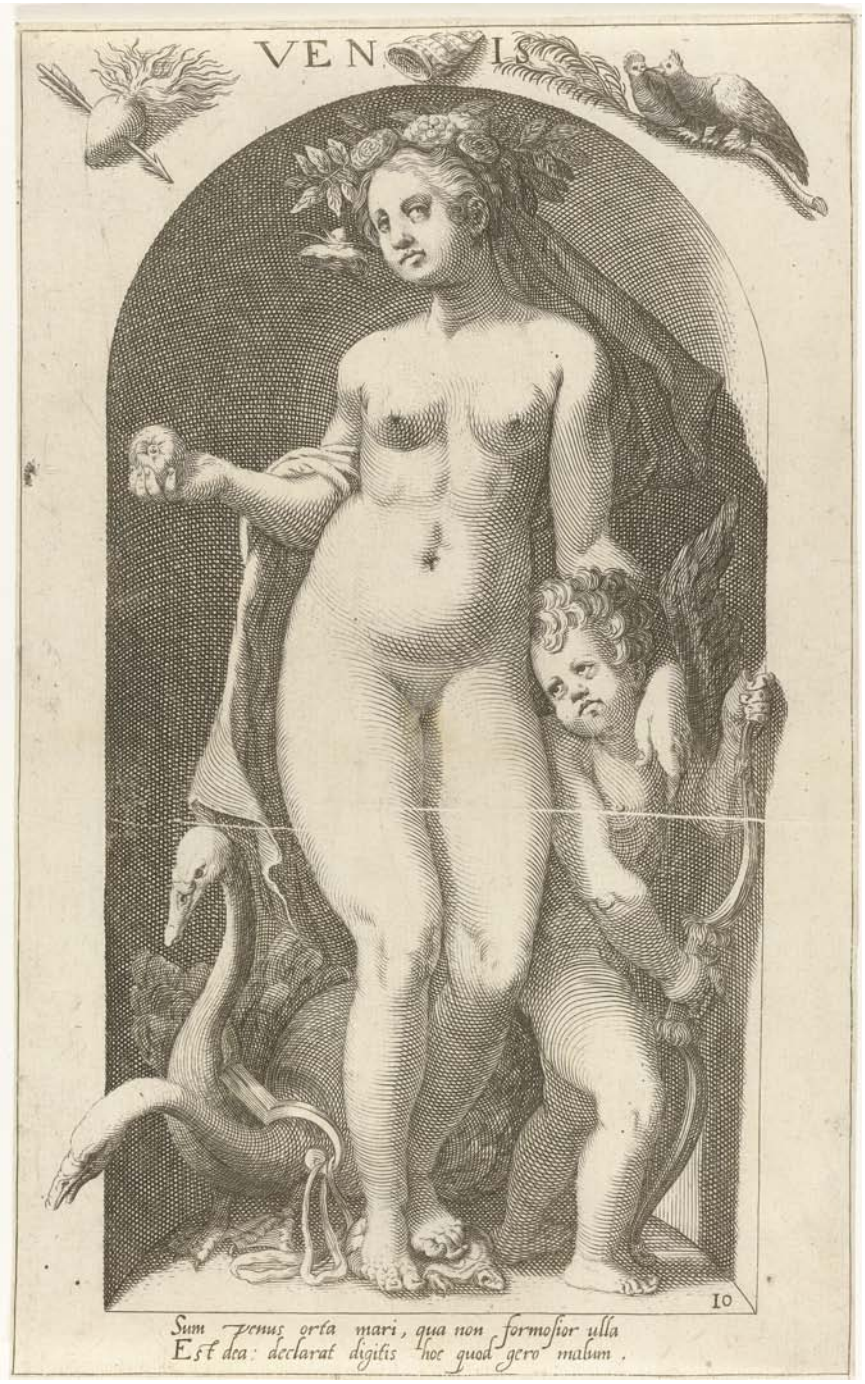
CHAPTER 1 FIGURE 9 Jacques de Gheyn II, *Karel van Mander on his Deathbed*, 1606. Pen and brown ink on traces of black chalk on white paper, blue wash, heightened in white, on white-colored paper
STÄDEL MUSEUM, FRANKFURT. INV. NO. 800



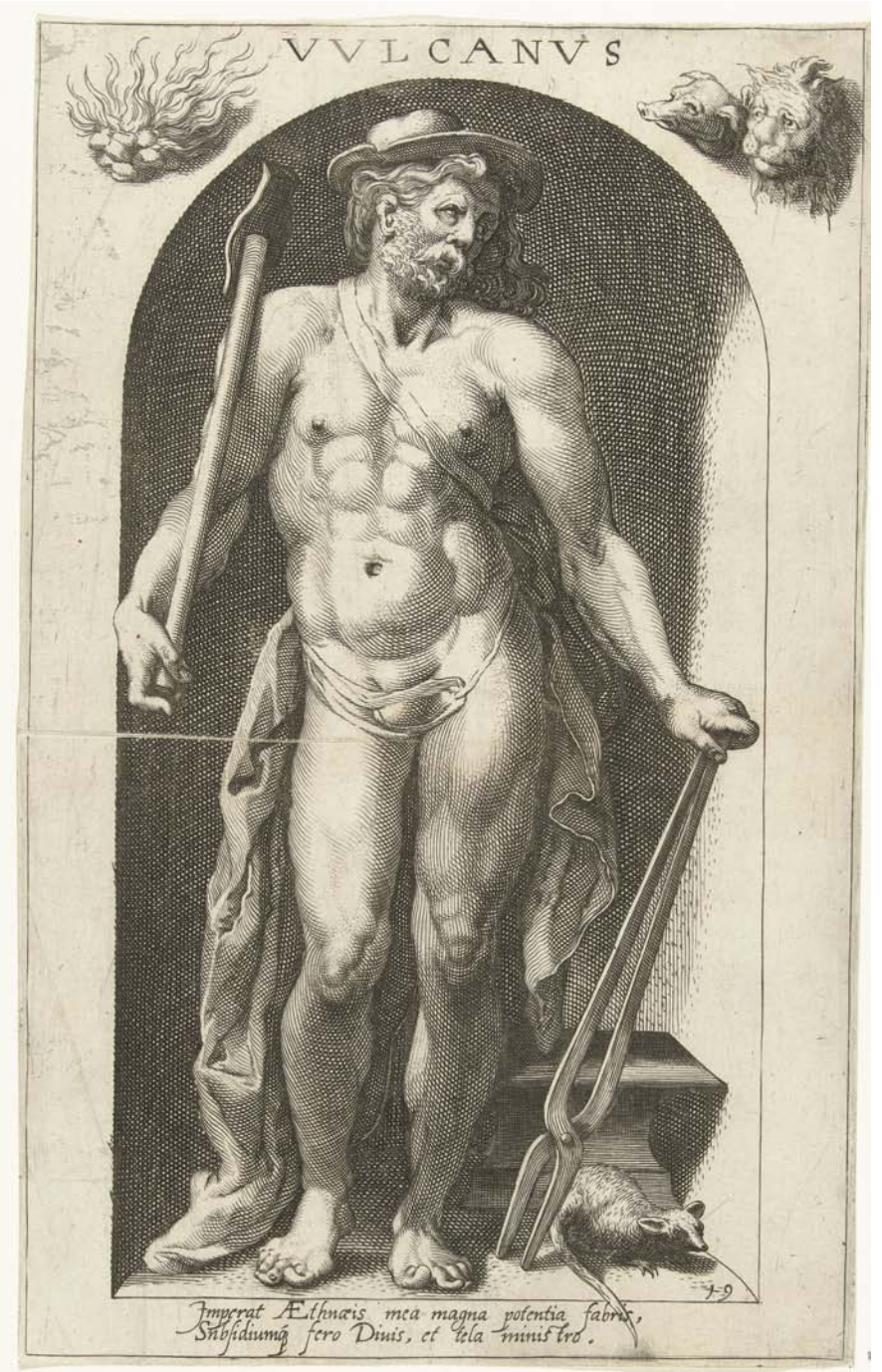
CHAPTER 2 FIGURE 10 Hendrick Goltzius, *Flora Farnese*, 1590–1591. Red chalk on ivory laid paper, 416 × 219 mm
TEYLERS MUSEUM, HAARLEM



CHAPTER 2 FIGURE 11 Parmigianino after Raphael, *Peter and John Heal the Lame Beggar at the Beautiful Gate of the Temple*, ca. 1513–1540. Etching and chiaroscuro woodcut, 278 × 408 mm
RIJKSMUSEUM, AMSTERDAM



CHAPTER 3 FIGURE 12 Nicolaas Braeu after Karel van Mander, *Venus*, 1598. Engraving, 267 × 167 mm
RIJKSMUSEUM, AMSTERDAM



CHAPTER 3 FIGURE 13 Nicolaas Braeu after Karel van Mander, *Vulcan*, 1598. Engraving, 267 × 165 mm
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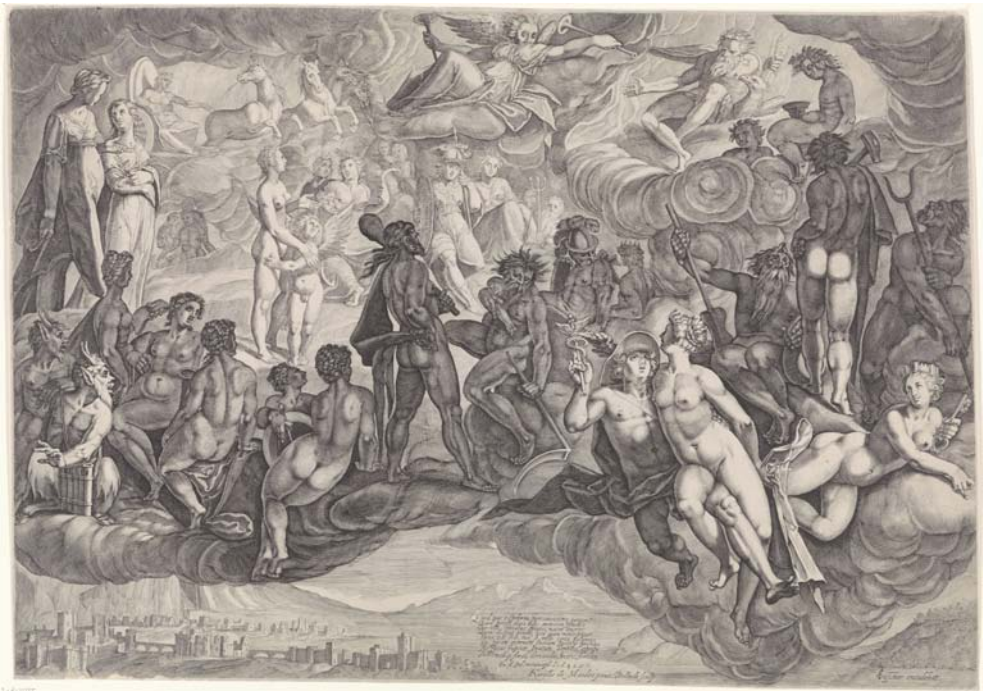
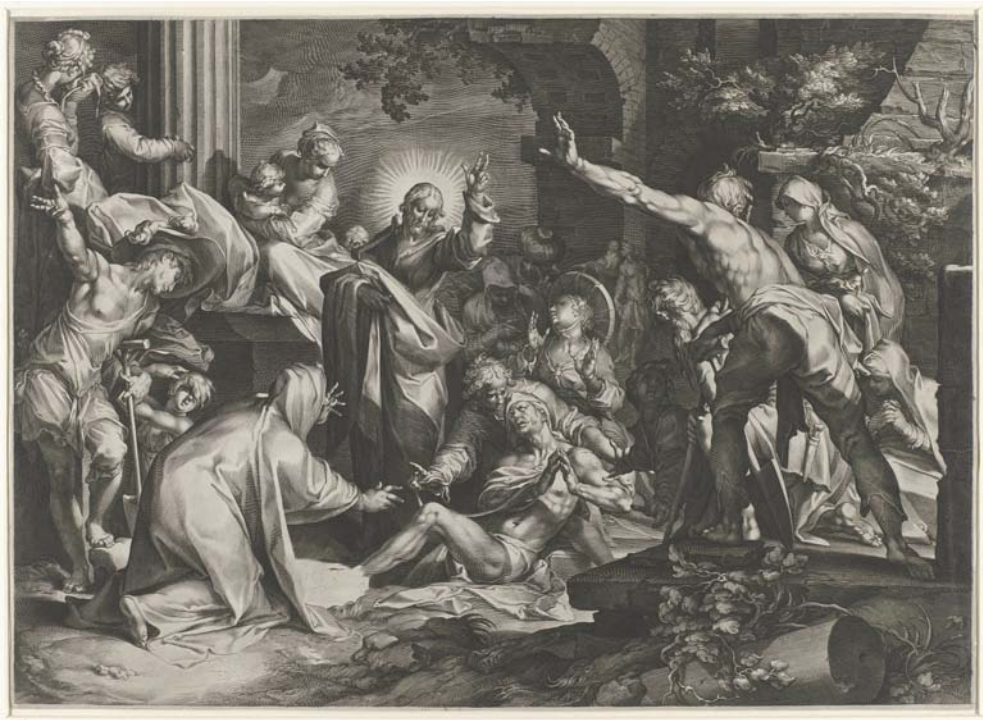
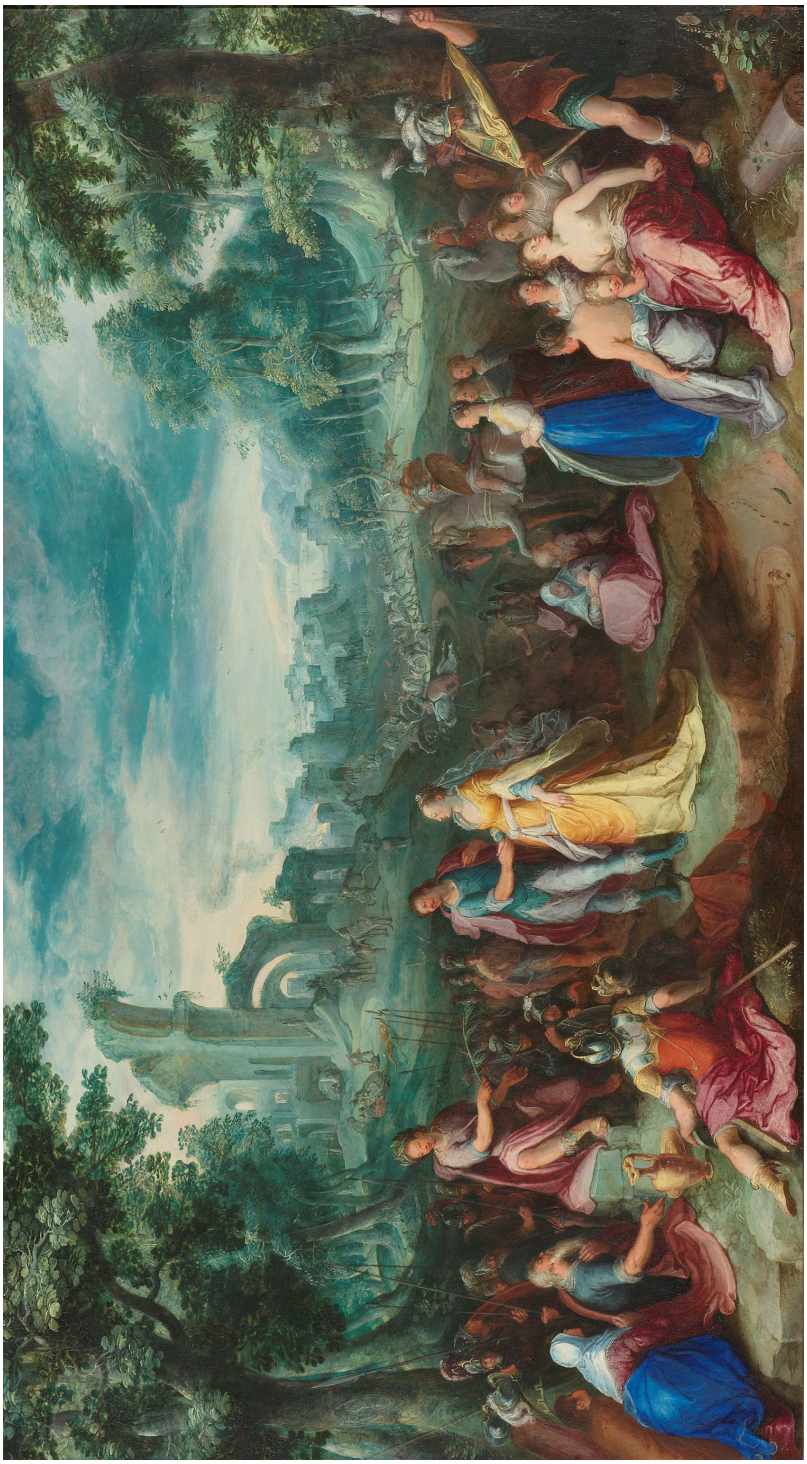


CHAPTER 4 FIGURE 14 Bartholomeus Willemsz. Dolendo after Karel van Mander, *Psyche Brought to Olympus by Mercury*, ca. 1580–1626. Engraving, 245 × 644 mm
RIJKSMUSEUM, AMSTERDAM

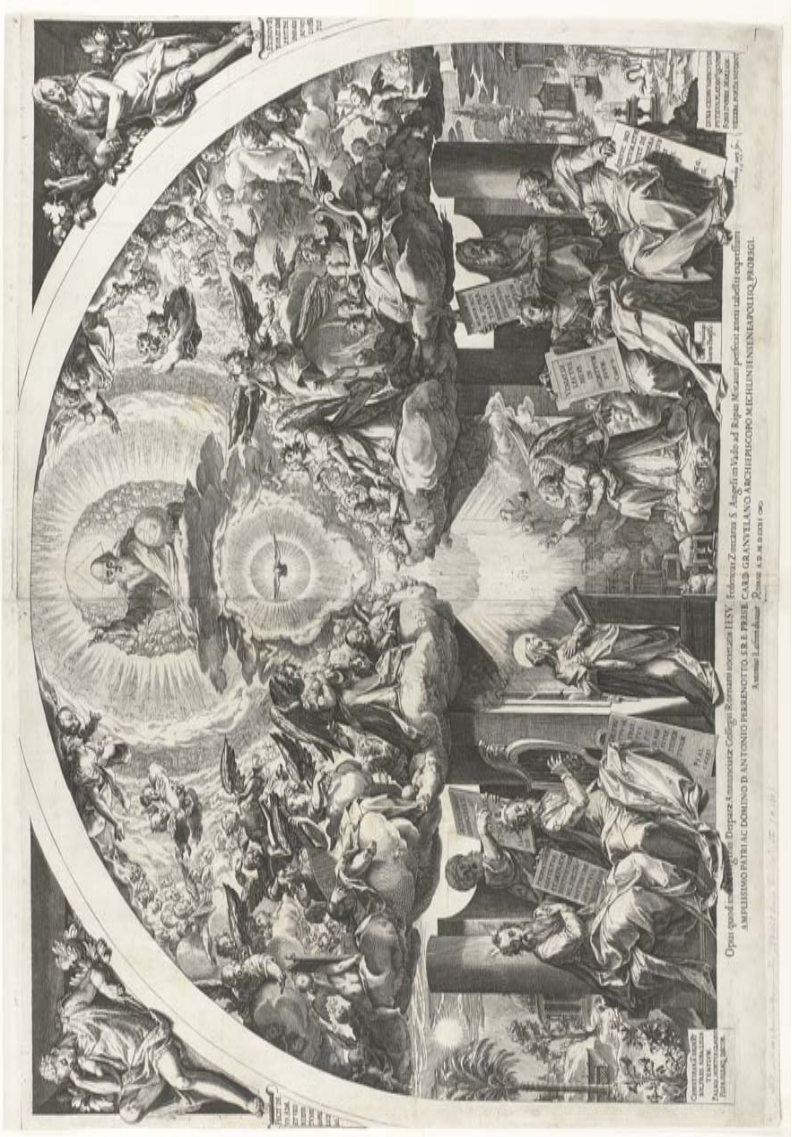


CHAPTER 4 FIGURE 15 Jan Harmensz. Muller after Abraham Bloemaert, *Raising of Lazarus*, 1598–1602. Engraving (proof), 347 × 484
RIJKSMUSEUM, AMSTERDAM



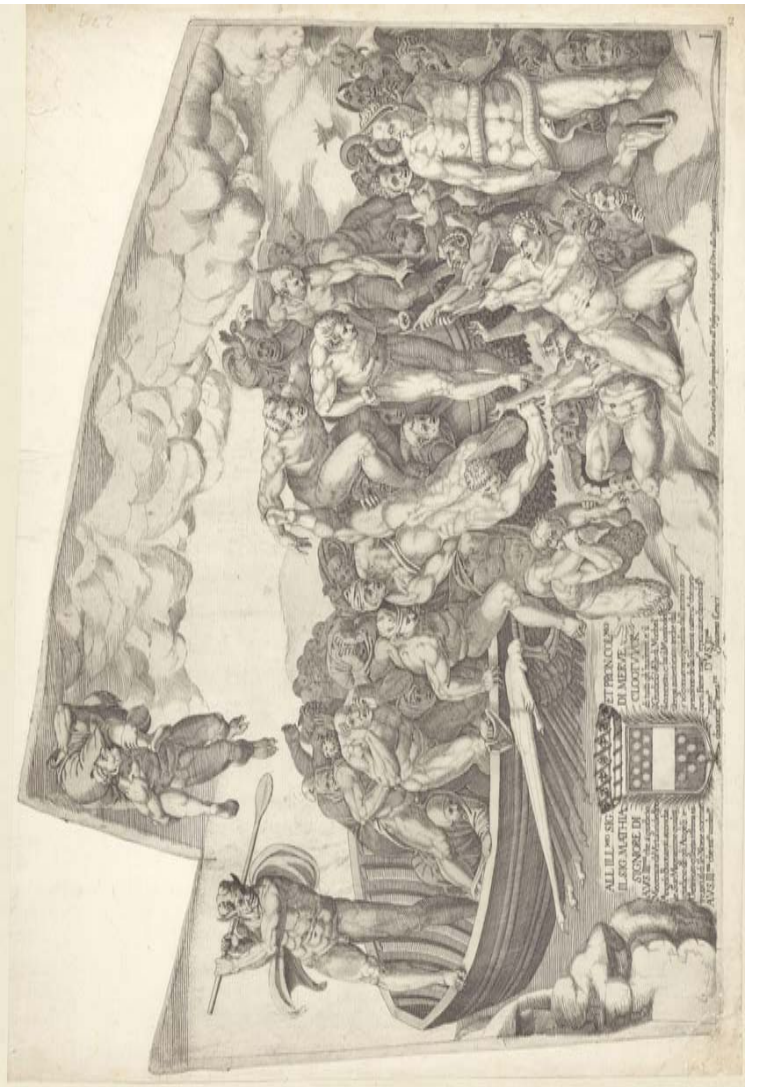
CHAPTER 5 FIGURE 16 Karel van Mander, *The Continence of Scipio*, 1600. Oil on copper, 44 × 79 cm
RIJKSMUSEUM, AMSTERDAM

CHAPTER 5 FIGURE 17 Jan Saenredam after Karel van Mander, *Adoration of the Shepherds*, ca. 1589–1607. Engraving (three plates), 441×1095 mm
RIJKSMUSEUM, AMSTERDAM

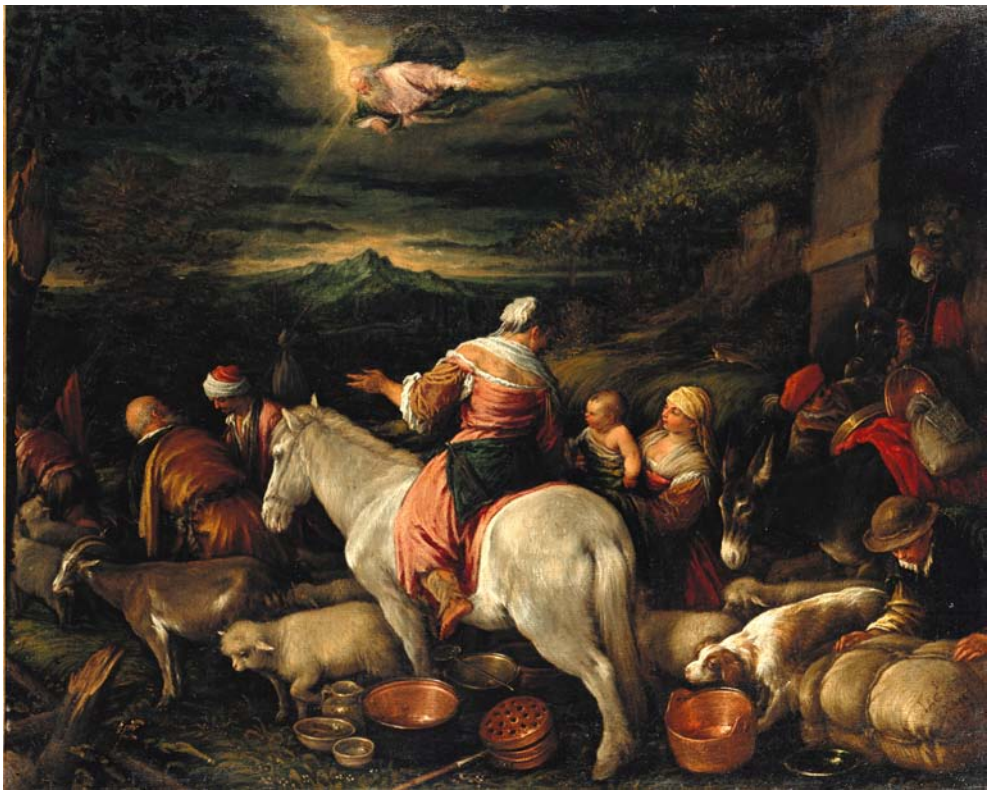


CHAPTER 5 FIGURE 18 Cornelis Cort after Federico Zuccaro, *Annunciation Surrounded by Prophets of the Mystery of the Incarnation*, 1571. Engraving, 481 × 680 mm.
RIJKSMUSEUM, AMSTERDAM.

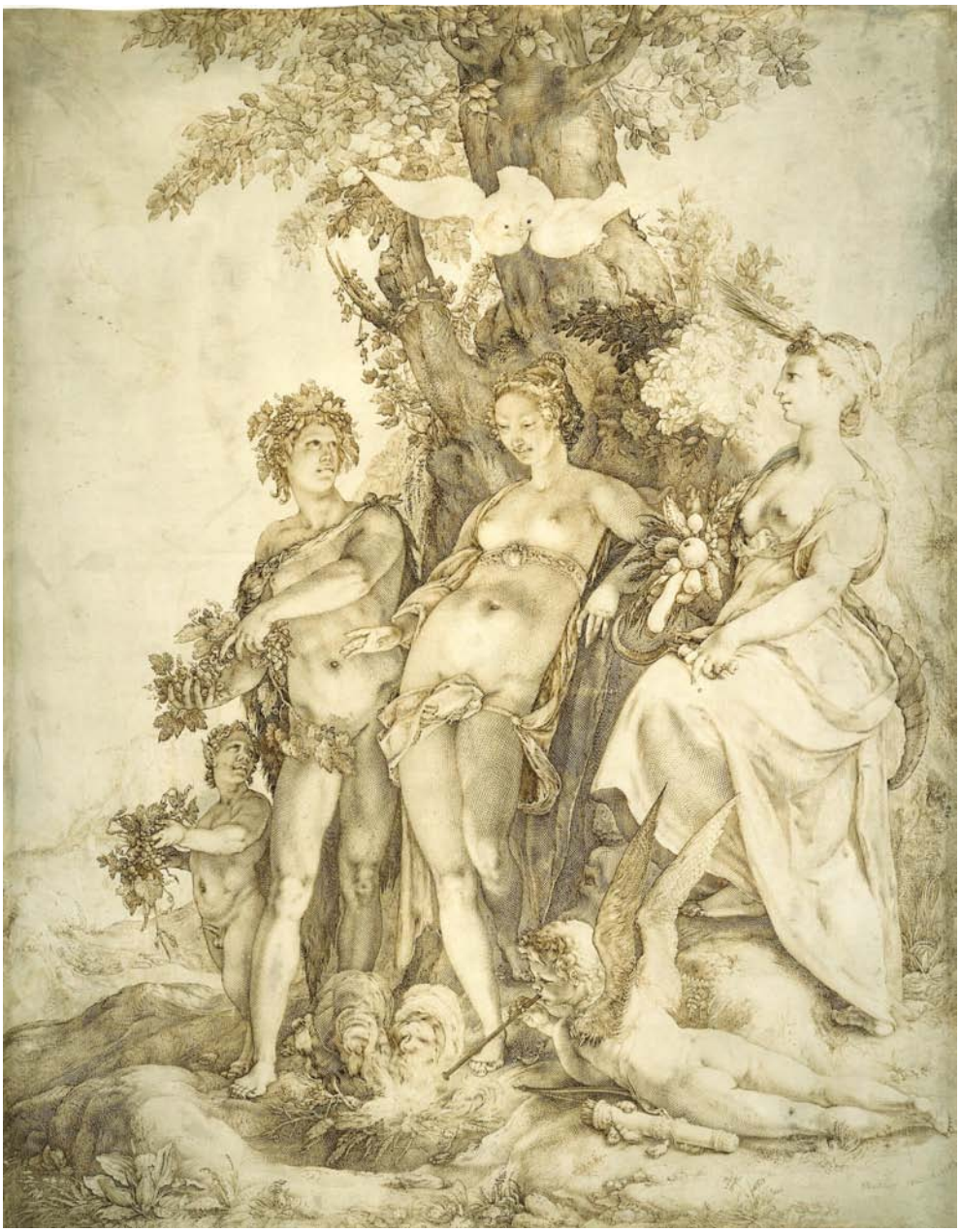
CHAPTER 6 FIGURE 19 Pieter Bruegel the Elder, *Massacre of the Innocents*, ca. 1565–1567. Oil on panel, 109.2×105.1 cm.
ROYAL COLLECTION TRUST, WINDSOR RCIN 405787.



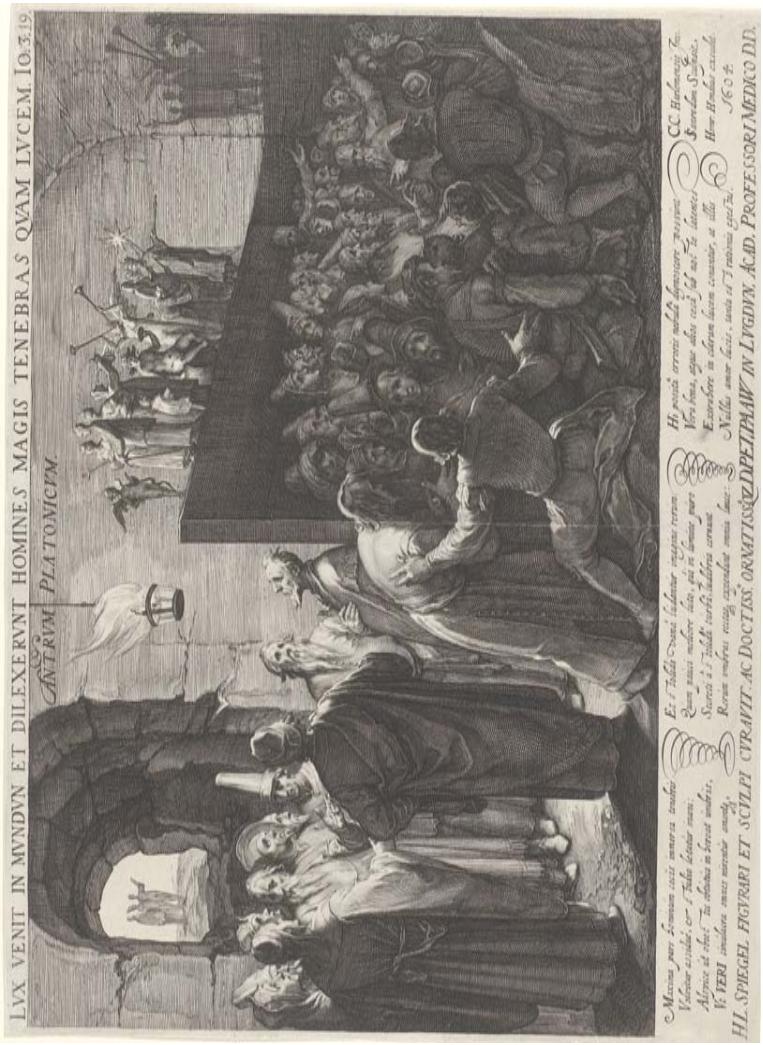
CHAPTER 6 FIGURE 20 Giorgio Ghisi after Michelangelo, *Last Judgment* (Sheet 1: *Charon's Boat*), published by Vincenzo Cenci, Giacomo Cenci, and Matthijs van de Merwede, ca. 1582–1650. Engraving, 360 × 575 mm
RIJKSMUSEUM, AMSTERDAM



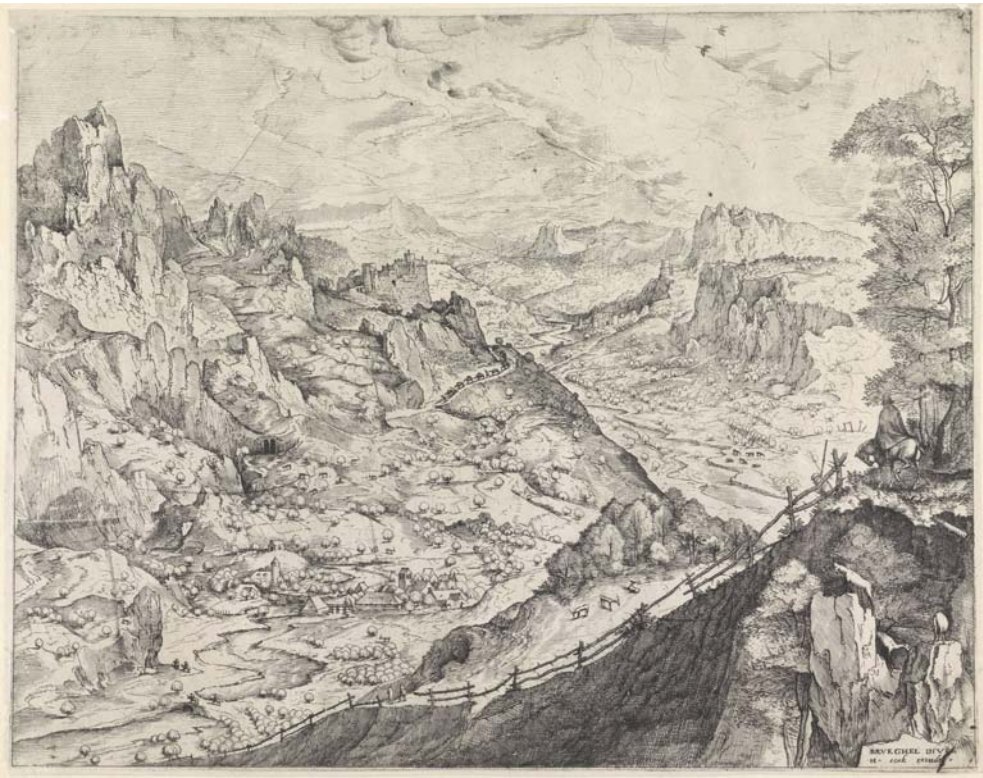
CHAPTER 7 FIGURE 21 Jacopo da Ponte, called Bassano, *Abraham's Journey to Canaan*, ca. 1580–1582. Oil on canvas, 93 × 115.5 cm.
GEMÄLDEGALERIE, STAATLICHE MUSEEN, BERLIN. INV. 60.4. PHOTO: JOERG P. ANDERS.



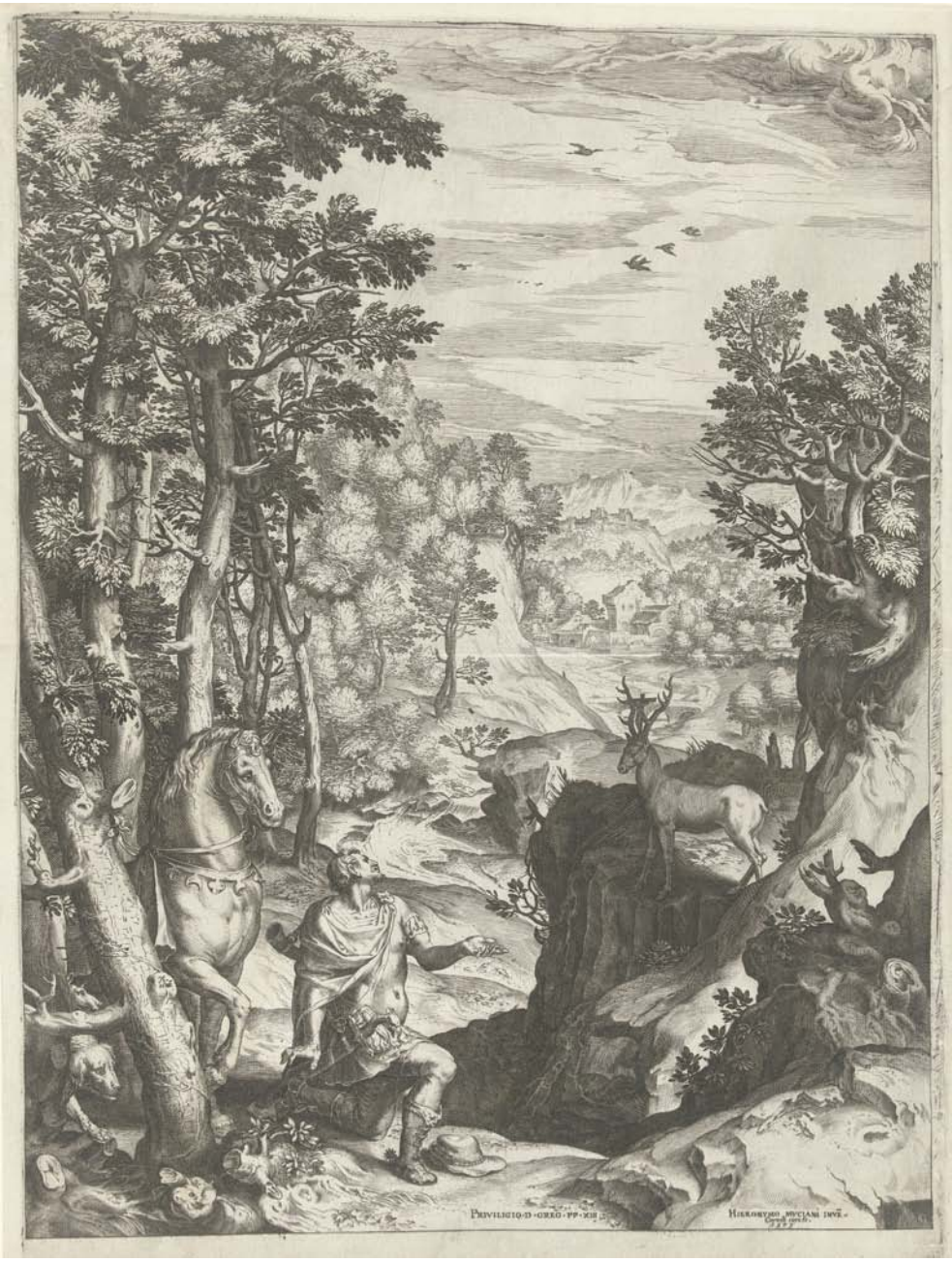
CHAPTER 7 FIGURE 22 Hendrick Goltzius, *Venus, Bacchus, and Ceres*, 1593. Pen and brown ink on parchment, 629 × 494 mm.
THE BRITISH MUSEUM, LONDON. INV. NO. 1861,0608.174.



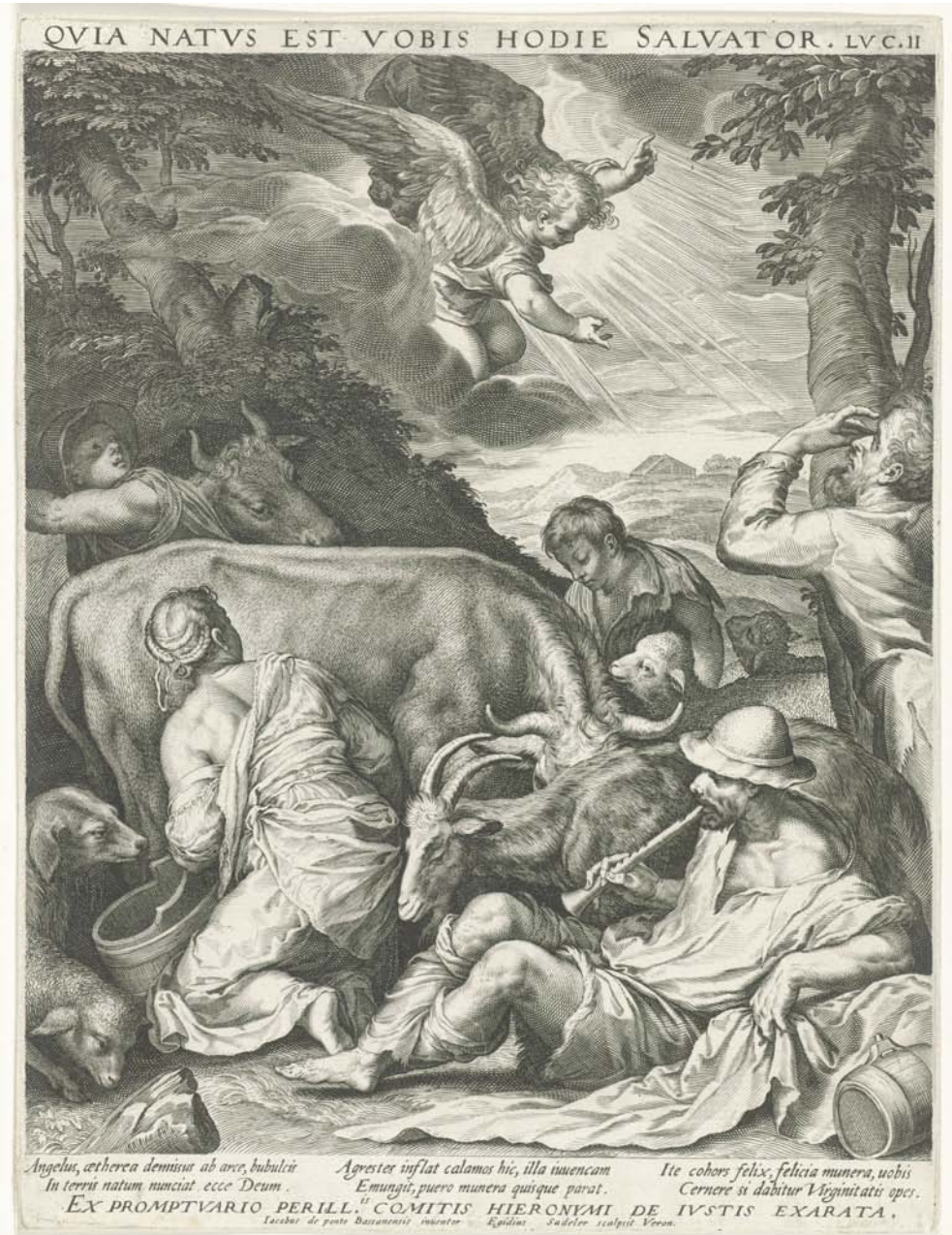
CHAPTER 7 FIGURE 23 Jan Saenredam after Cornelis Cornelisz., *Antrum Platonicum* (*Plato's Cave*), 1604. Engraving, 329 × 452 mm RIJKSMUSEUM, AMSTERDAM



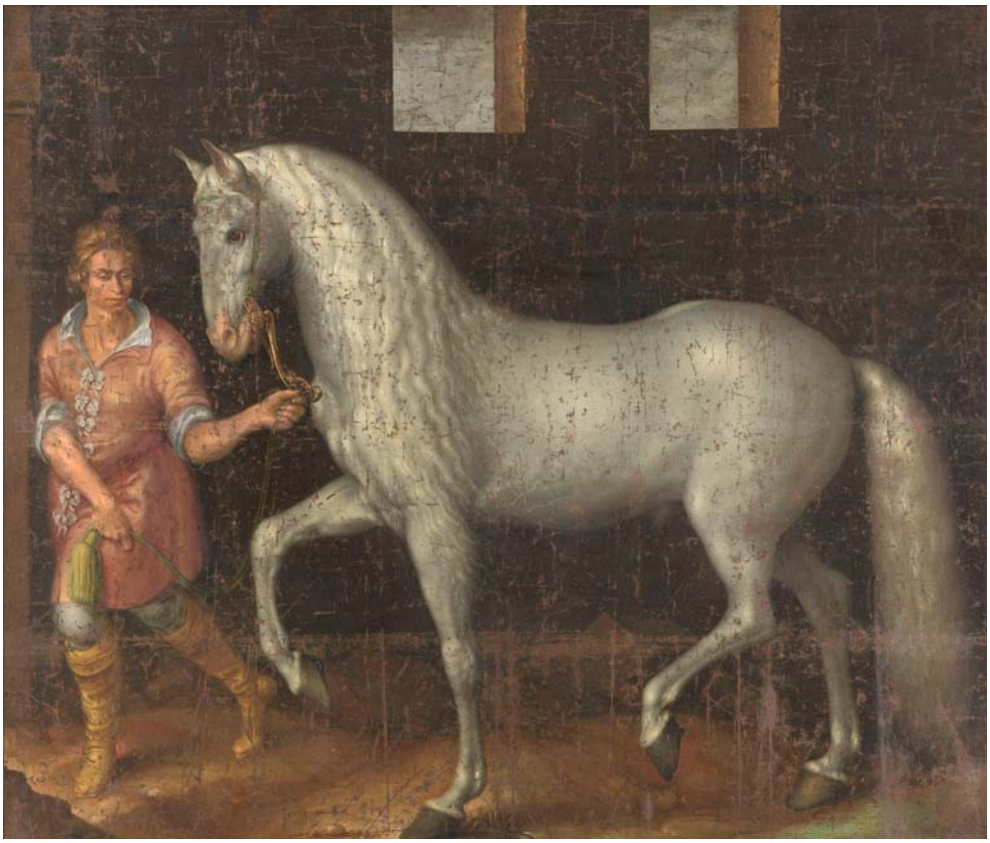
CHAPTER 8 FIGURE 24 Johannes and / or Lucas van Doetecum after Pieter Bruegel the Elder, *Alpine Landscape with a River Valley Cut through by a Stream*, 1553–1558. Engraving and etching, 324 × 428 mm
RIJKSMUSEUM, AMSTERDAM



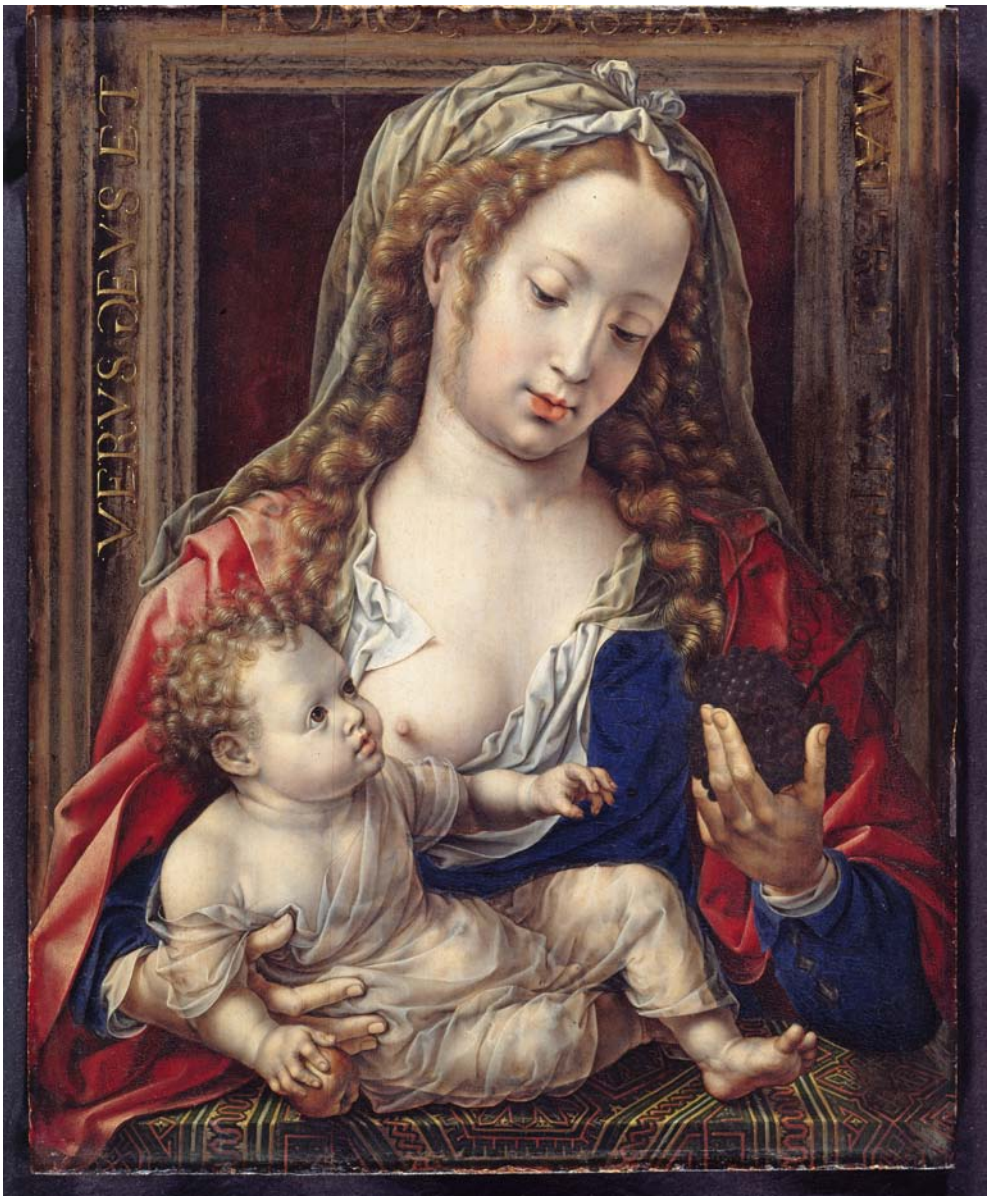
CHAPTER 8 FIGURE 25 Cornelis Cort after Girolamo Muziano, *Landscape with the Vision of St. Eustachius*, 1573. Engraving, 520 × 390 mm
RIJKSMUSEUM, AMSTERDAM



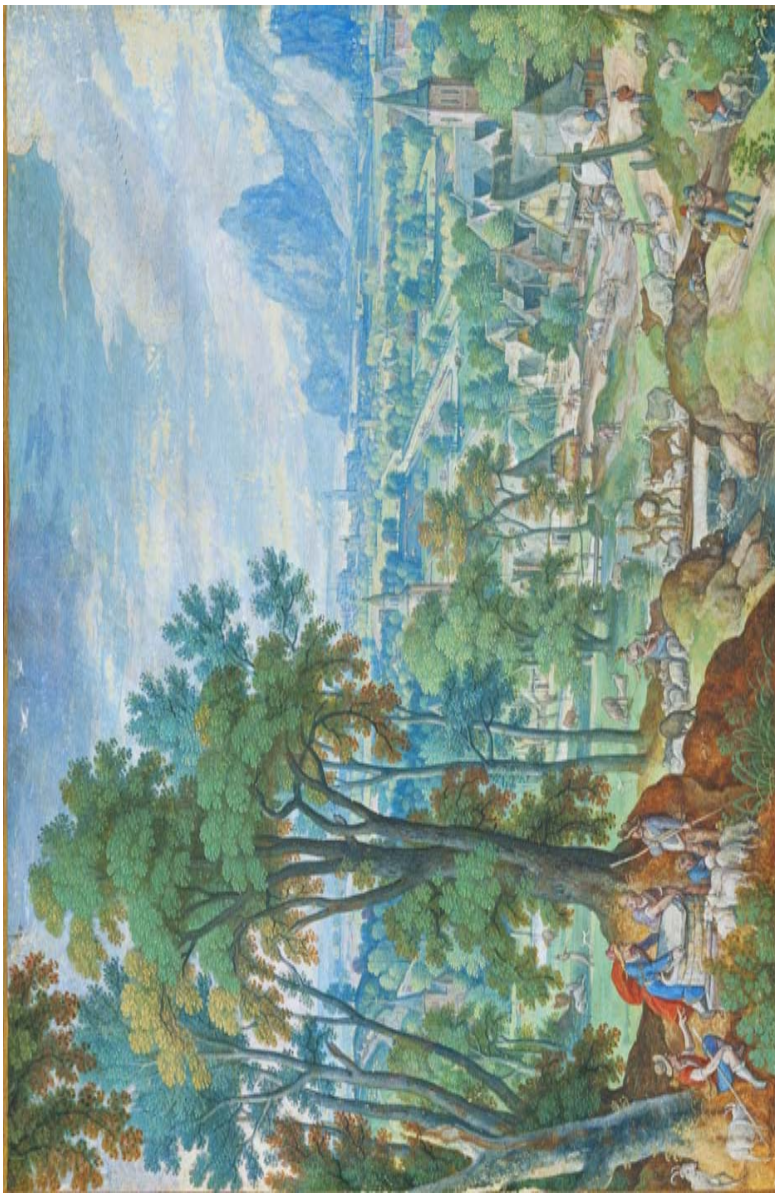
CHAPTER 9 FIGURE 26 Aegidius Sadeler after Jacopo Bassano, *Annunciation to the Shepherds*, 1593. Engraving, 271 × 208 mm
RIJKSMUSEUM, AMSTERDAM



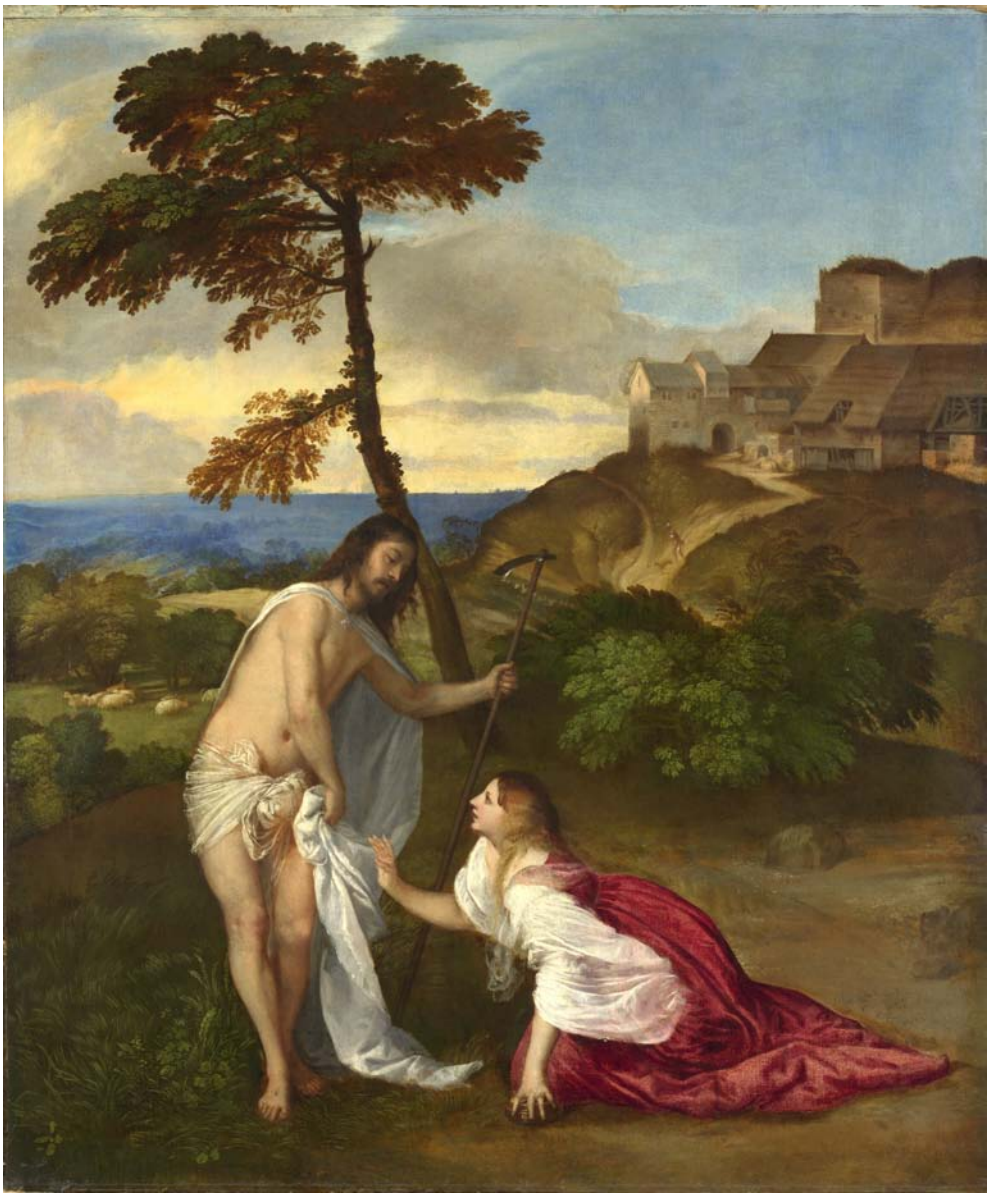
CHAPTER 9 FIGURE 27 Jacob de Gheyn II, *Spanish Warhorse Captured at the Battle of Nieuwpoort*, 1603. Oil on canvas, 228 × 269 cm
RIJKSMUSEUM, AMSTERDAM



CHAPTER 10 FIGURE 28 Jan Gossart, called Mabuse, *Virgin and Child*, ca. 1520. Oil on panel, 47.7×38.2 cm. GEMÄLDEGALERIE, STAATLICHE MUSEEN, BERLIN. INV. NO. 650. PHOTO: JÖRG P. ANDERS

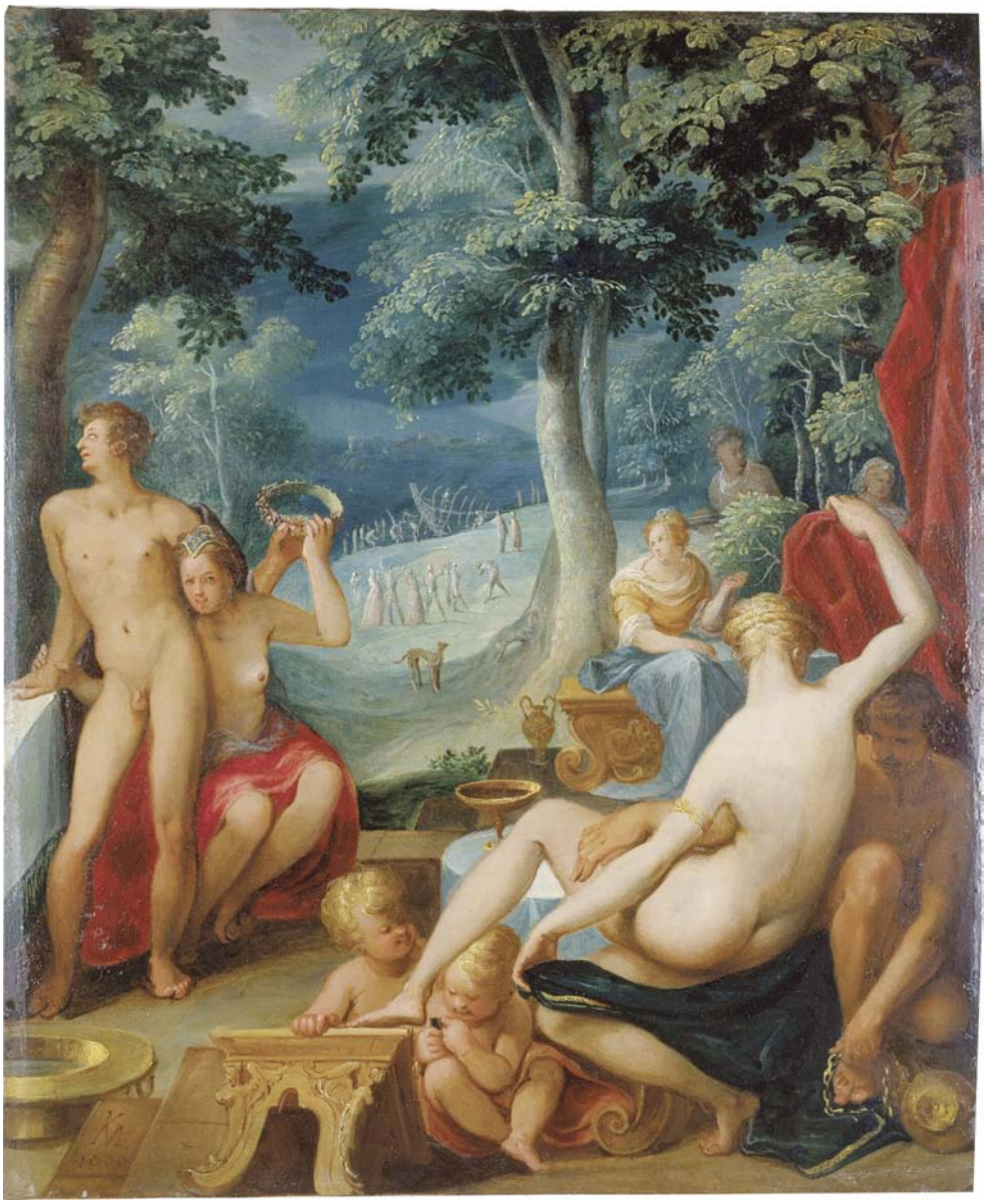


CHAPTER 11 FIGURE 29 Hans Bol, *Landscape with Jacob at the Well*, 1593. Gouache on parchment, mounted on panel, 13.3×20.3 cm.
STÄDEL MUSEUM, FRANKFURT. INV. NO. 1909.

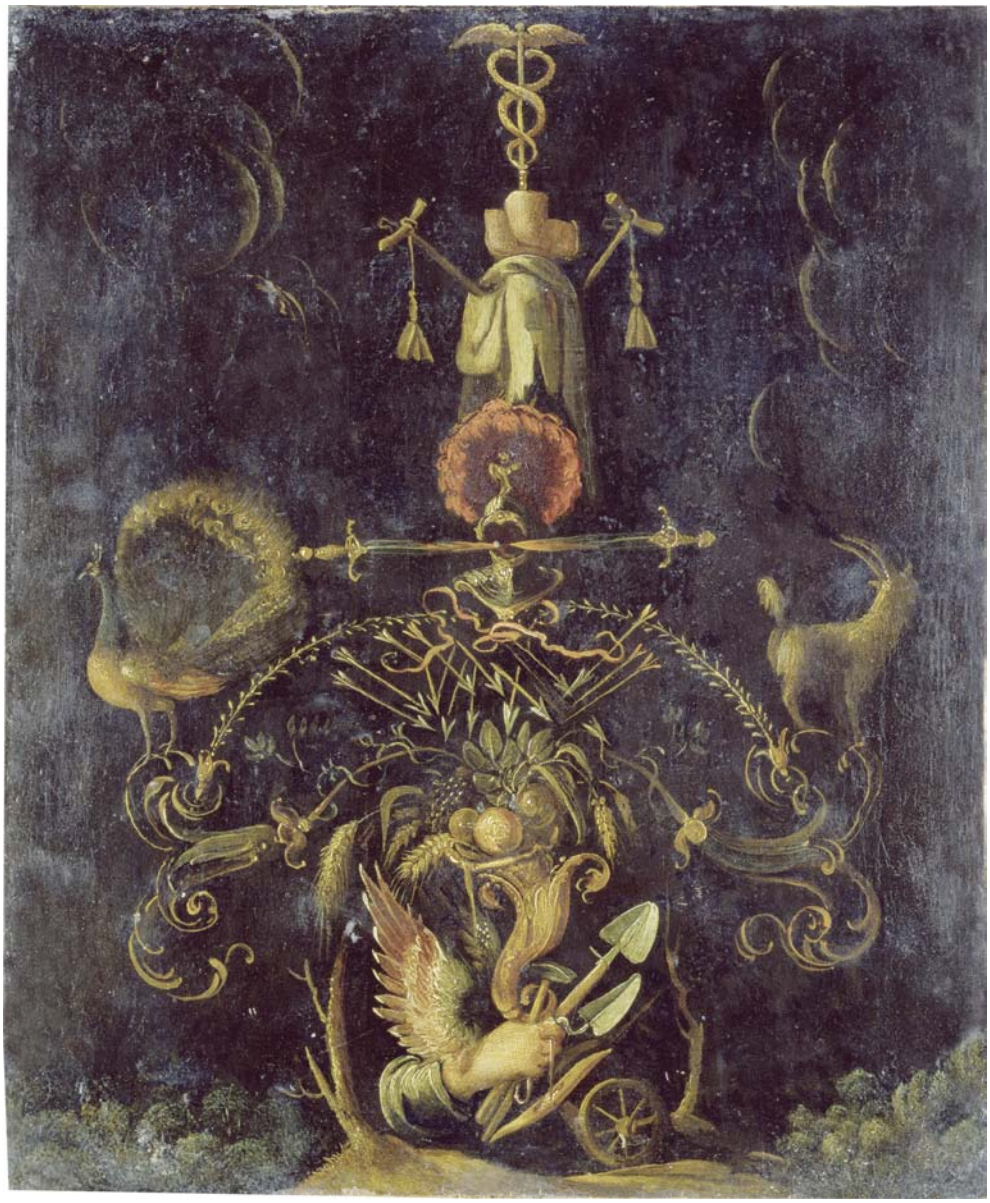


CHAPTER 12 FIGURE 30 Titian, *Noli me tangere*, ca. 1514. Oil on canvas, 110.5 × 91.9 cm. NATIONAL GALLERY, LONDON. PHOTO: JULIE MOLLOY

CHAPTER 12 FIGURE 31 Titian, *Annunciation*, 1564–1565. Oil on canvas, 403 × 235 cm. SAN SALVATORE, VENICE. PHOTO: RENÉE LESSING-KRONFUSS



CHAPTER 13 FIGURE 32 Karel van Mander, *Before the Flood* (obverse of Fig. 33), 1600. Oil on copper, 31.1×25.6 cm.
STÄDEL MUSEUM, FRANKFURT. INV. NO. 2088. PHOTO: URSULA EDELMANN



CHAPTER 14 FIGURE 33 Karel van Mander, *Emblematic Image* (*Vicissitudes of Life*) (reverse of Fig. 32), 1600. Oil on copper, 31.1 × 25.6 cm.
STÄDEL MUSEUM, FRANKFURT. INV. NO. 2088. PHOTO: URSULA EDELMANN

Written by the poet-painter Karel van Mander, who finished it in June 1603, the *Grondt der edel, vry schilderconst* (Foundation of the Noble, Free Art of Painting) was the first systematic treatise on *schilderconst* (the art of painting / picturing) to be published in Dutch (Haarlem: Paschier van Wes[t]busch, 1604). This English-language edition of the *Grondt*, accompanied by an introductory monograph and a full critical apparatus, provides unprecedented access to Van Mander's crucially important art treatise. The book sheds light on key terms and critical categories such as *schilder, manier, uyt zijn selven doen*, *welstandt*, *leven* and *gheest*, and *wel schilderen*, and both exemplifies and explicates the author's distinctive views on the complementary forms and functions of history and landscape.

Walter S. Melion is Asa Griggs Candler Professor of Art History at Emory University in Atlanta, where he directs the Fox Center for Humanistic Inquiry (Emory's institute for advanced study in the humanities). Elected Foreign Member of the Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts and Sciences in 2010, he is author of three monographs and over eighty articles, co-author of two exhibition catalogues, and editor or co-editor of more than 25 volumes.

"Walter Melion is the ideal scholar, if not the only scholar, one would want to produce an English-language edition of Karel van Mander's foundational treatise on the art of painting. From the rich and erudite introduction to the lively and eminently readable translation, this book — an invaluable resource for future scholarship — at last brings one of the key art-theoretical texts of the early modern Netherlands to a wider audience."
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"Walter Melion's superlative translation of Karel van Mander's Foundation of the Noble, Free Art of Painting is cause for celebration, bringing us at long last an authoritative English critical edition of this singularly influential text. With deep erudition and sensitivity to Van Mander's interconnected literary and artistic preoccupations, Melion reveals anew the originality of the great Flemish painter-poet and the ongoing salience of his work today."
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