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# Spur der Arbeit

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Yannis Hadjinicolaou

## Contradictory Liveliness

### Painting as Process in the Work of Arent de Gelder and Christopher Paudiß

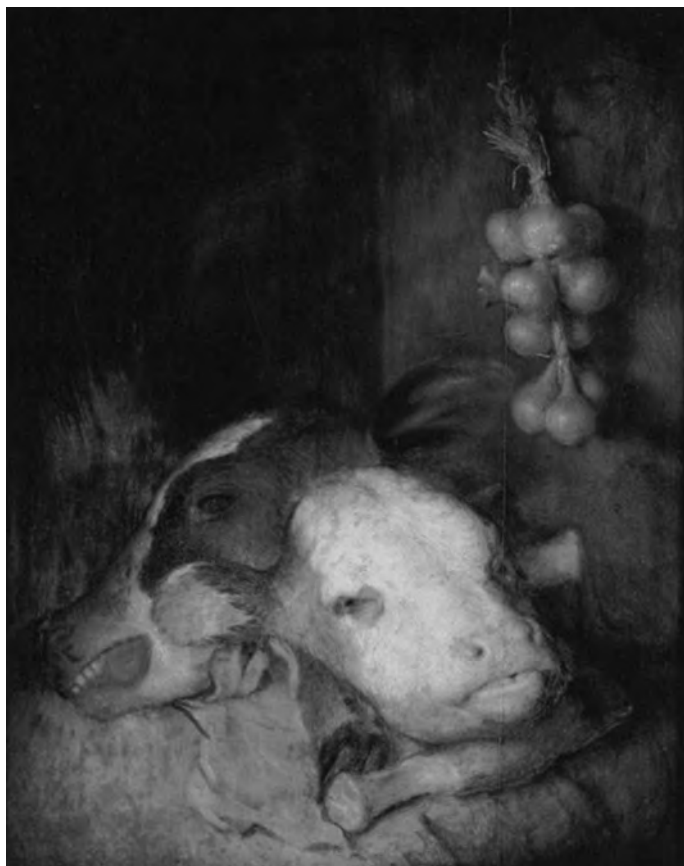
Arent de Gelder's signed *The Arrest of Christ*, currently in storage in the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam, belongs to the famous Passion cycle (around 1715), most parts of which are located in Aschaffenburg (Farbabbildung 4). The painting tells an incredibly vivid story, which is narrated from right to left with Christ not in the centre but at the picture's left edge. One of the soldiers is shown in full motion from behind. He is not completely absorbed by darkness; gleams of light reflect off the area around his shoulder while he continues to move towards the light source. He leads the viewer's gaze to Christ being carried off by a soldier, who pulls at his robe. It is not clear where exactly the light is coming from, as its source is concealed. But it is certain that it comes from the left, and seems to draw the mobile crowd towards it like a magnet. The counterpoint to the body of light is the small lamp, which is held by a soldier in the group, and radiates light from the darkness at the painting's right edge. All the movement of the crowd flows from the depth of night towards the glowing light. The light acts as a kind of trigger for this movement. A man enters the scene with a lively gesture, his right arm outstretched and pointing in the direction of the soldiers in the background. In his other arm he holds a spear; his right foot is raised so that the sole of his shoe is visible despite the shadows. The posture of the dog at his feet mirrors and accentuates the crowd's momentum. The soldiers flanking Jesus are caught in mid stride, underlining the tension between calm and motion.

The lit path links the moving crowd from one source of light to the other. The long patch of colour, which appears to be moving forward towards the left, makes the path resemble a carpet, and gives a materiality to the different light sources. The soldiers' armour and robes contribute to the picture's vigour. They are formed from dabs of paint that have a life of their own. In parts, the men's faces are also only made up of dabs of colour, further underscoring the flowing movement from darkness into light. *Macchie* of red make the two men behind Christ appear to emerge out of the darkness. The contrast between the absolute darkness and the gleaming light is at its most intense on the left side of the painting.

This tension is accentuated by the male figure seen from behind which is only visible in sharp silhouette. The man watches the event without moving, and partly conceals the light source on the left. Aside from similar experiments with light by Rembrandt, this



**15** Arent de Gelder, *Christ brought to the House of the Highpriest*, Detail. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum.



**16** Christopher Paudiß, *Still Life with Two Calves' Heads and Onion*. Dresden, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen – Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister.

scene vividly recalls Titian and above all Jacopo Bassano, whose impact for de Gelder was mentioned by Karl Lilienfeld as early as 1914.<sup>1</sup> The role of *houding*, that is, the distribution of light and shade, has also been discussed in this context, and Jacob Campo Weyerman praised de Gelder for this quality: "Een wonderbaare verkiezing van lichten en schaduw" ("A wonderful choice of light and shade").<sup>2</sup>

A similarly lively effect of paint and light can be observed in Christopher Paudiß' signed *Still Life with Two Calves' Heads and Onion*. The vitality found in the previous painting is not present here. Rather, the subject of this painting is death in the true sense of the word, a *nature morte*.<sup>3</sup> The objects in the picture are displayed like trophies, most notably the calves' heads, which recall the severed heads of Théodore Géricault. The calf's head shown from the front catches the most light (Farbabbildung 5). On the animal's white fur, the light is suggested by restrained yet impasto paint structures, which simultaneously emphasise the painting's "visual force" and materiality. Every single hair on the animal's ear is shown with meticulous accuracy. At close proximity, these hairs can be identified as individual brushstrokes. In a work by a *fijnschilder* (fine painter), this would have resulted in flatness, an effect that the visibility of the individual brushstroke strives to avoid. On the one hand, the painting is a "portrayal after life", a portrayal that seems alive in its dead state. On the other hand, the light accentuates the lively effect with its impasto, uneven paint structure, and reminds the viewer of the picture's artificial nature. This artificiality is also underlined by the pictorial space, which resembles a display cabinet in a chamber of curiosities. The onion bulb can be viewed in the same context. While the highlights give the bulb a great plasticity and naturalness, it is still recognisable as a painted object. The onion is positioned on a diagonal axis in the pictorial space, thereby conveying an even stronger sense of movement.

A further contradiction between lifelessness and liveliness arises from the hazy, blurred rendering of the calf's head with protruding tongue in the background when compared with the precise rendering of the other calf's head in the foreground described above. The contrast makes the latter appear to project outwards even more.

The slightly opened eye, the nostril glistening with moisture, the mouth and visible teeth of the former can be seen as signs of a revitalisation of the dead creature through painting.

The relationship between the sharp and the blurred, plasticity and flatness within the picture creates a tension that contributes to the picture's energy, not least in the interaction between the crafted work and the viewer. The free brushstrokes make the cloth on which the heads are positioned with the bones recognisable as cloth. The red blood on the bones is also significant in this respect; here, the artist's application of red paint is exposed, while the red also contributes to enlivening the painting's surface.

In both de Gelder's and Paudiß' paintings, a discrepancy can be observed, one that may also be called a contradiction. In the case of both painters and by different means, the relation between the mediality of the paint and the resulting objecthood of the



**17** Christopher Paudiß, *Still Life with Two Calves' Heads and Onion*. Detail. Dresden, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen – Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister.

picture is made evident: we see the painting as a dead object, an artefact.<sup>4</sup> At the same time, this very objecthood creates an impression of liveliness through the handling of the paint. This is a paradigmatic example of the topos that it is first and foremost paint that breathes life into objects.<sup>5</sup> In the following, I shall examine this contradictory liveliness that acts as a motor for this particular application of paint, one that bears Rembrandt's signature, and influence, and can be viewed as part of a tradition that had been influential since Titian.<sup>6</sup> Unveiling the processes in their work plays a key role in this examination. Both contribute to making precisely this emphasised lifelessness of the material appear remarkably alive to the viewer through the paint. The picture is lively and vibrant in the sense of *handeling* (meaning until today in Dutch simultaneously the handling of the brush as well as action), and hence the processual application of paint.

The objective of creating an illusion was alien to the Rembrandtists, who, on the contrary, were more concerned to find a means to shatter any such illusion. The works discussed here use this shattering to unleash their active potential; and they are no mere representations of reality, but rather contribute to its production. The paint does not have mimetic or supposedly illusionist aims, but goes beyond these by pointing to its own dynamism. As such, it is opposed to the concept of a sterile *imitation*.<sup>7</sup>

In different sources, both Paudiß and de Gelder are praised for the lively, vibrant power of their paintings in a way that vividly recalls Arnold Houbraken's description of Rembrandt's biography. Jan de Bisschop also comes to a similar conclusion without referring directly to Rembrandt: "One must imitate life indiscriminately as it usually and ubiquitously manifests itself."<sup>8</sup>

Nature was the point of departure and the final destination in Rembrandt's observations. Critics have also related this idea to his life in general: "[...] datmen uit het leven, het leven leert kennen" ("that you get to know life from life").<sup>9</sup> Karel van Mander, too, underscores the importance of the principle of imitating life in his "Life of Caravaggio". After quoting van Mander's words, Houbraken continues as follows: "Our great master Rembrandt was also of the same mind; he set himself the basic rule to follow only nature, and for him everything else was suspect."<sup>10</sup> In another passage in his Rembrandt biography, Houbraken assesses the processes at work in Rembrandt's drawings: "Everything is depicted so naturally that one can read each figure from the strokes of the pen."<sup>11</sup> This sentence states in clear terms an element that also stands out in the descriptions of de Gelder's and Paudiß' paintings. While reflecting on the tool employed, naturalness or liveliness are praised, qualities produced by this tool (*pentrekken*), and which emphasise the materiality of the picture. This element is echoed in the use of the adjectives *natuurlyk* (natural) and *krachtig* (powerful or forceful) in Houbraken's biography of de Gelder.<sup>12</sup> It recalls the "near and far" topos in which near signifies the absolute visibility of the material and the simultaneous death of the artefact in the critics' eyes, while far signifies liveliness and vividness. It is therefore by no means coincidental that almost the same sentence from the biography of de Gelder reappears in the biography of Rembrandt. Only when viewed from a distance do these paintings unleash their singular power to engross the viewer.

In his discussion of Samuel van Hoogstraten's life, Weyerman makes clear that the word *krachtig* goes hand in hand with the handling of paint in the Rembrandt manner. De Gelder's first teacher followed the "krachtige schilderwijze" ("powerful painting manner") for a certain time, which is seen as an indication of de Gelder's adaptation of the Rembrandt style.<sup>13</sup> As we shall see, the adjective *krachtig*, which is often associated with Rembrandt's colour palette, also appears many times in various auctions of de Gelder's works in the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries.<sup>14</sup> In an Amsterdam auction on 14 August 1771, for example, a painting by de Gelder is described as "zeer krachtig en fraay geschildert" ("very powerful and well painted").<sup>15</sup>

In a letter to Johann Georg II, Elector of Saxony, written in Dresden on 6 February 1660, Paudiß writes of a picture that recalls the Dresden still life: "hunting [...] with a strange yet unspoilt industriousness, as well as I have learnt with God's grace and, to put it precisely, to create *everything after life* artistically."<sup>16</sup> Painting that imitates life also appears to be a key principle in Paudiß' work in the Rembrandt manner. Its most important feature is the production of evidence.<sup>17</sup>



In his *Inleyding (Introduction to the Academy of the Art of Painting. Or the Visible World, 1678)*, van Hoogstraten formulates some ideas that, in part, go hand in hand with Rembrandt's understanding of the productive role of nature for the artist. He summarises this belief as follows: living nature must always be the artist's point of reference.<sup>18</sup> It is an idea with an affinity to Leonardo's thought, or one that can be seen as a continuation of an Aristotelian-scholastic tradition.<sup>19</sup> With the exception of the account given by van Mander in *Den Grondt*, a similar view is put forward by Annibale Carracci in his *Postille*. In contrast to Vasari, Annibale calls upon the painter to look for the real things in living nature.<sup>20</sup>

In connection with his famous metaphor that all other works of the Doelen in Amsterdam stand next to each other like playing cards alongside Rembrandt's *Night Watch* (meaning that Rembrandt's painting appears particularly lively and vivid), van Hoogstraten also describes his teacher's painting with adjectives that characterise liveliness, such as *kragtig*, as seen above, or *schilderachtig* (painterly or "picture-worthy").<sup>21</sup> An interesting perspective with regard to this contradictory liveliness is Gerard de Lairese's view that Rembrandt's impasto appears unnatural and is ugly.<sup>22</sup> This view is surprising, especially given the emphasis van Hoogstraten and the even more critical Houbraken placed on the lively effect of Rembrandt's palette. The "naturalness" of this palette is achieved by the most artificial means.<sup>23</sup> These two poles are seen as a key property of the effect of the application of paint in the work of the Rembrandtists.<sup>24</sup>

Jan Vos, one of Rembrandt's supporters, states this discrepancy in clear terms in *Zeege der Schilderkonst*: "De levendige geest verdooft de doode verve" ("The living spirit drowns out the dead paint").<sup>25</sup> The paint radiates vitality: it is "vol vlees en bloed" ("full of flesh and blood"), that is, mere colour, creating a lively effect.<sup>26</sup> Here, "living spirit" is not conceived in "idealist" terms; as Vos underlines elsewhere: "the brush made famous by the work of the spirit [should] never argue with life."<sup>27</sup>

The poet Dirk Raphaelsz. Camphuysen writes in a polemical tone against the veneration of images, not without Calvinist echoes: "While the painting lives and looks upon its viewers [...], the [images] are not made of flesh and blood, but binder and earth."<sup>28</sup> In this paradox, he discovers a danger unleashed by images: although composed of dead matter, the picture is alive. It is in this context that the *handeling* of the Rembrandtists should be understood.

The principle of "painting from the back towards the front" is linked to the gradual concretisation of form out of chaos, and goes hand in hand with the concept of *houding*.<sup>29</sup> This can also be observed in de Gelder's painting *Ecce Homo*, where different figures gradually move out of the darkness towards a source of light, and the initially hazy, schematic contours take on more concrete forms.

Depth in the picture – created through tonal gradation – contrasts with a mere imitation of nature, and hence reveals the artificiality of assumed naturalism (and of works criticised for this quality by idealist critics).<sup>30</sup> The power or force (*kragt*) of the palette plays

**18** Arent de Gelder,  
*Ecce Homo*. Aachen,  
Suermondt-Ludwig-  
Museum.



**19** Arent de Gelder,  
*Ecce Homo*, Detail.  
Aachen, Suermondt-  
Ludwig-Museum.



a key role here. The resemblance to nature in Rembrandt's handling of the paint makes his paintings look lifelike – which even de Lairese admits, despite his criticism of his unnatural impasto.<sup>31</sup> The “unnatural naturalness” of the Rembrandtists' *handeling* coalesces into shaped force in the painting. De Lairese argues that the artists of his era had little interest in being guided by nature, a thesis that is partly supported by research today.<sup>32</sup> If, in the eyes of the idealist art critic, Rembrandt's application of paint was considered too close to nature in mimetic terms, how could de Lairese maintain that these artists had no

interest in following nature? For de Lairese, being guided by nature entailed following a *natura naturata* and not a *natura naturans*, where paint acts as a living organism. The liveliness of the *handeling* is formed by the *unione* of paint in Vasari's sense of the term.<sup>33</sup> Hence liveliness becomes an ideal, with the aim being to approach this ideal by different means and with differing painting ideologies, although in the *handeling* of the Rembrandtists the contradiction between the materiality of the surface and the subject of the depiction is much greater than in that of the *fijnschilders'* for instance.

The term *kragt* takes on yet more explosive force because it corresponds to the concept of *houding*.<sup>34</sup> As seen above with *The Arrest of Christ*, *houding* is used to ensure the union of paint application and its effect. The mention of Bassano in connection with *The Arrest of Christ* is no accident. The northern-Italian painter may have been known to de Gelder, quite possibly through Rembrandt.<sup>35</sup>

Van Mander discusses Bassano's paintings, in particular *The Adoration of the Shepherds*; at the same time, he draws on this kind of subject and painting manner in a picture of his own that is currently located in Haarlem.<sup>36</sup>

It is likely that he became acquainted with these works through his teacher Pieter Vlerick, who had studied in Tintoretto's studio and was therefore familiar with the Venetian painting method. As van Mander writes in his biography of the artist, even the Dutch



20 Karel van Mander, *The Adoration of the Shepherds*. Haarlem, Frans Hals Museum.

viewer had access to Bassano's works.<sup>37</sup> The varied role played by light in night scenes was a question that preoccupied both Rembrandt and his students. Reflected light on the forehead or nose, in particular in *tronie* paintings, but also on various objects in history or genre paintings, was an essential element for the Rembrandtists and oscillated between the objecthood of the image – resulting from the intense concentration of light as an impasto paint texture – and the evocation of naturalness.

Weyerman's comments on de Gelder's talent for achieving a good *houding* are influenced by Joachim von Sandrart's praise for Rembrandt.<sup>38</sup> As van Hoogstraten writes, the contrast between light and shade should not be too strong, otherwise one runs the risk of the painting looking like a chessboard.<sup>39</sup> He praises his own teacher for using harmonious colours (literally "befriended" colours, "bevriende kleuren", in the sense of the *unione del colorito*) to achieve a successful *houding*.<sup>40</sup> What van Hoogstraten emphasises in a positive light and describes on the basis of his own practical experience in Rembrandt's studio is the very thing that de Lairese considers unnatural. The black edge that sets off the outline of the figure in the foreground against the brightest source of light is an "unnatural *houding*" for de Lairese, whereas it was this very element that enabled de Gelder to accentuate the painting's power.

The "violent force of light" ("gewelt de kracht van het licht", Samuel van Hoogstraten) is a further characteristic bearing Rembrandt's impact. Recently, this phenomenon has been described as a "bildinternes Lichtgefüge" ("inner-pictorial light structure") that



**21** Arent de Gelder, *Jehovah and Two Angels visit Abraham*. Rotterdam, Museum Boymans-van Beuningen.



**22** Arent de Gelder, *Jehovah and Two Angels visit Abraham*, Detail. Rotterdam, Museum Boymans-van Beuningen.

“makes no claim to realism; rather its material presence takes on a supporting function in relation to the compositional representation.”<sup>41</sup> For this reason, we may speak of an intrinsic light, a light created by corresponding painting devices.<sup>42</sup> Alongside *The Arrest of Christ*, this is also exemplified in de Gelder’s *Jehovah and Two Angels Visit Abraham*, whose composition is borrowed from an etching by Rembrandt without being a mere copy, as is the case with de Gelder’s other works.

Jehovah’s robe radiates light from within.<sup>43</sup> As can be clearly seen from the still life on the table, only Jehovah is endowed with this acting light, which makes him stand out against the darkness of the scene. This is to be regarded as an iconographic loading of the figure in this specific story, and hence of central importance for the painting’s subject matter. Thus illuminated by the light, the robe is formed by scratches, impasto layers of paint, incrustations and protrusions that have no mimetic function, but rather a dynamising effect.

The painted matter as transformed light lends radiance to the figure in the painting. As Sandrart notes, Rembrandt’s *houding* had an artistic effect and made the paint appear to glow with an exceptional intensity:

In his works our artist introduced little light except on the spot which he had chiefly in view; around this he balanced light and shade artistically. He also made thoughtful use of reflection, by which light penetrates shade in a very well-judged manner; his colour glowed powerfully and he showed consummate judgement in everything [that has] to do with paint.<sup>44</sup>

With reference to one of Vermeer's paintings, Sara Hornak makes an observation that also applies to de Gelder's painting *Jehovah and Two Angels Visit Abraham*: "The paint is not subsumed into a mimetic function, but rather takes on a stronger intrinsic value in the manner with which it is applied; by these means, the substantiality of the things inside the image is expressed and radiates towards the viewer."<sup>45</sup>

Not mere mimesis but rather a naturalness that is conscious of its mediality is characteristic of the *handeling* of the Rembrandtists: contradictory liveliness.

## Notes

- 1 This text is a shortened version of part of a chapter from: Yannis Hadjinicolaou, *Denkende Körper/ Formende Hände. Handeling in Kunst und Kunsttheorie der Rembrandtisten (Thinking Bodies/ Shaping Hands. Handeling in the Art and Art Theory of the Rembrandtists)*, Berlin/Boston 2016. An english translation is in preparation by Brill. Karl Lilienfeld, *Arent de Gelder. Sein Leben und seine Kunst*, The Hague 1914, p. 119; *Arent de Gelder [1645–1727]. Rembrandts Meisterschüler und Nachfolger*, Exhib. Cat. (Cologne, Wallraf-Richartz-Museum and Dordrecht, Dordrechts Museum, 1998–1999), eds. Dordrechts Museum and Wallraf-Richartz-Museum, Ghent 1998, p. 236.
- 2 Jacob C. Weyerman, *De levens-beschryvingen der Nederlandsche konst-schilders en konst-schilderessen*, 4 vols., The Hague/Dordrecht 1729–1769, vol. 3, p. 43.
- 3 *Christopher Paudiß 1630–1666. Der Bayerische Rembrandt?*, Exhib. Cat. (Freising, Diözesanmuseum, 2007), eds. S. Hahn et al., Regensburg 2007, pp. 219–222.
- 4 Cf. John Dewey, *Art as Experience [1934]*, New York 2005, pp. 208–209; See also on this issue: Horst Bredekamp, *Theorie des Bildakts (Frankfurter Adorno-Vorlesungen 2007)*, Berlin 2010.
- 5 Cf. Verena Krieger, *Die Farbe als „Seele“ der Malerei. Transformationen eines Topos vom 16. Jahrhundert zur Moderne*, in: *Marburger Jahrbuch für Kunstwissenschaft* 33, 2006, pp. 91–112.
- 6 For a general discussion of the term liveliness, see Frank Fehrenbach, s.v. *Lebendigkeit*, in: Metzler Lexikon Kunstwissenschaft. Ideen, Methoden, Begriffe, ed. U. Pfisterer, Stuttgart 2003, pp. 222–227.
- 7 Jodi Cranston, *The Muddied Mirror. Materiality and Figuration in Titian's Later Paintings*, University Park 2010, p. 6.
- 8 Jan de Bisschop, "Aen ... Six", 1671. Translation quoted from Eric J. Sluijter, *Rembrandt and the Female Nude*, Amsterdam 2006, pp. 197–198.
- 9 Arnold Houbraken, *De Groote Schouburgh der Nederlantsche konstschilders en schilderessen*, 3 vols., The Hague 1753, vol. 1, p. 266. Houbraken nevertheless distances himself from Rembrandt's dictum and expresses his critical attitude towards it; however, he simultaneously recognises it by stating that the artists who paint "after life" are the best (p. 263): "Wy willen graag toestemmen dat naar 't leven te schilderen nootzakelyk en goed is, maar dat dit niet tot zoo een algemeenen grondregel kan gebracht worden, dat het leven enkel te volgen de eenige weg zoude wezen om volmaakt in de Konst te worden; want dan zoude nootzakelyk moeten volgen, dat de genen die zig meest gewenden naar 't leven te schilderen de beste meesters in de Konst waren, dat niet algemeen doorgaat, maar in tegendeel ontrent velen onwaar bevonden word."
- 10 *Ibid.*, p. 262: "Van deze meening was ook onze groote meester Rembrant, stellende zig ten grondwet, enkele naarvolging van de natuur, en alles wat daar buiten gedaan wird was by hem verdagt." Translation quoted from Ernst van de Wetering, *Towards a Reconstruction of*

- Rembrandt's Art Theory*, in: *The Small-Scale History Paintings* (A Corpus of Rembrandt Paintings, vol. 5), ed. E. van de Wetering, Dordrecht 2010, p. 135. At this point Rembrandt resembles Albrecht Dürer. Cf. *Ibid.*, p. 137.
- 11 Houbraken <sup>2</sup>1753 (note 9), vol. 1, p. 270: "alles staat zoo natuurlyk afgebeeld dat men uit de pentrekken lezen kann wat elk zeggen wil." Translation quoted from *Lives of Rembrandt*. Sandart, Baldinucci and Houbraken, ed. C. Ford, London 2007, p. 88.
- 12 Houbraken <sup>2</sup>1753 (note 9), vol. 3, p. 207–208: "en 't is te verwonderen hoe natuurlyk en kragtig zulk doen somwylen zig in aftstant vertoont."
- 13 Weyerman 1729–1769 (note 2), vol. 3, p. 43.
- 14 For excerpts see Rijksbureau voor Kunsthistorische Dokumentatie Den Haag (RKD), Hofstede de Groot Fiches.
- 15 Amsterdam auction, 14 August 1771. With reference to another painting in a French auction on 1 October 1810, *krachtig* is translated as "d'une forte couleur et d'un effet vrais" ("having a powerful colour and a true effect"). Further examples of descriptions of de Gelder's paintings using the adjective *krachtig* are: 25 August 1773 in Amsterdam, "zeer krachtig op doek geschildert"; 25 April 1775 in Amsterdam again, "krachtig en schoon in de manier van Rembrandt geschildert"; 7 October 1783 in The Hague, "fraay en krachtig, in de manier van Rembrandt geschildert"; 30 August 1797 in Amsterdam "krachtige uitwerking", 11 May 1801 in Amsterdam, "krachtig, fix en meesterlyk behandeld"; and again in Amsterdam on 30 April 1821 "krachtig en meesterlijk geschildert".
- 16 „jägerey [...] mit sonderbarhren doch ungetrühmbten fleisse, so gut ich es durch gottes gnade erlernet und zwar alles nach dem leben kunstmässig verfertigen.“ Dresden Hauptstaatsarchiv, Letter from Paudiß to the Elector Johann Georg II on 6 February 1660. Quoted from Christopher Paudiß 2007 (note 3), p. 17.
- 17 Cf. Boudewijn Bakker, *Au vif. Naar 't leven. Ad vivum. The Medieval Origin of a Humanist Concept*, in: *Aemulatio. Imitation, Emulation and Invention in Netherlandish Art from 1500–1800. Essays in Honor of Eric Jan Sluijter*, ed. A. W. A. Boschloo, Zwolle 2011, pp. 37–52; Robert Felfe, *Naar het leven. Eine sprachliche Formel zwischen bildgenerierenden Übertragungsvorgängen und ästhetischer Vermittlung*, in: *Ad Fontes! Niederländische Kunst des 17. Jahrhunderts in Quellen*, eds. C. Fritzsche, K. Leonhard and G. J. M. Weber, Petersberg 2013, pp. 165–195.
- 18 Samuel van Hoogstraten, *Inleyding tot de hooge schoole der Schilderkonst. Anders de Zichtbaere Werelt*, Rotterdam 1678, p. 294: "zoo moet een konstoeffenaer zich tot de levende natuur keeren."
- 19 On the relationship between Leonardo and van Hoogstraten on the question of nature and art, see Thijs Weststeijn, "This Art Embraces All Visible Things in its Domain". *Samuel van Hoogstraten and the Trattato della Pittura*, in: *Re-Reading Leonardo. The Treatise on Painting across Europe, 1550–1900*, ed. C. Farago, Burlington 2009, pp. 420–423.
- 20 *Distuggere la Maniera? Die Carracci Postille*, ed. H. Keazor, Freiburg im Breisgau 2002, p. 13; Sluijter 2006 (note 8), p. 203.
- 21 Van Hoogstraten 1678 (note 18), p. 176: "zijnde zoo schilderachtich van gedachten, zoo zwierich van sprong, en zoo krachtich, dat, nae zommiger gevoelen, al d'andere stukken daer als kaertblaren nevens staen" ("being so pictorial in thought, so sinuous of step and so forceful that, in the opinions of some, all the other pieces there stand like playing cards next to it"); cf. Paul Taylor, "Zwierich van sprong". *Samuel van Hoogstraten's Night Watch*, in: *The Universal Art of Samuel van Hoogstraten (1627–1678). Painter, Writer, and Courtier*, ed. T. Weststeijn, Amsterdam 2013, p. 97.
- 22 Gerard de Lairese, *Groot Schilderboek*, 2 vols., Haarlem <sup>2</sup>1740, vol. 1, pp. 323–324. Quoted from Seymour Slive, *Rembrandt and his Critics. 1630–1730*, The Hague 1958, p. 163; Paul Taylor, *Colou-*

- ring Nakedness in Netherlandish Art and Art Theory*, in: *The Nude and the Norm in the Early Modern Low Countries*, eds. K. de Clippel, K. van Cauteren and K. van der Stighelen, Turnhout 2011, p. 65.
- 23 Similar references can be found in Anna Tummers, *The Eye of the Connoisseur. Authenticating Paintings by Rembrandt and His Contemporaries*, Amsterdam 2011, p. 275, note 47: "A perfect illusion of lifelikeness is often celebrated as one of the most important goals of the art of painting, yet as a perfect illusion cannot be appreciated if the viewer does not realize that he or she is looking at a picture. In other words, a perfect illusion requires an awareness of the deception."
- 24 Frank Fehrenbach puts it in succinct terms by saying that this quality of liveliness is "found in the unstable, middle distance between the fact of the dead material on the one hand, and the demonic, godly, alchemical, mechanistic endowing-with-soul on the other." Frank Fehrenbach, *Kohäsion und Transgression*, in: *Animationen, Transgressionen. Das Kunstwerk als Lebewesen*, eds. U. Pfisterer and A. Zimmermann, Berlin 2005, p. 3: "in labiler, mittlerer Distanz zwischen dem Faktum des toten Materials auf der einen und der dämonischen, göttlichen, alchemistischen, mechanistischen Beseelung auf der anderen Seite."
- 25 Jan Vos, *Alle de Gedichten [...]*, 2 vols., Amsterdam 1726, vol. 1, p. 356. Quoted from Gregor J. M. Weber, *Der Lobtopos des „lebenden“ Bildes. Jan Vos und sein „Zeege der Schilderkunst“ von 1654*, Hildesheim et al. 1991, p. 144.
- 26 Weber 1991 (note 25), p. 10.
- 27 Ibid., p. 126: "'t penseel, beroemd door geestigheën, Moet nimmer teegens 't leeven stryen."
- 28 "Nochtans leeft schilderey/en ziet haar ziender aan; [...] die niet uyt vleesch en bloed/maar gomm' en aarde zijn." Dirk Rafaelsz. Camphuysen, *Stichtelijke Rymen*, Amsterdam 1681, p. 195. Quoted from Weber 1991 (note 25), pp. 66–67.
- 29 Cf. Werner Busch, *Das unklassische Bild. Von Tizian bis Constable und Turner*, Munich 2009, p. 128.
- 30 Ibid. For van Hoogstraten, tonal gradation instead of "linear rendering of space", as Weststeijn emphasises, is a central aspect of Rembrandt's praxis, which is also connected with the concept of *rounding* (literally "rounding"). Weststeijn 2009 (note 19), pp. 428–429.
- 31 De Lairese <sup>2</sup>1740 (note 23), vol. 1, p. 325. Translation quoted from Thijs Weststeijn, *Samuel van Hoogstraten's Legitimation of Painting in the Dutch Golden Age*, Amsterdam 2008, p. 227: "in regard to both his naturalness and his force of projection (zyne natuurlykheid [...] uitsteekende kracht) [...] was there ever a painter who came so close to nature in the force of colour (kracht van coloriet), by his fine light [...] And is this not enough to entice the whole world?" "[Z]o[wel] ten opzichte van zyne natuurlykheid, als ook zyne uitsteekende kragt [...] was'er ooit een Schilder die de natuur in kracht van coloriet zo na kwam, door zyne schoone lichten [...] En is zulks niet genoeg om de geheele waereld te verlokken?"
- 32 Paul Taylor, *The Concept of Houding in Dutch Art Theory*, in: *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 55, 1992, p. 223.
- 33 Giorgio Vasari, *Le Vite de' più eccellenti pittori, scultori e architettori*, ed. R. Bettarini and P. Barocchi, Florence 1966, vol. 1, pp. 124–125 and p. 128. Quoted from Taylor 1992 (as note 32), p. 223: "A painting with *una dolcissima e delicatissima unione* had its lights and shadows blended by the brush and not left unmixed in thick swathes of impasto, or as Vasari put it, *carichi di corpo*".
- 34 See Sluijter 2006 (note 8), p. 212.
- 35 In addition, de Gelder had access to the following passage by van Mander in *Den Grondt*: "Onder al die nachten pleghen te stichten Van verwen op Tafereelen figuerlijck Met stralighe weder-glansende lichten/ Con de ouden Bassano de ghesichten Wtnemende wel bedrieghen natuerlijck Want het schijnt datmen siet voor ooghen puerlijc Vlammen/ Toortsen/ brandende lampen



hangen/ En Potten en Ketels t'weerschijn ontfanghen". „Unter allen denen, die Nachtszenen mit Farben auf Gemälden darzustellen pflegen mit strahlenden und reflektierenden Lichtern, konnte der alte Bassano die Augen durch Natürlichkeit ausserordentlich gut betrügen. Denn man glaubt vor den Augen Flammen, Fackeln und hängende brennende Lampen sich in Kesseln und Töpfen sehr natürlich spiegeln zu sehen." *Das Lehrgedicht des Karel van Mander [1604]*, ed. R. Hoecker, The Hague 1916, pp. 184–185.

- 36 *Frans Hals. Eye to Eye with Rembrandt, Rubens and Titian*, Exhib. Cat. (Haarlem, Frans Hals Museum, 2013), eds. A. Tummers and C. D. M. Atkins and M. Bijl, Rotterdam 2013, p. 100.
- 37 Das Lehrgedicht des Karel van Mander (note 35), p. 184–185 and p. 357.
- 38 Joachim von Sandrart, *Teutsche Akademie 1675*, I, book 3 (Painting), p. 85, <http://ta.sandrart.net/edition/text/view/172#tapagehead> [accessed May 14, 2015]: „daß man nach und nach in gerechter Maße sich verliere und die Colorit ungehindert nach der Perspektiv Regeln von einem Bild zum andern netto folge und ihr Ort bekomme: welches wir auf Niederländisch Hauding nennen. Diß ist eine sehr nötige Observanz, wird aber wenig erkannt. Und hierinn haben wir zu lernen von unserem verwunderbaren Bambots, auch von anderen/insonderheit von dem laboriosen und dißfalls hochvernünftigen Rembrand: welche/wie in deren Leben zu ersehen gleichsam Wunder gethan und die wahre Harmonie, ohn Hinternis einiger besondern Farbe nach den Regeln des Liechts durchgehends wol beobachtet.“
- 39 Van Hoogstraten 1678 (note 18), p. 305: „Veel harde schaduwen maeken een schildery een schakbert gelijk.“ See on this issue Taylor 1992 (note 32), p. 232.
- 40 Van Hoogstraten 1678 (note 18), pp. 305–306. Cf. Carolin Bohlmann, *Von den „befreundeten Farben“*. *Zur Materialität des Lichts bei Rembrandt und Vermeer*, in: *Lichtgefüge des 17. Jahrhunderts. Rembrandt und Vermeer. Spinoza und Leibniz*, eds. C. Bohlmann, T. Fink and P. Weiss, Munich 2008, p. 243.
- 41 Timo Trümper, *Gerbrand van den Eeckhout. Christ und die Ehebrecherin, 1653*, in: *Lichtgefüge. Das Licht im Zeitalter von Rembrandt und Vermeer*, Exhib. Cat. (Kassel, Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister, 2011), ed. Museumslandschaft Hessen Kassel, Kassel 2011, p. 34: „keinen realistischen Anspruch erhebt, sondern dessen materielle Präsenz eine dienende Funktion gegenüber der kompositorischen Darstellung einnimmt.“
- 42 The “active, acting” light has an almost intrinsic quality. Cf. *Lichtgefüge. Das Licht im Zeitalter Rembrandts und Vermeers. Ein Handbuch der Forschergruppe Historische Lichtgefüge*, eds. C. Bohlmann and T. Leinkauf, Berlin 2012, p. 54.
- 43 This is in line with the description of “immanent” light „das aus den Gegenständen, die im eigentlichen Sinne keine Lichtquellen sind, herauszuleuchten scheint“ (that “shines from objects which are not light sources in the true sense”). Ibid, p. 55.
- 44 “In seinen Werken ließe unser Künstler wenig Licht sehen außer an dem fürnehmsten Ort seines Intents, um welches er Liecht und Schatten künstlich beysammen hielte, samt einer wohlgemeßen reflexion, also daß das Liecht in den Schatten mit großem Urtheil wieche, die Colorit ware ganz glüend und in allem eine hohe Vernunft.“ *Joachim von Sandrart. Academie der Bau-, Bild- und Mahlerey Künste von 1675*, ed. A. R. Peltzer, Munich 1925, p. 327. Translation quoted from *Lives of Rembrandt 2007* (note 11), p. 34.
- 45 Sara Hornak, *Causa sui und causa immanens. Spinoza, die Immanenz und die Malerei Vermeers*, in: *Lichtgefüge des 17. Jahrhunderts 2008* (note 40), p. 231: „Dadurch, dass die Farbe nicht in einer mimetischen Funktion aufgeht, sondern in ihrer Ausbreitung ein starker Eigenwert zum Tragen kommt, drückt sich auch hier eine Substantialität der Dinge innerhalb des Bildes aus, die dem Betrachter entgegengestrahlt.“