Subordinating Colour to Light and Shadow: Rembrandt’s Fatal Choice?

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Both Karel van Mander (1548-1606) in his ‘Grondt der edel vry schilder-const’ and Samuel van Hoogstraten (1627-1678) in his Inleyding tot de hooge schoole der schilderkonst (...) devote considerable attention to colour. In some respects their approaches are closely related: both focus extensively on colour symbolism and both devote separate chapters to colour combinations - attractive and otherwise. In Van Mander’s Grondt the relevant chapter is titled ‘Of the Sorting and Combining of Colours’ (Van het Sorteren, en byeen schicken der Verwen), while the corresponding chapter in Van Hoogstraten’s Book VIII is titled ‘Of the Matching, Gradation or Combining of colours’ (Van de Tuing, Schakeering, of byenschikking der verwen).¹

In other regards there are significant differences between the approaches of the two authors, as will become apparent below. Moreover, these differences provide telling insight into Rembrandt’s (1606-1669) ideas about the subject of colour. This is particularly the case with respect to broken and mixed colours. Van Mander, of course, wrote his text long before Rembrandt began painting, whereas Van Hoogstraten was writing with strong recollections of Rembrandt’s teaching. A comparison of several passages by these two authors, together with a few other late seventeenth-century texts explicitly relating to Rembrandt’s use of colour, may afford a clearer picture of the background of Rembrandt’s art theory. The insights thus gained may also help to explain the decline of Rembrandt’s popularity among potential patrons.

For Van Mander, pure colour was the norm, which is only to be expected since in Mannerist painting, of which he was a late exponent, bright, bold colours - in well-chosen combinations - were used, specifically of course in the attire of figures in the paintings. On this subject he writes:
Yellow and blue (...), combine well with each other: in this way you can combine colours in your drapery [italics E.v.d.W.]. Red and green also go together wonderfully. Red and blue, for a change, are also well matched. Purple does not pale next to yellow; green is enlivened next to white, and white goes with all colours (...).²

Whereas in 1624-1626 Rembrandt was still working with such combinations of strong hues, his approach to colour soon changed radically. His contemporary, the painter Joachim von Sandrart (1606-1688), discussed the general trend in Rembrandt's treatment of colour after this turn, emphasizing the importance of Rembrandt's contribution in this area to the art of painting in his time:

This can be said in his [Rembrandt's] praise, that he understood how to break colours most intelligently and skilfully [corresponding to] their own properties, and subsequently how, out of the abundance of nature, to represent reality faithfully and harmoniously and with a lively simplicity. As a result he opened the eyes of those who, in keeping with general practice, are more dyers than true painters because of the fact that they crudely and brazenly combine colours in all their harshness and rawness, so that they have nothing in common with nature but look more like the boxes of pigments in the shop, or strips of material from the cloth-dyers.³

Indeed, the use of broken colour was extremely important for Rembrandt. This is evident not only from the passage quoted above in which he is praised by Von Sandrart, but also from the fact that Rembrandt's former pupil Samuel van Hoogstraten devoted two chapters of the Sixth Book of the Inleiding to the theme of broken and mixed colours. Rembrandt's interest in the use of broken colours began quite early and initially, as is argued below, with a specific aim in mind concerned neither with colour as such, nor with the fidelity to nature of his use of colour. From 1627 on, convincing light effects assumed the highest priority and it is my thesis that his colours were broken in order to subordinate them to the interplay of light and shadow.

The shift that can be observed in the work of the young Rembrandt from clear, saturated colour to broken colour in pursuit of enhanced light effects did not happen all by itself. As is generally known, around 1625-1626 - that is, before this turn had begun to manifest itself in Rembrandt's work - a tendency toward monochromy had developed among Haarlem painters of landscapes and still lifes that favoured a greater role for light
which, at the same time, contributed to an atmospheric sense of space. This change can be discerned in landscapes by Pieter de Molijn (1595-1661) and Pieter Dirksz. Van Santvoort (c. 1604-1635) and still lifes by Pieter Claesz. (1596/97-1661) and Willem Claesz. Heda (1594-c. 1680). In these cases, however, it is a matter of the type of paintings in which the landscape elements and still-life objects were chosen specifically for their subdued colour in reality, namely grey, subdued green and broken yellow. As a result, tonal relationships that sustained the light effects arose in quite a natural manner.

The same is true of the genre scenes painted by the influential Adriaen Brouwer (1605-1638), who was already active in Haarlem before 1626, subsequently for a brief time in Amsterdam, and again in Haarlem soon afterwards. In Brouwer’s interiors with ordinary, common people dressed in greys and browns and sometimes a muted red there is also a clear tendency toward monochromy with a greater emphasis on light effects.

Of course, this Haarlem trend was not the consequence of the choice of subjects, whether they be landscapes, still lifes or genre scenes, that merely incidentally led to predominantly tonal constellations. As already stated, it was a matter of a new approach to the possibilities of achieving a credible rendering of light and atmospheric space, albeit one assisted by the deliberate choice from reality of the subjects to be painted.

The point about the young Rembrandt (and Jan Lievens [1607-1674]) in relation to this development is that they were themselves trying to achieve the same result in their history paintings. If we considered the trend under discussion solely as a stylistic development it would not be especially noteworthy, and the two young Leiden painters could be seen as mere epigones of the Haarlem avant-garde. The significance of their contribution, however, was that they, and particularly Rembrandt, did not allow their choice of subject matter to be influenced by the tendency toward monochromy.

A glance at the work of Rembrandt’s teacher, Pieter Lastman (1583-1633), in the field of history painting — or at Rembrandt’s own Leiden History Piece of 1626 — is sufficient to realize that the colours of the costumes in such works could not be subordinated to purely artistic aims. Strong colours had a significance that went beyond stylistic trends in painting. Van Mander explicitly explained the significance of strong, pure colours in history pieces:

The attire must for everyone conform to his standing - that is, according to the status [or prestige] that a person enjoys: kings in purple, with ornamented crown; and light-hearted youths demand that they be
cheerfully adorned with exquisite, clear, shining colours. With maidens, for example, white tends to suit very well. Painters should in general pay close attention to this piece [of advice] to ensure that everyone is shown attired according to his status.4

To overstate the case slightly, one could say that the Haarlemmers and Adriaen Brouwer chose the reality that best suited their artistic purpose; whereas Rembrandt subjected the reality he wished to paint to his artistic choice. A glance at the Judas Repentant (1629), the first worked out test of Rembrandt’s new way of painting to emerge after a long struggle, should make clear what is being referred to here (fig. 1, color plate 7). When one looks from left to right, that is, along with the light streaming in, one is struck by the way the broken colours - the light grey wall, the pale blue-green strip of material on the wall that functions as panelling, the broken white of the paper, and pink-yellow of the tasselled cloth on the table, and the fine pink-yellow decoration of the tablecloth - create a
refined harmony that contrasts strongly as a whole with the dark zone in
the foreground. The colours of the garments worn by the first figure to
meet the eye as it travels from left to right adds to this effect over almost
overcharged working of light. These are the overgarments of the left-most
priest; a light yellow cloak with a light orangeish cape. As the eye moves to
the right it encounters the other priests wearing increasingly darker attire.
The fourth from the left is dressed in black. Only the subdued red cloak
of the priest gesturing dismissively toward Judas still provides a red colour
accent, one carefully held in check. The loosely rendered independent
reflections of light from shiny materials, and the subdued flesh color of
Judas contrasted against deep shadows, introduce detail into the right-
hand part of the painting, which has largely been kept dark for the sake of
its convincing light effects. The colours and tones are all subordinated to a
composition defined in light and dark.

Rembrandt would bring this way of working to its fullest expression in
Christ in the Storm on the Lake of Galilee (1633), or the Nightwatch (1642).
In the case of the latter painting, for instance, (see the previous quotation
from Van Mander) the colour of the protagonists’ costumes should have
been determined by decorum, yet Rembrandt sacrificed colour for the
doctrine of ‘light and shadow at the expense of colour’. It is a consequence
of this approach, however, that the light had to be compensated for with
three to four times as much shadow. Accordingly, some of the figures
became almost totally dark-monochrome, while in general the colours for
the costumes of the protagonists – whatever their rank – were chosen in
accordance with and basically subordinated to their place in the structure of
light and shadow, thus strengthening the effectiveness of that structure. As
far as earning him important commissions during his lifetime, Rembrandt’s
choice would prove fatal. This must have been what Gerard de Lairesse
(1640-1711) meant when he later wrote: ‘Nonetheless one notices that he
[Rembrandt] is not imitated, or only by a few who, like their Predecessor,
perished (…)’. De Lairesse is probably referring here not only to
Rembrandt’s pupils who in most cases turned their backs on Rembrandt’s
way of painting; he probably meant primarily that Rembrandt had hardly
any influence beyond his own school, for the direction he chose with its
all too emphatic connection between light, shadow and colour turned
out to be a dead end. The cul-de-sac into which Rembrandt led himself
resulted in commissions for works in public buildings (i.e., the Oranjzaal
or the new Amsterdam town hall) being withheld, or if they were awarded,
the delivered work was eventually rejected. Decorum dictated the rules of
such painting; strong colour, at least in the costumes, and clear visibility
throughout the painting were preconditions in such works.
It is worthwhile here anticipating the end of this story, because what Arnold Houbraken later called the return to "clear painting" - the colourfulness of what too easily was generalizingly indicated as classicism - was already in full swing when Van Hoogstraten wrote his book. What constituted the essence of the colour scheme in history pieces - the colours of the protagonists' dress - had reverted after the Rembrandt episode to the richness of the virtually unbroken colours that Van Mander prescribes in the passages quoted earlier. Once again, colour in a history piece is employed to underline the value of the men and the beauty of the women.

Van Hoogstraten would have often heard Rembrandt talk about what must have engaged him intensely from 1627 onward: the use of broken colours, but then in the sense that Von Sandrart had in mind when he referred to Rembrandt's important contribution in this area.

The question of broken colours is not just a matter of mixing colours. The fact that a mixture of blue and yellow produces green does not mean that the blue or the yellow is 'broken'. Broken colour means that it has become less strong and less saturated by being mixed with other pigments. Mostly, however, it remains a shade of the same colour. The revealing text in the margins of Van Hoogstraten's first chapter on this subject (titled Of the mixing of colours) reads: 'Of the breaking of colours, called Corruptie or ontwordering'. According to the Woordenboek der Nederlandsche Taal the word corruptie at that time also carried negative connotations, of having been tainted or damaged, while the other term that Van Hoogstraten uses, ontwordering, was more or less equivalent to perishing, decaying or expiring.

Just how difficult - but at the same time attractive - Van Mander found it to take the step from the use of saturated to broken colours is evident from a passage in his Grondr:

I remember that a group of young painters worked in the Belvedere. Raffaellino da Reggio did his figures in many light, half-tones, instead of the clear colours to which others were inclined; but no bees seeking honey ever hastened towards thyme as fast as our eyes flew to his work before [that of] others. ⁸

Here it was a matter of 'light half-tones' (lichte grauweken). To a certain extent this holds true for Rembrandt's first paintings with their preference for light broken colours. One thinks here of Mary's blue cloak in the Flight into Egypt in Tours; the colours in the Rich Man or The Old Men Disputing in Melbourne of 1628; and the broken yellow of the cloak of the priest at the left in the Judas. In Rembrandt's later work, where a strong red
costume was needed (for the Philistine with the halberd in the Blinding of Samson and the militiaman with his musket standing to the left and in front of the girl in the Nightwatch), the amount of red required was highly restricted by the fact that these figures were largely cloaked in shadow. Only after around 1645 did he sometimes introduce sonorous red passages in the foreground, and always in draperies: a new turn in Rembrandt’s dealings with colour that Van Hoogstraten must have witnessed, for example in the St. Petersburg Holy Family with the Angels. Nevertheless, Rembrandt continued to give priority to the effects of light at the expense of colour and detail.

Along with the question of broken colours, Rembrandt must inevitably have given thought to the mixing of colours kept in shadow. This would seem to be reflected in a detailed passage from Van Hoogstraten’s treatise quoted below. Mixing the 10 or 12 pigments available to him and his contemporaries in all possible ways provided a richly varied instrument for rendering reality in all its diverse gradations of colour. In Van Hoogstraten’s eyes, the range of colours at their disposal was virtually complete. Van Hoogstraten’s book contains a theory concerning the mixing of colours, perhaps based on his lessons with Rembrandt, which explains this richness:

The mixing of two colours, in cases where these are related [bevrient], does not produce another intermediate colour, which resembles them both [die na beyden aert], like green from [mixing] yellow and blue, or purple from blue and red: the same as can be seen in the mixing in the Rainbow. On the contrary, conflicting colours almost totally destroy each other, and produce nothing but a dull greyness, as can be seen in the mixing of green and red. I say a dull greyness, but one could call grey everything that is not red, yellow or blue. No. This agreement and conflict of colours gives us the ability to colour almost everything seen in nature, administered so that nothing other than a well-practiced eye is needed in order to observe nature with discernment. The judgement of the colour between the extremes of our pigments is here most important if it is to determine things in nature.9

Van Hoogstraten was surely also fascinated by problems of colour in the context of his own work and must have looked for alternatives to Rembrandt’s way of handling colour. There is a rather long, at first sight cryptic, passage in which he seems to be trying to combine Rembrandt’s approach to colour with his own ideas and with the general developments in this area that are discussed above.
Further, whilst it is highly unsuitable to overcharge the whole work with the afore-said delightful colours, so it will be praiseworthy when, foremost and most importantly in the work, one makes each colour as beautiful as possible (in painting, says Plutarch, one hides the dark and sad colours and brings the light and gaiety to the fore or above) so that they stand out with a force and brightness both collectively and compatibly with each other. However, I do not want the colours to appear just as light as dark, as in a dream; but as in good music sometimes the note rises, and sometimes there is the droning of a deep bass, so one may make white cotton cloth coil playfully with blue silk, and brilliant gold goes with all pigments. As the pale moon struts with gilded stars in the azure sky, so shines the ripe grain in green fields.

With regard to the figures who are more of secondary importance than necessary for the story, one must attire them carefully such that the eye is not distracted [italics E.w.d.W.] from the principal work: not that one should put them all in shadow, or dress them all in mourning clothes, but with a skilful dexterity one must thereby create a good balance [welvąnt] in the main work; whether [by ensuring that] those in the further distance slightly lack the clarity of those in the foreground, or only catch a reflection, or are deprived of the main [source of] light.¹⁰

In the passage in italics, Van Hoogstraten advises the method used by Rembrandt for the costumes in his Judas or Christ in the Storm on the Lake of Galilee - that is, adapting the choice of colour for the clothes of the protagonists according to their place in the pictorial scheme.

Van Hoogstraten practiced what he preached, namely the application of each colour at its purest 'in the foreground or the main part of the work'. This fact did not escape the well-informed viewers of his work. Reading the criticism of Samuel van Hoogstraten's handling of colour by his own pupil and biographer Arnold Houbraken leaves a rather strange taste:

As far as his [Van Hoogstraten's] Histories are concerned, they are thoroughly praiseworthy, welvąnt, and with a good houding [the spatial effects achieved through a skilful choice of colours and tones], and art lovers have never raised any complaint against them, other than that the colours in the costumes especially are used too singly and unmixed, and in the latter years of his life, in order to flatter the ignorant, [he] sometimes introduced things in his paintings which he had denounced in his Book on the fundamentals [gronden] of the Art of Painting [Inleyding tot de hooge schoole der schilderkunst].¹¹
Where colour in painting in general was concerned, Van Hoogstraten specifically stated his credo in his book: 'Natural colouring alone is praiseworthy', which is to say that colour in the painting should approximate as closely as possible the colour in reality. This must also have been Rembrandt's credo because, as Van Sandrart explained, naturalness could only be achieved through the use of broken colours, otherwise the colours (of the costumes) in paintings look more like "the boxes of pigments in the shop or strips of material from the cloth-dyers". Van Hoogstraten may well have adopted Rembrandt's credo in so many words. The notion that only a colour scheme that corresponded precisely with reality was laudable was not self-evident. It was well known - and was apparently a topic of discussion in the workshops - that there were, and had been, painters who allowed themselves to use a range of colour that did not correspond with reality:

(...) over which many, in despair [about whether they would ever succeed in achieving natural colours] merely accustomed themselves to a way of colouring in order to carry their drawings through into paintings, without paying heed to any naturalness at all, as though the use of colour [koloript] did not matter. No one should hold it against me that I dare to mention such illustrious names as Kornelis van Haerlem, Bartolomeus Spranger, Julio Roman, and the great Michel Agnolo as having almost totally overlooked [natural] colouring.

That Rembrandt strove for fidelity to nature in his use of colour can (still) be seen in his paintings. His contemporaries must also have perceived as much. Gerard de Lairesse, for example, approvingly quoted Rembrandt's admirers who said: '(...) was there ever a Painter who came so close to nature in the force of his colouring [koloript], (...)',

The colours in the Judas also approximate 'nature'. The same holds true for the colours in the (eventually rejected) Claudius Civilis, and would also have been the case for the colours in Rembrandt's proposed painting(s) for the Oranjezaal had he been asked in 1648-1650 to participate on that project. Apparently, though, the invitation never came. It would seem obvious to assume that those responsible for selecting and inviting the participants in this mega-project, found that Rembrandt's paintings would simply not fit into this rich ensemble, notwithstanding his reputation in the international world of art lovers: a dearth of clear colour, an excess of detail dissolved in shadow. One can almost hear one of the members of the committee saying, in the words of Samuel van Hoogstraten when quoting certain theorists: '(...) that the Art of Painting at its greatest is that which deals solely with heroic virtues; that the
forcing of light and shadow in a scheme is a brittle crutch: and it is unjust to heighten the beauty of the one by obscuring the other.\textsuperscript{15}

In this passage, the painter-theorists quoted by Van Hoogstraten could scarcely not have had Rembrandt in mind. This is an unnoticed passage in Van Hoogstraten’s chapter on ordonnation in which the ‘classicist’ faction is allowed its advocacy.

Van Hoogstraten, however, did not necessarily share this implicit critical attitude towards Rembrandt’s way of using colour in relation to light and shadow:

As far as we [viz. Van Hoogstraten himself] are concerned, and as there are other different minds, we allow each the freedom to follow whatever he likes; and reject no tulip because it is not a rose, nor a rose because it is not a lily. We shall discuss [in this treatise] the parts of art, and each may choose from them what he considers the most valuable.\textsuperscript{16}

He did, however, make clear why Rembrandt ‘perished’, in the words of Gerard de Lairesse as a result of his refusal of Van Mander’s precept that ‘The [colour] of the attire must for everyone conform to his standing, that is to the status [or prestige] that a person enjoys’.\textsuperscript{17}

For Rembrandt, art – \textit{de konst} – took precedence over the wishes and status of his patrons. This is not part of the subsequently concocted Rembrandt myth or the associated nineteenth-century cult of genius. It could well be one of the keys to understanding not only Rembrandt’s enduring fame as an artist, but also the criticism that may have led to him receiving hardly any official commission in his own lifetime.
This essay is part of a more extended chapter, titled "Towards a reconstruction of Rembrandt’s art theory", in: E. van de Wetering, A Corpus of Rembrandt Paintings, vol. 5, Dordrecht 2010. It is dedicated there to Eric Jan Sluijter, in admiration and gratitude.

Notes
1 S. van Hoogstraten, Inleyding tot de hooge schilder- kracht (...), Rotterdam 1678 (facs. Repr.: Soest 1969), 302-305.
2 K. van Manden, ‘Den grondt der edel vry schilder-const’, in: Het Schilder-buck [1694], Amsterdam 1618, fol. 45v, 7: ‘Het geel en blauwe voegt dan wel een by d’ander. / Dus menchdyt u laten int verwen schicken./Oock rood en groen liefi wonderlijck malcander./Het roode by t blauwew, op datmen verander./Voegt hem ook wel, t purper sal niet verschriken/By t geel te staen, het groen sal hem vergiftigen./By witt, jae wit schickt hem by alle verwen, (...)’.
4 Van Manden, op. cit. (n. 2), fol. 42s, 3: ‘Elck na zijnen staet, dars nee de personen/in eeren zijn, wil de cleedinghe wesen/Continghen ghepurpnr, giecluet met Crowsen./En de blyck leucht lustigh haer verschonen/Wil met blyckend’ verwen schoon uytghesalen/megheden wil ook t’wit wel voechhen: in dezen/De Schilders wil moeten op alles laten/Elck soo na den staet gheleecte uyt te setten’.
5 G. de Lairet, Het Groote Schilderboek, Amsterdam 1707, Boek V, Ch. 22, 325: ‘Evenwel bespeurt men, dat by [Rembrandt] niet nagevolgd word dan van weinige, welke noch eindelijk met hun voorganger te gronde zijn gegaen(…)’.
7 Van Hoogstraten, op. cit. (n. 1), 223: ‘Van de vermengde verwen’ (in the margin: ‘Vande breckinge der verwen Corruptie of ontwordinge genoemt’).
9 Van Hoogstraten, op. cit. (n. 1), 224: ‘De vermengelingen van twee verwen, indiende elckander beviert zijn, brengen geen andere middelverwe uit, als die nae beedt aert, als groen uit geel en blauw, purper uit blauw en rood: gelijk de vermengingen in den Regenbooge te zien zijn. Daet en tegen zullen de wyande verwen elckander byna geheel vertienigt, en niets anders dan een grauwachtig voort brengen, als te zien is in t natteren mengen van groen en rood. Een grauwachtich, zeg ik, maer zooy mocht men alles, wat juist niet rood, geel, of blauw was, grauw noemen. Neen. Deze overeenkomst en strijdichich der verwen heeft ons’ t vermogen van byna al wat in de natuur gezien wordt na te reconstrueren, toegebracht, zo zoo dater niets anders als een wel geofferte oog, om de natuur met oordeel aan te zien, van noode is. Het oordel van de verwe is hier het voornaamste, indien men de dingen in de natuur tusschen de tusschen onzer verwen bepaat is’.
10 Van Hoogstraten, ibid., 304: ‘Wijders, dawifi’t zeer wenschlijk zoude zijn, het geheele werk met gemelde vermaande schildrijks te overlasten, zoo zald prieflijk zijn, dat men, in het vooroof of voornaamste van t werk, yder verwe op zijn schoonst maakt (men bedeet uit schilderen, zeght Platnechus, de duistere en droeve verwen, en brengt de lichte en blyde voor of boven) op datte met een gemeene en met malcker verdraagliche kracht en gloeijtheit hervroor dringen. Echter wil ik niet, dat de verwen juist even licht, even bruis, als een droom verschipen; maer gelijk een goede muizelt somtijts den toon verheft, en somtijts met een diepe bas dreunt, zoo machten spierwit lywaer by blauwe zijde dartel doen klinken, en schitterend gout by aller verwen passen. Zoo raelt de blecke maen by gulde starren in d’azuur lucht, zoo blesst het rijpe gracen in de groene velden. De figuren, meer tot bywerk, als nootzakelich, zal men voorzichtig zoodanich kleeden, dat het oog in het opslach van het voornaamste werk niet en wordt afgetrokken: niet datmen juist alle zal geschaduwen, of in den rouw kleenen, maen men zal met een kunstige behendich Ferdur haer een welsaint in het hoofwerk veroorzaaken: ‘t zy zy in verder afstand de voorste klaardelen echizien misen, of alleen een weergaans omfangende, van’t voornaamste licht beroofen zijn’.
11 Houbraken, op. cit. (n. 6), 158-159: ‘Wat yne Historien aanbelont, die yne dooorgaens pryselyck, welstandich, en van een goede houding, en de konstkenners hebben er nooit iets tegen gehad, als dat de koleuren, in de kleederen inzonderheid, te enkel en onvermengt gebruikt zyn, en hy in de laatste jaren van yne leven, om onverstandigen tot yne voordeel te vleyen, somtijds dingen in yne stukken gebraukt heeft, die hy in yne Boek van de gronden der Schilderkonst vraakt’.
12 Van Hoogstraten, op. cit. (n. 1), 225: ‘De natuurlijke kolorereinge is alleen loosbreylich’.

14 De Lairesse, *op. cit.* (n. 5), 325: '(...) was er ooit een Schilder die de natuur in kracht van coloriet zo na kwam, (....)

15 Van Hoogstraten, *op. cit.* (n. 1), 176: '(...) dat de Schilderkonst in top is, daere alle op heldachtige deugden acht geeft, dat het bedwang der lichten en schaduwen een brousse kruyk is en onrecht datmen, om het erne te verschoonen, het andere verduisten.'


17 See n. 5 and n. 4.