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Source: *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek (NKJ) / Netherlands Yearbook for History of Art*, 2010, Vol. 60, THE PASSIONS IN THE ARTS OF THE EARLY MODERN NETHERLANDS / DE HARTSTOSCHTEN IN DE KUNST IN DE VROEGMODERNE NEDERLANDEN (2010), pp. 52-81

Published by: Brill

Stable URL: https://www.jstor.org/stable/43885157

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Stephanie S. Dickey

It has become an accepted principle that early modern connoisseurs expected paintings to provoke emotional responses. For Dutch authors such as Karel van Mander (1548-1606), Samuel van Hoogstraten (1627-1678), and Gerard de Lairesse (1640/41-1711), representation of the passions was an essential component of painting. Images of all types, even landscapes, could be imbued with emotional content, but this expectation was most acute for figural narrative, where it was accomplished through the nuanced manipulation of pose, gesture, and facial expression, and through meaningful interactions between characters.[1] I employ the term 'narrative' here to encompass both genre and historical imagery, following the lead of Van Hoogstraten and Lairesse, who did not distinguish between these pictorial categories when advising artists on how to engage their viewers most effectively.[2] In addition to multi-figured compositions, Dutch painters developed a vogue for paintings that create narrative constructs by focusing on the demeanor, attributes and expression of a single character. Such images require the viewer to identify the figure and its context based on prior awareness of the relevant literary source.[3] In order to complete the scene, the viewer may be prompted to cast him- or herself in the story, a process that contributes to emotional engagement.

Gender, decorum, and emotional response

Dramatic history paintings, like theatrical tragedies, portrayed heroic events that called for powerful displays of passion. The emotional content of genre painting can be more difficult to decipher because the emotions stirred by its smaller domestic dramas tend to mirror the restrained deportment of civilized social intercourse.[4] Yet the behavior of characters in both kinds of narrative depended upon a system of social and rhetorical convention to ensure that the emotional content of expressions and actions was readily intelligible to viewers and could prompt appropriate responses. According to both aesthetic theory and social practice, the emotions expressed by an individual should conform not only to the requirements of the situation, but also to standards of decorum established according to gender, age, and rank. In painting as in theatre, the ambiguities and complexities of human interaction were clarified by

Detail figure 3
***Suzanna and the elders, c.* 1614**

recourse to a repertoire of familiar types (suitor, warrior, mother) characterized by apposite emotions (jealous suitor, brave warrior, doting mother); their behavior gained resonance by conforming to, or transgressing, social expectations. One such type is the focus of this paper.

Artists were advised to empathise with their characters in order to represent their emotions accurately. Theorists such as Van Hoogstraten adopted the Horatian rhetorical dictum, 'If you would have me weep, you must first of all feel grief yourself'.[5] However, this statement is too often quoted without addressing the context in which Horace places it:

> It is not enough that poems be beautiful; let them be tender and affecting, and bear away the soul of the auditor whithersoever they please. As the human countenance smiles on those that smile, so does it sympathize with those that weep. If you would have me weep you must first express the passion of grief yourself; then ... your misfortunes hurt me: if you pronounce the parts assigned you ill, I shall either fall asleep or laugh.[6]

Here, we see that Horace is interested in the poet's empathy with human emotion only as a means to its convincing representation. His unforgiving dismissal of bad acting (equally applicable to histrionics in theatre and in painting) poses a challenge eagerly taken up by seventeenth-century artists and dramatists who strove for representations of the passions that were affecting by virtue of being not only legible but also true to life. As Van Hoogstraten notes, this required training in both observation of human behavior and the exercise of the imagination.[7]

The essential Horatian response is a mirroring of the represented passion: the sight of grief (or another emotion) prompts the viewer to feel the same. Literary evidence suggests that this goal was attainable. In Renaissance Rome, for instance, viewers of the *Pietà* sculpted by Michelangelo (1475-1564) in 1499 were moved to tears of empathy with Mary's grief.[8] However, there is more to viewer response than a simple mirroring of affect. As thinkers such as René Descartes (1596-1650) and Baruch Spinoza (1632-1677) already recognized, reactions to emotional display may range from desire or empathy to aversion or hatred.[9] Furthermore, while artists train themselves to imagine the emotions of each character represented, it is natural that individual viewers will empathize with one character in a story more than another, or will imagine themselves in the role of the person whose circumstances best match their own, while viewing as 'other' those characters most different from themselves in appearance, age, gender, or social status. Of these categories, perhaps the most essential is gender. The opposition of male and female was a fundamental tenet of seventeenth-century *mentalité*; as a mode of acting and thinking it governed not only social behavior, but also the metaphorical rhetoric of disciplines from philosophy and ethics to natural science.[10] Thus, the response of a male viewer regarding a female actor will not be a pure, automatic mirroring of emotion, but something more complex.

A motif fundamental to the western pictorial tradition is the youthful and beautiful female figure. As modern feminist scholars have

articulated, this motif has traditionally been produced predominantly by and for male viewers.[11] In the Dutch Republic, theorists such as Van Hoogstraten and Arnold Houbraken (1660-1719) referred to the female nude as the artist's most noble and enduring challenge, while for moralists, the depiction and viewing of seductive flesh were fraught with dangerous temptations.[12] Although scholarly attention to these issues has focused primarily on the nude, many of the concerns expressed can be related more generally to feminine beauty and its appeal for the male gaze. As we shall see, with clothing or without, the combination of physical allure and emotional expressiveness carried an especially potent charge.

In the economically diverse art market of the Dutch Republic, it is likely that women as well as men were the purchasers of works of art. As Elizabeth Honig has argued, it is also likely that women spent more time looking at the pictures hanging on the walls of their homes than did their husbands, whose time was more often taken up with business elsewhere. This sheds a new light on the proliferation of paintings in which male (and a few female) artists served up perfected versions of female beauty and domesticity.[13] However, male householders had as much of a stake in these idealized depictions as did women: as expensive possessions and as celebrations of prosperous, well-ordered family life, genre paintings reflected masculine goals of financial success and patriarchal authority. Furthermore, most texts about art, from treatises addressed to young artists to letters exchanged between connoisseurs, were written by and for men. For instance, in Van Mander's *Schilderboek* (1604), the artist-reader was repeatedly admonished to marry wisely, since romantic entanglement with the wrong person (an uncooperative sweetheart or greedy wife) could compromise one's career. Leaving aside any traces of misogyny, the salient point is that the recipient of this advice was implicitly male.[14]

From the consumer's perspective, the literary and pictorial record also construes the acquisition of works of art, especially at the elite end of the market, as primarily a male enterprise.[15] In both Holland and Flanders, depictions of art lovers visiting collectors' cabinets or calling on the artist in the studio almost invariably depict communities of men, who are often shown engaging in animated conversation over the appraisal of works of art.[16] When a woman does appear, she is usually a hired model, the complacent sitter for a portrait, or a fool. When Jan Miense Molenaer paints an old woman who offers the handsome young artist a handful of coins (London, priv. coll.), he satirizes female consumption of art (and female agency in general) as a practice that subverts the social order.[17] In his *Groot Schilderboek* (1712), Lairesse recommended that artists should avoid displaying 'smutty pictures' – erotic images that catered to the male gaze – where they might 'cause a chaste virgin to blush'. While this comment presumes the occasional presence of female visitors (portrait clients), it also indicates that for women, the studio could be an unwelcoming or even morally compromising environment. Significantly, too, the expected female reaction to the sight of seductive imagery is not so much lust as embarrassment.[18] We might suggest that for well-educated gentlemen, connoisseurship became a competitive sport, practiced in the gallery, the atelier, and the auction room. Well-chosen works of art

displayed at home were the trophies of success. While women might have lived with the results, the intellectual rigor of this enterprise, like the physical rigor of most sports, would typically have been considered beyond their scope.

In the present essay, the complicity of male artist and male viewer is assumed – but it is not taken for granted. Rather, I wish to examine how certain emotionally charged images functioned within this presumptively masculine context, and to consider how the erotic element of viewer response complicates experiential and theoretical approaches to the depiction of the passions.

A seventeenth-century male viewer regarding the depiction of a female figure would surely have found it difficult to identify directly with her emotional state. While responding to her situation, he would have viewed her as essentially different from himself. He might imagine himself responding to her emotions from the perspective of a male protagonist within the narrative. An element of this response was likely to be erotic rather than empathetic. The instinctual operation of the 'male gaze' remains a constant in visual theory, and it is not anachronistic to apply this theory, if carefully, to the production and consumption of art in the early modern Netherlands.[19] For instance, the gender-specific and eroticized nature of viewer (and reader) response is exemplified in a passage from Lairesse's *Groot Schilderboek* on how the depiction of beauty and virtue in narrative painting can 'have a great effect on the minds of the knowing':

> No one of judgment will deny, that a beautiful and well-carriaged woman has such an ascendant as most effectually to move her beholders in two different manners, and by two contrary passions; under misfortune or in raging pain, she will pierce a man's heart, and move him to compassion; and when she entertains us on any joyful occasion, with singing or laughing, she will at once delight us: a clownish woman contrarily, will not produce any such effects; for her beholders, through her unmannerlinesses and simple behaviour, despise her mirth, and mock her ridiculous sorrow.[20]

Here, it is clear that Lairesse addresses his reader as one man to another, both implicitly regarding the female object of their gaze from a position of superiority. To 'pierce a man's heart' is to elicit compassion or pity: the sympathy of the strong for the weak. Beginning with Cicero, this was considered a fundamental goal of rhetoric, theater and history painting.[21] Here, I wish to call attention to the erotic element potentially inherent in this response when the viewer is male and the object of his gaze female. It begins with Lairesse's assessment that a beautiful and graceful woman merits the viewer's compassion, while an ungainly one does not. While adduced to support the theoretical principle of idealization of nature, this dismissive appraisal of feminine charm offers a devastating insight into the male viewpoint (and one that remains encoded in the visual conventions of modern cinema). What a female reader would have made of this judgmental attitude is apparently of no concern.

Lairesse is by no means the first author to address the masculine

emotions of compassion and desire as elicited by female beauty. Giovanni Paolo Lomazzo (1538-1592) in the *Trattato della pittura* (1584, here in B. Haydocke's English translation of 1598) argues for naturalism as the key to the emotional impact of pictures (again, following the dictates of Horace):

> As he which laugheth, mourneth, or is otherwise affected, doth naturally moove the beholders to the selfe same passion [here he quotes Horace]... so a picture ... expressing the most naturall *motions* [viz. emotions] will (surely) procure laughter when it laugheth, pensivenesse when it is grieved, &c. And ... will cause the beholder to wonder, when it wondreth, to desire a beautifull young woman for his wife, when he seeth her painted naked; to have a fellow-feeling when it is afflicted; to have an appetite when he seeth it eating of dainties; to fall asleepe at the sight of a sweete sleeping picture; to be mooved and wax furious when he beholdeth a battle most lively described; and to be stirred with disdaine and wrath, at the sight of shameful dishonest actions.[22]

The foundation of artfully rendered emotions in observed life experience became a central tenet of Dutch art theory[23] but what is significant for the present discussion is the implicitly gendered nature of many such commentaries. Lomazzo's presumed reader is clearly male, and his list of examples for picturing the passions departs from the Horatian mirroring of emotions in only two cases: a shameful action is met with disdain, and the sight of a beautiful woman prompts not identification, but desire.

The 'damsel in distress': a pictorial archetype and its implications

Psychologists and art theorists have recognized that emotional responses include both physiologically automatic reactions and socially conditioned ones. An example of the former is the 'fight or flight' response (manifested in the body through elevated adrenalin level and heart rate) evoked by the sight of something dangerous, while shame (which can also bring a flush of blood to the cheeks) is a social emotion, inculcated by culturally contingent norms of 'shameful' behavior (Lomazzo mentions, for instance, dishonesty). Scientific studies confirm that sexual arousal in response to stimulating visual imagery is an automatic reaction.[24] Yet, while its physiological effects cannot be prevented, their outward manifestation can and, in social situations, often must be suppressed. This is where biology and social conditioning interact.

Most societies prescribe 'display rules' that modify the public exhibition of emotional feeling, with varying expectations according to age, status, and gender. Meanwhile, clinical research shows that men and women physiologically experience emotion in much the same way, yet express it differently, often in self-imposed conformity with social stereotypes.[25] In early modern thought, these stereotypes depended upon differing assumptions about the capacities of male and female for reason

as well as emotion: men were considered inherently more capable of exercising reason and controlling their passions, while women feel emotions more deeply and are less capable of restraining them. The judgment that woman is inferior to man finds inevitable support in these theories. Even while denigrated, however, female vulnerability was recognized as a powerful erotic stimulant – and one that women, weak though they might be, were capable of manipulating to their own benefit.[26] Lomazzo's and Lairesse's comments on the affective capacity of female beauty are telling examples.

The discussion that follows will address a particular theme referenced in Lairesse's remark: the depiction of a woman 'under misfortune or in raging pain'. The 'damsel in distress' of my title denotes a female character who responds to a perilous situation with emotions of sorrow or fear. Today, the term is a cliché popularized in the melodramas of early twentieth-century cinema, where a plucky hero earns the love of a helpless heroine by rescuing her from the clutches of a dastardly villain. Its treatment in art and theater can be satirical as well as tragic. Its darker side, accepting that men can find pleasure as well as compassion in women's pain, has a long literary history. In seventeenth-century painting, this connotation is seldom openly acknowledged, but may be implicit in depictions of female characters, whether Biblical (Susanna, Bathsheba, Hagar, Mary Magdalene), mythological (Andromeda), or historical (Lucretia), who are presented to the male gaze in situations of physical and psychological distress.[27] It is no coincidence that their bodies are frequently rendered nude and/or in positions of danger or vulnerability. As we can see from Lairesse's appraisal, it is also no coincidence that such characters are nearly always depicted as youthful, graceful, and, hence, erotically appealing.

The power of the female nude to seduce the viewer and the concerns of seventeenth-century moralists over that power have been studied by Eric Jan Sluijter, with particular attention to the mythological theme of Andromeda bound to the rock. In one of several versions by Pieter Paul Rubens (1577-1640), Andromeda's voluptuous form is clearly the focus of the composition, but it is the drama of her situation that distinguishes this 'damsel-in-distress' from the generically seductive nude (fig. 1). Rubens' sensitive depiction of her tearful face derives from Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, where Perseus is captivated not only by Andromeda's beauty, but also by 'the warm tears…trickling down her cheeks'.[28] By responding to her state of physical and emotional distress, the viewer becomes more than a voyeur (at least in his imagination): this figure demands not only to be desired, but also to be rescued from her plight. Perseus is already busy fighting the sea monster, but Rubens, following an established tradition, relegates him to the background; in other versions, such as the tiny painting of 1629 by Rembrandt van Rijn (1606-1669) (fig. 2), Perseus is absent altogether. This allows the male viewer to cast himself in the role of savior (and eventual lover).[29] Some artists imagined that Andromeda's fear was mingled with shame at her nakedness. Arnold Houbraken describes a painting by Nicolaes de Helt Stockade (1614-1669) in which 'most artists have shown Andromeda casting tearful eyes to

1
Peter Paul Rubens, *Andromeda chained to the rock*, c. 1638, oil on panel, 189 x 94 cm, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Gemäldegalerie (Stiftung Preussischer Kulturbesitz). Photo: Jörg P. Anders

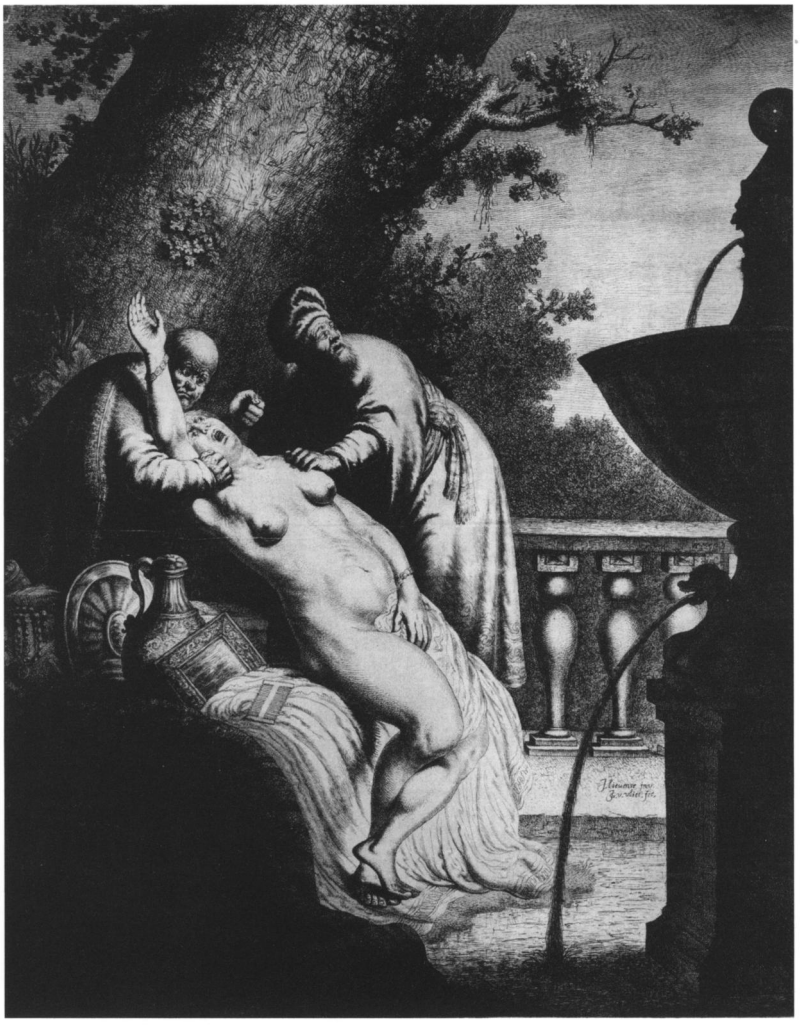
2
Rembrandt, *Andromeda chained to the rock*, 1629, oil on panel, 34 x 24.5 cm, The Hague, Mauritshuis

heaven or staring at the monster with ashen lips… But our brave Helt has shown her cut loose from the rock, casting her eyes down before her, scarlet with shame'. This display of modesty only heightens the protective instincts of the viewer. In a poem by Ludolf Smids, quoted by Houbraken, Perseus exclaims, 'Andromeda! Permit me to free thy gentle hand from this hard iron… Oh do not weep, oh Beauty, weep no more. Compel dismay and shame to forsake thee!'[30] It is tender emotion as well as beauty that seduces.

The Old Testament theme of Susanna spied upon by the elders illustrates the archetype of the 'damsel in distress' while thematizing the power of female beauty to lead the male viewer astray.[31] As a virtuous and defenseless victim, Susanna exemplifies a character type recommended by Cicero (and subsequent theorists of drama and rhetoric) as the best means

of engaging sympathy from the audience. However, the male viewer's empathy for her plight is complicated by the erotic appeal of her nude body. He must choose either to imagine himself as her rescuer or to succumb, like the elders, to the temptations of lust. A version painted by Pieter Lastman (1583-1633) in 1614 (fig. 3) is distinguished by the rhetorical gestures of the three characters and by the relatively low pictorial value assigned to the figure of Susanna (her figure is more often pushed to the foreground to display the artist's mastery of sensuous flesh). While some artists depicted Susanna as yet unaware of danger (enabling the viewer to join the elders in observing her charms undetected), Lastman chooses the dramatic moment of confrontation.[32] Yet, he does not allow the elders to touch her. Instead, he presents the figures in dialogue. In a gesture of instinctive modesty, Susanna leans forward and pulls her chemise over her lap while glancing back to listen as the elders issue their insidious threat. Her pose and expression convey surprise, embarrassment, and a wary attentiveness. These features impart a narrative momentum to the scene and shift emphasis from the voyeuristic potential of Susanna's body to the psychological tension of her interaction with her persecutors. The stone sphinx-fountain on which she sits hints exotically at the dire implications of the choice she faces.

3
Pieter Lastman, *Susanna and the elders*, c. 1614, oil on panel, 47.2 x 38.6 cm, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Gemäldegalerie (Stiftung Preussischer Kulturbesitz). Photo: Jörg P. Anders



4
Jan van Vliet after Jan Lievens, *Susanna and the elders*, c. 1630-35,
etching, 55.6 x 44 cm, London, British Museum

In a painting known only from a reproductive etching by Jan van Vliet (ca. 1600/10-ca. 1668), Lastman's former pupil Jan Lievens (1607-1674) presents this encounter as a brutal attack (fig. 4). Susanna squirms and shrieks as the elders pin her down. One man grabs her arm and hair and the other glances furtively over his shoulder while groping at her breast. With her legs tightly intertwined and her face contorted, Susanna's body language vividly suggests the instinctive movements of a frightened woman attempting to protect herself from violation. This lifelike but ungainly pose surely would have failed Lairesse's test for charming comportment. In this regard, Lievens' Susanna resembles Rembrandt's rendering of Andromeda (fig. 2), painted in 1629 when he and Lievens were working together in Leiden. Rembrandt has long been recognized for his commitment to naturalism even at the expense of beauty (discussed further below), but this *Susanna* suggests that Lievens and Van Vliet shared this interest.[33] Can we impute to them the same sensitivity, or were they simply naïve in their treatment of anatomy?

Whatever the motivation, Lievens captures the passions of his characters with an authenticity and dramatic intensity quite different from Lastman's psychologically nuanced interpretation. The actions of the elders are sordid and violent, while Susanna is not just apprehensive, but gripped by terror. Unfortunately, no written record has been found to inform us about how viewers reacted to this awkward and powerful image.

Other depictions of Susanna inspired extensive *ekphraseis* by Joost van den Vondel (1587-1679) and Jan Vos (1612-1667); as playwrights both authors were attuned to the dramatic and emotional content of pictorial imagery.[34] In a poem on a painting by an unnamed Italian artist, Vondel describes the erotic effect of Susanna's chaste beauty, challenging both himself and the viewer to exercise better self-control than the elders.[35] Another unidentified painting described by Vos belonged to one 'P.S.', possibly the Amsterdam collector Pieter Six. With his typical dramatic flair, Vos describes the approach of the elders and Susanna's horrified reaction. While acknowledging her beauty, he makes explicit the danger of her situation ('De kuische vindt zich hier in schrikkelijk gevaar') and describes how she shrinks back from the elders, her face white with fear ('Ze treedt verbaast te rug. Al loodtwit zijn haar wangen'). As the distraught Susanna dissolves into tears, Vos describes the chivalrous response required ('Wie biedt haar weêr geen hulp die haar om hulp ziet schreien?') but the hard-hearted elders, consumed by lust, are unmoved ('De geilheidt wordt niet door een vrouwetraan getemt'). And what of the poet (and his reader)? Temptation looms with the realization that the painter's model was probably not so chaste, but ultimately, he is saved by the recognition that he is only looking at a work of art ('t Penseel vertoont nooit meer dan uiterlijk gelaat').[36] Neo-Stoics regarded such virtual experiences as valuable training in the management of the passions.[37]

In the Old Testament story of the patriarch Abraham, the Egyptian concubine Hagar several times plays the part of damsel in distress. She is twice cast into the wilderness and rescued by an angel, whose arrival by air typologically recalls Perseus' rescue of Andromeda (Genesis 16:6-16 and 21:15-19). Like Andromeda, too, the sensuous appeal of her vulnerable state is enhanced by nudity. An engraving from around 1590 by Jan Hermansz Muller (1571-1628) displays the ripe eroticism of Mannerist imagery designed for sophisticated viewers (fig. 5), but the motif persisted throughout the seventeenth century.[38] Abraham's role in Hagar's misfortune figures more directly in the scene of her dismissal from his household (Genesis 21:14), where ideals of patriarchal duty and stoic male conduct are tested against the opposing emotional claims of two women. Most artists place the aged (and less attractive) figure of Sara in the background, or even omit her altogether, to focus on the interaction between Abraham and Hagar, often shown openly weeping. Although the biblical account grounds his moral dilemma in the rejection of his eldest son, Ishmael, Abraham's reluctance to part with his beautiful young concubine is implicit in the tender glances and even embraces with which he sends her on her way.[39] Here again, the viewer is challenged to imagine his own response to the tempting pleas of a lovely and distraught female.

5
Jan Hermansz Muller, *Hagar in the wilderness consoled by an angel*, c. 1591, engraving, 17.5 x 21 cm, London, British Museum

In Rembrandt's etched version of the scene (fig. 6), conflict is embodied in Abraham's pose. One arm is outstretched toward each woman, but his face is turned toward Hagar, whose tears elicit his sympathy.

Sorrow, sensuality, and power

In his treatise of 1678, Rembrandt's former pupil, Samuel van Hoogstraten, describes over forty examples of emotional display drawn from classical art and literature. While the passions he attributes to male figures do include fear and grief (as in Agamemnon mourning the sacrifice of his daughter Iphigenia), there are far more examples of masculine rage, anger, wrath, pride, honor, obstinacy, roguishness, sobriety and certitude. Female attitudes include sorrowful or penitential weeping, motherly affection, joy, drunkenness, shame, love, honor, modesty, grace, and virtue.[40] In short, while the distinction is not absolute, male examples tend toward the wrathful and assertive, while female ones favor feelings associated with virtue, love, and sorrow.

The depiction of sorrow is not an easy task, since the facial rictus prompted by grief resembles that of laughter; physiognomists such as John Bulwer (fl. 1648-54) recognized the similarity, and Van Mander devoted five pages to advising artists on how to differentiate between grief and mirth.[41] On stage and in works of art, sorrow was frequently identified by crying or the drying of tears with a handkerchief.[42] Unrestrained weeping was typically assigned to a female character, and although inventories and other documents show that men owned handkerchiefs, too, it is female figures who employ them in visual imagery (see, for instance, Rembrandt's Hagar, fig. 6, and Metsu's tearful woman, fig. 12).[43]

6
Rembrandt, *The dismissal of Hagar*, 1637, etching, 12.6 x 9.5 cm, London, British Museum

It is because sorrow and, in particular, the act of crying in public, connotes weakness that it was (and still is) disdained as inherently feminine. We can trace instances of this stereotype from Petrarch, who reviled public displays of grief as cowardly and, in his own word, 'womanish', to the title of the gender-bending film *Boys don't cry* (1999).[44] In his recent survey of the culture of crying, Tom Lutz argues that male emotionality has at times been acknowledged and valued. As examples he cites medieval mystics, eighteenth-century gentlemen, and late twentieth-century politicians.[45] Yet, even when sentimentality prevails, male tears are acknowledged precisely because they transgress expectation. As Shakespeare's Celia says to Rosalind, struggling to preserve the decorum of her male disguise, 'Tears do not become a man'.[46]

While literary forms such as letters and poetry became a means of expressing private feelings for men as well as women, visual imagery, because designed for display, was construed as essentially public and

therefore bound by more rigorous conventions of decorum. The conservative policing of visual stereotypes certainly contributed to the powerful impact of pictures in which the passions were overtly expressed: such scenes opened a window into private experience. To observe someone weeping was to witness an unguarded moment of feeling. Thus, it is not surprising that, in Dutch narrative painting, the few men who weep are almost invariably old and frail (the philosopher Heraclitus, often paired with the laughing Democritus, or the Biblical patriarch Jacob lamenting the loss of his son Joseph).[47] Like young children, the elderly were excused from living up to the rigorous code of Stoicism. Women, meanwhile, might be encouraged to practice restraint but were generally expected to fail. These expectations derived in part from humoral theory, in which heat and dryness were considered male principles, cold and humidity female. They are also rooted in a philosophical tradition stretching back to ancient Greece.[48]

In contrast to sorrow, anger was regarded as a powerfully masculine emotion, justifiably invoked in conditions such as war (or, as described above by Lomazzo, the simulated experience of war as depicted in painting) and connoting both physical and social dominance. Conversely, women's anger is typically perceived as socially deviant and disruptive; as a result, its expression has long been chanelled inward, as in the ancient stories of the suicide of Lucretia and the self-wounding of Portia. While Portia stabs herself to gain her husband's respect, Lucretia, shamed by rape and unable to retaliate against the man who wronged her, asserts control of her situation in the only way she can, by tearfully taking her own life. Thus, the angry woman, like the sorrowful one, can belong to the category of 'damsel in distress'. Significantly, these heroines are youthful and beautiful (appealing, in Lairesse's terms). The angry old harridan is treated more often with satire or ridicule than with sympathy.[49]

Tarquin's rape of Lucretia, a subject with obvious prurient appeal, appears frequently in Italian art, especially in Venice, while the isolated, frontal figure of Lucretia in the act of suicide is more common in the northern tradition. This pictorial type, like the bound Andromeda, offers an opportunity to consider the relationship between the emotionally distraught female figure and the more generic sensuous nude. In numerous versions by and after Lucas Cranach (1472-1553), the seductively posed, nearly nude Lucretia gazes coyly at the viewer while grasping the knife or even plunging it into her breast.[50] The combination of physical allure, emotional passivity, and violence casts her erotic attraction in a evil light. In a version by Hans von Aachen (1552-1615), who also painted *The rape of Lucretia* for his aristocratic patron Rudolf II, Lucretia's upturned face expresses her misery, but the viewer's eye is caught by the two globes of her breasts and the knife already drawing blood between them. The moralizing Latin inscription in Aegidius Sadeler's reproductive engraving offers no solace for this tragic heroine, but rather condemns her suicide as yet another sin (fig. 7).[51] This rejection of her character enables the male viewer to turn voyeurism to didactic advantage by also rejecting the tempting sight of her sensuous flesh.

In the work of Rembrandt, Lucretia becomes an entirely different and more sympathetic character (fig. 8). Her body is concealed by a loose robe and bloodstained chemise that alludes to her violation and impending death. There is nowhere to look but at her tear-stained face. Such emotionally charged depictions of female characters (we may also mention the frightened *Andromeda*, fig. 2, or the pensive *Bathsheba reading King David's letter*, 1654, Paris, Musée du Louvre) reflect Rembrandt's fascination with inner states of mind.[52] It is intriguing in this connection that commentators have long praised his depiction of emotion while sharply critizing his naturalistic approach to the figure, specifically the female nude. As we have seen, the lifelike representation of emotion was valued in theory, but the depiction of feminine beauty was understood to provoke desire rather than empathy. The classical ideal offered a distancing from reality that could diffuse this response enough to mitigate its dangerous power.[53] Yet, perhaps Rembrandt's willingness to

7
Aegidius Sadeler after Hans von Aachen, ***The suicide of Lucretia,*** **c. 1591,** engraving, 17.5 x 21 cm, Düsseldorf, Kunst Palast

8
Rembrandt, *The suicide of Lucretia*, 1666, oil on canvas, 110.2 x 92.3 cm, Minneapolis Institute of Arts, The William Hale Dunwoody Fund

embrace naturalism even to the point of ugliness has long troubled (male) critics not because his lifelike figures are too erotically charged, but because they fail to offer this accustomed pleasure at all, or even seem to treat it with disdain. That writers from Houbraken (1721) to Clark (1956) have referred to his nudes as 'disgusting' suggests not just theoretical disapproval but also a more subjective dissatisfaction.[54] The aggressive flabbiness of early figures like the etched *Woman on a Mound* (ca. 1631) is mitigated in Rembrandt's later years: his *Bathsheba* of 1654 is lifelike but certainly not ugly, while Lucretia appears almost bodiless. Kenneth Clark described the idealized nude as 'clothed in style',[55] and we might refer to Rembrandt's complex female characters as 'clothed in emotion': it is their mental turmoil, not their corporeal attributes, that most captures our interest. Here, the lesson for the viewer is not so much stoical rejection of temptation as the essential Ciceronian response: empathy with human suffering.

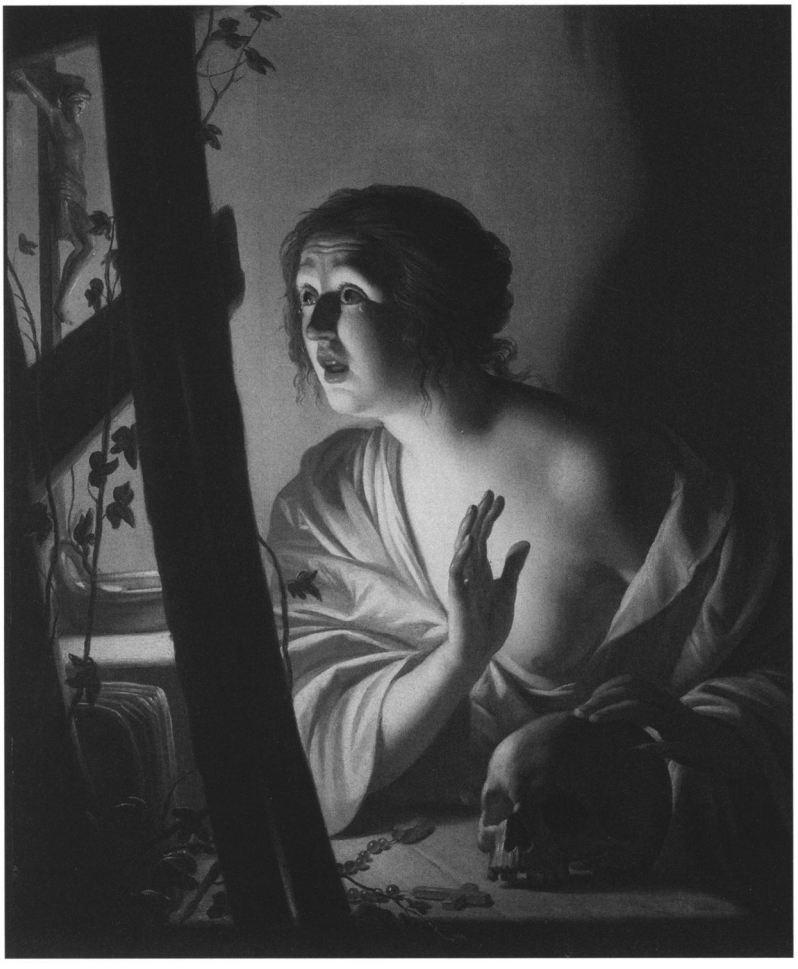
While stoicism was prized by seventeenth-century humanists, it was recognized as an ideal beyond the capabilities of most human beings. The powerful emotions of grief and sadness proved for many to be the most unbearable. By embracing melancholia as a sign of intellectual depth,

male humanists actively appropriated this aspect of emotional experience as a privileged state. In contrast, sorrowful women tended to be dismissed as incapable of self-control or even diagnosed with hysteria.[56] However, emotion prompted by piety could be excused, for to repress such emotions conflicted with the Christian goal of devotional catharsis. John Calvin stated explicitly that 'the Christian, unlike the Stoic, gives expression to his pain and sorrow'.[57] This view may help to explain the appeal of the penitent Mary Magdalene for Dutch viewers both Protestant and Catholic. Her tears express a tumult of emotions: mourning for Christ, remorse for past sins, and acceptance of grace, presenting for artists an intriguing challenge in the depiction of the passions. Meanwhile her sudden awareness of salvation creates a dramatic moment of reversal or recognition (*peripeteia* or *staetverandering*) of a type favored by Dutch dramatists and history painters.[58]

As a reformed prostitute (at least in legend), Mary Magdalene is typically portrayed as the most voluptuously feminine of disciples. This characterization accounts further for her appeal. While one longstanding tradition depicts her as fully clothed and relatively chaste, clasping her ointment jar, another presents her in a state of buxom *deshabillé*. Her dishevelment and lassitude suggest insensibility to decorum and enhance voyeuristic appeal: the viewer catches her in a private moment, alone and weeping, her semi-nude form provocatively camouflaged by loosely flowing hair. In the sixteenth century this type developed not only in Venice (epitomized by Titian, ca. 1490-1576), but also among Netherlandish artists from Gerard David (ca. 1460-1523) to Cornelis Cornelisz van Haaarlem (1562-1638).[59] It carries forward to seventeenth-century artists in Utrecht, Leiden, and Amsterdam, so that the tearful Magdalene joins the ranks of frightened Susannas and perplexed Bathshebas whose emotional and physical vulnerability inspires both chivalry and lust. In a version by the Utrecht artist Gerrit van Honthorst (1592-1656), Mary's raised hand and animated facial expression (furrowed brow, parted lips, a tear springing from the corner of her eye) signal the moment of spiritual awakening (fig. 9). Dramatic light and theatrical pose create a breathless atmosphere of intense piety in which the display of her bared breast seems almost gratuitous, yet clearly engages the viewer's attention: it is the emblem of her femininity, signifying both her vulnerable state and the sensuality she is leaving behind.[60] For this damsel in distress, rescue arrives in the form of divine forgiveness.

The association between earthly and spiritual beauty can be embodied in the visual analogy between Mary Magdalene and Venus, wittily addressed in two poems by Jan Vos. One is addressed to Rembrandt's associate Govert Flinck (1615-1660), 'when he changed a painted Venus into Mary Magdalene':

> Here one paints Venus into a Saint Magdalen:
> Her book, the art of love, into a book of prayers:
> The pot of face paint becomes a vessel full of ointment to honor Jesus.
> Praises to him who can convert the unchaste with the brush.[61]



9
Gerrit van Honthorst, *Penitent Magdalene*, c. 1625-30, oil on panel, 87 x 77 cm, St. Petersburg, Hermitage Museum

In the other poem, 'a certain painter' (still unidentified) is chided for doing the reverse:

> You paint from Mary Magdalene a beautiful, blushing Venus
> Her ointment box you paint into a rouge-pot,
> Her prayerbook you form into [a book of] love, aflame with lust.
> Cursed be such art that knows how to produce prostitutes.[62]

While the first poem implies that Flinck has literally overpainted a depiction of Venus to transform it into a Magdalene, the opposing verse may be interpreted more figuratively. This unknown artist has painted the Magdalene so seductively that the thoughts of the viewer inevitably turn to Venus or, worse, to earthly prostitutes instead. What troubles Vos is both the seductiveness with which the artist endows this saintly figure, and the distinctly impious sensations his artistry invokes in (male) viewers. The final line suggests the viewer's helplessness to resist the picture's temptations, recalling another poem in which Vos describes a

painting of the sleeping nymph Iphigenia: her beauty reduces the viewer's inflamed heart to ashes.[63]

Van Hoogstraten, too, recognizes the ambiguous appeal of this conflation of sacred and profane love. On a Magdalene painted by Titian, he writes, 'Casting her red-rimmed, weeping eyes to heaven, although she is beautiful, she moves the viewer more to a similar penitence than to lust'.[64] We have encountered this motif already in another seductive figure: Andromeda, too, 'casts her red-rimmed, weeping eyes to heaven' (fig. 1), and Arnold Houbraken acknowledges the erotic potential of this motif when he describes a painting in which De Helt Stockade has deliberately avoided it. Van Hoogstraten's reading suggests that such images prompt the male viewer to master and redirect his own response. As mentioned earlier, humanists valued images in part for their therapeutic ability to inure viewers to visual temptation or shock, so that the 'real thing', encountered in daily experience, could be met with equanimity.

Emotion and dissimulation

The ability to restrain the display of the passions is only one aspect of a social system in which behavior is controlled by decorum, and emotions become as much performance as pure feeling. If genuine emotion can be concealed, insincere emotion can also be expressed. The phenomenon of dissimulation was widely recognized in early modern culture.[65] Women were granted particular skill in feigning emotions, especially in order to elicit compassion from men. The use of 'womanly wiles' plays a role in biblical tales invoked by moralists and favored by painters, from the temptations of Adam, Samson, or the Prodigal Son to the triumphs of Judith and Esther.[66] Tears could be an especially effective signal of distress. In *King Lear*, Shakespeare refers to them as 'women's weapons'; in *The Taming of the Shrew*, an onion held to the eye is recommended for a boy actor 'if [he] have not a womans gift / To rain a shower of commanded tears'.[67]

In genre imagery, the seduction or deception of the unsuspecting male easily crosses over from biblical to contemporary experience. An emblem in Jacob Cats' popular *Spiegel van den ouden ende nieuwen tijdt,* bearing the caption 'Dum plorat, vorat' ('When she cries, she devours'), satirizes the ability of women to enact false displays of sorrow in order to elicit masculine pity (fig. 10).[68] Here, as the poetic text explains, a cavalier visiting his mistress finds her distraught over the loss of her favorite diamond ring. 'What's wrong, my child?', the lover asks.[69] Conveniently, a jewelry salesman arrives just in time to enable the cavalier to comfort his lady by purchasing a replacement ring. Only later does he discover that the whole event was a fraud: the supposed salesman is the lady's brother, and the gallant lover has, in fact, bought back the original ring that was supposedly lost. Once again, the psychological subtext here is that women's tears provoke an instinctive response in men: a softening of the heart, a wish to offer comfort, and the concomitant erotic sensation of superiority and power. And yet, paradoxically, the woman is crafty enough to understand that the effect of her distress can convert weakness

10
After Adriaen van de Venne, *Dum plorat, vorat,* engraving in Jacob Cats, *Spiegel van den ouden ende nieuwen tijdt,* The Hague 1632, I, 148

into entrapment. The male gaze is only half of an equation that can include both seeing and wanting to be seen.[70]

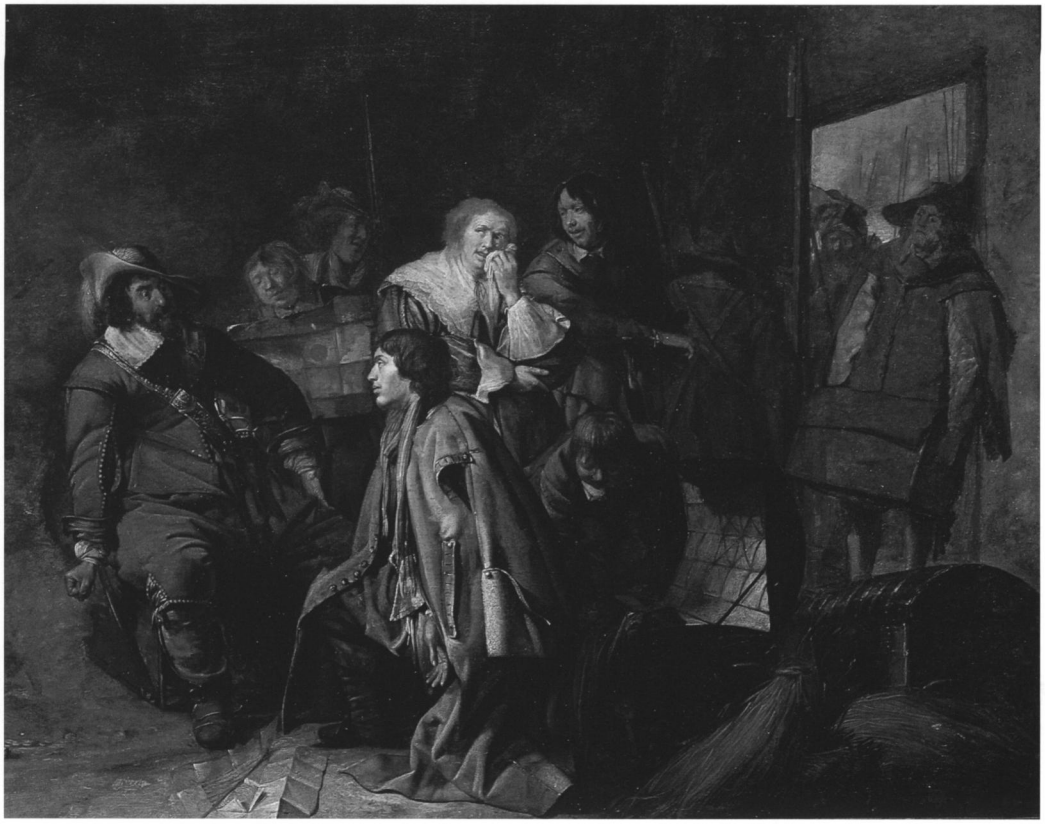
According to the moral epithets attached to Cats's emblem, deception comes as easily to loose women as barking to dogs or hissing to snakes, and women's tears result from three causes: grief, impatience, and deceit.[71] The first two causes we have already mentioned, if impatience can be equated with anger or frustration, channelled inward by women into tears rather than outward into aggression. Deceit, as this emblem so well illustrates, connotes the insincere performance of feminine vulnerability in order to elicit a protective response from the male beholder. As moral instruction, such an image teaches the viewer to replace sympathy with skepticism.

Pieter Codde (1599-1678) was one of several Dutch genre painters to depict the topical theme of plundering soldiers. In a painting now in Haarlem, a pair of young travelers are held hostage in a barn by a renegade band intent on stealing their possessions (fig. 11). The husband, kneeling, addresses the angry captain, while his wife, standing behind him, wipes away tears with a handkerchief. Although both plead for mercy, the male victim appeals to their persecutor through reason, while the female resorts to a display of emotion. This is, by now, a familiar delineation of gender difference, but why does this woman cry? She may be genuinely frightened or despairing, but perhaps she acts deliberately, in hopes of eliciting the

brigand's sympathy (to paraphrase both Lairesse and Shakespeare, the goal of 'piercing his heart' turns her display of emotion into a weapon of self-defense). While the husband may worry about the trunks full of loot being carted away, it is her virtue that the wife is most in danger of losing. It has been noted that the angry implacability of the captain, with his balled fist and wild eyes, creates a typological inversion of the magnanimity of Scipio. Here, the supplicants' pleas are unlikely to be rewarded.[72]

Among Dutch genre painters, Gabriel Metsu (1629-1667) took a particular interest in the theme of the distressed woman, but his figures are often modestly dressed and appear to be middle-aged – not the graceful beauties whose charms typically elicit male sympathy. For that reason, seventeenth-century viewers may have found a comical edge in their stories. For instance, in *Usurer with a Tearful Woman* (fig. 12), the painting on the rear wall depicts a (nude female) personification of Greed. Does this hint apply only to the moneylender or equally to his client? While the old usurer may be a typical figure of avarice, the woman seems to be making a calculated play for his sympathy.[73] A mythological precedent for such themes is Venus at the forge of Vulcan: underlying all is the erotic archetype of a powerful man and a pleading woman whose vulnerability may also figure as a seductive snare. Such images offer the viewer an object for erotically charged empathy that ultimately becomes a lesson in the pitfalls of trusting a woman's tears.

11
Pieter Codde, *Plundering soldiers in a barn*, c. 1635, oil on panel, 35 x 44 cm, Haarlem, Frans Hals Museum



12
Gabriel Metsu, *Usurer with a tearful woman*, 1654, oil on canvas, 74 x 67.3 cm, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, Sidney Bartlett Bequest, 1899

Conclusion

The topos of the 'damsel in distress', established in ancient archetypes such as Andromeda and Susanna, maintains a presence in the visual culture of the early modern Netherlands as a component of both historical narrative and the imagery of everyday life. Dutch and Flemish paintings and prints present a variety of scenarios in which female characters are typecast in roles that call for a display of sorrowful emotion, either genuine and sweetly provocative, or satirically insincere. In contrast, while male characters may encounter situations of grief or danger, they are expected to meet these challenges with courage, or at least with self-control. Thus, pictorial convention reaffirms stereotypical presumptions of the inherent weakness and inconstancy of the female nature while appealing to masculine pride and erotic sensibility. Outside the scope of this discussion are the brave women who flouted convention to flourish as artists and connoisseurs, as well as the countervailing narrative of those rare heroines, such as Jael or Judith, who follow up righteous seduction with assertive action; the appeal of such stories is clearly tied to their dramatic contradiction of gender expectations.

As an element of the representation of the passions, the theme of the

'damsel in distress' derives from an essential socio-sexual dynamic, recognized by Dutch authors such as Vos, Vondel, Cats, and Lairesse: female vulnerability, when combined with erotically appealing beauty, stimulates the male viewer to experience feelings not only of desire, but also of protectiveness and power. This presumably pleasurable sensation also has a didactic function, conditioning the viewer to choose reasoned and virtuous action over lust. In treating this evocative theme, artists vary the balance of physicality and emotion. Jan Muller's erotic depiction of Hagar reflects a sophisticated Mannerist aesthetic, while Rubens' evident delight in the sensuous beauty of the tearful Andromeda may be directed primarily to viewers who, like the artist himself, are well-trained in the Neo-Stoic mastery of the passions. Meanwhile, a variety of Dutch artists give greater weight to the emotional suffering experienced by their female characters. Feminine emotionality only serves to reinforce the superiority of masculine self-control, and the authenticity of these figures makes them no less enticing to male viewers, as literary responses show. While their passionate pleas may sometimes be met with skepticism, they may also inspire the male viewer to imagine himself in the role of rescuer, tempering desire with valorous compassion.

Notes

I am grateful to H. Perry Chapman, Herman Roodenburg, and Eric Jan Sluijter for their helpful critiques of an earlier draft of this paper. A preliminary version was presented in New York at the annual meeting of the College Art Association on February 25, 2000.

1 S. van Hoogstraten, *Inleyding tot de hooge schole der schilderkonst, Rotterdam* 1678, 110; on Van Mander and the passions, see W. Melion, *Shaping the Netherlandish canon*, Chicago 1991, 66-69. Van Hoogstraten devotes a chapter to physiognomics (40-43) related to the theories of the French artist Charles LeBrun (1619-90). See also J. Montagu, *The expression of the passions: the origin and influence of Charles LeBrun's 'Conférence sur l'expression générale et particulière'*, New Haven/London 1994. See also, inter alia, M. Porter, *Windows of the soul: physiognomy in European culture, 1470-1780*, Oxford 2005; N.E. Aiken, 'How art arouses emotion', in J.B. Bedaux and B. Cooke (eds.), *Sociobiology and the arts*, Amsterdam 1999, 159-173; D. Freedberg, *The power of images*, Chicago 1989; S. Gaukroger (ed.), *The soft underbelly of reason: the passions in the seventeenth century*, London/New York 1998.

2 Van Hoogstraten, *op. cit.* (n. 1), 108. Van Hoogstraten's advice on the depiction of the passions is addressed to painters of subjects ranging from feast, triumphs, and games to battles, shipwrecks, weddings, robberies, 'and all that can transpire between persons', historical or contemporary. On Van Hoogstraten and the passions, see T. Weststeijn, *The visible world: Samuel van Hoogstraten's art theory and the legitimation of painting in the Dutch golden age*, Amsterdam 2008, 171-218, and the essay by Weststeijn in this volume.

3 Critics have widely adopted Christian Tumpel's term *Herauslösung* for compositions in which a figure from a historical narrative is isolated from its context; C. and A. Tumpel, *Rembrandt: images and metaphors*, London 2006, and previous publications. In Rembrandt's treatment of this type, identifying attributes are kept to a minimum, placing emphasis on the physical and psychological presence of the figure.

4 The emotional content of genre painting frequently hinges on relations between the sexes, but is more often playful or comic than tragic. See e.g., M. Westermann, *The amusements of Jan Steen: comic painting in the seventeenth century*, Zwolle 1997; W. Franits, *Seventeenth-century Dutch genre painting: its stylistic and thematic evolution*, New Haven 2004.

5 Van Hoogstraten, *op. cit.* (n. 1), 292; compare, e.g., H.L. Spiegel, *Rederijckkunst*, Leiden 1587, 12: 'Wilt ghy my wenen doen, zelf moety tranen spreyen, / Dan zal u wanghelaat oock my met u doen schreyen' ('If you wish to make me cry, you must first spill tears / Then shall your countenance make me weep with you'). J.W.H. Konst, *Woedende wraakghierigheidt en vruchtelooze weeklachten. De hartstochten in de Nederlandse tragedie van de zeventiende eeuw*, Utrecht 1963, 89-90, citing Spiegel and others, notes that similar advice is found in Quintilian, *De institutione oratoria*, VI.ii.26; Cicero, *De oratore*, II.xlv.189, and Aristotle, *Ars poetica*, Chap. XVII.

6 Horace, *Ars poetica*, lines 99-105; on this famous Horatian passage, see also the essays by Chapman, Roodenburg, Schiller and Weststeijn in this volume.

7 Van Hoogstraten, *op. cit.* (n. 1), 109-110; this frequently cited passage advises artists to act out dramatic situations in the studio and to study their own facial expressions in a mirror. See also the essays in this volume by Thijs Weststeijn and Herman Roodenburg.

8 Michelangelo, *Pietà*, 1499, Rome, Basilica di San Pietro; F. H. Jacobs,

The living image in Renaissance art, Cambridge 2005, 168-171.

9 Descartes' *Les passions de l'âme* (1649) was written in the Netherlands and dedicated to Princess Elizabeth of Bohemia, resident at the Stadhouder's court in The Hague. Spinoza's *Ethica* (1677) contains an extensive discussion of the passions. See, i.a., S. James, *Passion and action: the emotions in 17th-century philosophy*, Oxford 1996; S. Nadler, *Spinoza's Ethics: an introduction*, Cambridge 2006, esp. Chap. 7, 213-247; M. J. Kinsner, 'Spinoza's virtuous passions', *The Review of Metaphysics* 61 (2008): 759-783; C. Allen, 'Painting the passions: the *passions de l'âme* as a basis for pictorial expression', in: Gaukroger (ed.), *op. cit.* (n. 1), 79-114. For their impact on Dutch thought, see, i.a., T. Verbeek et al., *De Nederlanders en Descartes*, Amsterdam/Paris 1996; P. Steenbakkers, 'The passions according to Lodewijk Meyer: between Descartes and Spinoza', in: Y. Yovel (ed.), *Spinoza as psychologist: papers presented at the third Jerusalem conference*, New York 1999, 193-209; W. van Bunge, *Spinoza and Dutch Cartesianism*, Würzburg 2006.

10 For masculinity as a rhetorical metaphor in early modern philosophy, see the preface to G. Lloyd, *The man of reason: "male" and "female" in western philosophy*, Minneapolis, 2nd ed., 1993 (first ed., 1984). For gender in early modern scientific thought, see, i.a. I. Maclean, *The Renaissance notion of woman: a study in the fortunes of scholasticism and medical science in European intellectual life*, Cambridge 1980, Chap. 3, abridged and adapted in idem., 'The notion of woman in medicine, anatomy, and physiology', in: L. Hutson (ed.), *Feminism and Renaissance studies*, Oxford 1999, 127-155, esp. 144; T. Laqueur, *Making sex: body and gender from the Greeks to Freud*, Cambridge 1990; D. Sturkenboom, 'Historicizing the gender of emotions: changing perceptions in Dutch Enlightenment thought', *Journal of Social History* 34:1 (2000), 55-75. For Dutch attitudes toward sexuality, see also J. B. Bedaux, 'A bridle for lust: representations of sexual morality in Dutch children's portraits of the 17th century', and H. Roodenburg, '*Venus minsieke gasthuis*: sexual beliefs in eighteenth-century Holland' in: J. Bremmer (ed.), *From Sappho to De Sade: moments in the history of sexuality*, London/New York 1989, 60-68 and 84-107; L. Dixon, *Perilous chastity: women and illness in pre-enlightenment art and medicine*, Ithaca 1995; B.B. Roberts and L.F. Groenendijk, '"Wearing out a pair of fool's shoes": sexual advice for youth in Holland's golden age', *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 13 (2004), 2, 139-156.

11 See, e.g., L. Mulvey, 'Visual pleasure and narrative cinema', in *Screen* 16:3 (1975), 6-18; E.A. Kaplan, 'Is the gaze male?', in: A. Snitow, C. Stansell and S. Thompson (eds.), *Powers of desire: the politics of sexuality*, New York 1983, 309-327; J. Rose, *Sexuality in the field of vision*, London/New York 1986, esp. 225-233; L. Nead, *The female nude: art, obscenity, and sexuality*, New York 1992; S. Melville and B. Readings (eds.), *Vision and textuality*, Durham 1995. The implications of the artist's own gaze as male have been addressed primarily by examining what happens when the artist is, instead, female; see, e.g., F. H. Jacobs, 'Woman's capacity to create: the unusual case of Sophonisba Anguissola', *Renaissance Quarterly* (47), 1994, 74-101.

12 A. Houbraken, *De groote schouburgh der Nederlantsche konstschilders en schilderessen*, The Hague 1718-1721, I, 261. On Van Hoogstraten, see Weststeijn, *op. cit.* (n. 2), esp. 276. On the female nude in Dutch art, see E.J. Sluijter, *Seductress of sight: studies in Dutch art of the golden age*, Zwolle 2000; idem, *Rembrandt and the female nude*, Amsterdam 2006; and idem, 'The nude, the artist, and the model: the case of Rembrandt', in: K. van Cauteren, K. de Clippel and K. van der Stighelen (eds.), *The nude and the norm*, forthcoming volume of essays from the conference 'The (Counter-) Reformation countered: considering the nude and the norm in the Low Countries in the seventeenth century', Leuven, December 2007. (The concurrent depiction of and response to male nudity, almost equally prominent among the Haarlem Mannerists or the circle of Rubens, deserves more attention than it has received.)

13 E. Honig, 'The space of gender in seventeenth-Century Dutch painting', in: W. Franits (ed.), *Looking at seventeenth-century Dutch art: realism reconsidered*, Cambridge 1997, 187-201. For historical background, see S. Schama, *The embarrassment of riches: an interpretation of Dutch culture in the Golden Age*, London 1987, esp. 375-480; S. Marshall, 'Moderation and mutuality: the Dutch family in life and art, 1500-1700', in: N. H. Bluestone (intro. and ed.), *Double vision: perspectives on gender and the visual arts*, London/Toronto 1995, 111-124.

14 See K. van Mander, H. Miedema (trans. and ed.), *Lives of the illustrious Netherlandish and German painters*, 6 vols., Doornspijk 1994-1999. In an article in preparation, I set this reading of Van Mander against the more familiar topos of love as a stimulus to creativity (see, e.g., J. Woodall, 'Love is in the air: *amor* as motivation and message in seventeenth-century Netherlandish painting', *Art History* 19 (1996), 208-246; E. Griffey, 'Pro-creativity: art, love and conjugal virtue in seventeenth-century Dutch artists' self-portraits', *Dutch Crossing* 2004, 27-66).

15 Cf. Honig, *op. cit.* (n. 13), 194. On the politics of connoisseurship, see also E. Honig, 'The beholder as work of art: a study in the location of value in 17th-century Dutch painting', *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 46 (1995), 252-297; H. Roodenburg, 'Visiting Vermeer: performing civility', in A. Golahny, M. Mochizuki and L. Vergara (eds.), *In his milieu: essays on Netherlandish art in memory of John Michael Montias*, Amsterdam 2006, 385-394. Of course, some (mostly elite) women were active as collectors, authors, and/or artists; in the Dutch Republic, we may think for instance of Catharina Questiers, Anna Maria van Schurman, Judith Leyster, or Maria Tesselschade Visscher.

16 See the forthcoming article by L. Rosenthal, 'Masculine virtue in the *kunstkamer*: *Pictura*, lucre, and luxury', in: M. Wade (ed.), *Gender matters*, Amsterdam (in press). The arts of civil conversation and of drawing as an amateur pastime were practiced by elite women as well as men, but my point here concerns the competitive power relations inherent in the judging and acquisition of prized objects, an aspect of this milieu more conventionally male in its implications. On the gallery visit as a pictorial motif, see Z.

Filipczak, *Picturing art in Antwerp, 1550-1700*, Princeton 1987; A. van Suchtelen and B. van Beneden (eds.), *Room for art*, cat. exh. The Hague (Mauritshuis), 2010.

17 Underlying the scene is the traditional comic theme of unequal lovers, in which the elderly lover is more often male (for elderly women, see further n. 49 below). C. von Bogendorf-Rupprath, 'Molenaer in his studio: props, models, and motifs' in: D. Weller (ed.), *Jan Miense Molenaer: painter of the Dutch Golden Age*, cat. exh. Raleigh (North Carolina Museum of Art), New York/Manchester 2002, 73-41, 28, fig. 1, calls attention to the vanitas still life on the easel; the painter is probably a self-portrait.

18 '...for Improvement, fine Pictures are necessary to be always in View, yet, in a Painting-room, there ought not to hang the wanton Picture of *Mars and Venus catch'd by Vulcan*, or *Diana's Bathing*...the bare Remembrance of such Things must put a young and chaste Virgin to the Blush', G. de Lairesse, *Het groot Schilderboek* (Amsterdam 1712), Eng. ed., J.F. Fritsch (trans.), London 1738, 349-350. Lairesse's comment reflects an increased sensitivity to decorum characteristic of later 17th-century classicists such as the group Nil Volentibus Arduum, as noted by E. de Jongh, 'A bird's-eye view of erotica: double entendre in a series of seventeenth-century genre scenes', in: idem., *Questions of meaning: theme and motif in Dutch seventeenth-century genre painting*, Leiden 2000, 21-58, esp. 55. Hired female models, especially those who posed in the nude, were lower class women (or even prostitutes) with whom respectable matrons would have been loath to mix; see Sluijter, *Rembrandt*, *op. cit.* (n. 12), 311-327. Seductive imagery was viewed a threat to women as well as men by moralists such as Jacob Cats; see, e.g., J. Cats, *Houwelijck* (Middelburg 1625) in: J. Cats, *Alle de wercken*, Amsterdam 1712, I, 387-388, and De Jongh, *op. cit.* (n. 17), 53.

19 See, e.g., M. Bal, 'Reading the gaze: the construction of gender in "Rembrandt"', in: S. Melville and B. Readings (ed.), *Vision and textuality*, Durham 1995, 147-173. For the male character as surrogate for the viewer, see, i.a., Mulvey, *op. cit.* (n. 11); M. Westen, 'The woman on a swing and the sensuous voyeur: passion and voyeurism in French rococo', in J. Bremmer, (ed.), *From Sappho to De Sade: moments in the history of sexuality*, London/New York 1991, 69-83, esp. 77.

20 Lairesse, *op. cit.* (n. 18), I, 174; Eng. tr., 131. See also C. Kemmer, 'In search of classical form: Gerard de Lairesse's *Groot Schilderboek* and seventeenth-century Dutch genre painting', *Simiolus* 15:3-4 (1985), 87-115, esp. 93.

21 Konst, *op. cit.* (n. 5), 84-86; Sluijter, *Rembrandt*, *op. cit.* (n. 12), esp. 107; see also the essay by Sluijter in this volume.

22 G.P. Lomazzo, R. Haydocke tr., *Tracte containing the artes of curious paintinge, carvinge, and buildinge*, 5 vols., Oxford 1598, Book 2, Chap. 1, 1-2.

23 For instance F. Junius, *The painting of the ancients* (London 1638), 234-235, states that artists should become acquainted with human nature 'by a daily observation how severall passions and affections of the minde doe alter the countenance of man'; see the essays by Weststeijn and Roodenburg in this volume. When the moralist Cats observed that the most lifelike images arouse the strongest passions, he was primarily concerned with the dangers of erotic imagery; Cats, loc. cit. (n. 18).

24 Numerous scientific studies have tracked emotional and sexual arousal in response to visual stimuli ('affective picture processing'). Although sexual response is automatic, the arousal value of specific kinds of imagery is shown to vary among genders, individuals and social contexts. For the interplay of sexual arousal, gender, and emotion, see, e.g., M. Walter, *et al.*, 'Distinguishing specific sexual and general emotional effects in fMRI-subcortical and cortical arousal during erotic picture viewing', *Neuroimage* 40 (2008), 1482-1494; N.J. Ellis and D. Symons, 'Sex differences in sexual fantasy: an evolutionary psychological approach', *Journal of Sex Research* 27 (1990), 527-555. For the intersection of neuroscience and art theory, see, i.a., J. Onians, *Neuroarthistory: from Aristotle and Pliny to Baxandall and Zeki*, New Haven 2007; J. Sutton, 'Controlling the passions: passion, memory, and the moral physiology of the self in seventeenth-century neurophilosophy', in Gaukroger (ed.), *op. cit.* (n. 1), 115-146, and the essays by Ulrich Heinen and Herman Roodenburg in this volume.

25 M. LaFrance and M. Banaji, 'Toward a reconsideration of the gender-emotion relationship', in M.S. Clark (ed.), *Emotion and social behavior*, Newbury Park 1992, 179-201, with extensive bibliography. See also P.E. Griffiths, *What emotions really are. The problem of psychological categories*, Chicago 1997, esp. Chap. 6, 'The social construction of emotion', 137-167; D. Gross, *The secret history of emotion: from Aristotle's* Rhetoric *to modern brain science*, Chicago/London 2006.

26 Lloyd, *op. cit.* (n. 10); idem., 'Reason, gender, and morality in the history of philosophy', *Social Research* 50(1983), 3, 490-513; S. Bordo, 'The Cartesian masculinization of thought', *Signs* 11:3 (1986), 439-456; M.S.A. Shields, 'Women, men, and the dilemma of emotion', in: P. Shaver and C. Hendrick (eds.), *Sex and gender*, Newbury Park 1987, 229-250; R. Sommerville, *Sex and subjection*, London 1995, 13; LaFrance and Banaji, *op. cit.* (n. 25); Maclean, op. cit. (n. 10), esp. 142-146; Sturkenboom, *op. cit.* (n. 10). For the early modern 'single sex' concept of woman as essentially an inferior version of man, see Laqueur, *op. cit.* (n. 10).

27 Sluijter, *Rembrandt*, *op. cit.* (n. 12), 83, also makes the connection between 17th-century and modern images evoking the 'obvious archetypal eroticism' of the 'young woman in distress'. The phrase 'damsel in distress' is the title of a 1919 novel by P.G. Wodehouse, adapted for film the same year and again in 1937. Originating in ancient mythology (e.g. Andromeda), the archetype persisted in medieval and Renaissance literature in the figure of the abducted woman rescued by a chivalrous knight-errant, such as the princess rescued by Saint George from the dragon. A counter-tradition presents the damsel as an inherently strong figure. See, inter alia, J. Catty, *Writing rape, writing women in early modern England*, New York 1999, esp. 25-54, 91-118; C.C. Barfoot (ed.), *'And never know the joy': sex and the erotic in English poetry*, Amsterdam 2006; D. Haase, 'Feminist fairy-tale scholarship: a critical survey and bibliography', *Marvels and tales: Journal of fairy tale studies* 14 (2000), 1; B. Singer, *Melodrama and modernity: early sensational cinema and its contexts*, New

York 2001; Aiken, *op. cit.* (n. 1), 183; J.C.W. Truman, 'The body in pain in early modern England', *Early modern literary studies* 14:3 (2009), 1-37.

28 Ovid, *Metamorphoses* IV, 672-677; Sluijter, *Rembrandt*, *op. cit.* (n. 12), 79; for this motif as the quintessence of lifelikeness in art, see also P. Barolsky, 'Andromeda's Tears', *Arion* Ser. 3, 6:3 (1999), 24-28. In other versions (St. Petersburg, Hermitage, ca. 1620; Berlin, Gemaldegalerie, ca. 1620; Madrid, Prado, ca. 1639-1640), Rubens brings Perseus to the foreground; helpful cupids establish the amorous context.

29 Sluijter, *op. cit.* (n. 12), esp. 89-100. For Rubens and the passions, see U. Heinen and A. Thielemann (eds.), *Rubens Passioni: Kultur der Leidenschaften im Barock*, Göttingen 2001; N. Büttner and U. Heinen (eds.), *Peter Paul Rubens. Barocke Leidenschaften*, cat. exh. Braunschweig (Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum), München 2004; and the essays by Ulrich Heinen, Zirka Filipczak, and Suzanne Walker in this volume. For allegorical readings of the Andromeda myth as interpreted in J. Wtewael's monumental painting of 1611 (Paris, Musée du Louvre), see C. Nativel, 'Andromède aux rivages du nord. Persée délivrant Andromède de Joachim Wtewael', in: F. Siguret and A. La Framboise (eds.), *Andromède ou le héros à l'épreuve de la beauté*, Paris 1998, 145-171; J. Woodall, 'Wtewael's *Perseus and Andromeda*: looking for love in early seventeenth-century Dutch painting', in: C. Arscott and K. Scott (eds.), *Manifestations of Venus: art and sexuality*, Manchester/New York 2000, 39-68. I share the aim articulated by Woodall, 39, 'to restore an erotic dimension to perception of the types of Dutch imagery which have come to be described as realist'. See also G.J.M. Weber, 'Oats for poets, winged asses and the artists's Parnassus: Pegasus in the Netherlands', in: C. Brink and W. Hornbostel (eds.), *Pegasus and the arts*, cat. exh. Hamburg (Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe) 1993, 70-92, esp. 73-74.

30 'De meeste hebben Andromeda, met betraande oogen ten Hemel geslagen, of als met de doodverf op de lippen naar het zeemonster omziende...verbeelt:...[here he imagines Andromeda's words of lament]...Maar onze Helt verbeeldde haar, van de rots verlost, schaamrood voor zig neerziende, waar op Lud. Smids ziet, en Perseus dus sprekende invoert: 'Andromeda! vergun dat ik uw zagte hand / Van dit hard yzer vry: ... Ween ook niet, o schoone, ween niet meer. Dwing dog de droefheid, en de schaamt' u te verlaten.' Houbraken, *op. cit.* (n. 12), I, 288-290. See also Weber, *op. cit.* (n. 29), 74.

31 See Sluijter, *Rembrandt*, *op. cit.* (n. 12), 107, 112-131; E. McGrath, 'Rubens's *Susanna and the elders* and moralizing inscriptions on prints', in: H. Vekeman and J. Müller Hofstede (eds.), *Wort und Bild in der niederländischen Kunst und Literatur des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts*, Erfstadt 1984, 73-90. I. M. Veldman, 'Lessons for ladies', in: idem., *Images for eye and soul: function and meaning in Netherlandish prints 1450-1650*, Leiden 2006, 151-170, discusses Susanna and other Old Testament heroines in prints most likely intended as models of virtue for elite female viewers, but concludes (170) that 'indecent' images such as *Susanna and the elders* must have 'evoked certain associations' of an erotic nature; on Susanna as a feminine role model, see also I. Bleyerveld, 'Chaste, obedient and devout: Biblical women as patterns of female virtue in Netherlandish and German graphic art, ca. 1500-1750', *Simiolus* 28 (2000-2001), 4, 219-250.

32 Compare, e.g., H. Aldegrever, *Susanna and the elders*, engraving, 1555; Sluijter, *Rembrandt*, *op. cit.* (n. 12), 115, fig. 53, and Crispijn de Passe, engraving, 1601-2 (from the series *Nine worthies*, with an inscription celebrating Susanna as a beautiful and chaste wife); Veldman, *op. cit.* (n. 31), fig. 153. For emphasis on Susanna's nude form, compare for instance, prints by Lucas Vorsterman (ca. 1620) and Paul Pontius (1624) after Rubens, or Hendrick Goltzius' painting of 1607, Douai, Musée de la Chartreuse (Sluijter, *Rembrandt*, *op. cit.*, n. 12, fig. 67, 68, 71) and Jan Saenredam's print after Goltzius, ca. 1598.

33 C. Schuckman, et al., *Rembrandt and Van Vliet: a collaboration on copper*, cat. exh. Amsterdam (Museum het Rembrandthuis), 1996, 91-92, Cat. 35, dates the lost painting to around 1626 and suggests that Van Vliet completed this print on his own initiative around 1634. Sluijter, *Rembrandt*, *op. cit.* (n. 12), 120, 122, 124, connects Lievens' version with a German tradition of heightened physicality. Susanna's pose may also owe something to Pieter Soutman's print after Rubens' *Abduction of Prosperpina*, which contributed to Rembrandt's depiction of that theme around 1631 (Berlin, Staatliche Museen); see Sluijter, 109-110, fig. 47, 48. Lievens also treated the subject of Andromeda in a painting now lost; H. Schneider, R. Ekkart (ed.), *Jan Lievens: sein Leben und seine Werke*, Amsterdam 1973, 110, cat. no. 77; Weber, *op. cit.* (n. 29), 89, n. 16. Lievens' depiction of Susanna disheveled and screaming engages visual markers of the 'damsel in distress' long established in chivalric literature; see Catty, *op.cit.* (n. 27), 26-27.

34 For Dutch theater and the passions, see Konst, *op. cit.* (n. 5). For English theater, see, inter alia, K. Bamford, *Sexual violence on the Jacobean stage*, New York 2000; M. Steegle, *Laughing and Weeping in Early Modern Theatres*, Aldershot 2007. For the relationship between theater and Dutch history painting, see the essays by Eric Jan Sluijter, Amy Golahny and Herman Roodenburg in this volume.

35 J. van den Vondel, 'Op een Italiaensche schildery van Susanne', *Poëzy of verscheide gedichten*, Amsterdam 1650, 501. See also Sluijter, *Rembrandt*, *op. cit.* (n. 12), 129-131; K. Porteman, 'Vondels gedicht "Op een Italiaensche schildery van Susanne"', in: G. van Eemeren and F. Willlaert (eds.), *'t Ondersoeck leert. Studies over middeleeuwse en 17de-eeuwse literatuur ter nagedachtenis van prof. dr. L. Rens*, Leuven/Amersfoort 1986, 301-318.

36 J. Vos, 'Op de geschilderde Zuzanna van P.S.', *Alle de gedichten van den poëet Jan Vos*, Amsterdam 1662, 535-536. Porteman, *op. cit.* (n. 35), 304, tentatively identifies 'P.S' with Pieter Six; his analysis of both Vondel's and Vos's poems is more concerned with reader response to seductive nudity than with the emotions of Susanna herself.

37 See the essays by Ulrich Heinen and Suzanne Walker in this volume. The Stoic view that the passions could be controlled or 'cured' by reason was adapted in the 17th century by, among others, Spinoza: see F. DeBrabander, *Spinoza and the Stoics*, London 2007,

25-45; M.J. Kisner, 'Spinoza's virtuous passions', *Review of metaphysics* 61 (2008), 759-783.

38 Like most artists, Jan Muller depicts the second scene (Gen. 21:15-19) where the angel directs Hagar and Ishmael to a source of life-giving water. The Latin inscription ('Disce Patris summi virtutem, disce labores / Quos fert, ut seruet quod creat author opus') seems to present Hagar as a model of forbearance. Compare, e.g., Pieter Lastman, 1614, Los Angeles County Museum of Art, and 1621, Jerusalem, Israel Museum; Karel Dujardin, ca. 1662-65, Sarasota, Ringling Museum; Salomon de Bray, 1659, St. Petersburg, Hermitage; Gerard de Lairesse, ca. 1675-80, St. Petersburg, Hermitage (the classically graceful but weeping figure of Hagar perhaps exemplifies his ideal as quoted above). For the theme in Dutch art, see H. van de Waal, 'Hagar in the wilderness by Rembrandt and his school', in idem., *Steps toward Rembrandt*, Amsterdam/London 1974, 90-112; C. P. Sellin, *Fractured families and rebel maidservants: the biblical Hagar in seventeenth-century Dutch art and literature*, New York/London 2006, 91-100, 133-150, esp. 144-147, noting an increased eroticism toward the end of the 17th century.

39 This emphasis is already common in 16th-century prints, e.g., Lucas van Leyden's engraving of 1516 (New Holl. 18). In Jan Pynas, *Dismissal of Hagar*, 1614, Amsterdam, Rembrandthuis (on loan from a private collection), Abraham grasps Hagar by the shoulders; they exchange a longing look, as they also do in Peter Lastman's version, 1612, Hamburg, Kunsthalle. In a painting by Nicolas Maes (1653, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art), Abraham barely restrains himself from reaching out to Hagar (his pose resembles one of the elders reaching for Susanna in Jan Saenredam's engraving after Goltzius, ca. 1598). Gerbrand van den Eeckhout (1666, Raleigh, North Carolina, Museum of Art) borrows Abraham's pose from Rembrandt's etching, but here the patriarch seems to be making excuses to the weeping Hagar. See also Sellin, *op. cit.* (n. 38), 101-132, esp. 109-111, 115-117, who notes the sympathetic interpretation by Barent Fabritius (1658, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art) in which Hagar sobs in Abraham's arms; M. Sitt (ed.), *et al.*, *Pieter Lastman in Rembrandts Schatten?*, cat. exh. Hamburg, Kunsthalle, Munich 2006, Cat. 15-17. Pictorial evidence thus belies the doctrinal view that Abraham took Hagar only out of duty and remained 'chaste' in his heart; see, e.g., M.E. Wiesener-Hanks, 'Lustful Luther: male libido in the writings of the reformer', in: S.H. Hendrix and S.C. Karant-Nunn, *Masculinity in the Reformation era*, Kirksville 2008, 190-212, esp. 199-200.

40 Van Hoogstraten, *op. cit.* (n. 1), 108-115. For maternal affection, Van Hoogstraten cites Michelangelo's Doni Tondo and for penitence, a Mary Magdalene painted by Titian (see further below).

41 J. Bulwer, *Pathomyotamia: a dissection of the significative muscles of the affections of the minde*, London 1649, 141; idem., *Chirologia, or the natural language of the hand*, London 1644, 160; see also T. Bright, *A treatise of melancholie*, London 1586, 153; Steegle, *op. cit.* (n. 34), 47-48. Van Mander, *op. cit.* (n. 14), I, esp. fol. 24-25; C. Pedretti (ed.), *Leonardo da Vinci on painting*, Berkeley 1964, 54; L. Alberti, C. Grayson (trans. and ed.), *On painting and on sculpture*, London 1972, II, 80-83. For Van Mander and laughter, see the essay by Noël Schiller in this volume.

42 On weeping in the early modern theater, see Steegle, *op. cit.* (n. 34), 39-56, on the handkerchief, 46-47, 51-56, 87-88; see also K. Peters-Holger, *Das Taschentuch: eine theatergeschichtliche Studie*, Emsdetten 1961. One weeping damsel in distress in Dutch theater is Ariadne in P.C. Hooft's *Theseus and Ariadne* (1602-3), discussed by Amy Golahny in this volume; Bacchus, as rescuer, tells her to dry her tears as he offers her the crown of immortality; cf. the painting of this scene by Pieter Lastman, 1628, Stockholm, University Art Collection; Sitt (ed.), *op. cit.*, n. 38, Cat. 5. As a highly visible motif, the handkerchief aids recognition of affect in compositions (or stage sets) where faces may be hard to read. In Dutch paintings and prints, handkerchiefs signal (female) sorrow in deathbed scenes as varied as, e.g., Rembrandt, *Death of the Virgin Mary*, etching, 1639, G. Metsu, *The Sick Girl*, 1658-59, Berlin, Gemäldegalerie, and J.M. Molenaer's interpretation of a scene from Bredero's play *Lucelle*, in which a maid weeps at the apparent death of her mistress (1639, Amsterdam, Theatre Institute); Weller (ed.), *op. cit.* (n. 17), 153-155, Cat. 29.

43 S. S. Dickey, '"Met een wenende ziel ... doch droge ogen": women holding handkerchiefs in seventeenth-century Dutch portraits', *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 46 (1995), 332-367; inventories, 336, 340, 358, n. 13, 359, n. 24. In that essay, I argued that the association of handkerchiefs with the drying of tears can allude to sorrow and consolation also in portraits of women. Skepticism about this interpretation (e.g., M. de Winkel, *Fashion and Fancy: dress and meaning in Rembrandt's paintings*, Amsterdam 2006, 79-85) fails to distinguish sufficiently between decorative and functional variants of the handkerchief, nor between poses in which it is elegantly displayed as a fashion accessory and those where it is crumpled in the hand as if actively in use (e.g., Rembrandt's *Portrait of Cornelis Anslo and his wife*, 1641, Berlin, Gemäldegalerie, for which see also S.S. Dickey, *Rembrandt: portraits in print*, Amsterdam/Philadelphia 2004, 45-56); while the decorum of portraiture prevents the actual wiping of tears, the latter type recalls the use of the handkerchief in narrative imagery and in theater, where, as noted by Steegle, *op. cit.* (n. 34), 47, 'the handkerchief has a clear symbolic value'; see also Peters Holger, *op. cit.* (n. 42), 85-86.

44 See H.G. Wallbott, 'Big girls don't frown, big boys don't cry: gender differences of professional actors in communicating emotion via facial expression', *Journal of Nonverbal Behavior* 12 (1988), 98-106. Van Mander, *op. cit.* (n. 14), I, 22v, equates all emotions with weak tendencies (*swack gheneghen*)', as noted by Schiller in this volume.

45 T. Lutz, *Crying: the natural and cultural history of tears*, New York/London 1999. To his examples we may add Filippo Neri, Ignatius Loyola, and other Counter-Reformation theologians. See also Sturkenboom, *op. cit.* (n. 10); R. Strier, 'Against the rule of reason: praise of passion from Petrarch to Luther to Shakespeare to Herbert', in: G. Kern Paster, K. Rowe, and M. Floyd-Wilson (eds.), *Reading the early modern*

passions: essays in the cultural history of emotion, Philadelphia 2004, 23-42.

46 *As You Like It*, Act 3, Scene 4. For sorrow as a component of drama, see Steegle, *op. cit.* (n. 34); S.P. Bayne, *Tears and weeping: an aspect of emotional climate reflected in seventeenth-century French literature*, Tubingen/Paris 1981; E. S. Tan, *Emotion and the structure of narrative film: film as an emotional machine*, Mahwah 1996.

47 *Jacob lamenting over Joseph's coat* is movingly depicted in an etching by Rembrandt, ca. 1633; for Vondel's play, *Joseph in Dothan*, and his praise of a painting of this subject by Jacob Pynas, see the essay by Eric Jan Sluijter in this volume. For Heraclitus and Democritus as a theme popular in Utrecht, see A. Blankert, 'Heraclitus en Democritus in het bijzonder in de Nederlandse kunst van de 17de eeuw', *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 18 (1967), 31-124. For the shifting boundaries of decorum in erotic literature and art, see De Jongh, *op. cit.* (n. 18), 46-56.

48 Z. Filipczak, *Hot dry men, cold wet women: the theory of humors in western European art, 1575-1700*, cat. exh. New York (American Federation of Arts), 1997; Maclean, *op. cit.* (n. 10), 133-136, 143-145; Dixon, *op. cit.* (n. 10).

49 See C. Burack, *The problem of the passions: feminism, psychoanalysis and social theory*, New York/London 1994, 26-46; LaFrance and Banaji, *op. cit.* (n. 25), 190. On the depiction of anger, see the essay by Jane Kromm in this volume. On the depiction of aged women, see W.E. Franits, *Paragons of virtue: women and domesticity in seventeenth-century Dutch art*, Cambridge 1993, 161-194; Z. Filipczak, 'Why are there no old women in heaven?', *Jaarboek Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten Antwerpen* 2000, 69-90; A. Janssen, *Grijsaards in zwart-wit: de verbeelding van de ouderdom in de Nederlandse prentkunst (1550-1650)*, Zutphen 2007.

50 E.g., L. Cranach, *The suicide of Lucretia*, 1538, Bamberg, Neue Residenz. For another lurid example, see Attr. Master of the Holy Blood, *Lucretia stabbing herself*, auction, Hampel, Munich, June 16, 2010, lot 448.

51 Veldman, *op. cit.* (n. 31), 164-165; T. Fusenig (ed.), *Hans von Aachen (1552-1615), court artist in Europe*, cat. exh. Aachen (Suermondt-Ludwig-Museum)/Prague (Císarská konírna)/Vienna (Kunsthistorisches Museum) 2010, A. Sadeler after H. von Aachen, *The suicide of Lucretia*, engraving, ca. 1590, Cat. 109; H. von Aachen, painting, Prague, Narodnie galerie, Cat. 110; H. von Aachen, painting, *The rape of Lucretia*, Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, ca. 1600, Cat. 84, and preliminary drawing, Stuttgart, Staatsgalerie, Cat. 85. In an alternate version of Rembrandt's composition (Washington, National Gallery of Art), Lucretia, more decorously dressed, holds the knife ready while raising her other arm as if to deliver a theatrical soliloquy. For the iconology of rape, see esp. D. Wolfthal, *Images of rape: the "heroic" tradition and its alternatives*, Cambridge/New York 1999.

52 Sluijter, *Rembrandt*, *op. cit.* (n. 12), esp. 90-93, 123-129. For interpretations of Rembrandt's *Bathsheba* (1654, Paris, Musée du Louvre), see also A. Adams (ed.), *Rembrandt's Bathsheba reading King David's letter*, Cambridge 1998, and the essay by Amy Golahny in this volume.

53 See Sluijter, *Rembrandt*, *op. cit.* (n. 12), 143-164.

54 Houbraken, *op. cit.* (n. 12), I, 261; K. Clark, *The nude: a study in ideal form*, New York 1956, 338-9. Other similar statements could be cited. Responses to Rembrandt's especially naturalistic *Woman on a Mound* (etching, ca. 1631) are analyzed by Sluijter, 'The nude', *op. cit.* (n. 12); see also Sluijter, *Rembrandt*, *op. cit.* (n. 12). For the relevant issues, Nead, *op. cit.* (n. 11), esp. 27-28; J.B. Bedaux, 'From normal to supranormal: observations on realism and idealism from a biological perspective', in: Bedaux and Cooke (eds.), *op. cit.* (n. 1), 99-128, esp. 119-125; for discouragement of erotic response, Bal, *op. cit.* (n. 19), esp. 152.

55 Clark, *op. cit.* (n. 54), 334; Sluijter, *Rembrandt*, *op. cit.* (n. 12), 311-314.

56 See J. Schiesari, *The gendering of melancholia*, Ithaca 1992; Dixon, *op. cit.* (n. 10).

57 J. Calvin, F.L. Battles (trans.), *Institutes of Christian religion*, Philadelphia 1960, I, 708-709; see also A. Adams, *Public faces and private identities in seventeenth-century Holland*, Cambridge 2009, 108. For the humanist tradition, see G. Pigman, *Grief and English Renaissance elegy*, Cambridge 1985; G.W. McClure, *Sorrow and consolation in Italian humanism*, Princeton 1991. As an example, Hugo Grotius, consoling a bereaved friend, wrote, 'We must seriously consider whether the grief of the heart be in the number of those things, over which our labour and industry hath any power'; H. Grotius, *The mourner comforted. An epistle consolatory ... to Monsieur Du Maurier... translated on a sad occasion by C.B.*, London 1652, A4r.

58 For *peripeteia*, see the essays by Sluijter and Golahny in this volume. The *donus lachrymarum*, or gift of penitential tears, was attributed especially to female mystics; S. Haskins, *Mary Magdalen*, London 1994, esp. 229-316; Dickey, *op. cit.* (n. 43), 339.

59 Titian several times depicted Mary Magdalene draped in little but her cascading hair (e.g., ca. 1532, Florence, Palazzo Pitti); see *Titian prince of painters*, cat. exh. Venice (Palazzo Ducale)/Washington (National Gallery of Art), 1990, 334-337; Haskins, *op. cit.* (n. 58), 239-248. At least one version was circulated in the north as an engraving by Cornelis Cort; Sluijter, *Rembrandt*, *op. cit.* (n. 12), 117, fig. 59, cites this print as an inspiration for the figure of Susanna in an engraving by Jacob Matham after Cornelis Cornelisz van Haarlem. Cornelisz also painted a variety of semi-nude Magdalenes (e.g., 1595, auction, Christies London, 11-26-1965, lot 41; 1626, Bordeaux, Musee des Beaux-Arts; 1629, Moscow, Pushkin Museum). The voluptuous Magdalene painted by Gerard David in the Grimani Breviary may have been intended to appeal to Italian taste, as well as to the private contemplation of the manuscript's owner. The more chaste type was codified in numerous versions by the Master of the Female Half-Lengths and artists in his circle; see also, e.g., Quentin Massys, Antwerp, Museum voor Schone Kunsten; Jan van Scorel, ca. 1530, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum; Hendrick TerBruggen, Toronto, Art Gallery of Ontario. In some cases, Mary Magdalene, like Hagar, is comforted by an angel (e.g., Hendrick Goltzius, 1610, formerly art market, New York; Jan van Bijlert, ca. 1630, Greenville, South Carolina, Bob Jones University

Museum and Gallery). On the imagery of Mary Magdalene, see also the forthcoming volume edited by Michelle Erhardt and Amy Morris (Leiden: Brill, in press).

60 J.R. Judson and R. Ekkart, *Gerrit van Honthorst 1592-1656*, Doornspijk 1999, 101-103, Cat. 84, pl. 40; a replica is in a private collection in London. Cf., e.g., Gerrit Dou, ca. 1635-40, Stockholm, Nationalmuseum; Pieter van Slingelandt, 1657, Paris, Musée du Louvre (with pendant, *Penitent St. Jerome*). Judson and Ekkart discuss the Magdalene as 'a counter-reformation ideal of renewal and purification'; for her sensuality as an aspect of 'religious eroticism' in early modern devotional thought, see D. Shuger, *The Renaissance Bible*, Berkeley/Los Angeles 1994, Chap. 5, esp. 167-176.

61 J. Vos, *Alle de gedichten*, Amsterdam 1726, 2 vols., I, 257 (also 1662, I, 163): 'Aan G. Flink, toen hy een geschilderde Venus in Maria Maagdalena veranderde &c. / Hier maalt men Venus tot een Sinte Magdaleen: / Haar boek, de minkunst, tot een hantboek vol gebeên: / 't Blankervat wordt een bus vol zalf, om Jezus t'eeren. / Wel hem die door 't penseel d'onkuissen kan bekeeren.' For interpretations, see A. Blankert in idem. (ed.), *Gods, saints and heroes,* cat. exh. Washington (National Gallery of Art), 1980; P. Hecht, Review of *Gods, saints and heroes*, *Simiolus* 12 (1981-82), 2/3, 187; J. Becker, 'Beholding the beholder: the reception of "Dutch" painting', *Argumentation* 7 (1993), 1, 67-87. J.W. von Moltke, *Govert Flinck 1615-1660*, Amsterdam 1965, 81, no. 79a, illustrates a painting signed by Flinck and dated 1637 (priv. coll., Stockholm, 1960, current whereabouts unknown) in which a loosely clothed Mary Magdalene tears off her pearl necklace in renunciation of earthly cares.

62 Vos, *op. cit.* (n. 61), I, 522: 'Aan zeekeren schilder. / Gy maalt van Magdeleen een Venus schoon van bloos. / Haar zalf bus schildert gy tot een blanketseldoos. / 't Gebeedtboek vormt gy tot de minkunst, geil in 't blaaken. / Vervloekt is zulk een kunst die hoeren weet te maaken'. Discussed by Becker, *op. cit.* (n. 61), in the context of Calvinist distrust for both pagan imagery and images in general (he notes that Vos was Catholic, 70, 81, n. 5). My translation attempts to adhere more closely to the original wording. It has not been possible to determine which poem was written first, or to identify extant paintings to which they might relate.

63 Vos, *op. cit.* (n. 61), I, 336: '...zy brandt ons nu zy slaapt; indien zy wakker wardt, / Zoo maakt z'ons heel tot asch: want 't oog ontsteekt het hart'. See also E.J. Sluijter and N. Spaans, 'Door liefde verstandig of door lust verteerd? Relaties tussen tekst en beeld in voorstellingen van Cimon en Efigenia', *De zeventiende eeuw* 17 (2001), 3, 75-106, esp. 96-98, and the essay by Weststeijn in this volume.

64 Van Hoogstraten, *op. cit.* (n. 1), 115 (paraphrasing Giorgio Vasari): 'Van een *Marie Magdalene* van *Titiaen* wort aengeteykent, dat zy de oogen rood bekreeten ten Hemel slaende, hoewel schoon zijnde, den aenschouwer eer tot gelijke tocht van boete als tot wellust verwekt'. He also notes seeing a similar painting by Anthony van Dyck.

65 Established by anthropologists such as E. Goffman (*The presentation of self in everyday life*, Garden City 1959), the concept of 'self-fashioning' has been widely adopted in studies of early modern culture, such as C. Taylor, *Sources of the self: the making of the modern identity*, Cambridge 1992. On performance and insincerity, see recently J.R. Snyder, *Dissimulation and the culture of secrecy in early modern Europe*, Berkeley/Los Angeles 2009.

66 For Biblical paradigms, see Shuger, *op. cit.* (n. 60); M. Bal, *Lethal love: feminist literary readings of biblical love stories*, Bloomington/Indianapolis 1987; E. Ciletti, 'Patriarchal ideology in the Renaissance iconography of Judith', in: M. Migiel and J. Schiesari (eds.), *Refiguring woman: perspectives on gender and the Italian Renaissance*, Ithaca/London 1991, 35-70; C. L. Baskins, 'Typology, sexuality, and the Renaissance Esther', in: J.G. Turner (ed.), *Sexuality and gender in early modern Europe*, Cambridge 1993, 31-54. For weakness as paradoxical power, see also n. 70 below.

67 *King Lear*, Act 2 Scene 4; *Taming of the Shrew*, Induction, lines 123-127; see Steegle, *op. cit.* (n. 34), 47-54; T. Döring, '"How to do things with tears:" Trauer spielen auf der Shakespeare-Bühne', *Poetica* 33 (2001), 3/4, 355-389.

68 J. Cats, *Spiegel van den ouden ende nieuwen tijdt*, The Hague 1632 I, 148-153, Emblem 50. For deception as an attribute of female prostitutes in Dutch imagery, see the essay by Noël Schiller in this volume.

69 This endearment exemplifies a traditional equation of emotional women with wilful children; see M. Pointon, *Hanging the head*, New Haven /London 1993, 177-226.

70 On the reciprocal power of woman as object of the male gaze, see, i.a., J. Berger, *Ways of seeing*, London 1972, 46-47; Mulvey, *op. cit.* (n. 11); N. Carroll, 'The image of women in film: a defense of a paradigm', in: P.Z. Brand and C. Korsmeyer (eds.), *Feminism and tradition in aesthetics*, University Park 1995, 371-391; Westen, *op.cit.* (n. 19).

71 Cats, *op. cit.* (n. 68), 151. For Cats' views on sexuality, see also Roberts and Groenendijk, *op. cit.* (n. 10), 148-155, and n. 18 above.

72 E. Berger, *De Hollandse kortegaard: geschilderde wachtlokalen uit de ouden eeuw*, cat. exh. Naarden (Nederlandse Vestingmuseum) 1996, 18, fig. 25; M.P. van Marseveen, et al., *Beelden van een strijd: oorlog en kunst voor de Vrede van Munster 1621-1648,* cat. exh. Delft (Prinsenhof), Zwolle 1998, 338-339, Cat. 122. For this theme in Dutch painting, see also D. Kunzle, *From criminal to courtier: the soldier in Netherlandish art 1550-1672*, Leiden/Boston 2001, 357-392 (Codde, fig. 12-11); he notes, 363, that 'the soldier's pleasure in loot is also the artist's and viewer's', vitiated by awareness of its criminality, resulting in 'an artistic perversity more familiar to us from those erotic biblical subjects that arouse forbidden lusts in order to condemn them'.

73 A. Waiboer, *Gabriel Metsu (1629-1667): life and work*, 4 vols., PhD thesis, New York University, Institute of Fine Arts, 2007, I, 98, 398-400, Cat. A-14, relates personification of Greed to C. Ripa, *Iconologia* (Dutch ed. D.P. Pers, 1644), and notes a 'humorous undertone'. Waiboer observes that around the same time, Metsu depicts weeping women entreating men in *Doddus and the covetous woman* (Stockholm, National Museum), Cat. A-11, and *Christ and the adulterous woman* (1653, Paris, Musée du Louvre), Cat. A-8.