

For Λευτέρη Βογιατζή

Yannis Hadjinicolaou

## “NOT ONLY FROM HIS HAND BUT ALSO FROM HIS TEMPER”

‘Movement’ in the Art and Art Theory of the Rembrandtists

### 1.

In the *vita* Arnold Houbraken wrote about his friend from Dordrecht, Arent de Gelder, and which was published in 1721, he mentions de Gelder’s *passion cycle*, painted around 1715. Houbraken understood the series as a work in progress and commented accordingly: “His last work is a Passion [...] in which, artfully, the many passions and movements of the soul are revealed in the facial features shown.”<sup>1</sup>

In this spirit, several motions and emotions dominate the *Crucifixion* (today in Aschaffenburg): Not only are the facial characteristics of the figures as such and their affects recognizable, but they are also in unison with their bodily reactions (Fig. 1).<sup>2</sup> These affects are related to the landscape and to the weather shown in the painting (the approaching storm) and resonate in the thin, even fragile, surface of the painting in the form of some opaque areas that show as glowing blots in the darkness (see for instance the yellow and red *macchie*, as affect-substitutes, on Maria Magdalena under the cross) (Fig. 2). Formal aspects, such as the brownish–red color behind the “gothic-mannerist” Jesus, reminiscent of a Goya palette (Fig. 3), are interwoven with narrations, conveyed by the figures, who are looking towards the beholder or covering their faces (following

1 For valuable comments as well as translations (as indicated) I would like to express my gratitude to Herman Roodenburg.

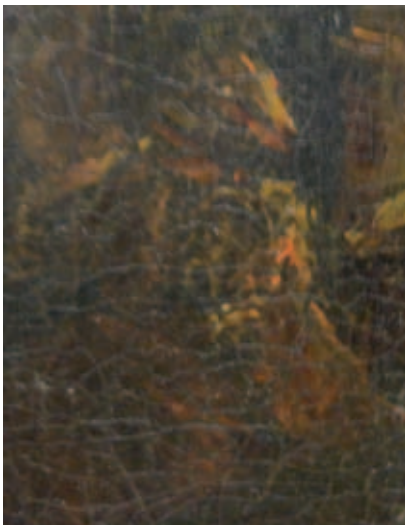
See Arnold Houbraken: *De Groote Schouburgh der Nederlantsche Konstschilders en Schilderessen*, vol. 3, Den Haag 21753, p. 208: “Het laatste van zyne werken is de Passie [...] waar in konstig de menigerhande hartstogten, of gemoedsdriften, uit kennelyke wezenstrekken te zien zyn.” Trans. by Herman Roodenburg.

2 Guus Sluiter: ‘De passie, anders de Historie van den lydenden Christus.’ Arent de Gelders Passionsfolge, in: ex. cat.: Arent de Gelder [1645–1727]. Rembrandts Meisterschüler und Nachfolger, ed. by Dordrechts Museum/Wallraf Richartz-Museum/Snoeck-Ducaju & Zoon, Gent 1998, pp. 71–85.



Fig. 1 Arent de Gelder: *The Crucifixion*, around 1715, oil on canvas, 71,8 × 59,9 cm, Aschaffenburg, Schloss Johannisburg, Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen.

the tradition of Timanthes Agamemnon, which Samuel van Hoogstraten refers to), or pointing to the crucifixion, so as to affectively engage the spectator (Fig. 3). Color and brushstrokes in the form of spots drastically take over the action in the picture. For instance, Centurio, who is depicted in an upright position, “motionless,” not by chance placed underneath the right cross, is shown, like Magdalena, with red and yellow blots on his face which bring him into “motion” (Fig. 4).



Ausschnitte nicht gut  
gewählt, kann man die  
Details in der Größe  
angleichen?  
Bilder deutlich genug?

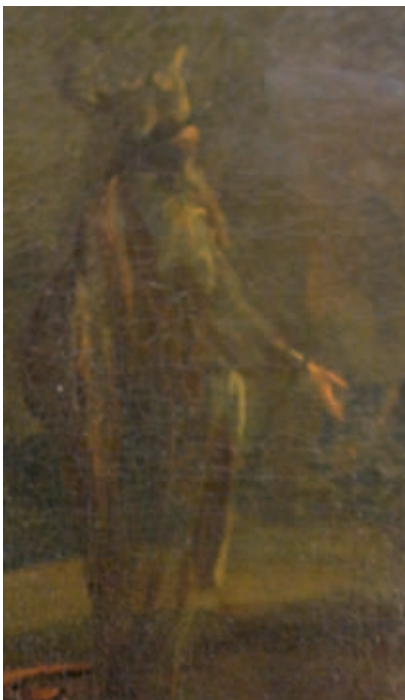
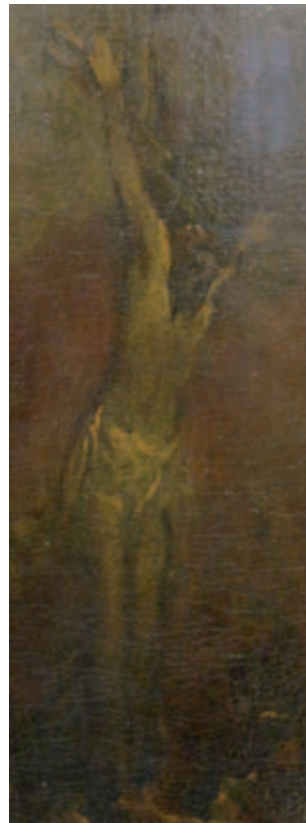


Fig. 2 Detail from Fig. 1.

Fig. 3 Detail from Fig. 1.

Fig. 4 Detail from Fig. 1.



Samuel van Hoogstraten, de Gelder's first teacher before he became a student of Rembrandt, mentions in his *Inleyding tot de hooge schoole der Schilderkonst: Anders de Zichtbaere Werelt (Introduction to the High School of the Art of Painting: or The Visible World, 1678)* the *oogenblikkige beweeging* (the "instantaneous movement").<sup>3</sup> The term *beweeging* (movement) is meant to designate something that is corporeal and mental at the same time.<sup>4</sup> Following this concept, we can also understand Rembrandt's claim to have achieved the most natural movement.<sup>5</sup> Van Hoogstraten refers to this intrinsic quality of a picture by his use of the term *beweeglijkheit*: "It is not enough for a picture to be beautiful, it must have in it a certain moving-quality."<sup>6</sup> The preposition *in* speaks for the vitality of the artifact, which emerges from it and acts upon the external environment in an instantaneous way. This effect can be compared to the rhetorical concept of *ante oculos ponere*.<sup>7</sup> The Dutch poet Jan Vos speaks of

3 Samuel van Hoogstraten: *Inleyding tot de hooge schoole der Schilderkonst: Anders de Zichtbaere Werelt*, Rotterdam 1678, p. 116: "datmen allenlijk een oogenblikkige beweeging, welke voornamentlijk de daed der Historie uitdrukt, vertoonē." See Thijs Weststeijn: *The Visible World. Samuel van Hoogstraten's Legitimation of Painting in the Dutch Golden Age*, Amsterdam 2008, p. 183.

4 Van Hoogstraten: *Inleyding tot de hooge schoole der Schilderkonst* (as fn. 3), p. 109. See Weststeijn: *The Visible World* (as fn. 3), p. 182; Eric Jan Sluijter: Rembrandt's portrayal of the passions and Vondel's 'staetveranderinge,' in: Stephanie S. Dickey/Herman Roodenburg (eds.): *The Passions in the Arts of the Early Modern Netherlands*, *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek 60*, 2010, p. 290. Sluijter translates this term as "an instantaneous motion and emotion that takes place at one single moment."

5 Lydia de Pauw – de Veen: Over de betekenis van het woord 'beweeglijkheid' in de zeventiende eeuw, in: *Oud Holland 74* (1959), pp. 202–212. De Pauw-De Veen shows how the concept of *beweeging* has simultaneously a corporeal and an emotional quality; John Gage: A Note on Rembrandt's 'Meeste Ende die Naetuerelste Beweechgelicheit,' in: *The Burlington Magazine 111/795* (Jun., 1969), p. 381; For the quotation of Rembrandt's letter to Constantijn Huygens of January 12th, 1639 concerning this issue, see ex. cat.: Rembrandt. *Der Meister und seine Werkstatt*, ed. by Christopher Brown/Jan Kelch/Pieter van Thiel, Gemäldegalerie, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Amsterdam/Berlin/London 1991, p. 157: "Deesen twe sijnt daer die meeste ende die natuerelste beweechgelicheit in geopserveert is dat oock de grooste oorsaeck is dat die selvijge soo lang onder handen sij geweest."

6 Van Hoogstraten: *Inleyding tot de hooge schoole der Schilderkonst* (as fn. 3), p. 292: "t is niet genoeg, dat een beelt schoon is, maer daer moet een zekere beweeglijkheit in zijn." See the translation of Weststeijn: *The visible world* (as fn. 3), p. 185.

7 Valeska von Rosen: Die Enargeia des Gemäldes. Zu einem vergessenen Inhalt des Ut-pictura-*poesis* und seiner Relevanz für das cinquecenteske Bildkonzept, in: *Marburger Jahrbuch für Kunstwissenschaft 27* (2000), p. 171. See further to the topic of Enargeia: Rüdiger Campe: In der Stadt und vor Gericht. Das Auftauchen der Bilder und die Funktion der Grenze in der antiken Rhetorik, in: *Bildwelten des Wissens. Kunsthistorisches Jahrbuch für Bildkritik 6/2* (2008), pp. 42–52; Ulrich Heinen: Huygens, Rubens and Medusa. Reflecting the Passions in Paintings, in: Dickey/Roodenburg (eds.): *The Passions in the Arts* (as fn. 4), pp. 151–178.

the amazing force of an unexpected situation, something that is connected to the principle of instantaneous movement.<sup>8</sup> Van Hoogstraten uses the terms *oog-enblikkige beweging* and *daedt* (action) as synonyms.<sup>9</sup> He refers in a pre-de Pilian sense (the *coup d'oeil*) to the possibility of a painting to involve and move the spectator instantly upon sight (*eenstemmich*).<sup>10</sup> Emotional movement and bodily action are, following the tradition of Alberti, equal in that they are identical "movements of the soul."<sup>11</sup> According to this understanding, the passions are to be defined as embodied processes. In a similar manner, much later, one of the "founders" of the Philosophy of Embodiment, Edgar Wind, argues that: "All expression through muscle movement is metaphorical."<sup>12</sup>

## 2.

The movement of the brush, the color-application as well as the motoric action with a tool like the pallet-knife (which can be used to create scratches) are embodied processes that bear a certain relationship to the action and motion within the painting. For instance, what is interpreted from far away as a handwritten text (possibly the accusation against Haman that Esther reads to the King, a dramatic text so to speak) appears at a closer look as a series of violent scratches (Fig. 5 and 6). De Gelder can only partly control the motoric action of his hand. The beholders are able, through their own *body schema*, albeit from different social positions, to partly reenact the making of the traces, which the hand of the artist has left behind.<sup>13</sup> The body is a multisensoric instrument. In

- 8 Gregor J. M Weber: *Der Lobtopos des "lebenden" Bildes. Jan Vos und sein "Zeege der Schilderkunst" von 1654*, Hildesheim 1991, p. 199.
- 9 Van Hoogstraten: *Inleyding tot de hooge schoole der Schilderkunst* (as fn. 3), pp. 115f. See Weststeijn: *The Visible World* (as fn. 3), p. 185.
- 10 Van Hoogstraten: *Inleyding tot de hooge schoole der Schilderkunst* (as fn. 3), p. 116. For the *coup d'oeil* tradition and Roger de Piles see: Horst Bredekamp: *Die Erkenntniskraft der Plötzlichkeit. Hogrebes Szenenblick und die Tradition des Coup d'Oeil*, in: Joachim Bromand/Guido Kreis (eds.): *Was sich nicht sagen lässt. Das Nicht-Begriffliche in Wissenschaft, Kunst und Religion*, Berlin 2010, pp. 455–468.
- 11 Van Hoogstraten: *Inleyding tot de hooge schoole der Schilderkunst* (as fn. 3), p. 116: "dat de doeningen of beweegingen des lichaems met de lydingen des gemoeds overeenkomen."
- 12 My trans. Edgar Wind: *Warburgs Begriff der Kulturwissenschaft und seine Bedeutung für die Ästhetik*, in: *Vierter Kongreß für Ästhetik und allgemeine Kunstwissenschaft*, Hamburg 7.–9. Oktober 1930, Beilagenheft zur Zeitschrift für Ästhetik und Allgemeine Kunstwissenschaft 25 (1931), pp. 163–179, cited in: Edgar Wind: *Heilige Furcht und andere Schriften zum Verhältnis von Kunst und Philosophie*, ed. by John Michael Krois/Roberto Ohrt, Hamburg 2009, p. 102: "Aller Ausdruck durch Muskelbewegung ist metaphorisch."
- 13 Cf. in this context in general David Freedberg: *Empathy, Motion and Emotion*, in: Klaus Herding/Antje Krause Wahl (eds.): *Wie sich Gefühle Ausdruck verschaffen*,



Fig. 5 Arent de Gelder: *Esther, Ahasver, and Haman (or Mordechai?)*, about 1680, oil on canvas, 105 × 150 cm, Dordrecht, Dordrechts Museum.

this sense, the spectator is, metaphorically as much as literally, moved by the picture. Van Hoogstraten considers the motoric motion of the hand as an action comparable to language: “As far as the hands are concerned, these mainly express all deeds or actions; indeed, their movements are almost comparable to a universal language.”<sup>14</sup> This idea is taken almost word by word from Quintilian (with the main difference located between language, van Hoogstraten, and speech, Quintilian, though both employ the notion of articulation), and could also be placed in the tradition of John Bulwer’s *Chironomia* (1644): “As for the hands, without which all action would be crippled and enfeebled, it is scarcely possible

Taunusstein 2008, pp. 17–51. For the difference between body schema (unconscious) and body image (conscious), which derives from Herbert Head, see Shaun Gallagher: *How the Body Shapes the Mind*, Oxford 2005; John Michael Krois: *Bildkörper und Körperschema*, in: id.: *Bildkörper und Körperschema. Schriften zur Verkörperungstheorie ikonischer Formen*, ed. by Horst Bredekamp/Marion Lauschke, Berlin 2011 (*Actus et Imago* 2), pp. 253–271.

14 Van Hoogstraten: *Inleyding tot de hooge schoole der Schilderkonst* (as fn. 3), p. 117: “Wat de handen belangt, door dezelve worden voornamentlijk alle daden ofte doeningen uitgewerkt, ja der zelve bewegingen zijn byna by een algemeene spraeke te vergelijken.” Trans. by Herman Roodenburg.



Fig. 6 Detail from Fig. 5.

to describe the variety of their motions, since they are almost as expressive as words.”<sup>15</sup>

Houbraken arrives at the heart of the matter in his biography of Rembrandt, probably repeating something that he might have heard from his teacher and Rembrandt’s pupil, van Hoogstraten: “hundreds [...] of sketches [...] wherein the passions of the soul in all kinds of situations are so explicitly and artfully shown [...] Anger, hatred, sorrow, joy and so on, everything represented so naturally that one can read the meaning from the [very facial features themselves] (Trans. by Herman Roodenburg).”<sup>16</sup>

15 Quintilian: *Institutio Oratoria*, XI 3, 85, cited in: Jacqueline Lichtenstein: *The Eloquence of Colour. Rhetoric and Painting in the French Classical Age*, Berkeley/Los Angeles/Oxford 1993 [French 1989], p. 102.

16 Trans. in: David Rosand: *Drawing Acts: Studies in Graphic Expression and Representation*, Cambridge/New York 2002, p. 226. See Houbraken: *De Grootte Schouburgh der Nederlantsche Konstschilders en Schilderessen* (as fn. 1), vol. 1, p. 270, p. 264: “honderden [...] van schetsen [...] waar in de dristen van ’t gemoed ontrent allerhanden voorvallen zoo konstig en duidelyk zig in de wezenstrekken vertoonen [...] Stel eens, men moet vreugt, blydschap, droefheid, schrik, toorn, verwondering, veragting enz. Dat is, de menigerhande leidingen van de ziel, door vaste en kenlyke wezenstrekken vertoonen.” For the relationship between Arnold Houbraken and Samuel van Hoogstraten see: Hendrik J. Horn: *Great Respect and Complete Bafflement: Arnold Houbraken’s Mixed Opinion of Samuel van Hoogstraten*, in:

Through the strokes of a tool it is possible to feel and understand the affects of the painter because the created forms evoke certain sentiments. This “Ideology of Paint” deriving from Rembrandt is of a bodily nature and makes the painting process a vehicle for action. The often uncontrolled and processual strokes and color applications of the Rembrandtists that reveal the painting process are similar to the processual actions depicted in a painting.

This can be described as *Handeling*, which, besides its meaning as “manner”, is still today understood as *action*.<sup>17</sup> *Handeling* is an act which could be described as a form-act.<sup>18</sup> The motion of the hand that guides an instrument to produce action in a picture itself becomes an action. Rosand argues regarding the drawings by Rembrandt that: “it is the passions of the draftsman’s hand that so move us [...] Rembrandt eventually lived the drama on the paper.”<sup>19</sup>

In the Dutch rhetorical theory of Gerardus Vossius, *Handeling* is used, as Weststeijn points out, “to describe the orator’s ability to involve his audience in his argument appealing to mind and body and all five senses [...] *Handeling* is situated in the body.”<sup>20</sup> Jacob Campo Weyerman, an acquaintance of de Gelder’s understands the different *Handelinghe* of an artist as direct visualizations of his temper: “We call manner a certain *Handeling* of the painter, not only [deriving] from his hand but also from his temper.”<sup>21</sup> Friedrich von Hagedorn refers to *Handlung* in the sense of manner, namely, in which way an artist holds and uses the brush or other instruments so as to give the picture its own character.<sup>22</sup>

Thijs Weststeijn (ed.): *The Universal Art of Samuel van Hooogstraten (1627–1678). Painter, Writer, and Courtier*, Amsterdam 2013, pp. 208–239.

- 17 See *Handeling* in: *Woordenboek der Nederlandsche Taal* at <http://gtb.inl.nl/>.
- 18 In the first chapter of the second edition of his *Teutsche Academie* (1679), for instance, Sandrart uses the word *Handlung* at: <http://ta.sandrart.net/>, TA 1679, III, p.12 (edition page 1000): “daß man gleich anfangs einer zierlichen saubern Zeichen-Manir und Handlung/ es sey gleich mit der Feder/ Kreiden/ oder Pensel/ zu dieser edlen Zeichenkunst/ sich befeisse und gewöhne.”
- 19 Rosand: *Drawing Acts* (as fn. 16), p. 226.
- 20 *Weststeijn: The Visible World* (as fn. 3), p. 234. For Vossius in general see Peter Mack: *A History of Renaissance Rhetoric. 1380–1620*, Oxford 2011, pp. 192–196.
- 21 “Wy noemen manier, een zekere *handeling* des Schilders, niet alleen van zyn Hand maar van zyn Gemoed.” Jacob Campo Weyerman: *De levens-beschryvingen der Nederlandsche konst-schilders en konst-schilderessen*, vol. 1, Den Haag 1729, p.27, cited in *Weststeijn: The Visible World* (as fn. 3), p. 179.
- 22 Hans Joachim Dethlefs: Gerard de Lairese and the semantic development of the concept of *Haltung* in German, in: *Oud Holland* 122 (2009), p. 218.



## 3.

As demonstrated by the work of the Rembrandtists, the different manifestations of *Handeling* change or even create the concept of *Idea* itself. This fits to van Hoogstraten's notion of accident as used in his reference to the painting contest said to have taken place between the artists Knipbergen, van Goyen, and Porcelles. All three had to paint the same landscape. Three completely different results came out, connected to the different concepts of *Usus*, *Fortuna*, and *Idea*. According to the Neoplatonic art theory of Rembrandt's former pupil van Hoogstraten, *Idea*, and thus Porcelles, won. Of special interest in this context, however, is Jan van Goyen's painting. The forms that appeared in his case and consequently under the reign of *accident* were "as though the mind and the eye were placed in the artist's hand."<sup>23</sup> This concept of a "thinking hand" was adopted, among other Rembrandtists, by Arent de Gelder himself.

Von Rosen conjoins the concepts of *Color* and *Enárgeia*, as they constitute the power of a picture.<sup>24</sup> Without *Enárgeia* there is no impact on the sentiment of the beholder, writes van Hoogstraten.<sup>25</sup> The atmospheric quality of color, its force and application activate the spectator.<sup>26</sup> The sensory-motor movement of the hand becomes the picture's seismograph. The contradictory effects of the surface of a painting, created by the artist's various tools, in the case of the Rembrandtists (and in contradistinction to the smooth and evenly applied paint of a fine manner) generate a tremor, a restlessness that directly confers specific affects to the beholder. These vary socially and culturally, but can be experienced through the body-schema. Or as Alva Noë puts it: "To perceive like us, you must have a body like ours."<sup>27</sup> *Handeling* could be similarly understood as an iconic action in the sense of Embodiment. Body and Mind are conceived as one entity. In how far *Handeling* is to be considered an iconic action as a result of sensory-emotional engagement is brilliantly described by Bellori (1672) in his

23 Van Hoogstraten: *Inleyding tot de hooge schoole der Schilderkonst* (as fn. 3), p. 237: "zijn oog en verstandt schijnen in zijn hand geplaetst te zijn." For this matter see also Yannis Hadjinicolaou: *Malen, Kratzen, Modellieren*. Arent de Gelders Farbauftrag zwischen Innovation und Tradition, in: Markus Rath/Jörg Trempler/Iris Wenderholm (eds.): *Das haptische Bild. Körperhafte Bilderfahrung in der Neuzeit*, Berlin 2013 (*Actus et Imago* 7), pp. 227–252.

24 Von Rosen: *Die Enargeia des Gemäldes* (as fn. 7), p. 184.

25 Van Hoogstraten: *Inleyding tot de hooge schoole der Schilderkonst* (as fn. 3), p. 293: "Zoo is't ook met de Schilders, zy beroeren 't gemoed niet, zooze deeze beweeglijkheit overslaen."

26 Thomas Kirchner: *L'expression des passions. Ausdruck als Darstellungsproblem in der französischen Kunst und Kunsttheorie des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts*, Mainz 1991, p. 61.

27 Alva Noë: *Action in Perception*, Cambridge, MA 2004, p. 25.

biography of Domenichino: “And he [Domenichino] would add, that in dealing with actions in painting, it is necessary not only to contemplate and come to know the emotions to be depicted but also to feel them in oneself, to do and suffer the very things that [are] being represented; hence at times he could be heard talking to himself and uttering cries of sorrow and joy, according to the passions expressed.”<sup>28</sup> This also shows that both “North” and “South” of the Alps artists’ painting processes were described in similar terms by a certain academic, idealistic art theory.

Similarly de Gelder must have engaged himself bodily with the reality of human affects in order to understand them – something that can be seen in his self-portrait as Zeuxis, who was the paradigm painter of affects in antiquity (Fig. 7).<sup>29</sup> “Laugh with the laughing”, to paraphrase the dictum of Horace. De Gelder’s laughter is, however, not dangerous or fatal (as it was for Zeuxis) but instead reveals a self-distancing and role-play. This empathetic strategy of distancing was followed by van Hoogstraten, who in this was also influenced by Rembrandt.

The goal of visual theatricality, though not in a rhetorical academic perspective, is to explore the secrets and motions of the human body and to try to depict them on a two-dimensional surface.<sup>30</sup> The theater as a lesson for and about the body and its sensorimotor powers therefore played an important role for van Hoogstraten, who himself participated in theatrical activities, not least for pedagogic reasons.<sup>31</sup> This was considered helpful for the depiction of natural

28 Giovanni Pietro Bellori: *The lives of the Modern Painters, Sculptors and Architects. A new translation and critical edition*, ed. by Alice Sedgwick Wohl/Hellmut Wohl/Tomaso Montanari, Cambridge, MA 2005, p. 266; id.: *Le Vite de Pittori, Scultori, ed Architetti Moderni*, Rome 1728, vol. 1, p. 214: “Ed aggiungeva, che nelle azzioni della pittura bisogna, non solo contemplare, e riconoscere gli affetti, mà sentirli ancora, in se stesso fare, e patire le medesime cose, che si rappresentano; onde alle volte udivasi ragionare da se solo, e mandar voci di duolo, e d’allegrezza secondo l’affezioni espresse.” Thomas Kirchner: *De l’usage des passions. Die Emotionen bei Künstler, Kunstwerk und Betrachter*, in: Klaus Herding/Bernhard Stumpfhaus (eds.): *Pathos, Affekt, Gefühl. Die Emotionen in den Künsten*, Berlin 2004, pp. 357–377, p. 376.

29 The role of Zeuxis as a painter of affects is mentioned also by van Hoogstraten (in relationship to the depiction of Centaurs). Van Hoogstraten: *Inleyding tot de hooge schoole der Schilderkonst* (as fn. 3), p. 299.

30 Roodenburg speaks of “kinesthetic empathy” and argues further that “Similarly Rembrandts meeste en de natureelst beweeghelijkheid must have encompassed not only an affective but also a corporeal and sensory dimension.” Herman Roodenburg: *Beweeglijkheid Embodied: On the Corporeal and Sensory Dimensions of a Famous Emotion Term*, in: Dickey/Roodenburg (eds.): *The Passions in the Arts* (as fn. 4), p. 311, p. 316.

31 Svetlana Alpers: *Rembrandt’s Enterprise. The Studio and the Market*, Chicago 1988, pp. 34–57. See furthermore Tomaso Montanari: *Bernini e Rembrandt, il Tea-*



Fig. 7 Arent de Gelder: *Selbstbildnis als Zeuxis*, 1685, oil on canvas, 144 × 169 cm, Frankfurt/M, Städelches Kunstinstitut.

movement as well as for improving the ability to empathize. As Houbraken mentions, van Hoogstraten

[...] also on occasion allowed his disciples to stage, or perform, in order to refresh their high-strung minds, a shadow dance: serving not only for enjoyment, but especially through such an example to have them know and understand the many rapidly-changing and lengthening or shortening shapes of shadows, (arising from the proximity to or distance from the light).<sup>32</sup>

tro e la Pittura. Per una Rilettura degli Autoritratti Berniniani, in: Daniela Gallavotti Cavallero: *Bernini e la pittura*, Rome 2005, pp. 187–201. With many thanks to Joris van Gastel for drawing my attention to this article.

32 Trans. in: Hendrik J. Horn: *The Golden Age Revisited*. Arnold Houbraken's *Great Theatre of Netherlandish Painters and Paintresses*, vol. 1, Ghent 2000, pp. 22f.; Arnold Houbraken: *De Groote Schouburgh der Nederlantsche Konstschilders en Schilderessen* (as fn. 1), p. 163: “Ook liet hy zyne Discipelen by wylten tot verversinghe hunner opgespannen gedagten, een schaduw dans vertoonen, of spelen: dien-

This performative character, described as a relaxed activity, nevertheless demanded a corporeal effort. In a similar way, as Roodenburg mentions, Agostino Carracci maintained that “painters should strive to understand their figures through physical imitation, through their own sense of the body. Literally incorporating the postural and gestural repertoires of the actors.”<sup>33</sup>

#### 4.

In van Hoogstraten’s *shadow dance* several figures are depicted, seen from a position high up inside a huge interior (Fig. 8).<sup>34</sup> Their movements appear as shadows upon a stretched cloth. The shadows are created by the light of the candle positioned in the left foreground. The persons acting are at the same time beholders of their own shadows. However, they are not alone. Behind the stretched cloth appears a vast theater with an audience. It is looking at the play as if it were watching a movie in which the different, mirror-inverted shadow-images are generated by a constant movement. A figure blurs the boundary between audience and actors by looking behind the cloth and hence directly onto the stage and the performance. This scene summarizes, beyond van Hoogstraten’s epistemological conceptions,<sup>35</sup> the importance he attributed to the understanding of bodily movement. This plays a role when the artist is simultaneously involved in a performative action (Closeness-Empathy) and is a beholder of his own actions (Distance-Alienation), a constellation usually involving the presence of a public. Van Hoogstraten’s *shadow dance* could therefore be understood as a *technique corporelle* for understanding *beweeiging*.

Another narrative about performative techniques in the sense of articulation or expression, which van Hoogstraten used as a pedagogical tool for his students, sheds yet more light upon this notion.<sup>36</sup> It again derives from Houbraken, who, like de Gelder, must have been acquainted with similar body techniques<sup>37</sup>:

stig niet alleen tot vermaak, maar in zonderheid om hen door zulk een voorwerp, de menigvuldige veranderingen en verlengingen of verkortingen der licht verwisselende gedaanten der schaduwen, (spruitende uit de nabyheid of afstand van ‘t licht) te doen kennen en begrypen.”

33 Roodenburg: *Beweeglijkheid Embodied* (as fn. 30), p. 312.

34 Van Hoogstraten: *Inleyding tot de hooge schoole der Schilderkonst* (as fn. 3), pp. 259ff.

35 See e.g. Horst Bredekamp: *Die Fenster der Monade: Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz’ Theater der Natur und Kunst*, Berlin 2004, pp. 71ff.; Victor Stoichita: *Brève histoire de l’ombre*, Genève 2000, pp. 137f.

36 See Herman Roodenburg: *The Eloquence of the Body. Perspectives of Gesture in the Dutch Republic*, Zwolle 2004, pp. 115f.

37 Celeste Brusati: *Artifice and Illusion: The Art and Writing of Samuel van Hoogstraten*, Chicago 1995, pp. 89ff.



Fig. 8 Samuel van Hoogstraten: Shadowdance, in: Samuel van Hoogstraten: *Inleyding tot de hooge schoole der Schilderkonst: Anders de Zichtbaere Werelt*, Rotterdam 1678, p. 260.

It so happened that one of his pupils showed him [Samuel van Hoogstraten] the sketch of his figure composition [*ordonantie*] (which everyone had to do each week) but had given little attention to the proper movements of the figures and just set them down haphazardly. Soon came the pronouncement, 'Now read the text.' And then the question, 'Is that supposed to be the figure who is speaking that?' If the answer was yes, then his reply was usually, 'Imagine that I am the other person to whom you must say that and say it to me.' If the pupil then gave the speech according to the letter of the text, without expression and with his hands in his pockets, or if he spoke as stiffly as a statue, Van Hoogstraten would say, 'Pockets were made to carry and to keep money from slipping through one's fingers.' Then he would immediately get up from his place and let the pupil sit in it, saying, 'Now I will show you how it is done. Pay attention to the gestures, the stance, and the posture of my body as I speak' and indicate this (as the proverb says) with finger and thumb [...]. In order to give his pupils a firm impression of these gestures and movements and to make them more accustomed to these; he selected the most able of his Disciples [...] and gave each a role to play in his [own], or

someone else's play: to which they were then permitted to invite their Parents and close acquaintances, as spectators, of the performance.<sup>38</sup>

The role of theater in this context is based on the action and interaction of bodies with the world. The common feature of an actor and an artist is their performative body. The difference lies in the fact that the actor moves within another role while remaining inside the same medium, namely his body – even if he distances himself visibly from his role (Diderot's Paradox). The artist, in contrast, has to transfer his bodily experience into another medium, an artifact, which records the traces of his bodily engagement with the material that had to be formed. The visual manifestation of the intrinsic forces of the body becomes a picture. As Pamela Smith has postulated concerning the artists of the early modern period north of the Alps, "they knew nature through the practice of their bodily art."<sup>39</sup> The perception of nature can only be achieved through a bodily engagement.<sup>40</sup>

Because artists like de Gelder were involved in such plays on stage but were also in the role of the spectator, they were trained simultaneously as creators and beholders of any kind of movement. As beholders they had the possibility of observing at a distance. They trained their own *body schema* and used it when applying various sensorimotor skills. As spectators they could even study

38 Trans. in: *ibid.*, p. 87; and Horn: *The Golden Age Revisited* (as fn. 32), p. 22. See Arnold Houbraken: *De Groote Schouburgh der Nederlantsche Konstschilders en Schilderessen* (as fn. 1), pp. 162f.: "T is gebeurt dat een van zyn Discipelen de scets van zyn ordonantie (gelyk ieder alle week doen moest) aan hem vertoonde, maar weinig agt gegeven ha dop de regte werkinge der beelden, die hy zoo maar had neergesteld. Straks was hetz eggen, Lees den Text; en gevraagt, Will dat nu het Beeld wezen dat zulks zeit? Antwoorde zy dan Ja, zoo was gemeenlyk zyn zegge: Verbeeld u eens dat ik die andere Persoon ben, daar gy zulks tegen moet zeggen; zeg het tegens my. Als zy dan de reden volgens de letter van de Text, zonder aandoe-ninge, met de handen in de zak, of als stokbeelden uitspraken, was zyn zeggen: de zakken zyn gemaakt om dat het geld in 't dragen niet door de vingeren zoude druipen; en stond met een van zyn plaats op en liet den Discipel daar zitten, zeggende: Nu zal ik het u voordoen, le top de Gebaarden, wyze van staan, of buiging des lichaams, als ik spreek, en beduide het (als het spreekwoord zeit) met vinger en duim [...]. Om van deze gebaarden, en roeringen die een Konstige Redevoeringe behoorden te verzellen, zyne Leerlingen een vaster indruk te geven, en zg daar aan meerder te doen gewennen; koos hy de bekwaamste van zyne Discipelen uit [...] en gaf hun yder een Rol van zyne, of een's anders Toneelstuk te spelen: tot het welke zyden vermogten hunne Ouders en goede Bekenden te noodigen, tot aenschouwers, van het Spel."

39 Pamela H. Smith: *The Body of the Artisan. Art and Experience in the Scientific Revolution*, Chicago 2004, p. 238.

40 *Ibid.*, p. 239.

their own *body image*. Van Hoogstraten also recommended the use of another trick for making a picture:

If one wants to gain honour in this most noble aspect of art, the rendering of affects, one must transform oneself entirely into an actor. It is not sufficient just to make a history feebly recognizable [...]. You will derive the same benefit from acting out the passions you have in mind, chiefly in front of a mirror, so as to be actor and spectator at the same time.<sup>41</sup>

The performative nature of such practices is their most significant feature. The force lies in the making and not merely in imagining. It is not productive to understand a depiction only as an illustration of a mental state, rather it must be conceived the other way around: Any action and movement that could fundamentally change a former idea begins with the process of elaboration.

Apart from van Hoogstraten's lesson in sensorimotor techniques, another element permits a closer understanding of de Gelder's bodily perception with respect to his picture-making, namely Houbraken's remark that he possessed a mannequin: "as he also has the habit of clothing his dummy from head to toe, and of arranging it in such a guise as he needs, which he then imitates with his brush, or with his thumb and finger."<sup>42</sup> Through the haptic positioning of the

41 Van Hoogstraten: *Inleyding tot de hooge schoole der Schilderkonst* (as fn. 3), pp. 109f.: "Wilmen nu eer inleggen in dit alleredelste deel der konst, zoo moet men zich zelven geheel in een toneelspeeler hervormen. Ten is niet genoeg, datmen slaeuwelijk een Historye kenbaer make [...]. Dezelve baet zalmen ook in t' uitbeelden van diens hartstochten, die gy voorhebt, bevinden, voornaemlijk voor een spiegel, om te gelijk vertooner en aenschouwer te zijn." Trans. by Weststeijn: *The Visible World* (as fn. 3), p. 183. Such a recommendation is given also by Franciscus Junius and Gerard de Lairesse, respectively. De Piles is very close to van Hoogstraten in his understanding of Empathy. He sees a potential for the artist in observing mutes and recommends the mirror as a further instrument. See Kirchner: *L'expression des passions* (as fn. 26), p. 57, p. 116.

42 Trans. in: Horn: *The Golden Age Revisited* (as fn. 32), p. 539. Houbraken: *De Groote Schouburgh der Nederlantsche Konstschilders en Schilderessen* (as fn. 1), p. 207: "gelyk hy dan ook voor gebruik houd, zynen Leeman van hoofd tot teen te bekleeden, en in zulk een gedaante te zetten, als hy noodig heeft, 't geen hy dan met het penceel, of met duim en vinger nabootst." Concerning the usage of the mannequin see: Markus Rath: *Die Berliner Gliederpuppe*, unpublished master's thesis, Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin, 2008; H. Perry Chapman: *The Wooden Body. Representing the Manikin in Dutch Artists Studios*, in: Ann-Sophie Lehmann/Herman Roodenburg (eds.): *Body and Embodiment in Netherlandish Art, Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek 58* (2008), pp. 188–215; Katja Kleiner: *Atelierdarstellungen in der niederländischen Genremalerei des 17. Jahrhunderts*, Petersberg 2006, pp. 77–81. In his chapter dedicated to drapery, Sandrart mentions the role of the mannequin as a model that could sometimes even be seductive, [http://ta.sandrart.net/TA\\_1675\\_I\\_Book\\_3\\_\(Painting\)\\_p.82](http://ta.sandrart.net/TA_1675_I_Book_3_(Painting)_p.82) (edition page 169): "Es ist/ in den Gewändern/ zuvörderst der Unterschied zu beobachten: weil deren Form/

mannequin to show different body movements or the use of draperies (which goes together with social conventions regarding habit), this can be understood as an extended model of the body, with respect to the *body schema* as well as the *body image*. It gave an artist like de Gelder the opportunity to keep a certain distance from his own body by working out the different movements of the mannequin with his brush and fingers during his painting performance.

In a similar sense, the Rembrandtists made small models in order to create drawings after them from different angles.<sup>43</sup> Even the drawing lessons themselves involved a multi-perspectival approach,<sup>44</sup> so that if the different drawings of the students had been combined they would have produced a “total view” of the drawn figure, almost as a sculpture with three dimensional qualities.<sup>45</sup> Many models in Rembrandt’s workshop were themselves students and took on different roles during the drawing lessons as in a theatrical performance.<sup>46</sup>

Also the use of a mirror played an important role, as Konstam has shown, because “the multiple images so produced increased his spatial and sculptural grasp of the subject, an aspect of vision in which he excelled.”<sup>47</sup> This means that Rembrandt not only thought in terms of vision but also considered the relationship between body and space for conceiving his pictures. He also carried out motoric exercises with his students, so that their hands could achieve the right

Farben und Falten/ nach Alter/ Stand und Stellung der Personen/ nach dem Männ- und Weiblichen Geschlecht/ auch nach alt- und neuem Lands-Gebrauch und al modo ganz ungleich sind. Dieses wol zu begreifen/ pflaget man/ nächst fleißiger Beschauung der Lebens/ die so-gerannte kleine Wachs-Modellen zu machen/ oder Gliedmänner mit Rücken oder Mänteln von rauher Leinwat oder nassem Papier zu überlegen: welches dann angenehme Falten macht/ und sich wohl erzeigt/ wann mit guter Bescheidenheit in und zu großen Bildern gefolget wird; wiewol man dadurch/ weil die Bewegung mangel/ leichtlich kann verführet werden.”

43 Weststeijn: *The Visible World* (as fn. 3), pp. 163f.

44 For this practice see: Alexander Perrig: *Michelangelo und die Zeichnungswissenschaft. Ein methodologischer Versuch*, Frankfurt/M. 1976.

45 There are, in fact, drawings showing this practice. See for instance the Constantijn van Renesse drawing Rembrandt and his Pupils Drawing a Female Nude Model (c. 1650), black chalk, pen and brown ink, brown wash, heightened with white, 18 × 26,6 cm, Hessisches Landesmuseum, Darmstadt, in: ex. cat.: *Old Drawings, New Names. Rembrandt and his Contemporaries*, ed. by Peter Schatborn/Leonore van Sloten, Rembrandthuis Amsterdam, Varik 2014, p. 120.

46 Nigel Konstam: *Rembrandt’s Use of Models and Mirrors*, in: *The Burlington Magazine* 119 (1977), p. 97.

47 *Ibid.*, p. 97. Van Hoogstraten refers to Giorgione, saying that he used a mirror in order to make things visible from different angles. Van Hoogstraten: *Inleyding tot de hooge schoole der Schilderkonst* (as fn. 3), p. 275: “Het verstant van deeze konst gaf aen Giorgione de stourigheyd van staendete houden [...] want hy schilderde een naekte figuur, die in zijn werk wel van achteren, maer van d’eenen zijde in een spiegel, van d’andere in een blank waepen, en van vooren in een glad afstraelende waeterqueel te zien was.”









