Origins and Meanings of Rembrandt's Late Drawing Style

Nicola Courtright

Over the last decade a number of scholars have narrowed the corpus of Rembrandt's drawings compiled by Benesch and identified the hands responsible for many of the rejected works.[1] Their efforts have also significantly increased knowledge of the functions of the drawings.[2] Still, the origins and meanings of Rembrandt's drawing style remain relatively obscure, and the related issue of what attitudes toward drawing distinguish Rembrandt and his students fundamentally from their contemporaries is still unresolved. Rembrandt's drawings as a class are not often considered by writers discussing his use of other media, or treated with the same interpretive tools as works in other media.[3] What is implied about his drawings by recent Rembrandt scholarship—including that which omits discussion of the drawings—is consequently in tacit agreement with the late seventeenth-century evaluations of the rest of the artist's work by Filippo Baldinucci and Andries Pels, that Rembrandt stood outside of the rules of art and therefore exhibited a manner entirely his own.[4] Nevertheless, like his painting, Rembrandt's style of drawing owes as much to his cultural and intellectual environment as to the idiosyncrasies of his temperament.

Late in Rembrandt's career, a distinct drawing style crystallized, which in many ways appears to be unrelated to earlier traditions of drawing.[5] Ease of linear motion, emphasis on detail and ornament, and other hallmarks of masterly draftsmanship came to a halt. Angular or straight lines with a thick, broken, rough, sometimes even crude quality and an extreme restriction of three-dimensionality became common features.

These characteristics are evident in *Homer Reciting Verses* (Fig. 1), a composition which Rembrandt derived from Raphael's *Parnassus*—via Marcantonio Raimondi's print (Fig. 2)—and drew for the gift album, or *album amicorum,* of his young friend Jan Six in 1652. In the *Homer,* recession into depth is achieved through overlapping angular, blocky, flattened figures rather than through the placement of varied, sculptural groups of artfully turning forms. The reed pen that Rembrandt employed—not by accident—dictated a simplified style allowing only a minimum of detail, and reduced the fluidity of the pen stroke. Rembrandt used it to produce abrupt stops and starts by means of a thick, broken, interrupted, and roughened line. Because this technique impedes the appearance of linear motion, the figures appear stilled. This impression is heightened by their poses, for their actions also seem halted by their acute attentiveness to the bard. Rather than activating the subsidiary groupings of figures around the youthful Apollo to achieve the *varietà* so striking in the print, Rembrandt directed the silenced poses now solely toward the aged poet. This shift of emphasis

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1. Werner Sumowski, *Drawings of the Rembrandt School,* 10 vols., New York, 1979– ; B. P. J. Broos, *Rembrandt en tekenaars uit zijn omgeving,* exh. cat. Amsterdams Historisch Museum, Amsterdam, 1981; Peter Schatborn, *Drawings by Rembrandt, His Anonymous Pupils and Followers,* Catalogue of the Dutch and Flemish Drawings in the Rijksprentenkabinet, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, IV, The Hague, 1985; idem, "Notes on Early Rembrandt Drawings," *Master Drawings,* XXVII, 1989, 118–27; Bevers, Schatborn, and Welzel; Jeroen Giltaij, *The Drawings by Rembrandt and His School in the Museum Boymans-van Beuningen,* Rotterdam, 1988; and Royalton-Kisch. These studies enlarge upon the standard corpus by Benesch, 1973; see also Benesch, 1960; Christopher White, *The Drawings of Rembrandt,* London, 1962; and Bob Haak, *Rembrandt Drawings,* trans. E. Willems-Treeman, Woodstock, N.Y., 1976. For an evaluation of developments in research, see Egbert Haverkamp-Begemann, "Rembrandt as a Draughtsman: The Changing Image, 1956–1988," *Master Drawings,* XXVII, 1989, 105–10.

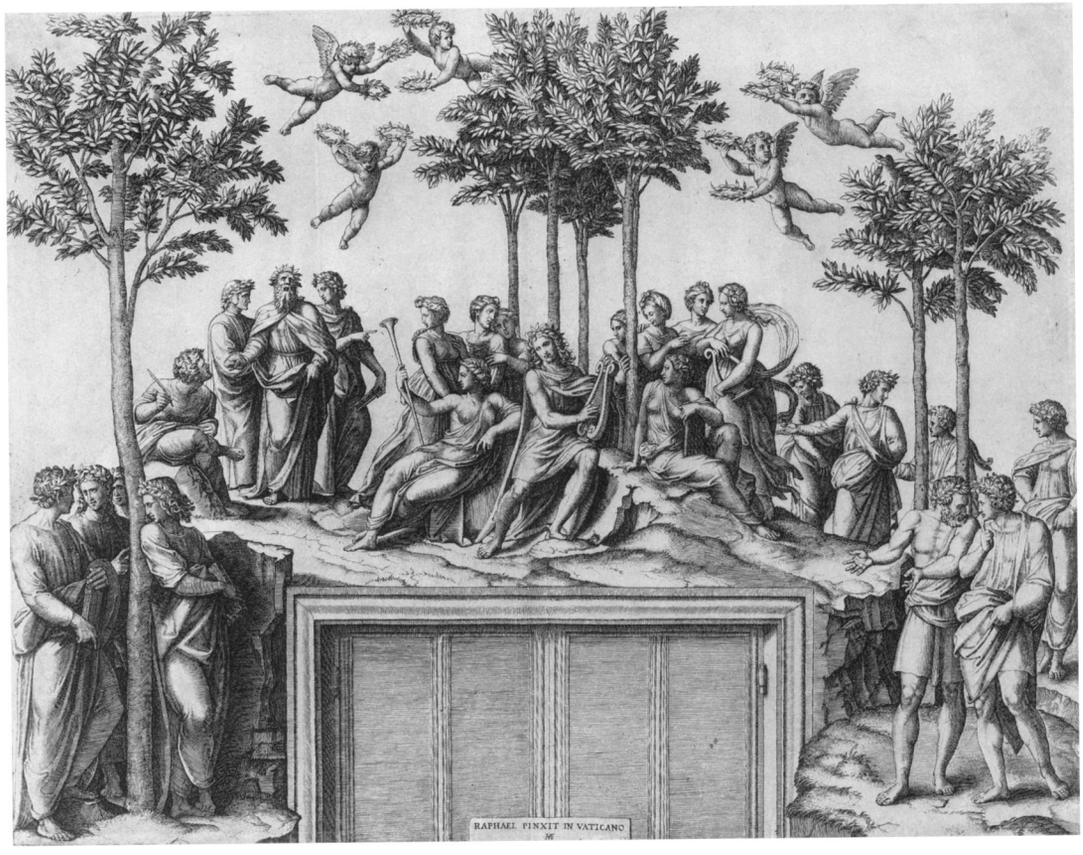
2. See also Josua Bruyn, "On Rembrandt's Use of Studio-Props and Model Drawings during the 1630s," in Anne-Marie Logan, ed., *Essays in Northern European Art Presented to Egbert Haverkamp-Begemann on His Sixtieth Birthday,* Doornspijk, 1983, 52–60; Peter Schatborn, "Tekeningen van Rembrandt in verband met zijn etsen," *De Kroniek van Het Rembrandthuis,* XXXVIII, 1986, 1–38; Jeroen Giltaij, "The Function of Rembrandt Drawings," *Master Drawings,* XXVII, 1989, 111–17; Martin Royalton-Kisch, "Rembrandt's Sketches for His Paintings," *Master Drawings,* XXVII, 1989, 128–45; and William W. Robinson, "Rembrandt's Sketches of Historical Subjects," in Walter Strauss and Tracie Felker, eds., *Drawings Defined,* New York, 1987, 241–57.

3. I refer to recent monographs such as Gary Schwartz, *Rembrandt: His Life, His Paintings,* London, 1985; Chapman; and Mieke Bal, *Reading "Rembrandt": Beyond the Word-Image Opposition,* Cambridge, 1991. Svetlana Alpers, although she treats Rembrandt's drawings, considers the different media as separate realms in Rembrandt's work that operated according to different principles (Alpers, 71, 144 n. 32).

4. Filippo Baldinucci, *Cominciamento, e progresso dell'arte dell'intagliare in rame . . . ,* Florence, 1686; and Andries Pels, *Gebruik en misbruik des tooneels,* Amsterdam, 1681; quoted and discussed by Seymour Slive, *Rembrandt and His Critics, 1630–1730,* The Hague, 1953, 102, 104–15; and Emmens, 73–77. For a translation of Pels on Rembrandt, see Alpers, 137–39 n. 48. For two recent exceptions to this assumption about Rembrandt's draftsmanship, see Nicola Courtright, "Observations on the Origins of Rembrandt's Drawing Style," in Thomas W. Gaehtgens, ed., *Artistic Exchange,* Acts of the Twenty-eighth International Congress of the History of Art, Berlin, 1993, 607–20; and Stacey Lynn Sell, "Rembrandt's Draftsmanship and the Traditions of Renaissance Art," Ph.D. diss., University of Virginia, 1993.

5. The classic passage characterizing this late phase is found in Benesch, 1960, 20–33, who dated the fixing of the style to the 1640s.

1 Rembrandt van Rijn, *Homer Reciting Verses,* from the Six *album amicorum.* Amsterdam, Six Collection (photo: Collectie Six)



2 Marcantonio Raimondi, after Raphael, *Parnassus.* Cambridge, Mass., Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University Art Museums, Gift of William Gray from the collection of Francis Calley Gray (photo: Harvard University Art Museums)

provides a focus to the image that Raphael had never considered for his invention.

The *Homer* is the chief subject of this paper because I believe that in his gift for his learned friend, Rembrandt purposefully demonstrated fundamental principles of his late drawing style. I argue that Rembrandt's recasting of Raphael's canonical work and his radical distillation of graphic means indicates that he wanted to avoid, and perhaps even to oppose, the conventional ways of rendering grace and beauty for which the Renaissance artist strove, and that he sought a drawing style that evoked other ideals. I show that significant aspects of Rembrandt's handling of the medium, even in his late drawings, is based upon Netherlandish and Italian conventions, and posit that the stylistic change was in part reactive to one aspect of his own earlier manner, which was in harmony with Italian ideals in its emphasis upon personal virtuosity. The specific way in which Rembrandt's late style diverges from tradition finds no parallel in contemporary art practice nor any direct explanation in art literature. Nevertheless, its meaning is illuminated by an alternate convention laid out in rhetoric and other discourses. These traditions provide a context that, in my view, allows a modern interpreter to hypothesize what Rembrandt might have meant by his new style, and what his art meant for the contemporary beholder.[6]

Rembrandt and Established Traditions of Drawing in *Alba Amicorum*

A number of factors have generally impeded speculation about the artist's relationship to established drawing traditions. Most important among them is the notorious difficulty of determining concrete functions for the majority of Rembrandt's drawings. Because very few are linked to works of art in other media, most of his sheets do not fit into neat functional categories familiar from Italian art theory that would allow one to identify consistently and with certainty a particular style employed for a particular purpose.[7]

The *Homer* belongs, however, to a small but very significant group of drawings that had a relatively clear-cut function: they were sheets made as gifts to friends or as parts of

6. For discussion of the concept of style and recent literature on the subject, see James S. Ackerman, "Style," in *Distance Points: Essays in Theory and Renaissance Art and Architecture,* Cambridge, Mass./London, 1991, 3–22. Current developments in art criticism impel me to state outright that implicit in my own method is the notion that Rembrandt's practice of drawing— the way in which he placed the marks on the page—owes a great deal to his response to other artists' drawings that in turn embodied intellectual concepts, an approach based in part upon historical accounts of artistic practice in writings on art. This position differs from that of Alpers, who proposes that in many of his drawings, Rembrandt recorded the attitudes of models that he directed to pose in his studio rather than composing the forms on paper in a way that was mediated by artistic precedents (46). See n. 33 below for further discussion of Alpers's thesis. For a discussion about constructing historical intention and relating art to systems of thought within a culture, as I do, see Michael Baxandall, *Patterns of Intention: On the Historical Explanation of Pictures,* New Haven, 1985. Alternate approaches are laid out in the introductory essay of Norman Bryson, Michael Ann Holly, and Keith Moxey, eds., *Visual Culture: Images and Interpretations,* Hanover, N.H., 1994, xv–xxix; and by Mieke Bal (as in n. 3), who argues for a semiotic approach that acknowledges and employs the present-day issues of the individual interpreter for her criticism.

7. See Joseph Meder, *The Mastery of Drawing,* trans. and rev. Winslow Ames, New York, 1978; and Charles de Tolnay, *History and Technique of Old Master Drawings: A Handbook,* New York, 1943, 19–27.

3 Rembrandt, *Simeon in the Temple,* from the Heyblocq *album amicorum.* The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek (photo: Koninklijke Bibliotheek)

alba amicorum, volumes containing collections of drawings, emblemata, and verses dedicated to the owners.[8] Although Rembrandt's four *alba amicorum* sheets are widely separated in time and seemingly unrelated in subject, they are connected conceptually. First, they are not studies for other works, but complete in themselves. Second, they are not private, but are meant to be seen by others (albeit in a limited circle). This latter fact is remarkable, for Rembrandt placed his own drawings in albums according to broad divisions by subject, presumably for his personal or workshop reference; and evidently he allowed few drawings to leave his workshop, let alone be sold, until financial straits forced him to part with them late in life.[9] Third, three of these *alba amicorum* drawings demonstrate a paradoxical principle of his style employed in most independent drawings throughout his career: the appearance of completeness and simultaneous incompleteness.[10] (The remaining one, *Minerva in Her Study* [Fig. 12], a sheet drawn in Jan Six's album at the same date as the *Homer,* appears to be more unambiguously complete, but exemplifies another kind of contrast that will be treated later.)

The *Homer* reveals this fundamental hallmark of Rembrandt's drawing style exceptionally well. On the one hand, elements of the drawing bespeak a completed work. The composition is bounded by swift lines enclosing the scene that imply a picturelike frame. Unlike the rapid, repeated lines loosely sketched around an image to plot its format in some working drawings (Fig. 7), these act as relatively definitive boundaries for the composition.[11] The appearance of finality this enframement gives the sheet is enhanced by the impression that the work is a fully composed image. There are no fragmented repetitions of motifs characteristic of a preliminary study that disturb the integrity of the whole (Fig. 8). Further, the composition is fully rendered, the setting continuous. On the other hand, there are elements that suggest a work of art still in the process of creation. Rembrandt dispensed with wash and internal modeling altogether, lightly sketching the blocky figures with a radical economy of means.[12] Corrections remain undisguised by body color or wash; for example, Rembrandt openly adjusted the legs of the seated figure in the left corner of the image. When he added a figure to the lower right, he did not remove the ground line that appears to intersect the man's head, thus allowing consecutive steps in his ideation to remain visible. Although sketchiness, lack of surface finish, and, above all, display of the working process historically signal incompleteness in a drawing, the artist himself evidently identified this image, to be included in a collection of drawings, as completed: the composition is framed, the sheet is signed, dated, and dedicated.

The *Simeon in the Temple,* the last, small *album amicorum* drawing, executed in 1661 for Jacobus Heyblocq, a teacher at the Amsterdam Latin school, also demonstrates this duality (Fig. 3).[13] All of the figures—Mary, Joseph, Simeon, and (barely visible) an infant Christ lying in the old man's arms—are enclosed by lines implying a frame. Like the

8. Benesch, 1973, no. 913, Six Collection, Amsterdam; see Bevers, Schatborn, and Welzel, 109–12; and George J. Möller, "Het Album Pandora van Jan Six (1618–1700)," *Jaarboek van het Genootschap Amstelodamum,* LXXII, 1984, 69–101. On Jan Six, see Smith. On *alba amicorum,* see K. Thomassen, ed., *"Alba amicorum": Vijf eeuwen vriendschap op papier gezet; Het "album amicorum" en het poëziealbum in de Nederlanden,* Maarssen/The Hague, 1990.

9. Bruyn (as in n. 2), 58, discusses Rembrandt's categorization of his drawings, listed in the 1656 inventory of his possessions; see Strauss and van der Meulen, eds., 367–79, and for the 1658 auction of his graphic works, ibid., 425. For the collecting of Rembrandt drawings, see Peter Schatborn, "Van Rembrandt tot Crozat: Vroege verzamelingen met tekeningen van Rembrandt," *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek,* XXXII, 1982, 1–54, esp. 4–7. For other examples of artists' keeping drawings in their studios, see Held, 74–75. For Dutch drawing collections in general, see Jan G. van Gelder and Ingrid Jost, *Jan de Bisschop and His "Icones" and "Paradigmata": Classical Antiquities and Italian Drawings for Artistic Instruction in Seventeenth-Century Holland,* ed. Keith Andrews, Doornspijk, 1985, 198–211.

10. Slive (as in n. 4), 51–52, and White (as in n. 1), 20–21, point out this characteristic mix of completion and sketchiness in the drawings. Lavin, 24, remarked upon this quality of Bernini's caricatures.

11. Evidence of his deliberation is that Rembrandt initially used a straightedge on the sides and bottom of the composition, and then in places reshaped the boundaries with lines drawn freehand. This practice is most visible in the original.

4 Rembrandt, *Old Man with Clasped Hands,* from the Grossmann *album amicorum.* The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek (photo: Koninklijke Bibliotheek)

Homer, the sheet was signed, dated, and given away. Yet, likewise, the *Simeon* appears still to be in the middle of execution. The lines sketching the figures are not continuous; they break, or, intersecting at right angles, run over one another. The artist left great, irregular gaps of blank paper that suggest material things such as Simeon's intensely lit beard. Broad swaths of roughly applied wash similarly suggest rather than define in the manner of some working studies. A few thick, dark strokes create rectangular architectural divisions for the background, and other, parallel diagonal strokes demarcate a sharp shaft of light. The curious, irregular blotch of white heightening (which has darkened over time) applied in the lower right where Christ's head would appear, almost as if it were a correction, arrests the descending diagonal ray of light, and fixes its focus on Simeon.[14]

Despite its early date, a third *album amicorum* drawing, made for the German jurist Burchard Grossmann in 1634 and representing a dignified, bearded old man with his hands clasped, adumbrates the idea that is firmly embedded in the later drawings (Fig. 4).[15] To be sure, Rembrandt did not pursue the appearance of visual incompleteness as far as he did in his later sheets, for at first glance the alterations do not leap out at the viewer: the drawing has the appearance of a hastily executed, but completed, work. Yet the framing on only two sides is summary, like the convention of formating a working drawing (Fig. 7). Also, Rembrandt changed the contours of the figure, such as the shoulders and hat, that he had given a different form only moments before as in a preparatory sketch. The effect of a work in process is pronounced when this is compared with a group of gift drawings that favor a finished appearance, such as the 1609 *Diana and Actaeon* by the German artist Franz Cleyn (Fig. 5).[16] The earlier artist avoided corrections and provided the composition with a high level of surface finish, in which wash models the nude bathers and gives the cave surrounding them three-dimensionality.

Gift sheets such as Cleyn's and Rembrandt's comprised an important tradition in the North. An examination of the conventions of this group reveals two significant facts: that Rembrandt's practice emerges from an established tradition

5 Franz Cleyn, *Diana and Actaeon.* Robert and Bertina Suida Manning Collection (photo: O. E. Nelson)

12. The cubic quality of the figures (noted by Benesch, 1960, 26) also recalls an initial blocking-out of figures in the early stages of a design. Rubens, for example, sometimes conceived of forms initially as geometrical. This practice was recommended by drawing books such as *'t Light der teken en schilder konst* by Crispijn van de Passe (1643), which codify the idea that fundamental, regularized principles of nature can be recovered by practice in the art of drawing, and illustrate the foundations of drawing with types of controlled and geometrically based lines; see Jaap Bolten, *Method and Practice: Dutch and Flemish Drawing Books, 1650–1750,* Landau, 1985. Here, however, the cubic forms are employed in a finished composition, not in a preparatory sketch, and the lines are rough and broad rather than regular and thin.

13. Benesch, 1973, no. 1057, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, The Hague; see Thomassen, ed. (as in n. 8), 83–84; and C. Wybe de Kruyter, "Jacobus Heyblocq's *Album Amicorum* in the Koninklijke Bibliotheek at The Hague," *Quaerendo,* VI, 1976, 110–53.

14. See Benesch, 1960, 32.

15. Benesch, 1973, no. 257, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, The Hague; see Thomassen, ed. (as in n. 8), 80–81. For a transcription and translation of the verse Rembrandt wrote to accompany the image, see Strauss and van der Meulen, eds., 111, no. 1634/6. See also Alpers, 105, 152 n. 40.

16. Robert and Bertina Suida Manning Collection; see Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann, *Drawings from the Holy Roman Empire, 1540–1680: A Selection from North American Collections,* Princeton, N.J., 1982, 66.

6 Gerrit Pieterzoon, *Mercury.* Rotterdam, Museum Boymans–van Beuningen (photo: Museum Boymans–van Beuningen)

of drawing, and that the sheets in question are self-conscious demonstrations of artistic skill and style.

A major component of the genre was that, whatever their subjects, drawings for *alba amicorum* historically professed something about art and its maker: they were self-referential expressions of an artist's style, not just carefully executed illustrations.[17] Many produced around the turn of the seventeenth century made the connection with the concept of deliberate artistry explicit by featuring allegories of art as their subject. In the gift drawing of Mercury, protector of the arts, drawn around 1593 for a fellow artist by Gerrit Pieterzoon, a Dutch student of Cornelis van Haarlem, the figure's fluid, elegant pose is matched by the handling of the pen (Fig. 6).[18] The dedication and signature are important components of the appearance of self-consciousness in the work. By asserting that the drawing is completed, they declare the final achievement of the artist's intention. Hence, in this gift sheet, the artist's style appears to be an end in itself rather than the means toward the development of a final product with a different form, as in a preparatory work.

Because of the focus upon an artist's manner of drawing in gift sheets, the choice of style he employed traditionally had particular significance. For example, sketchy handling in Mannerist gift sheets such as Pieterzoon's conventionally alluded to the imaginative and personal nature of artistic expression. According to ideas transmitted through the lively artistic interchange between the Netherlands, Germany, and Italy in the second half of the sixteenth century, sketchiness had two closely related aspects that were believed to reveal the artist's creative personality. First, because this handling could give the appearance of freshness, spontaneity, and ease of execution, sketchy marks on the page implied the direct path of the creative brain to the artist's hand. Karel van Mander must have had this meaning in mind, in his theoretical poem of 1604, *Den grondt der edel vry schilder-const* (The foundations of the noble, free art of painting), published in the author's *Schilder-boeck,* when he used the term *schets* to signify preliminary drawings from the imagination, and advised, even in the laborious making of cartoons, a free and unconstrained manner.[19] For Rembrandt, this aspect of sketchiness is most evident in early works, such as the *Old Man* that he made for Grossmann (Fig. 4).

Second, because a sketchy handling often gave a work of art the appearance of being unfinished, sketchiness in this aspect was also understood to reveal the artist's innermost

17. Hanna Peter-Raupp, "Zum Thema 'Kunst und Künstler' in deutschen Zeichnungen von 1540–1640," in Heinrich Geissler, *Zeichnung in Deutschland: Deutsche Zeichner, 1540–1640,* exh. cat., Graphische Sammlung, Staatsgalerie Stuttgart, II, 1980, 223–30. The fashion for collecting examples of an artist's skill, either loose or bound and interspersed with pages of verses and emblemata dedicated to the owner of the volume, began in late 16th-century Germany, and the *Stammbuch* was soon taken up in Dutch student circles. For the origins of the *album amicorum,* see Peter Amelung, "Die Stammbücher des 16./17. Jahrhunderts als Quelle der Kultur und Kunstgeschichte," in Geissler, II, 211–22. For Dutch gift drawings, see Thomassen, ed. (as in n. 8), esp. 37–44.

18. Museum Boymans-van Beuningen, Rotterdam; see John Oliver Hand et al., *The Age of Breugel: Netherlandish Drawings in the Sixteenth Century,* exh. cat., National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., Cambridge, 1986, 246–47, no. 95.

19. "Beschildert eerst ws sins imaginacy / Met gheestighe byvoeghelijcke stucken / Om u materie met schoone gracy / (Als goed' Oratoren doen hun oracy) / Heerlijck/ constich/ en bequaem uyt te drucken / En op dat u te beter mach ghelucken / Meucht ghy daer van eenighe schetsen maken / Jae vry soo veel/ tot dat het mach gheraken"; van Mander, 1973, I, 128 (5.8), II, 465–66; and further, "Laet vloeyen uwen gheest/ om Const vergroenen / Meucht oock nae desen/ als d'Italianen / Wt u schetsen teyckenen u Cartoenen / Alsoo groot als u werck/ doch met vercoenen / Vry en onbeschroemt/ dit moet ick vermanen / Op dat ghy u vermijdet van soodanen / Maniere die swaer is/ en niet wel stellijck / Al te ghestenteert/ moeyelijck oft quellijck"; ibid., I, 128–31 (5.9), II, 466–67. See also ibid., I, 255 (12.7, 9), II, 594–96; Bruyn (as in n. 2), 58–59, n. 37, also discusses the concept of *schets.* As Bruyn observed, groups of Rembrandt's drawings in albums listed in the 1656 inventory were called *schetsen,* which he believes indicates that they were done from the imagination ("uyt den gheest"); for the inventory, see Strauss and van der Meulen, eds., 367–79. Held, 84–90, outlines the development of an appreciation for sketchy drawings in general. Among the artists of the generation immediately preceding Rembrandt in Holland who absorbed this aesthetic firsthand through study in Italy was Rembrandt's teacher Pieter Lastman, whose figure studies often feature a fluid, easy, sketchy handling of chalk; see Astrid Tümpel and Peter Schatborn, *Pieter Lastman, Leermeester van Rembrandt,* Zwolle, 1992, 156–69.

20. "The last works of artists and their unfinished pictures . . . are held in greater admiration than their finished works, because in these the sketch lines remain and the actual thought processes of the artists are visible"; Pliny, *Natural History,* 35.145, trans. Pollitt, 393–94. Jan Six owned at least two editions of Pliny's text that predated the *Homer;* see Six, 77 (no. 339), 92 (no. 94). For an expansion upon this concept in Rembrandt's drawing, see Sell (as in n. 4), 34–57, 110–23. The appearance of sketchy lack of finish in Rembrandt's drawings as well as other media is discussed by Dagobert Frey, "Das Fragmentarische als das Wandelbare bei Rembrandt," *Das Unvollendete als künstlerische Form,* Bern/Munich, 1959, 91–116; and Egbert Haverkamp-Begemann, "Purpose and Style: Oil Sketches of Rubens, Jan Brueghel, Rembrandt," in *Stil und Überlieferung in der Kunst des Abendlandes,* Akten des 21. Internationalen Kongresses für Kunstgeschichte, Berlin, 1967, III, esp. 111–12. On this quality in the prints, see Catherine Scallen, "Rembrandt's Etching *St. Jerome Reading in an Italian Landscape:* The Question of Finish Reconsidered," *Delineavit et Sculpsit,* VIII, 1992, 1–11. For further treatment of the concept underlying the unfinished work of art, see Teddy Brunius,

imaginings. This concept was introduced by Pliny and later canonized in Italian art theory.[20] The currency of this idea in learned circles in seventeenth-century Holland is demonstrated by a passage in the treatise *De Pictura Veterum,* written by the Leiden-trained scholar Franciscus Junius (1591–1677) and first published in Amsterdam in 1637. Junius's father had taught theology at the university in Rembrandt's hometown, where Franciscus lived from infancy until young adulthood in the company of his father's students, the future Dutch literati Hugo Grotius and Gerhard Johann Vossius. In Junius's later capacity as librarian to the earl of Arundel, he revised and translated the treatise into English, which appeared as *The Painting of the Ancients* in 1638, then translated the work into Dutch in 1641.[21] In his treatise, Junius described art lovers' appreciation of rough drafts:

> neither is it any marvell that they should be so much ravished with this contemplation, seeing they do not onely perceive in these naked and undisguised lineaments what beautie and force there is in a good and proportionable designe; but they doe likewise see in them the very thoughts of the studious Artificer, and how he did bestirre his judgment before he could resolve what to like and what to dislike.[22]

To be sure, these ideas, prevalent in Italy, were not accepted by Dutch artists initially, and a resulting distinction between regional attitudes can be discerned. Revealing the artist's thoughts through incompleteness was at odds with traditional practice in the Netherlands, where a powerful aesthetic favored completeness, often characterized by a high level of detail and surface finish rivaling the techniques of prints and painting.[23] Indeed, the appearance of completeness in most Netherlandish drawings, even the few preserved preparatory studies, makes it notoriously difficult to determine whether they are in fact preliminary works. When, beginning in the late sixteenth century, a parallel current reflecting Italian concepts about displaying the individual hand at the expense of technical or mimetic skill arrived in the Netherlands, artists found a way to make it coexist with the earlier tradition.[24]

It is in the group of gift drawings without a detailed or polished finish, exemplified here by Pieterzoon, that the conflicting goals of displaying incompleteness and finality were reconciled.[25] Characteristically for this group, Pieterzoon executed his *Mercury* with a fluid economy of means that precluded a painstaking working up of the surface, but the presence of the inscription asserts that the drawing is nevertheless complete (Fig. 6). This convergence of opposites then became a kind of axiom, as we have seen, in Rembrandt's late *alba amicorum* drawings. Although completely at odds with the fluid, sketchy style used by his predecessors, Rembrandt's rough, sketchy pen stroke also produced the sensation of incompleteness. At the same time, Rembrandt's gift drawings, by virtue of their frames, signatures, dates, and locations in friends' albums, likewise declared the finality of his intention.

The principle governing Rembrandt's gift sheets informs a large body of the artist's other late autonomous sheets.[26] Additionally, it was not limited to drawing alone. The union of radical sketchiness with pictorial completeness is a fundamental precept underlying some of Rembrandt's paintings, not to mention a large number of his etchings, which also seem simultaneously complete and incomplete in their signed, final states. Arnold Houbraken's lament about the unfinished sketchiness of Rembrandt's completed works shows that this aspect of his style was noted soon after the artist's death, if not fully accepted.[27]

Besides the utterly different handling of the pen that gave form to Rembrandt's late sketchiness, an issue to which I shall return, there is another difference between Rembrandt's kind of incompleteness in the *alba amicorum* drawings and that of his predecessors. It is his insistence upon leaving steps in the working process undisguised. The paucity of Dutch drawings displaying change suggests that they were seldom executed even for study purposes, let alone

"Michelangelo's *non finito,*" in *Contributions to the History and Theory of Art,* Figura, Uppsala Studies in the History of Art n.s. 6, Stockholm, 1967, 29–67; and Juergen Schulz, "Michelangelo's Unfinished Works," *Art Bulletin,* LVII, 1975, 366–73.

21. Junius, I, xxvi–xl.

22. Ibid., 239 (3.2.12).

23. The 16th-century tradition of finished drawings in the Netherlands is discussed by Tolnay (as in n. 7), 25–26; Held, 83–84; and William W. Robinson and Martha Wolff, "The Function of Drawings in the Netherlands in the Sixteenth Century," in Hand et al. (as in n. 18), 34–39. Melion, 60–63, discusses the related concept of *nettichheydt* (fastidiousness, meticulousness) in van Mander.

24. If completed drawings were valued by Netherlanders as independent works comparable to paintings or prints, they might have been rendered with this dual purpose in mind; see Held, 83. The popularity of a printlike finish in drawings is further demonstrated by the famous drawings emulating prints ("Federkunststücke") by Hendrick Goltzius; Reznicek, I, 76–79. For the Italianate idea of individual style, see Martin Kemp, " 'Equal Excellences': Lomazzo and the Explanation of Individual Style in the Visual Arts," *Renaissance Studies,* I, 1987, 1–26. Melion, 43–59, argues that van Mander was aware of the Italian concept of the original hand, embodied by Michelangelo, and wished to counter it in the Netherlandish "Lives" of the *Schilder-boeck* by praising the way in which artists sublimated their personal styles by imitating either nature or other artists. The following discussion articulates how some Netherlandish practice does not correspond with this reading.

25. Lavin, 39 n. 17, notes the combination of sketchiness and completeness in these early gift drawings.

26. Rembrandt sketched a large body of evidently independent sheets beginning in the 1650s. Executed for no known final work such as a print or painting, the drawings are pictorially complete, often subtly framed, and like the *Homer* feature rough, broken figural contours, a lack of interior modeling, and visible alterations. For an analysis of the nature of this group of drawings, see Robinson (as in n. 2).

27. Arnold Houbraken, *De groote schouburgh der Nederlantsche konstschilders en schilderessen,* I, Amsterdam, 1718, 258–59, first laments the number of works Rembrandt failed to complete, but then admits that the artist, when executing one part of a painting painstakingly and the other part roughly, justified his actions by asserting that a work was finished when an artist achieved his intention: "Maar een ding is te beklagen dat hy zoo schigtig tot veranderingen, of tot wat anders gedreven, vele dingen maar ten halven op gemaakt heeft, zoo in zyne schilderyen, als nog meer in zyn geëtste printkonst, daar het opgemaakte ons een denkbeelt geeft van al 't fraajs dat wy van zyne hand gehad zouden hebben, ingevallen hy yder ding naar mate van het beginsel voltooit hadde . . . ; om dat wy niet konnen begrypen hoe hy het dus heeft weten uit te voeren op een eerst gemaakte ruwe schets. . . . En dus ging het ook met zyne schilderyen, waar van ik 'er gezien heb, daar dingen ten uitersten in uitgevoert waren, en de rest als met een ruwe teerkwast zonder agt op teekenen te geven was aangesmeert. En in zulk doen was hy niet te verzetten, nemende tot verantwoording *dat een stuk voldaan is als de meester zyn voornemen daar inbereikt heeft*" (emphasis in the original). For the lack of finish, see n. 20 above. Houbraken's passage also provides support for the contention that Rembrandt employed similar principles for his practice in different media (see n. 3).

7 Leonardo da Vinci, *Study for the Virgin and Child with a Cat.* London, British Museum (photo: British Museum)

8 Raphael, *Studies for a Madonna and Child.* Vienna, Graphische Sammlung Albertina (photo: Graphische Sammlung Albertina)

in a completed work.[28] There is some indication that preliminary studies revealing alterations were considered signs of weakness: in his 1604 *Schilder-boeck,* van Mander noted Hendrick Goltzius's unwillingness to show off unfinished works, and praised his ability to execute a perfect drawing without intermediary steps.[29] The preference for a perfected work, in any case, is frequently evident in practice. Those gift drawings like Pieterzoon's that give the impression of rapid sketchiness do not in fact flaunt alterations made in the course of the working process.

Italian practice provided the model for Rembrandt's way of exhibiting change. The Italian display of the working process in studies by means of partially rendered, altered, and repeated figures or spatial ambiguities was long known and appreciated in the Netherlands by Rembrandt's lifetime (Figs. 7–9).[30] Rembrandt knew Italian art well, and even owned many Italian works on paper, some of which certainly exhibited the working process.[31] Indeed, some artists in the Southern Netherlands had embraced the practice of showing change in study drawings: Rubens, whom Rembrandt ad-

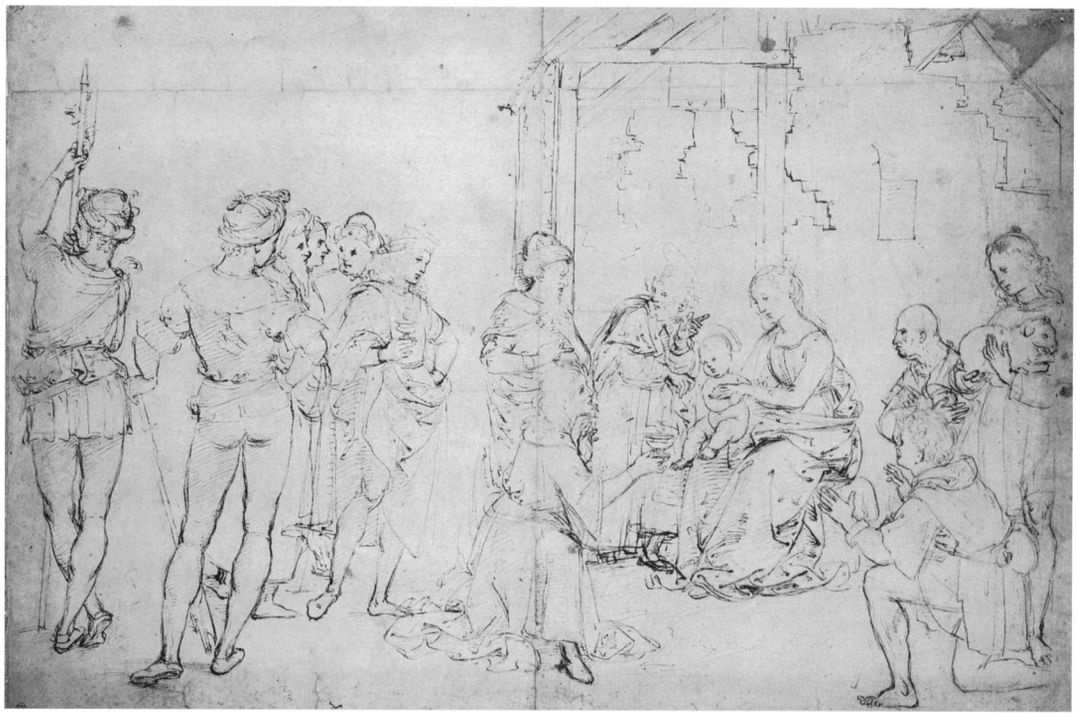
28. There are, of course, some exceptions to this preference, albeit in studies that were not completed works. Goltzius and his student Jacques de Gheyn II had on occasion anticipated Rembrandt in study sheets featuring corrected sketches scattered on the page in a manner reminiscent of Leonardo and Raphael, although their corrections were not as emphatic. For a study sheet by Goltzius, see Reznicek, I, 448–49, no. 424; for de Gheyn, see J. Richard Judson, *The Drawings of Jacob de Gheyn II,* New York, 1973, pls. 55, 65, 71, 80, 81; and A. W. F. M. Meij, ed., *Jacques de Gheyn II Drawings, 1565–1629,* exh. cat., Museum Boymans-van Beuningen, Rotterdam, 1986, nos. 47–49, 52, 55, 62. For de Gheyn's relationship to Rembrandt, see J. Richard Judson, "Rembrandt and Jacob de Gheyn II," in Josua Bruyn et al., eds., *Album amicorum J. G. van Gelder,* The Hague, 1973, 207–10. Although Goltzius's contemporary van Mander agreed that excellent art was based upon the imagination, unlike Vasari (I, 174) he did not propound the notion that drawings should *display* the artist's mental processes. Van Mander evidently regarded preliminary sketches as practical steps leading to a finished product more than as works of value in themselves that indicated the artist's personal furor; for the passages in van Mander's *Grondt,* see above, n. 19. By the time Samuel van Hoogstraeten published his treatise in 1678, however, the rough sketch was valued in itself; Hoogstraeten, *Inleyding tot de hooge schoole der schilderkonst,* Rotterdam, 1678, 27–28.

29. Van Mander, 1604 (Goltzius), fol. 285v. See Hessel Miedema, "Karel van Mander, Het leven van Hendrick Goltzius (1558–1617) met parafrase en commentaar," *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek,* XLII–XLIII, 1991–92, 30–31, 59–60.

30. See, for Fig. 7, A. E. Popham, *The Drawings of Leonardo da Vinci,* London, 1946, no. 9A; and for Figs. 8, 9, Paul Joannides, *The Drawings of Raphael,* Berkeley, 1983, 177, no. 181r, and 46–47, 145, no. 52.

31. The 1656 inventory of Rembrandt's possessions included, along with eight paintings by Italian masters (nos. 34, 54, 67, 81, 83, 109, 114, 117), thirteen albums of prints after or by Mantegna, Raphael, Titian, Michelangelo, Rosso, Bonasone, Tempesta, Vanni, Barocci, Carracci, and Reni (nos. 195, 196, 200, 205–7, 209–12, 214, 216, 230), as well as two albums with "teeckeningen vande principaelste meesters vande heele werelt" and "teeckeninge van diversche voorname meesters" (nos. 199 and 271), which must have included a variety of Italian drawings; Strauss and van der Meulen, eds., 349–79. For the artist's borrowings, see B. P. J. Broos, *Index to the Formal Sources of Rembrandt's Art,* Maarssen, 1977. Prominent Amsterdam collectors of Italian art beginning in the 1630s included the Reynst brothers; Anne-Marie S. Logan, *The "Cabinet" of the Brothers Gerard and Jan Reynst,* Amsterdam, 1979.

32. Such as a sheet in the Cabinet des Estampes, Louvre, Paris, *Studies for the Suicide of Thisbe* of ca. 1602–3; see Julius S. Held, *Rubens: Selected Drawings,*



9 Raphael, *Adoration of the Magi.* Stockholm, Nationalmuseum (photo: Statens Konstmuseer)

mired, had helped to bring about the acceptance of this Italian custom in the decades before Rembrandt became active.[32] Following the Flemish master's example, Rembrandt went a step beyond his Dutch predecessors' embrace of a certain Italian notion—the revelation of the individual hand—by incorporating another Italian practice: the exhibition of the working process.[33]

The fact that Rembrandt showed change in a final product was a further innovation, for Italian and Flemish draftsmen did not habitually exhibit alterations in completed works either. Embedding the traces of a creative act in a final work arguably was a more self-conscious or declamatory act than exhibiting the process in a preparatory study, in the Italian fashion, because, as I suggested above, the finality of the work focused attention on the graphic means employed.

Dutch literature as well as Italian sources known in the Netherlands suggest in part why Rembrandt may have wished to highlight the act of change so emphatically. Junius, as we have seen, had written that the process revealed "the very thoughts of the studious Artificer," and Leonardo had implied further in his writings that such repeated changes in the composition stimulated the imagination.[34] Rembrandt may have known of Leonardo's ideas directly, for a copy of the *Trattato* circulated in Amsterdam during his residence there.[35] Certainly, recipients of Rembrandt's gift sheets were familiar with these Italian concepts: Jan Six, an avid book collector, owned not only van Mander's *Schilder-boeck,* but also at least three editions of Vasari's *Lives* and one of Lomazzo's *Idea del tempio della pittura,* in which Leonardo's ideas were developed.[36] For some members of Rembrandt's generation, above all the recipients of his gift drawings, the experience of seeing forms evolving spontaneously across the page was surely significant. His contemporaries could observe the process of a living transformation in a way that was not possible in any polished, finished drawing, as Leonardo averred, in which a concept appeared to be forever fixed.[37]

rev. ed., Mt. Kisco, N.Y., 1986, 75–76, cat. no. 24, pl. 24. See Horst Gerson, "Rembrandt and the Flemish Baroque: His Dialogue with Rubens," *Delta,* XII, 1969, 7–23; and Chapman, 62–69, for the influence of Rubens on Rembrandt. Rubens's sketchy drawings were usually preliminary studies; see Held (as above), 16–30.

33. Since neither Dutch practice nor theory emphasized this kind of display (see n. 28), Rembrandt's decision to exhibit the working process documents a clear-cut embrace of one aspect of Italian practice. Here it may be useful to place my argument with respect to various recent positions in the field of Dutch art history. Art and theory in the United Provinces assuredly had a different character than in Italy, but the visual and written evidence suggests, in my view, that Northern artists were not cut off from certain attitudes about the making of art that were first articulated in Italy, as Hessel Miedema proposes in his edition of van Mander, 1973. For a view of Dutch visual culture as delimited more sharply by nationalistic concerns, see Svetlana Alpers, *The Art of Describing: Dutch Art in the Seventeenth Century,* Chicago, 1983; and Melion, passim (although Melion posits an awareness of and response to Italian ideas). For evidence of more consonance between North and South than these authors allow, see Jan Białostocki's review of Alpers, *Art Bulletin,* LXVII, 1985, 521–26. Literature treating Rembrandt in particular that implies this viewpoint includes Theodor Hetzer, "Rembrandt und Giotto" (1941), in *Schriften Theodor Hetzers:* V. *Rubens und Rembrandt,* ed. Gertrude Berthold, Stuttgart, 1984, 321–61; Clark; Joseph Gantner, *Rembrandt und die Verwandlung klassischer Formen,* Bern/Munich, 1964; and recently Christian Tümpel, *Rembrandt,* Antwerp, 1986.

34. Martin Kemp, *Leonardo on Painting,* New Haven/London, 1989, 222. On the relevant passage by Leonardo and its implications, see E. H. Gombrich, *Art and Illusion: A Study in the Psychology of Pictorial Representation,* New York, 1960, 188–99; and idem, "Leonardo's Method for Working Out Compositions," in *Norm and Form,* Studies in the Art of the Renaissance I, 4th ed., Oxford, 1985, 58–63. On the development of the concept of the artist's imagination, see Martin Kemp, "From 'Mimesis' to 'Fantasia': The Quattrocento Vocabulary of Creation, Inspiration and Genius in the Visual Arts," *Viator,* VIII, 1977, 347–98.

35. The German artist and biographer Joachim von Sandrart, who resided in Amsterdam from 1637 to at least 1641, owned an abridged version of the *Trattato della pittura* given to him by Poussin. See Clark, 66–67, 213 n. 13; and Kate Trauman Steinitz, *Leonardo da Vinci's "Trattato della pittura,"* Copenhagen, 1958, 91–94.

36. See Six: van Mander, 59 (no. 449); Vasari, 51 (no. 318), 54 (nos. 367, 368), 55 (no. 390); Lomazzo, 56 (no. 409). The editions cited here predate the *Homer.*

37. Kemp, 1989 (as in n. 34), 222; and Gombrich, 1985 (as in n. 34).

Rembrandt thus invented a kind of drawing that gives the paradoxical impression of a completed work still undergoing the process of creation, and provided a means for the viewer to see a narrative wholly afresh. Indeed, such an image appears to be emerging, lifelike, in front of the observer's eyes. Equally important, his adherence to the *album amicorum* tradition suggests that Rembrandt thought of his gift sheets similarly, as an exhibition of his skill and style—even a kind of statement of artistic purpose—to their small yet knowledgeable audience. These sheets demonstrate, more than any other class of his drawings, that he knew, reflected upon, and transformed drawing tradition.

Hallmarks of Masterly Drawing in Art Literature

It can be argued that the radical change in the handling of the pen in Rembrandt's late style was a deliberate choice, for although he rarely rendered figures with the elegant line, the activated contour that creates the sense of continuous motion, or the sculptural plasticity familiar from Italian Renaissance works, his earlier drawings are compatible in some ways with the artistic goals that these techniques achieve. A *Jacob and His Sons* of around 1640 shows the balance between Rembrandt's earlier reliance upon some fundamental conventions of masterly drawing, typified by Raphael's study of the Adoration of the Magi, and his later departure from them (Figs. 9, 10).[38] The *Jacob* is a completed historical drawing executed with a graphic restraint adumbrating that of the late *Homer*. Yet in the *Jacob,* Rembrandt, not unlike Raphael, clustered his figures in spatially distinct groupings to achieve a subtle sense of three-dimensionality, providing detailing and modeling to the central pair so that they stand out in relief against the niche that frames them. There he still employed fine, curving, interconnected lines giving the impression of continuity to render form and to produce graphic motion. If the late style suggests that he was engaged in a deliberate rejection of canonical traditions of draftsmanship, it would be fruitful to examine the meanings inherent in the manner of drawing it displaced.

Meanings of these stylistic hallmarks of accomplished design and drawing are defined particularly in art literature.[39] The fine quality of line was considered an important measure of artistry in drawing since the days of Pliny, who first told the famous story of Apelles and Protogenes competing to draw ever finer lines on a panel. The tale, recounted by Vasari and Junius among others, served to identify admirable qualities of style of contemporary art, and Dutch art literature expanded on the classical and Italian sources.[40] Van Mander wrote that curving contours in drawing were also a vital measurement of artistic skill, a point implicit in the tale. In his Life of Apelles, the author asserted that the contest must not have concerned the fineness of line that each rival produced, but the "skillful contour." For van Mander, "the knowledgeable in art are astonished and delighted when they see a characteristic and skillful contour, cleverly set down with the greatest knowledge, wherein the art of drawing consists in the fullest measure; but they would walk by straight lines without paying attention."[41] This text suggests that van Mander applied ideas derived from earlier Italian theorists specifically to drawing. Leonardo, for example, had advised artists not to give figures too much straightness, and also wrote that the contours of any object should twist like a serpent. Lomazzo likewise had maintained that sharp angles or straight lines should be avoided in the creation of art.[42] Underlying the objection to the straight line is that it hinders movement; conversely, the curving contour expressly permits motion in two and three dimensions.[43]

Fine lines and easy motion in a figure's contours historically were also considered requirements of a desired aesthetic quality, that of grace. Early modern writers, often elaborating upon ancient texts, used the term to define particular stylistic features in works of art.[44] Unfettered ease in execution, or *sprezzatura,* a fundamental quality of grace, was directly connected to the manner of executing a line, the fundamental element of drawing, by Baldassare Castiglione in *The Book of the Courtier.*[45] Artists' biographers associated the fine line with grace in their praise of Apelles, for example, and Vasari termed Raphael Apelles' successor and the most graceful of all artists because his drawings often

38. Benesch, 1973, no. 541; see Bevers, Schatborn, and Welzel, 64–66.

39. I use the term "art literature" throughout this paper for all early modern writings of a biographical or theoretical nature, in the sense used by Julius Schlosser, *Die Kunstliteratur: Ein Handbuch zur Quellenkunde der neueren Kunstgeschichte,* Vienna, 1924.

40. Pliny, *Natural History,* 35.81; trans. H. Rackham, Loeb Classical Library, 10 vols., London/Cambridge, Mass., 1938–63; Vasari, I, 33; and Junius, I, 172–73 (2.11.1), 173 n. 11. For a discussion of this issue, see H. van de Waal, "The 'Linea summae tenuitatis' of Apelles: Pliny's Phrase and Its Interpreters," *Zeitschrift für Ästhetik und allgemeine Kunstwissenschaft,* XII, 1967, 5–32; and E. H. Gombrich, "The Heritage of Apelles," in *The Heritage of Apelles: Studies in the Art of the Renaissance,* Oxford, 1976, 3–18.

41. "Maer de Const-verstandige verwonderen en ontsetten sich/ wanneer sy sien eenen aerdigen en constigen omtreck/ die met een uytnemende verstandt behendich is ghetrocken/ waer in de Teycken-const ten hooghsten bestaet: maer de rechte linien souden sy onghemerckt voorby gaen"; van Mander, 1604, fol. 78r; trans. van de Waal (as in n. 40), 6. Junius, I, 249 (3.3.10), emphasized the importance of fineness of line in contours. For the notion that emphasis upon the contours follows Central Italian theory and practice rather than Venetian, see David Rosand, "The Crisis of the Venetian Renaissance Tradition," *L'Arte,* XI–XII, 1970, 6–9.

42. Leonardo, *Treatise on Painting,* ed. A. Philip McMahon, Princeton, N.J., 1956, 64 (no. 115), 146–47 (no. 385); Gian Paolo Lomazzo, *Trattato dell'arte de la pittura* (1584), in *Scritti sulle arti,* ed. Roberto Paolo Ciardi, II, Florence, 1974, 258. For a discussion of these passages and Italian theoretical concerns with establishing movement in two dimensions by means of lines and contours, see David Summers, "Maniera and Movement: The *Figura Serpentinata,*" *Art Quarterly,* XXXV, 1972, 269–301.

43. Summers (as in n. 42), 292–93, examines this idea in Leonardo's writings. Van Mander wrote about the importance of establishing the impression of movement primarily in *Den grondt,* chap. 4, on composition, e.g., describing motion in the contours of a figure: "Al ist oock dat ons ommetrecken teghen / Malcander wijckende ghenoech uyt springhen / Soo faelter somtijts een roerlijck beweghen / Aen d'Actitude, of t'Beeldt is gheneghen / Tot vallen/ oft t'heeft eenen sonderlinghen / Onwelstandighen aerdt"; van Mander, 1973, I, 112 (4.3); see also ibid., I, 128 (5.4–5); II, 463.

44. For the ancient usage of *gratia, charis,* and *venustas* in relation to art, see, e.g., Quintilian, *Institutes,* 12.10.6; and Pliny, *Natural History,* 35.79; see also Pollitt, 297–301, 380–81, 447–49. These terms were interrelated in antiquity and continued to be connected by early modern writers, e.g., van Mander, 1604 (Apelles), fol. 77r. For the concept of *grazia* in Italian art theory, see Michael Baxandall, *Painting and Experience in Fifteenth-Century Italy* (1972), rev. ed., Oxford, 1988, 128–31; David Summers, "Contrapposto: Style and Meaning in Renaissance Art," *Art Bulletin,* LIX, 1977, 336–61; Summers, 58, 287–88; Charles Dempsey, "The Greek Style and the Prehistory of Neoclassicism," in *Pietro Testa, 1612–1650,* ed. Elizabeth Cropper, exh. cat., Philadelphia Museum of Art, Philadelphia, 1988, xxxvii–lxv; and Patricia Emison, "Grazia," *Renaissance Studies,* V, 1991, 427–60. For the Netherlands, Jeffrey M. Muller, "The Quality of Grace in the Art of Anthony van Dyck," in *Anthony van Dyck,* ed. Arthur K. Wheelock, Jr., et al., exh. cat., National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., 1990, 27–36, links this quality explicitly to van Dyck's drawing style.

10 Rembrandt, *Jacob and His Sons*. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, Rijksprentenkabinet (photo: Rijksmuseum-Stichting)

stressed the undulating motion of a fine, rounded line along the contours of the figure, expressive of the body's plastic movement in space.[46] Grace figures prominently in van Mander's didactic discussions of style in *Den grondt* as well. Like Italian authors, he embraced the importance of movement to express grace when he recommended imbuing the motions of limbs with "gracelijcheyt."[47]

The wider definition of an innate or divinely inspired grace, manifested by the sort of carefree and unaffected manner that cannot be learned, was already present in ancient evaluations of art and became vital to Renaissance notions of style.[48] That artistic grace was likewise considered not just a matter of technique in Dutch culture during Rembrandt's lifetime but was inseparably joined to an aesthetic ideal is demonstrated by Junius, who emphasized the role of grace in artists' creation of beauty, equating art with the beautiful human body, where "gracefull comelinesse" beautifies beauty itself and "grace is the life of beauty."[49]

Ease of linear motion, prominent in Rembrandt's earlier style, can also be interpreted in another way. While it is associated with grace, it can demonstrate, too, artistic virtuosity through bravura handling.[50] Rembrandt's delicate silver-

45. " . . . una linea sola non stentata, un sol colpo di penello tirato facilmente, di modo che paia che la mano, senza esser guidata da studio o arte alcuna, vada per stessa al suo termine secondo la intenzion del pittore"; *Il libro del cortegiano,* ed. Bruno Maier, 2nd ed., Turin, 1964, 129 (1.28). Jan Six owned at least four editions of Castiglione's text that predate the *Homer;* Six, 26 (no. 397), 82 (nos. 462, 463), and 101 (no. 374). For the concept of *sprezzatura* in Rembrandt's painting technique, see Ernst van de Wetering, "Rembrandt's Manner: Technique in the Service of Illusion," in Christopher Brown, Jan Kelch, and Pieter van Thiel, eds., *Rembrandt: The Master and His Workshop:* I. *Paintings,* exh. cat., Altes Museum, Berlin, New Haven/London, 1991, 16–17. Smith, 44–45, discusses the wider concept of *sprezzatura* in Rembrandt's portraits.

46. For a compilation of ancient texts on Apelles, see Junius, II, 32–45. See also Vasari, I, 33, for Apelles; IV, 11–12, for Raphael's Apellian gracefulness; and IV, 9, for Vasari's other descriptions of a graceful as opposed to a crude manner; see further Emison (as in n. 44), passim. Van Mander, 1604, fol. 77r, described Apelles' grace: "dat in al zijn Schilderijen te sien was een seker gracelijckheyt/ die geen Schilders en vermochten nae te volghen"; and "Hy wilde seggen/ dat hun dingen hadde[n] van doen een bysonder uytnemende gratie/ die zijn dingen hadden"; on fol. 117r he also praises Raphael's grace. On this point, see Melion, 33–34.

47. "Lustich behendich sullen oock verschijnen / Alle roeringhen van leden oft letten / Der Nimphen, Goddinnen en Concubijnen / Ghelijck Ariosto beschrijft Alcinen, / Die niet eenen voetstap en ginck versetten / Het en waren al stricken ende netten / Der Liefden/ om in te vanghen Roggieren / Met een gracelijck en aerdigh bestieren"; the marginal gloss reads "Van de gracelijcheyt waer te nemen"; van Mander, 1973, I, 124 (4.34), II, 457. Earlier van Mander described a graceful manner ("een schoon en gracelijcke maniere") established through subtle contrappostal motion in antique statuary; ibid., I, 123 (4.28–29), II, 456. With the marginal gloss "Alles gracelijck uyt te beelden," van Mander also wrote that one of the goals of free sketching was to make the final work of art graceful; ibid., I, 128 (5.8). On the association of grace and motion in Italian art theory, see Summers (as in n. 42).

48. See, e.g., Samuel Holt Monk, "A Grace beyond the Reach of Art," *Journal of the History of Ideas,* V, 1944, 131–50; Eduardo Saccone, "*Grazia, Sprezzatura,* and *Affettazione* in Castiglione's *Book of the Courtier,*" *Glyph,* V, 1979, 34–54; and Emison (as in n. 44). For ancient definitions, see above, n. 44.

49. Junius, I, 284–85 (3.6.1). See also Muller (as in n. 44), esp. 29–30. Emmens's assertion, 54–56, that Junius's text, with its classicistic bias, was not taken seriously in his lifetime does not seem likely. For an alternate view, see Ellenius, 33–54; and for a translation of Rubens's letter of 1637 to Junius upon receipt of a copy of *De Pictura Veterum,* which was published in the Dutch edition of 1641, see Junius, I, 325–30, n. 2. On Renaissance notions of beauty in art, see Erwin Panofsky, *Idea: A Concept in Art Theory,* trans. Joseph J. S. Peake, Columbia, S.C., 1968.

50. The term *sprezzatura* expresses the confluence of ease and artistic virtuosity. See n. 45 above, and Sell (as in n. 4), 110–44.

11 Rembrandt, *Saskia*. Berlin, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Kupferstichkabinett (photo: Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz)

point portrait of his wife, Saskia, executed in commemoration of their betrothal in 1633, demonstrates just this desire to impose a personal stamp upon a completed drawing in a technique that generally displayed a painstaking level of finish (Fig. 11).[51] He employed an overall finely sketched treatment that emphasizes the virtuosic handling of his instrument. Even the hatches that form the soft shadows on Saskia's face are irregular and sketchy, revealing instead of masking the hand of the artist. In the body, which becomes the locus of strokes ever more summary the greater their distance from the face, Rembrandt created a kind of personal graphic handwriting through his flourishes and scribbles that seems to climax in the lines he wrote below. Rembrandt inscribed his sketch like a gift sheet as if to underline the idea that it was a manifesto of his individualistic artistic skill.

Thus, some of the essential characteristics of Rembrandt's independent drawings derive from established traditions of draftsmanship: the appearance of unfinished sketchiness, the frank revelation of the working process, and the hallmarks of finality such as signature, date, and dedication. The paradoxical principle of exhibiting completeness and incompleteness in a single work also had its origins in the tradition of gift sheets. In Rembrandt's earlier work, the manner of handling his pen and the effects he achieved with it were compatible in many ways with artistic conventions of grace and beauty. The ease of linear motion characterizing the early drawings further suggests his linkage to traditions showcasing personal virtuosity.

Rembrandt's Departure from Established Traditions of Drawing

In his late works such as the *Homer,* however, Rembrandt's persistent use of thick, angular, deliberately halting and rough lines that limit the appearance of motion and three-dimensionality clearly charts a different direction from that of most Italian and Netherlandish drawings in the two preceding centuries, as well as of his own early works.[52] They are, in a word, graceless. The emphatic later use of these broad, coarse, discontinuous lines in a class of drawing that often flaunted artistic personality through bravura linear

51. Benesch, 1973, no. 427; see Bevers, Schatborn, and Welzel, 29–31. Although Florentine Renaissance artists such as Filippino Lippi and Raphael often drew preparatory sketches freely in silverpoint, their contemporaries in the Netherlands generally displayed a high level of finish with the technique; see Francis Ames-Lewis, *Drawing in Early Renaissance Italy,* New Haven/London, 1981, 35–44; and idem, *The Draftsman Raphael,* New Haven/London, 1986, 13–20. I would like to thank Philip Dann for conveying his thoughts to me on this point. Netherlandish Mannerist artists bridged the gap, leading the way for infusing a pictorially complete drawing with sketchy incompleteness in this medium as well. See, e.g., Goltzius's portrait of a thirteen-year-old boy executed ca. 1584, now in the Teylers Museum, Haarlem; Reznicek, I, 52–54, 413 (no. 377). This personalizing, sketchy handling is also typical of Rembrandt's early etched and painted self-portraits. See Chapman, 10, who connects this handling to the deliberate representation of the artist's individuality; and Eddy de Jongh, "The Spur of Wit: Rembrandt's Response to an Italian Challenge," *Delta,* XII, 1969, 49–67.

52. It is important to emphasize the commonplace that generally curving lines creating a sense of motion and three-dimensionality—whether fine or thick, whether defining contours or not—are typical of otherwise vastly differing styles of draftsmanship in Central Italy, the Veneto, and the Netherlands before Rembrandt. For the distinctions between Venetian and Central Italian drawing styles, see Rosand (as in n. 41). Sell (as in n. 4), 122–23, connects Rembrandt's avoidance of distinct contours with the Venetian tradition.

53. Benesch, 1973, no. 914; see Bevers, Schatborn, and Welzel, 109–13; and Egbert Haverkamp-Begemann, "Rembrandt's So-Called Portrait of Anna Wijmer as Minerva," in *Studies in Western Art,* Acts of the Twentieth International Congress of the History of Art, Princeton, N.J., 1963, III, 59–65. The leaf between the *Homer* and *Minerva* is blank, presumably to keep the first drawing from absorbing the ink of the second.

54. Benesch, 1973, no. 1161 (comparable in date to the *Minerva*), Ashmolean Museum, Oxford; see Bevers, Schatborn, and Welzel, 116. For an earlier rendition of the *Minerva* in an *album amicorum,* see ibid., 110, 112 n. 11, fig. 31c.

55. For the conceptual pairing of these works, see Smith, 57. I am grateful to Irving Lavin for suggesting the contrast between the sheets. Ideas about the active and contemplative life in an earlier period in the Netherlands are explored by Jan Emmens, " 'Eins aber ist nötig': Zu Inhalt und Bedeutung von Markt-und Küchenstücken des 16. Jahrhunderts," Josua Bruyn et al., eds. (as in n. 28), 93–101. Rembrandt's choice of subjects for the album was surely influenced by his patron's interests, for Six was clearly fascinated by Homer. He owned at least nine editions of Homer's works that predate the drawing, more than those of any other classical author; see Six, 13 (no. 196); 72 (no. 246); 76 (no. 325); 78 (no. 369); 81 (nos. 445, 447); 94 (no. 170); 95 (no. 175); 99 (no. 318). On Rembrandt's other treatments of Homer, see Julius S. Held, "Rembrandt's *Aristotle,*" in *Rembrandt Studies,* Princeton, N.J., 1991, esp. 21–25, nn. 21, 32; for the opposition to Homer's poetry by classicizing literary theorists and its appreciation by other Dutch writers

display suggests that Rembrandt wished to sever the tie with the graphic conventions of individualistic virtuosity as well as with grace.

Further evidence that Rembrandt's *Homer* may have been intended to demonstrate an alternative to conventional style is its relationship to another drawing by him in the Six album. At first glance, *Minerva in Her Study,* the contemporaneously executed gift sheet that appears two leaves after the *Homer,* displays very different qualities (Fig. 12).[53] The luminous setting that Rembrandt created for the goddess, seated at her desk before a bright window, suggests greater depth by a composition that subtly alternates gradated shadows with intervals of light. The forms are not defined by angularity or rigidity: the swaths of material, one cascading over the bust, and another falling from the table, appear rounded and full, and individual details are finely rendered with a fluid rather than broken or angular pen stroke. Additionally, the *Minerva* gives a greater impression of completion owing to its washed, relatively uncorrected surface. Yet like the *Homer,* the *Minerva in Her Study* does not put virtuosic penmanship on display through flourishes, a polished finish, or exceptionally fine linearity. Rather, it follows a different tradition: it most closely resembles Rembrandt's nature and genre studies, as in *Studio with a Model,* which emphasize illuminated space and the materiality of forms through subtle modeling and delicate modulations of light and shadow with wash (Fig. 13).[54] They, too, do not make corrections exceptionally visible, and they give the impression of a completed or set piece. Consequently, we might regard this technique as intentionally evoking natural appearances, without being precisely imitative. It is obvious that by using two different styles for two sheets with the same function around the same time, Rembrandt demonstrated his hyper-self-consciousness as an artist. Further, he created two modal alternatives to an idealizing style for ancient subjects.

Also suggestive of Rembrandt's deliberate opposition to classicizing norms in these pendants is his interpretation of the subjects. Perhaps they were intended to contrast the active and the contemplative life, a pairing that would have had particular meaning for Jan Six, a man of the world and a scholar. Rembrandt represents the ancient poet as if he were a sage who has gone forth among the people to teach his wisdom; the artist depicts Minerva, having laid aside the attributes of war—lance, shield, and helmet—acquiring knowledge by sitting alone in her study immersed in her book.[55] The two manners that Rembrandt juxtaposed in rendering these activities, though, each in its own way turns the classical tradition subtly on its head.[56] Through the *Minerva*'s remarkable resemblance to Rembrandt's domestic interiors, the drawing has a similarly appealing, homey familiarity, a quotidian quality that, given the ancient subject, is pointedly unclassicizing. Homer addresses not the divine or elite members of a canonical hierarchy such as assemble in Raphael's composition, but what appear to be anonymous, ordinary folk. This gently ironic inversion of Raphael's grandiose subject parallels the stylistic contrast with the Italian's elegant *grazia* through the rough and simple handling of Rembrandt's pen.[57]

The pairing of these two *album amicorum* sheets suggests first that Rembrandt, in his late period at least, chose different modes to express different ideas, and second, that one of those modes contrasts sharply with the contemporary conventions of rendering grace and, consequently, beauty. This is not to say that the *Homer* is or was not pleasing—one can hardly deny its visual power—but that important elements of its style indicate that beauty, as it was generally defined in art literature, was not its foremost goal. Indeed, a fundamental rationale for Rembrandt's choice of this style appears to be precisely that it offered a meaningful alternative to idealized forms and subjects. Certain texts provide a rich vocabulary for understanding the qualities of style featured in the *Homer* and offer a key to its interpretation.

Rhetoric and Art: The Ancient Plain Style

A critical apparatus for understanding different styles in Rembrandt's oeuvre and the style of the *Homer* in particular—one that I propose was employed by the artist and his patrons—can be constructed from a variety of rhetorical discourses that had long been firmly embedded in the culture of the Netherlands and Italy.[58] One might assume

during Rembrandt's lifetime, see ibid., 32–35, n. 68. The contrast with Raphael would also have had significance for Six, for he possessed a book, presumably of prints, representing Raphael's Old Testament histories in the Vatican; Six, 31 (no. 31).

56. Clark, 1–40, introduces the idea of Rembrandt as an anticlassical artist in his early work, suggesting Rembrandt's inversion of classical ideals in works such as the *Ganymede* and *Rape of Proserpine,* in a way that I try to develop here. In contradistinction to Clark, however, I wish to emphasize Rembrandt's continuing subversion of the idealizing precepts underlying ancient art and its Renaissance interpreters in his late works even as he made use of classical models.

57. I owe the notion of irony in the inversion to Irving Lavin. Literature on the ironic inversion of classical subjects and styles includes Rosalie L. Colie, *Paradoxia Epidemica: The Renaissance Tradition of Paradox,* Princeton, N.J., 1966; Irving Lavin, "Divine Inspiration in Caravaggio's First *Saint Matthew,*" *Art Bulletin,* LVI, 1974, 59–81; and in Netherlandish art, David A. Levine, "The Roman Limekilns of the Bamboccianti," *Art Bulletin,* LXX, 1988, 569–89; and Reindert L. Falkenburg, " 'Alter Einoutus': Over de aard en herkomst van Pieter Aertsens stilleven-conceptie," *Nederlands Kunsthhistorisch Jaarboek,* XL, 1989, 40–66. Such an inversion of classicizing precepts would have been particularly pointed if Six was a passionate classicist, as Jan de Bisschop characterized him in his 1671 *Paradigmata,* a collection of engravings after drawings which was dedicated to Six. According to the author, Six told him that art must depict beauty, and de Bisschop goes on to assert that beauty was the most important part of drawing ("teekeningh"); for this passage, trans. David Freedberg, see van Gelder and Jost (as in n. 9), 227–30; and Emmens, 57. Notwithstanding de Bisschop's assertion, Jan Six must have appreciated the irony, at least as a younger man when the drawing was made. A sign of his knowledge of literary classical inversions was that he owned an edition of the works of Francesco Berni, a paradoxical encomiast; Six, 85 (no. 530).

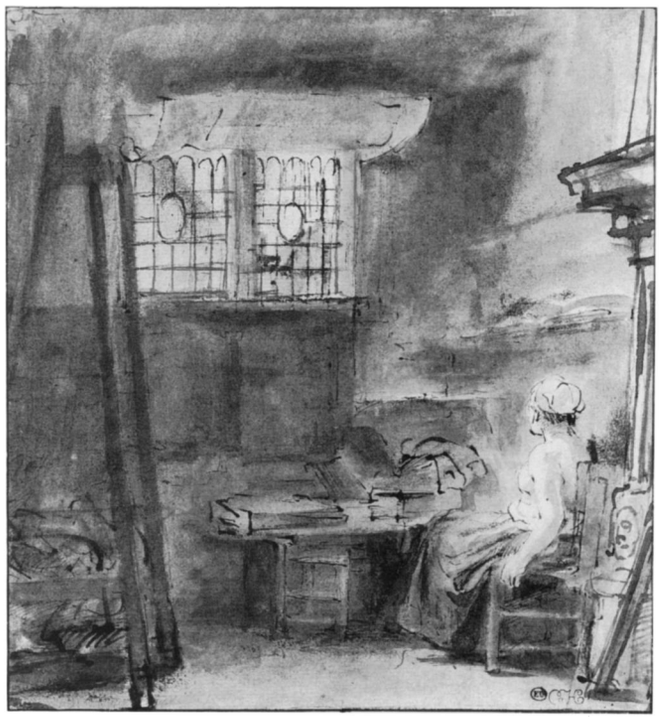
58. Literature on the general relationship of rhetoric and poetics to art includes Rensselaer W. Lee, *"Ut pictura poesis": The Humanistic Theory of Painting* (1940), repr. New York, 1967; John R. Spencer, *"Ut rhetorica pictura:* A Study in Quattrocento Theory of Painting," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes,* XX, 1957, 26–44; Ellenius; Michael Baxandall, *Giotto andthe Orators,* Oxford, 1971; Summers, 1977 (as in n. 44); Summers; Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann, "The Eloquent Artist: Towards an Understanding of the Stylistics of Painting at the Court of Rudolf II," *Leids Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek,* I, 1982, 119–48; idem (as in n. 16), 20–25; and idem, *The School of Prague: Painting at the Court of Rudolf II,* Chicago/London, 1988, 91–96. Emmens, although fundamental for relating rhetorical principles to Rembrandt's work, unfortunately undercut his thesis by asserting (106–8, 195) that "the association between figurative art and rhetoric was, in this early period [of van Mander and Junius], more the plaything of connoisseurs than a working tool of artists." See n. 82 below for critical literature examining disjunctions between verbal and visual imagery.

12 Rembrandt, *Minerva in Her Study,* from the Six *album amicorum.* Amsterdam, Six Collection (photo: Collectie Six)

that if rhetorical distinctions commonly made by educated men illuminated the art of Rembrandt in his time, contemporary art literature would reflect this perception. But as I hope to show, rhetorical concepts that help to define qualities in Rembrandt's late style rarely emerge in art literature because of its own conventions and prejudices. In short, art literature did not fully circumscribe contemporaries' understanding of art, and our understanding of Rembrandt's and his patrons' critical faculties need not be limited by its peculiar trajectory.

The notion of different modes (also called styles, manners, and genres) that were equally valid forms of expression in rhetoric and, by extension, art was already a commonplace in antiquity. Although arguments in writing on rhetoric throughout history make clear that there was no fixed, rigid definition of any mode or style, and that the appreciation of each fluctuated according to author and circumstance, it is a fact that each mode, defined and articulated from classical times through the seventeenth century, had theoretically equal status. In his well-known article on the appreciation of primitivism, E. H. Gombrich noted that Cicero used art as an example of the relativity of value in rhetorical style: "In the case of painting, some like pictures rough, rude and somber, others on the contrary prefer them bright, cheerful and brilliantly colored. How can you draw up a rule or formula, when each is supreme in its own class, and there are many classes?"[59] Authors from antiquity on recognized that a variety of factors determined the existence of different styles in rhetoric as in art: historical period, the personal inclinations of different individuals, and *genera,* or genres. Genres codified different styles, employed for different purposes, that transcended time and personal idiosyncrasy. Quintilian's *Institutes,* in which the author followed Cicero's division of rhetoric into three manners—grand, medium, and plain—and likewise declared "all of them correct," was a famous statement of the *genera dicendi* that would have been understood by every boy in Latin school, including Rembrandt and the friends for whom he made *alba amicorum* drawings.[60]

Within these ancient rhetorical discussions of a plain style, often locating its characteristics in archaic art (sometimes called Attic), reside terms expressing an appreciation for the very qualities of style that Rembrandt employed in the *Homer:* flatness, lack of motion, and simplicity. Cicero wrote that some of his contemporaries preferred rough, unpolished, and unornamented archaic painting—which he compared to the plain style of Cato's oratory—to polished,



13 Rembrandt, *Studio with a Model.* Oxford, Ashmolean Museum (photo: Ashmolean Museum)

sophisticated works.[61] To be sure, not everyone in antiquity liked the plain style, but even pejorative descriptions reveal its defining characteristics. For example, Quintilian described the stiffness and frontality of archaic statuary as diminishing the quality of grace, and opposed these characteristics to the curving, animated motion of Myron's *Discobolos.*[62] Rhetorical terms describe, through the language of form, visual qualities of a graceless, archaic, plain style that Rembrandt created for the *Homer.*

As has often been demonstrated, Renaissance art literature was heavily indebted to the theory and vocabulary of rhetoric, a tradition continued in Dutch writings on art, and by the seventeenth century a limited appreciation of different modes of representation can be discerned even in art literature. The influence of classical rhetorical discourse as well as the cult of the genius in art had led to the valuing of markedly different individual hands, culminating in Lomaz-

59. Cicero, *Orator,* 11.36, trans. H. M. Hubbell, Loeb Classical Library, rev. ed., Cambridge, Mass./London, 1971. See Gombrich, 31. As is well known, the concept of different manners was articulated in poetic theory from its origin and related to painting; see Aristotle, *Poetics,* 1.1.

60. Cicero, *Orator,* 20.69; Quintilian, *Institutes,* 12.10.58–65, trans. H. E. Butler, Loeb Classical Library, 4 vols., London/New York, 1921–22. For bibliography on the importance of Quintilian in this period, see Ellenius, 61, n. 6. Shuger, passim, points out that dichotomizing the three styles too greatly is an unhistorical oversimplification. Definitions of these styles already fluctuated in antiquity (e.g., Quintilian, *Institutes,* 12.10.20–26), and Renaissance and 17th-century rhetoricians employed a variety of overlapping terms. Nevertheless, Renaissance rhetoricians elaborated upon the classical dicta as they were broadly conceived: e.g., Erasmus, citing Quintilian, discussed what he called brief and abundant styles in his rhetorical text intended for schoolboys, *De Duplici Copia Verborum,* first published in 1512. On Renaissance rhetoric, see Marc Fumaroli, *L'Age de l'éloquence: Rhétorique et "res literaria" de la Renaissance au seuil de l'époque classique,* Geneva, 1980. For the Latin school curricula in the Netherlands, see P. N. M. Bot, *Humanisme en onderwijs in Nederland,* Utrecht/Antwerp, 1955; and Ernst Jan Kuiper, *De Hollandse "Schoolordre" van 1625: Een studie over het onderwijs op de Latijnse scholen in Nederland in de 17de en 18de eeuw,* Groningen, 1958. For Jan Six's collection of rhetorical texts, including Cicero and Quintilian, see below, n. 83. On modes and the *genera dicendi* in early modern art, see Jan Bialostocki, "Das Modus-Problem in den bildenden Künsten," in *Stil und Ikonographie,* rev. ed. Dresden, 1981, 12–42; Kaufmann (as in n. 16), 22–25; idem, 1982 (as in n. 58); and idem, 1988 (as in n. 58).

61. Cicero, *Brutus,* 17.67–68; and *Orator,* 22.75–26.90. See also Gombrich, 32. Some of the other classical sources are gathered and discussed by Pollitt, 154–58. Benesch, 1960, 20–21, perceptively observed that Rembrandt's style in the late drawings was "old-fashioned and, in a way, out of date," and found an "archaic, historical" quality, "inclining to mediaeval mysteriousness and loftiness."

62. Quintilian, *Institutes,* 2.13.9–10; see Summers (as in n. 42), 277.

zo's assertion that diverse manners in art could be equally excellent.[63] Van Mander also distinguished between *manieren* or *handelinghen*—all of them laudable—found in different individuals or time periods.[64] He further implied the possibility of stylistic variations in the same artist's work by describing the choice of a paint handling that was either rough or smooth, for example, and by discriminating between painting "nae t'leven" (after life) or "uyt den gheest" (from the mind or spirit), though he did not elaborate upon what exact hallmarks of style characterized the differences.[65] Even the classicizing Arnold Houbraken, when commenting upon Pels's criticism of Rembrandt in his life of the artist in *De groote schouburgh,* tried to temper the attack by maintaining that there were various ideas and different manners present in art.[66] Rhetoric was a dominant means of art discourse at Rudolf II's court in Prague around 1600, as Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann has demonstrated, noting that rhetoricians such as Melanchthon applied the *genera dicendi* to the work of sixteenth-century German artists, and that the artist Joseph Heintz himself applied the generic divisions to art he was evaluating.[67] These concepts must have been familiar in the Netherlands, for artists habitually traveled from one region to the other.[68]

In art literature, however, the discussion of different manners was limited for the most part to chronicling artistic differences between individuals and historical periods rather than *genera.*[69] What is missing from these appreciations of varied manners in art is an acknowledgment of a style that does not, for the final state of a composition, emphasize grace or beauty, the absence of which is at least implicit in the premise of the plain style. By and large, writers on art, by ignoring the stylistic divisions of the *genera dicendi,* aimed rather at defining a unified orthodoxy of intention that sublimated generic differences in favor of an overarching standard of ideal beauty. Despite personal variations, this most resembled the medium or grand styles. Francisco de Hollanda's transcription of Michelangelo's thought typically limits the appreciation of difference to a perfected, shared norm based upon the imitation of ideal nature:

> great masters paint men and women and animals almost miraculously each in his own manner and fashion [*maneira e modo*], very differently from one another, *although they observe the same measures and principles;* yet all of these different manners may be good and deserving of praise in different ways . . . each of them strove to imitate Nature and to attain perfection in the way that he found congenial to him and most in accordance with his idea and intention [my emphasis].[70]

Although there was a greater readiness in Northern Europe to accept the representation of unimproved nature than in Italy, writers on art likewise maintained that one had to seek the beauty that made nature perfect and orderly.[71]

To be sure, a few prominent exceptions exist. As is well known, a tradition of representing low *subjects* in art that dated from antiquity was considered praiseworthy by some. The justification for this aberration from the path of beauty was admiration for the ability to imitate natural appearances perfectly, whatever they might be. The example of Peiraikos, ancient painter of base subjects, lent classical authority to the appreciation of such Netherlandish artists as Breughel and the Bamboccianti who specialized in low subjects.[72] It is not surprising that another Northern artist, Dürer, found an artist's depiction of these subjects potentially even more admirable than beautiful ones: he wrote in his treatise on human proportions that rendering a crude, rustic figure shows an artist's power and artistry, and it is even more evident in modest things than in others' rendition of an exalted subject.[73] A related view is represented by Baldinucci, who in a lecture at the Accademia della Crusca in 1690 held that the object of painting was "to imitate equally both the beautiful and the ugly, provided that the resulting work held the attention of the viewer."[74] Baldinucci's philosophy is significant because instead of emphasizing the notion of

63. "Il che non d'altronde nasce, che dalla diversità delle maniere e delle disposizioni, le quali, conoscendo ciascuno in se stesso et a quelle accomodando l'instituzione, fanno sí che in una istessa arte si vedono uomini eccellentissimi tutti, ma fra sé però dissomiglianti e quali in una, quale in altra parte eccellente. . . . I quali nelle loro maniere sono tutti dissimili fra sé, ma tali che in quella parte, cui da natura sono stati inclinati et a cui hanno drizzato l'arte et industria loro, non è chi possa maggior eccellenza disiderare"; Gian Paolo Lomazzo, *Idea del tempio della pittura,* in *Scritti sulle arti,* ed. Roberto Paolo Ciardi, I, Florence, 1973, 252–53. Jan Six, who read Italian, owned Lomazzo's text; Six, 56 (no. 409). For a further discussion of this concept, see Kemp (as in n. 24), passim; and Summers, 477 n. 30.

64. Van Mander, 1973, I, 175 (6.53), remarked upon differences in manner that an old work of art displays: "Dat het by desen tijdt al veel verschille / Want het misschien oudt is de Jaren hondert / T'verw-werck en de handelingh uytghesondert." According to van Mander, 1604, fol. 284r, Goltzius imitated the "verscheyden handelingen der beste Meesters." See Miedema (as in n. 29), 50; and Melion, 44–50, 55, 59. Although Melion stresses the implicit presence of the concept of artisanship in van Mander's use of the term *handelingh,* van Mander often treats it as relatively interchangeable with *manier;* see van Mander, 1973, II, 435.

65. Van Mander, 1973, I, 259 (12.22–23), distinguishes between the smooth and rough manners in Titian's work; see also below, n. 117. Hessel Miedema, in van Mander, 1973, II, 303–4, 435–39, discusses "nae t'leven" and "uyt den gheest." Melion, 63–66, 235 n. 40, 243 nn. 10, 11, amplifying upon Alpers, 1983 (as in n. 33), 40–41, translates "uyt den gheest" as "from the memory of things seen," thus linking it to the process of imitation rather than invention. I think the visual evidence in Netherlandish drawings suggests that the concept of invention need not be excluded from Dutch theory or practice.

66. "Ik prys deze vryborstigheit in Pels, en verzoek dat de lezer myn openhartig oordeel ook zal ten besten duiden, als niet geschiet uit haat tegen des mans werk, maar om de verschelige begrypen, en onderscheiden behandelingen der konst met elkander te vergelyken"; Houbraken (as in n. 27), 268. Jan Six owned a copy of Pels's *Gebruik en misbruik des tooneels;* see Six, 58 (no. 433).

67. Kaufmann, 1988 (as in n. 58), 93.

68. Ibid., 30–40.

69. Ibid., 94, also draws the stimulating conclusion that van Mander's "uyt den gheest" corresponds to the highest, most ornamented style, and "nae t'leven" to the lower genres. Since van Mander never explicitly made this connection, it is unlikely to have extended to Dutch art in general during this period, especially since the hierarchical systems of stylistics favored at the court of Prague were not followed in the Netherlands. One exception is Gerard de Lairesse's placement of Rembrandt in the middle genre in his *Groot schilderboek* (1707), Haarlem, 1740, repr., n.p., 1969, 185; discussed by Emmens, 82–83. De Lairesse's use of the *genera dicendi* divides artists according to subject and social class rather than style, however.

70. Francisco de Hollanda, *Da pintura antigua,* ed. Joaquim de Vasconcellos, Oporto, 1918, 243–44; trans. Summers, 67. Panofsky, 1968 (as in n. 49), treats the issue of the idealization of nature in art literature.

71. Van Mander asserted that beauty could indeed be found in nature, but nature was sometimes lacking: "Dits oogenschijnich wel aen veel manieren / Der Natuerlijcke dinghen t'onderscheyden / Dat schoonheyt vermindert wordt met oncieren / Naer datter omstandicheden faelgieren"; van Mander,

innate, absolute standards that typifies much classical theory, it makes room for the beholder's subjective response and therefore, conceivably, offers a way of rejecting the universal canons of beauty that van Mander and Hollanda embraced.

Other critics suggested that the capacity to circumvent conventions of beautiful style in art was regarded as an expression of an artist's genius. A famous story that Vasari related about Michelangelo deals implicitly with the issue of an ungraceful style in drawing. In a competition to see who could best draw an awkward figure without *disegno,* Michelangelo exactly reproduced a graffito that he had once seen on a wall.[75] Vasari thus indicated that artists valued a simple, rough, even crude style and recognized the surpassing difficulty of its rendition. These are important fragments of what was surely a wider appreciation of differences in artistic culture than is revealed in art literature.

Two other sources heavily indebted to rhetorical discourse steer away from the prejudice in art literature toward normative beauty in style, however, and thereby offer rich verbal analogues precisely for Rembrandt's late works. Pliny, whose *Natural History* was published in several commentated editions in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (at least two were owned by Jan Six), superseded the rhetorical example by characterizing a plain artistic style without evident opprobrium. He wrote of the artist Euthycrates that, although imitating the harmonious composition of his father, Lysippus, the son nevertheless "preferred to find favor through an austere style rather than a pleasing one."[76] This passage is fundamental for the concept explored here, since Pliny describes outright the intentional employment of a plain style in art, and opposes it to an aesthetically pleasing manner. And Junius, following Ciceronian rhetorical models in his text on ancient art, continually returned to a qualified appreciation of the plain style found in archaic works and applied it directly to art of his own time:

> And although some of the ancient Masters that came neerer the first times have followed a commendable kind of plain and sure worke, yet have the following added unto this plainnesse of theirs diverse ornaments that did sticke out in their workes . . . ; so doe many Artificers now adayes drowne the pure brightnesse of their Pictures with too much braverie: if then wee must needs follow either of both, it is fit that we should preferre the drinesse of the Ancients before that same new licence our times have made choice of.[77]

Still, however much Junius's treatise, in tandem with antiquarian investigations, led contemporaries to see something positive in what was frankly ungraceful, it is certain that evoking principles of an archaic plain style was not antiquarianism per se but a means to another end.[78] Junius posited meaningful content for art executed in the plain style and in so doing hinted at certain ideas intrinsic to it that might have appealed to Rembrandt and his contemporaries. In one passage he implied that this art is closer to fundamental principles of art than more sophisticated styles:

> because the Ancients in a prodigious plainnesse of art did not so much study to have their works commended for the choice exquisitnesse of costly colours, as for *the power and force of art* it selfe, these emulators also could not but be mindfull of that same simplicitie of art [my emphasis].[79]

At another point in the text he noted in older ancient works a lack of affectation in light and shadows and a general simplicity that, according to Porphyrius, made them "more sutable to the majesty of the gods," or, one might suggest, more appropriate to a divine subject.[80]

Junius's linkage of this style to divine subjects has some resonance in art literature. One exceptional kind of old-fashioned art was described favorably there with terms familiar from the author's text: the icon. Francisco de Hollanda, relating how he copied the sacred image of Christ in the Lateran in Rome, characterized the holy image as displaying "severe artlessness" and "grave rigor."[81] Hollan-

1973, I, 112 (4.2). Van Mander does imply that there are grades of beauty when he writes that the ancient artist Apollodorus particularly emphasized beauty; ibid., I, 44 (Voor-reden).

72. David A. Levine and Ekkehard Mai, eds., *I Bamboccianti: Niederländische Malerrebellen im Rom des Barock,* exh. cat., Wallraf-Richartz-Museum, Cologne, Milan, 1991. See also Falkenburg (as in n. 57).

73. "Aber darbei ist zu melden, dass ein verständiger geübter Künstner in grober bäurischer Gestalt sein grossen Gwalt und Kunst mehr erzeigen kann etwan in geringen Dingen dann Mancher in seinem grossen Werk"; Albrecht Dürer, *Von menschlicher Proportion,* bk. III, in K. Lange and F. Fuhse, *Dürers schriftlicher Nachlass* (Halle, 1893), repr., Wiesbaden, 1970, 221.

74. ". . . l'ultimo fine della Pittura, la quale ha per oggetto l'imitare egualmente il bello e 'l brutto, purchè ella l'occhio de' riguardanti faccia restare ingannato"; Filippo Baldinucci, *Lezione . . . nell'Accademia della Crusca,* in *Opere,* III, Milan, 1809, 284. This idea had its origin in Aristotle's theory of poetic imitation: "for we enjoy looking at accurate likenesses of things which are themselves painful to see, obscene beasts, for instance, and corpses"; *Poetics,* 3.4, trans. W. Hamilton Fyfe, Loeb Classical Library, rev. ed., Cambridge, Mass./London, 1973. Renaissance poetic theory had more directly addressed the question of pleasing ugliness in art than had art literature; see Summers (as in n. 42), 277, n. 29.

75. Vasari, VII, 278. Lavin, passim, has demonstrated that a crude style that exhibited an artist's virtuosity was a fundamental element in caricature. For other deliberate uses of a crude or primitive style in Western art, see William Tronzo, *The Via Latina Catacomb: Imitation and Discontinuity in Fourth-Century Painting,* University Park, Pa./London, 1986, 41–45.

76. ". . . sed ante omnes Euthycraten, quamquam is constantiam potius imitatus patris quam elegantiam austero maluit genere quam iucundo placere"; Pliny, *Natural History,* 34.66; trans. Pollitt, 321–25. For Six's editions of Pliny, see n. 20 above.

77. Junius, I, 34 (1.3.4). Gombrich, 38, closes his study with a consideration of Junius. Emmens, 46, emphasizes Junius's elevation of the archaic, plain style, but goes too far in making him its champion.

78. There are certain important distinctions between Rembrandt's and other artists' implementations of a plain or archaic style. Poussin famously plumbed archaeological sources for certain religious subjects, and likewise rendered them in a way that recalls the archaic style. Charles Dempsey, "The Classical Perception of Nature in Poussin's Earlier Works," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes,* XXIX, 1966, 220, and Emmens, 46–50, point out that Junius's treatise, which Poussin read, was important for the appreciation of Poussin's archaism in France. But Poussin typically summoned up qualities of beauty such as sculptural (albeit relieflike) three-dimensionality and a flowing handling of line that evoked classicizing ideals such as grace that were embedded in ancient rhetorical discourse and artistic theory. Rembrandt, by limiting his drawings to a skeleton of rough, broken lines, virtually eliminated such artificial enticements. This assumption of a radical simplicity and roughness in classical subjects such as the *Homer* separates Rembrandt fundamentally from classicists who employed an antique style to aggrandize and idealize their subjects.

79. Junius, I, 79 (2, Argument).

80. Ibid., 308 (3.7.11).

81. Hollanda's terms are "severa simpleza" and "grave rigor"; Hollanda (as in n. 70), 237. *Simpleza* could also be understood as "naïveté." My thanks to James Maraniss for his translation.

14 Rembrandt, *A Deccani Nobleman Standing*. London, British Museum (photo: British Museum)

da's words suggest that the icon's plain style was prized as a sign of its antiquity and divinity.

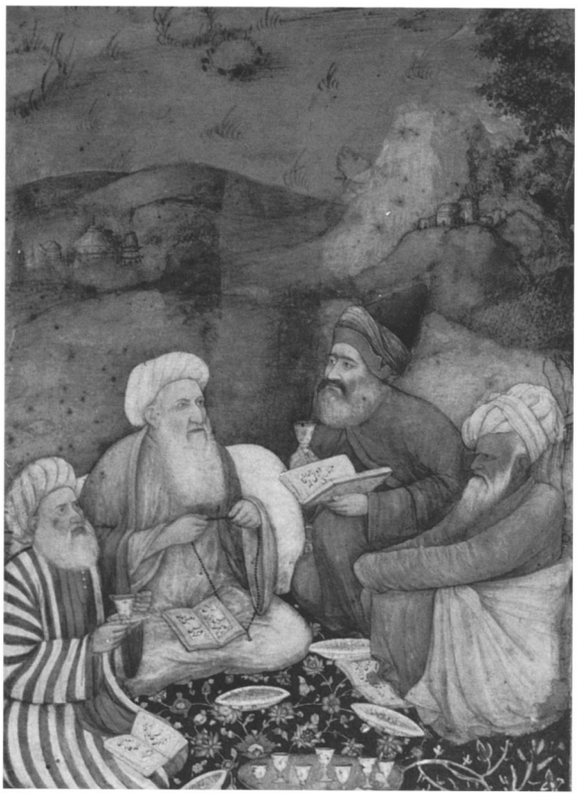
It is worth pausing to ponder what role rhetorical concepts played in the understanding and creation of the *Homer*. Traditionally, the appearance of art was often explained by analogies with rhetoric and poetics, even though, as scholars have recently discussed at length, there is an inevitable disjunction between verbal and visual forms of expression.[82] Still, from antiquity, these rhetorical terms were employed precisely to describe formal qualities in art, in addition to language. And certainly readers such as Jan Six who were familiar with rhetorical distinctions might well have understood Rembrandt's *Homer* in the light of a plain style. By his death Six owned at least four editions of Cicero's complete works and three editions of Quintilian's text, of which he had annotated two, that predate the *Homer*.[83] To what degree Rembrandt himself intended to develop a style that evoked archaic forms and meaning can never be determined definitively. But my hypothesis is that these stylistic terms, historically applied to art, were so much a part of contemporary patterns of thought that they could not but have existed in the artist's mind.[84] I would suggest further that Rembrandt, like other artists, associated the terms and their underlying meaning with certain kinds of art that expressed the visual qualities of an archaic plain style.[85] Finally, I conjecture that artists emulated those visual qualities that they found in art knowing full well the attendant associations, but that precise connections cannot be found in art literature because they were rarely made there.

A brief excursus into another group of Rembrandt's drawings executed primarily in the 1650s may also shed some light upon why Rembrandt employed stylistic qualities evocative of a plain, archaic style and how its meaning could correspond with the ideas that interested Junius. Although his copies after Mughal (Indian or Persian) miniatures had a different function from Rembrandt's autonomous late drawings, they share some crucial formal qualities with this group. It is often remarked that Rembrandt was most interested in the exotic details of costume, but "added realism" to his copies in the expressions and modeling of the figures.[86] Undeniably, Rembrandt was fascinated by foreign cultures, and certainly he often enlivened the copies with seemingly spontaneous handling, more naturalistic perspective, and greater spaciousness of setting. But, despite these alterations, it is striking how carefully Rembrandt sought to preserve and even enhance precisely what appears to Western eyes as the figural flatness, lack of contrappostal movement, angularity, and rigidity of the originals. For example, when we compare the drawing of a standing Deccani nobleman (Fig. 14) with an earlier sheet by Hendrik Averkamp that chronicles local attire (Fig. 15), it is immediately apparent that the artists had opposing goals.[87] Averkamp rendered the costumes in great detail; Rembrandt did not concern himself with exacting particulars. Most unusual is that, whereas Averkamp modeled the figures three-dimensionally in contrast to the relatively unarticulated setting, Rembrandt created the effect of a deep space for the figure with dark, modulated wash, but depicted the nobleman in a comparatively flat way. Even though the subject is presented in three-quarter view, his unshaded body appears as if it were rigidly in profile, the right arm at a stiff angle.

Other copies after miniatures display the same qualities. A comparison of *Four Men Seated under a Tree* with the Mughal composition believed to be Rembrandt's source of inspiration (Figs. 16, 17) shows that Rembrandt not only reduced the plethora of patterning and detail that would have been appropriate to a costume study, but also made the stripes on the robe of the man on the left rectilinear, so that the body

15 Hendrik Averkamp, *Three Figures in a Landscape*. Haarlem, Teylers Museum (photo: Teylers Museum)

16 Rembrandt, *Four Men Seated under a Tree.* London, British Museum (photo: British Museum)



17 *Four Seated Men,* Mughal miniature, detail. Vienna, Schloss Schönbrunn (photo: Schloss Schönbrunn)

appears more angular and rigid than that of its curvaceous model.[88]

Why did Rembrandt have such a fascination for these miniatures, leading him to copy some twenty-odd of them? Contemporary literature and visual evidence indicate that Rembrandt could have intended to re-create archaic iconography that was peculiarly appropriate to the representation of ancient and even biblical subjects. Leonard Slatkes found significant that in 1642 the painter Philips Angel lauded Rembrandt's *Samson's Wedding Feast* for depicting the guests reclining at the table as the ancients did "in the manner which is still in use in the lands of the Turks."[89] Angel's comment highlights two important ideas that might also underlie Rembrandt's work: first, the belief that ancient customs were still in evidence in some distant cultures, and second, the notion that those venerable customs were appropriate for inclusion in a biblical scene. Since Rembrandt incorporated an unusual headdress derived from miniatures in his painting, he may have regarded the contemporary Mughal illuminations as precious evidence about biblical antiquity that had survived to the present time, as Slatkes hypothesizes.[90]

Mughal miniatures may also have been a source of knowledge about ancient style. This notion is suggested by another text that was published in Holland, a discussion of the contest between Apelles and Protogenes. As part of his

82. See Michael Baxandall, "The Language of Art History," in *New Literary History,* x, 1979, 453–65; and its abridged version with others on the subject, including David Summers, "Conditions and Conventions: On the Disanalogy of Art and Language," in Salim Kemal and Ivan Gaskell, eds., *The Language of Art History,* Cambridge, 1991.

83. See Six: Cicero, 17–18 (nos. 256, 257, 258), 92 (no. 90); Quintilian, 21 (no. 312, annnotated), 48 (no. 273, annotated), 68 (no. 186). Six also owned two editions of the works of the early Greek rhetorician Isocrates; Six, 76 (nos. 332, 333 [annotated]). All of these editions predate the *Homer.*

84. A rationale for this approach is given by Baxandall (as in n. 6), 74–76.

85. For terminology commonly used in art literature to describe some of the formal qualities of an archaic plain style, see n. 118 below.

86. Royalton-Kisch, 142.

87. Benesch, 1973, no. 1200; see Royalton-Kisch, 147; and for the Averkamp, Teylers Museum, Haarlem, see Peter Schatborn, *Dutch Figure Drawings from the Seventeenth Century,* The Hague, 1981, 44–45, 129, no. 3. Rembrandt's own works that dwell more on dress, such as the *Woman in Dutch National Costume* (Benesch, 1973, no. 315), Teylers Museum, Haarlem, like the Averkamp also emphasize figural three-dimensionality through shading and rounding of the forms and finish. Tellingly employing terminology derived from classical rhetorical discourse, Benesch, 1960, 29, comments upon the "austere simplicity" of Rembrandt's copies of the miniatures, and remarks that their appeal lay in their "archaic grace."

88. Benesch, 1973, no. 1187; see Royalton-Kisch, 141–44.

89. Philips Angel, *Lof der schilder-konst,* Leiden, 1642, 47–48; discussed by Leonard J. Slatkes, *Rembrandt and Persia,* New York, 1983, 13–58.

90. Slatkes (as in n. 89), 17. On the assimilation of classical and biblical antiquity to Dutch culture and politics, see H. van de Waal, *Drie eeuwen vaderlandsche geschied-uitbeelding, 1500–1800: Een iconologische studie,* The Hague, 1952, I, 94–120; and Simon Schama, *The Embarrassment of Riches: An Interpretation of Dutch Culture in the Golden Age,* New York, 1987, 51–125.

18 Rembrandt, *Abraham Entertaining the Angels.* Cambridge, Mass., Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University Art Museums, Gift of William Gray from the collection of Francis Calley Gray (photo: Harvard University Art Museums)

argument, a late sixteenth-century French writer, Louis de Montjosieu (or Demontiosius), cited Indian manuscripts as an example of ancient monochrome painting.[91] Rembrandt did not hesitate to apply what this writer evidently considered an ancient style, handed down from another venerable culture, to religious works. His well-known use of the drawing *Four Men Seated under a Tree* as a model for his 1656 etching *Abraham Entertaining the Angels* (Bartsch 29; Fig. 18) demonstrates this relationship.[92] The Old Testament figures retain much of the same angularity, planarity, and lack of motion, yet also the praiseworthy "simplicity" and "divine majesty" that Junius described as a feature of archaic art. One might conclude that the archaic plain style had in it a kind of authentic religiosity.

The Plain Style in Christian Discourses

Other discourses that express admiration for a plain and unadorned style illuminate further the ideas that Junius outlines. Since they do not limit their discussion of the plain style to archaic art, these texts amplify our understanding of Rembrandt's late, plain style when it was not employed for ancient subjects, and expand upon some of the broader principles underlying the style.

An important trend in early modern literature promoted characteristics of a plain style actively, often in opposition to Ciceronianism. Owing to their geographical and, at times, cultural distance from the seat of antiquity, the Netherlands were a prime location for a recurrent questioning of classicistic values. Even writers who consciously revived classical sources altered their meaning: in his rhetorical text *De Duplici Copia Verborum,* for example, Erasmus described a plain or spare style in a fashion free of the negative overtones attending much of Cicero's and Quintilian's writings on the archaic or Attic style. His satirical dialogue *Ciceronianus* was also a major shot in the salvo against the slavish imitation of Ciceronian eloquence.[93] Later writers, especially the Neo-Stoics at the end of the sixteenth century, dismissed a beautiful Ciceronian style altogether.[94] Justus Lipsius propounded an alternative "Senecan" style that was consciously simple, unornamented, and brief. In a letter explaining his new style, Lipsius followed ancient tradition by comparing his rhetorical language to painting:

> For this is a different kind of writing from my earlier style, without showiness, without luxuriance, without the Tullian [Ciceronian] concinnities; condensed everywhere, and I know not whether of too studied a brevity. . . . They celebrate Timanthes the painter because there was always something more to be understood in his works than was actually painted. I should like this in my style.[95]

This elevation of the plain style was doubtless influenced by a parallel trend in sacred rhetoric, poetics, and homiletic theory—both Catholic and Protestant—that was based upon a rhetorical revolution brought about by Augustine. Augustine, following the classical divisions of rhetoric, categorized

91. "Commentarius" on Alberti's *De pictura,* in Vitruvius, *De architectura libri decem,* a collection of art treatises edited by Johannes de Laet and published in Amsterdam in 1649, 58–59. See van de Waal (as in n. 40), 15–16. It was a commonplace in art literature to consider monochrome painting exemplary of the oldest ancient art: e.g., Junius, I, 242–43 (3.3.5).

92. See Royalton-Kisch, 141–44, who gives the recent literature.

93. See Izora Scott, *Controversies over the Imitation of Cicero in the Renaissance* (New York, 1910), repr., Davis, Calif., 1991.

94. See Morris W. Croll, *Style, Rhetoric, and Rhythm: Essays,* ed. J. Max Patrick et al., Princeton, N.J., 1966, 1–233.

95. Justus Lipsius, *Epistolarum Selectarum Centuria,* I, *Miscellanea,* in *Opera Omnia,* Antwerp, 1637, II, 16 (1.13); trans. Croll (as in n. 94), 172. I am grateful to Mark Morford, R. J. Fehrenbach, and Steven Orso for their assistance in locating the original passage. For Lipsius's influence in 17th-century Netherlandish artistic thought, see now Mark Morford, *Stoics and Neostoics: Rubens and the Circle of Lipsius,* Princeton, N.J., 1991. Jan Six owned at least one copy of Erasmus's complete works; Six, 2 (no. 31); Justus Lipsius's complete works including his edition of Seneca, and an edition of Lipsius's letters; Six, 20 (no. 300), 75 (no. 309), 92 (no. 91); and an Italian edition of Seneca; Six, 55 (no. 397). All of these editions predate the *Homer.*

96. Cicero, *Orator,* 21.71–72.

97. Augustine, *De doctrina christiana,* 4.17.34–19.38, Corpus christianorum, series latina XXXII, ed. Joseph Martin, Brepols, 1962, 141–44. Erich Auerbach, "Sermo humilis," in *Literary Language and Its Public in Late Latin Antiquity and in the Middle Ages,* trans. Ralph Manheim, New York, 1965, 27–66, develops this idea in patristic thought.

98. Auerbach (as in n. 97), 35–39.

99. Ibid., 39–66. Qualities in early Christian art have been shown to parallel this exegetic elevation of the humble; Hans Sedlmayr, " 'Ars humilis' in der Spätantike," in Hugo Rahner and Emmanuel von Severus, eds., *Perennitas: . . . P. Thomas Michels OSB zum 70. Geburtstag,* Münster, 1963, 105–17. Lavin (as in n. 57) links the *sermo humilis* to Caravaggio's painting. See also idem, "Caravaggio's *Calling of Saint Matthew:* The Identity of the Protagonist," in *Past-Present: Essays on Historicism in Art from Donatello to Picasso,* Berkeley, 1993, 85. See also below, n. 102.

100. Shuger, 30–54.

101. Erasmus, *Ecclesiastes sive Concionator Evangelicus,* in *Opera Omnia,* V (Leiden, 1704), repr., London, 1962, 1011D–1012A; see Shuger, 62–64.

Christian discourse on three levels—sublime, intermediate, and lowly—but changed the idea behind the *genera dicendi* in a fundamental way. Ancient authors had employed each style according to the clearly defined hierarchical importance of the subject, so that the lowest, or plain style, was limited to commonplace argumentation, and the highest, or sublime style, served the most elevated. Cicero made clear that a low style should under no circumstances be used for a lofty subject.[96] Augustine maintained, however, that all Christian subjects, no matter how small or mundane, were sublime, and thus were capable of being treated with the highest seriousness, the most intense emotion, and the greatest eloquence.[97] The level of treatment depended upon whether the author wished to teach (with the low style), condemn or praise (with the intermediate style), or persuade (with the sublime style).[98] Even this distinction could be circumvented, for once Augustine had linked the lowest style both with the notion of the humility embodied by Christ and with the often base style of the sacred Scriptures, it had the potential for a paradoxical kind of grandness even in its simplicity.[99] Subsequent writers easily concluded that the *stilus humilis* could be used to teach, condemn or praise, and persuade with emotion as the holy Scriptures did.

The Christian ideal of a plain, low, or humble style that is as eloquent as the grand manner had great repercussions for homiletic theory well beyond the Reformation. Augustine's belief that the highest mysteries of Christian faith could be phrased in a lowly style comprehensible to all people marked the beginnings of the so-called passionate plain style in sermons. Indeed, medieval writers on preaching dispensed with honing the tools of rhetoric, favoring a sincere, emotion-based artlessness instead.[100] Even when Erasmus revived the idea of employing classically based rhetoric for explicating sacred thought in his widely influential 1535 text *Ecclesiastes*, he followed Augustine in insisting that the great mysteries in the Bible itself were at times expressed in a humble style.[101] Contemporary Protestant sermons maintained the medieval aesthetic of a rough or plain scriptural style uncontaminated by artfulness, one that Calvin described as "rude, coarse, and unpolished."[102] The passionate plain style of sermon that rejected artifice continued to be admired in seventeenth-century Holland as well. Rembrandt's former patron Constantijn Huygens, in praising the preaching in Holland of Johannes van Wtenbogaerd and in England of John Donne, described the purpose of their styles varying between simplicity and passionate sublimity:

> The delivery of these men . . . was either humble or passionate, but in each case it was natural; they played no role in the pulpit which they must have put off at home . . . they struck to the soul and drew the soul to them with a secret power of attraction. They charmed the very nature of the men before them and, which is of the greatest importance, they therefore scorned artificial enticements to improve their style; the farther away from artificiality they stood, the greater the efficacy of their power.[103]

The rejection of artifice that Huygens described as the essential component of both humble and sublime deliveries is a hallmark of the plain style in literature and art, and of the manner that Rembrandt employed for his *Homer*.

The Role of the Plain Style in the Debate about Artifice versus Authenticity

Huygens's comment raises an important philosophical issue of the early modern period. What could it mean to "scorn artifice" in the making of art, visual or verbal, which was by definition artificial? The answer to the question provides insight into why Rembrandt might have found the plain style preferable to a graceful one.

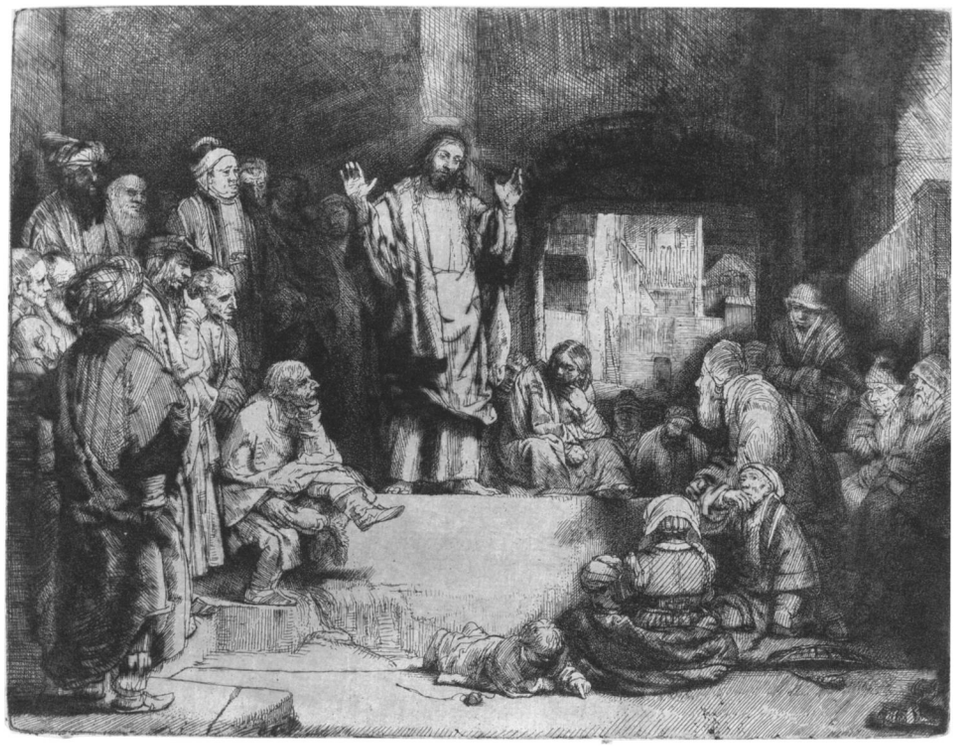
This dilemma has its roots in the search for how to express prime matter or first truths through language. Some ancient philosophers took issue with the practice of rhetoric, for they maintained that to find truth one must investigate the essence of things, and rhetoric obscured the fundamental truth by weaving a veil of words over it. In his account of a dialogue between Socrates and Gorgias, Plato records his venerable teacher excoriating rhetoricians for knowing nothing, yet attempting to sound as if they possessed wisdom: "[the rhetor] doesn't know the things themselves, what is good or bad, what is fine or shameful or just or unjust, but has devised persuasion about them so that though he doesn't know, among those who don't know he appears to know, rather than the man who knows."[104] The argument that words polished by rhetoric (*verba*) prevented the discovery of content (*res*) is a thread running through the Middle Ages.[105]

102. Calvin, declaring as if Paul were speaking that the apostle's lack of eloquence was intentional, wrote that he gloried in his rude style: "ego autem praedicationem meam rudi et crasso minimeque polito dicendi genere constitisse, non tantum confiteor, sed etiam glorior"; in John Calvin, *Commentarius in Epistolam Pauli ad Corinthios I*, in *Opera Quae Supersunt Omnia*, XLIX, Brunswick, 1892, 320 (1.17); trans. John Pringle, *Commentary on the Epistles of Paul the Apostle to the Corinthians* (Edinburgh, 1848), repr., Grand Rapids, Mich., 1984, 74. Robert W. Baldwin, " 'On earth we are beggars, as Christ himself was': The Protestant Background of Rembrandt's Imagery of Poverty, Disability, and Begging," *Konsthistorisk tidskrift*, LIV, 1985, 122–35, connected Rembrandt's style in general with this type of Christian rhetoric. On the trend in homiletic theory and biblical poetics of this period that favors an uncontrived or plain style, see Barbara Kiefer Lewalski, *Protestant Poetics and the Seventeenth-Century Religious Lyric*, Princeton, N.J., 1979, esp. 213–50. See also David R. Smith, "Towards a Protestant Aesthetics: Rembrandt's 1655 *Sacrifice of Isaac*," *Art History*, VIII, 1985, 290–302; and Donald B. Kuspit, "Melanchthon and Dürer: The Search for the Simple Style," *Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies*, III, 1973, 177–202, who connects Dürer's art with the plain style for similar ends.

103. Trans. and quoted by Rosalie L. Colie, "*Some Thankfulnesse to Constantine*": *A Study of English Influence upon the Early Works of Constantijn Huygens*, The Hague, 1956, 53–54, n. 7. Huygens, who heard Donne preach in England, also translated nineteen of Donne's poems into Dutch beginning in 1630, three years before the first edition of the poet's works appeared; ibid., 52–53.

104. Plato, *Gorgias*, 459d; also 455a, 527c; trans. Terence Irwin, Clarendon Plato Series, Oxford, 1979, 27. For an overview of the historical relationship of philosophy and rhetoric, see Paul Oskar Kristeller, "Philosophy and Rhetoric from Antiquity to the Renaissance," in *Renaissance Thought and Its Sources*, ed. Michael Mooney, New York, 1979, 211–59. See also Ernesto Grassi, *Rhetoric as Philosophy: The Humanist Tradition*, University Park, Pa., 1980; idem, *Renaissance Humanism: Studies in Philosophy and Poetics*, Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies LI, Binghamton, N.Y., 1988, esp. 5–17; and Shuger, esp. 139–53. For the application of this concept to art, see Summers, 42–55.

105. See Ernst Robert Curtius, *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages*, trans. Willard R. Trask, London, 1953, 203–13; and James J. Murphy, *Rhetoric in the Middle Ages: A History of Rhetorical Theory from Saint Augustine to the Renaissance*, Berkeley, 1974, 46–63.



19 Rembrandt, *Christ Preaching.* Cambridge, Mass., Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University Art Museums, Gift of William Gray from the collection of Francis Calley Gray (photo: Harvard University Art Museums)

The humanist exposition of the conflict between philosophy and rhetoric, documented in the famous exchange of letters between Giovanni Pico della Mirandola and Ermolao Barbaro in 1485, reveals the underpinnings of the early modern search for authenticity in style.[106] Barbaro took Pico to task for his exhaustive studies of the scholastic philosophers Thomas Aquinas, Duns Scotus, Albertus Magnus, and Averroës, whom Barbaro called "Teutons" and "dull, rude, uncultured, barbarians."[107] Pico replied in a polished defense of his heroes that these barbarians "had the god of eloquence not on the tongue but in the heart," and that they were admirable precisely because their wisdom was not joined to lying rhetoric.[108] Pico asserted exactly the objections of ancient and medieval philosophers to artifice: that it could not conceivably describe wisdom, which lay under surface appearances. Nevertheless, Pico outlined the way in which one might recognize a style that expressed wisdom in terms familiar from ancient discussions of the plain style in rhetoric: "We do not want our style delightful, adorned, and graceful; we want it useful, grave, something to be respected; we would have it attain majesty through rudeness rather than charm through delicateness."[109] Most significantly, to make his argument against empty rhetoric, he used the example of the Scriptures as a humble, unadorned text just as Augustine did: "One reads the sacred stories, written rustically rather than elegantly, for precisely the reason that in every subject concerned with true knowing nothing is more unseemly and detrimental than all that elaborated sort of discourse."[110] He went on, like medieval preachers, to argue further that compelling, authentic emotion capable of transforming the whole man governs the language of Scripture, not rhetoric.[111] By using his discussion of scriptural style to shore up his point in the philosophical debate between *res* and *verba,* he implied that scriptural style, like philosophy, brings forth prime matter essentially without any artifice.

The exchange of letters was published and became so famous throughout Europe that the German scholar Philip Melanchthon presumed to write a reply to the long-dead Pico in 1558.[112] Pico's writings must have influenced the elevation of the plain style that Lipsius favored, one that has been called "Senecan" or "philosophical." Of significance for humanists in the Netherlands is that the debate identified a

106. Here I use the term authenticity to stand for the historical, but now outdated, concept of sincerity: clean, pure, without dissimulation or pretense, and true to the subject or author's self; see Lionel Trilling, *Sincerity and Authenticity,* Cambridge, Mass., 1971, esp. 12–13. I would like to thank Larry Silver for this reference.

107. For Barbaro's letter, dated Apr. 5, 1485, see Ermolao Barbaro, *Epistolae, Orationes, et Carmina,* ed. Vittore Branca, Florence, 1943, I, 84–87, no. LXVIII; trans. Quirinus Breen, "Giovanni Pico della Mirandola on the Conflict of Philosophy and Rhetoric," *Journal of the History of Ideas,* XIII, 1952, 392–94. For Pico's letter, dated June 3, 1485, see Eugenio Garin, ed., *Prosatori latini del Quattrocento,* Milan/Naples, 1952, 805–23; trans. Breen, 394–412. Jan Six owned an edition of Pico's works that predated the *Homer;* Six, 3 (no. 46).

108. See Breen (as in n. 107), 393.

109. ". . . immo quomodo quaerimus, ut scilicet sine pompa et flore ullo orationis, quam nolumus ut delectabilis, venusta et faceta sit, sed ut utilis gravis et reverenda, ut maiestatem potius ex horrore, quam gratiam ex mollitudine consequatur"; ed. Garin (as in n. 107), 810–12; trans. Breen (as in n. 107), 397.

110. "Est ob hanc causam legere res sacras rustice potius quam eleganter scriptas, quod nihil sit magis dedecens et noxium in omni materia, in qua de vero cognoscendo agitur, quam universum istud dicendi genus elaboratum"; ed. Garin (as in n. 107), 808; trans. Breen (as in n. 107), 396.

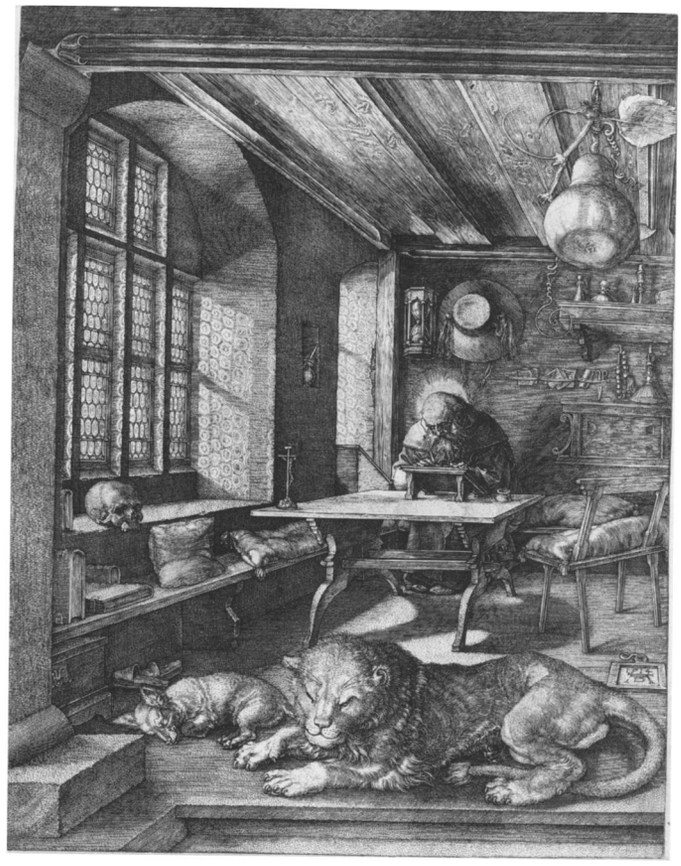
111. "Dic, quaeso, quid movet fortius et persuadet quam sacrarum lectio litterarum? Non movent, non persuadent, sed cogunt, agitant, vim inferunt legis rudia verba et agrestia, sed viva, sed animata, flammea, aculeata ad imum spiritum penetrantia, hominem totum potestate mirabili transformantia"; ed. Garin (as in n. 107), 816; trans. Breen (as in n. 107), 399.

Northern intellectual culture that had the potential for greater philosophical and spiritual authenticity than the classical one. What may have struck some Northern Europeans (other than Melanchthon) as especially relevant to their emerging self-image was Pico's placement of "Teutonic barbarians" in the position of the ancient philosophers who revered authentic *res* rather than superficial *verba,* as well as his equation of the revelation of truth with the rough, even artless eloquence of scriptural style exactly as contemporary Reformed preachers did.[113]

What I think affected Rembrandt in particular is that Junius's plain, archaic style, Lipsius's "Senecan" style, Augustine's humble style, and Pico's scriptural and philosophical styles—concepts reaching the artist by a variety of direct and indirect means—describe a simple, rough, majestic, and authentically sacred manner that artists had employed in the distant past. In effect, Rembrandt invented a manner of drawing that embodied these concepts for his own time.

Rembrandt's treatment of the pendants in Six's album, *Homer* and *Minerva,* in fact visibly emphasizes their relationship to the Christian heritage of lowness or humility. Homer, depicted in a majestically columnar stance in the middle of his ordinary followers as if preaching, looks less like Raphael's poet, eloquently gesticulating and turning in contrapostal motion, than like a biblical prophet or Christ in Rembrandt's contemporaneous print *Christ Preaching* (Bartsch 67; Fig. 19).[114] The style Rembrandt used suggests through graphic means the ancient, authentic, yet humble voice of the blind poet before the people. Minerva, seen against the window of her study from a distant standpoint that recalls Dürer's print of Jerome at his desk (Bartsch 60; Fig. 20), is like him simultaneously dematerialized and spiritualized by the surrounding light. Yet she is also rendered in the modest, quotidian manner of a study from life, a style that is in harmony in concept, if not in precise detail, with the creaky domestic setting that Dürer created for Jerome. Through different but related means, Rembrandt's images both sound the familiar Northern theme of spiritual inspiration that is accompanied by an admirable lowliness.[115]

This approach has implications for the vast body of Rembrandt's late religious subjects that are executed in a similar style, as well, since the quest for an essential truth that was revealed through artlessness is especially keen in the literature on preaching. The latter source suggests that the emotional impact of Hagar's fervent appeal to God in a late independent drawing (Fig. 21),[116] as well as Simeon's quiet ecstasy in Rembrandt's last *album amicorum* sheet (Fig. 3), is



20 Albrecht Dürer, *Saint Jerome in His Study.* Cambridge, Mass., Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University Art Museums, Gift of William Gray from the collection of Francis Calley Gray (photo: Harvard University Art Museums)

conveyed most vividly by a spare, angular, rough style, for these qualities were believed to arouse a compelling spiritual response in the beholder. Above all, Rembrandt's choice of an ancient, "unbeautiful" style for the moment in which Hagar, humbled on her knees before God in the barren wilderness, and Simeon, humbled by age, each have the profound experience of divine revelation, seems the consummate way to represent the Christian paradox of extreme spirituality revealed through the medium of extreme humility.

It is worth speculating whether the search for another kind of fundamental authenticity was one reason for why Rembrandt executed many of his drawings in this style late in life. The radical simplicity and exceptional roughness or crude-

112. Trans. Quirinus Breen, "Melancthon's Reply to G. Pico della Mirandola," *Journal of the History of Ideas,* XIII, 1952, 413–26. Six owned Melanchthon's complete works; see Six, 3 (no. 45). The edition predates the *Homer.*

113. Pico's elevation of the barbarian Northerners calls to mind Rembrandt's rough treatment of the Batavians in his painting *Claudius Civilis* for the Amsterdam Town Hall, and suggests that this appreciation precisely of the artless sincerity of their untutored ancestors became a point of political pride for some constituents of the United Provinces. On the tradition of Dutch forefathers treated as primitive peoples, see van de Waal (as in n. 90), I, 80–94. For a recent analysis of the humanist discussion of the ancient Batavians and its political import in the early 17th-century Netherlands, see Schama (as in n. 90), 75–81. I would like to thank Larry Silver for suggesting the significance of Pico's characterization for Rembrandt's painting.

114. It has long been observed that Rembrandt's treatment of classical subjects and the *Homer* in particular is informed by Christian values; e.g., Herbert von Einem, "Rembrandt und Homer," *Wallraf-Richartz-Jahrbuch,* XIV, 1952, 182–205. For the tradition of Homer as sage and teacher, see Curtius (as in n. 105), 203–13. I am indebted to Larry Silver for suggesting the relationship to *Christ Preaching.* For the expression of Christian thought through classical means in literature of the Netherlands, see James J. Parente, Jr., *Religious Drama and the Humanist Tradition: Christian Theater in Germany and in the Netherlands, 1500–1680,* Studies in the History of Christian Thought, Leiden, 1987.

115. See Lavin (as in n. 57); David A. Levine, "Pieter van Laer's *Artist's Tavern:* An Ironic Commentary on Art," in *Holländische Genremalerei im 17. Jahrhundert: Symposium Berlin 1984,* ed. Henning Bock and Thomas W. Gaehtgens, Berlin, 1987, 169–91; and Baldwin (as in n. 102).

116. Benesch, 1973, no. 904; see Bevers, Schatborn, and Welzel, 114–15. For an analysis of the group of drawings to which the *Hagar* belongs, see above, n. 26.

21 Rembrandt, *The Angel Appearing to Hagar and Ishmael.* Hamburg, Kunsthalle (photo: Hamburger Kunsthalle)

ness of the drawing in the *Homer* and other completed historical drawings is a visual equivalent of the ideals of both humility in preaching and authenticity in philosophy. In effect, Rembrandt's late style resolves the rhetorical and religious dilemma of how to tell the truth without the appearance of artistic subterfuge.

Artlessness and the Imitation of Nature in Art Literature

In conclusion, I return to writings on art anew to examine definitions of the quality of artlessness, for the issues concerning authenticity versus artifice have a covert presence there that have continued to shape the evaluation of Rembrandt's artistic contribution. As we have seen, one of the major features of Rembrandt's late manner of drawing that might be regarded as the equivalent of the artlessness of a plain style in rhetoric is the remarkable roughness that Rembrandt achieves with the use of the reed pen. Lines in the *Homer* neither taper nor flow: they stop abruptly and habitually break into threads or irregular, successive dots as the thick nib drags over the texture of the paper. Indeed, one wonders if the artist did not employ the reed pen precisely for the purpose of achieving such a palpable roughness. Ways of thinking about a rough manner familiar to seventeenth-century artists and patrons accord with concerns about the

117. The quality of roughness in Rembrandt's late paintings has often been equated with his imitation of the late Titian, and, owing to the difficulty of successfully mimicking Titian's rough ("rouw") manner described by van Mander, 1973, I, 259 (12.23), it has been regarded as a display of the artist's virtuosity. See Amy Golahny, "Rembrandt's Paintings and the Venetian Tradition," Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 1984; Ernst van de Wetering (as in n. 45), 16–22; and Chapman, 75. Alpers, 14–33, expresses another view. Titian's later drawing style was doubtless an important source for Rembrandt, notably the porous, thick chalk lines suggesting mass, light, and space, and their occasional emphatic, rough handling rather than the strict delimitation of a form through the smooth outlining of contours typical of Central Italian drawing (see above, n. 41). Still, in his habitual employment of flowing, rounded strokes for all genres of drawing, Titian never departed from Italian ideals of grace and virtuosity in the way that Rembrandt did.

118. E.g., in a letter of 1452 comparing the simultaneous development of oratory and painting, Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini wrote, "Painting was an almost wholly unpolished art for two hundred years. The writings of that time are [equally] rude, inept, unelegant"; trans. Spencer (as in n. 58), 27. Erasmus wrote in June 1489: "When you look back beyond an interval of two or three hundred years . . . at monuments of every kind of workmanship, you will, I think, both marvel and laugh at the extreme crudity of the artists"; trans. Erwin Panofsky, "Erasmus and the Visual Arts," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes,* XXXII, 1969, 200. See also Lavin, 25. Vasari, employing terms such as "rozzo," "goffo," "ruvido," and "scabroso," associated roughness with primitiveness and decline in the Prefaces to the *Lives,* e.g. I, 221–22, 224, 232; II, 99, 101; IV, 9–10. In the last passage, Vasari explicitly opposed the crudeness and roughness of an earlier style to the gracefulness of a later one. These terms originated in ancient discourse about older or archaic art.

119. Białostocki, passim. Writings on architecture, which interested Jan Six greatly, contain numerous examples of art in which artists deliberately tried to achieve the appearance of rough nature through exceptional artifice, such as man-made grottoes; see Leon Battista Alberti, *On the Art of Building in Ten Books,* trans. Joseph Rykwert et al., Cambridge, Mass./London, 1988, 299 (9.4); and Naomi Miller, *Heavenly Gates: Reflections on the Garden Grotto,* New York, 1982, 35–58. The rustic order in architecture was another example of an attempt to mimic rough nature; see Gabriele Morolli, " 'A quegli idei selvestri': Interpretazione naturalistica, primato e dissoluzione dell'ordine

nature of art and truth that I suggested above are a fundamental factor in Rembrandt's development of the style.[117]

The terms denoting artlessness, including qualities of roughness and crudeness, most often were employed in literature on art to denigrate unsophisticated, old-fashioned, or primitive art.[118] In a backhanded way, even this usage supports the kinship of Rembrandt's late drawings with an archaic or Christian plain style. But certain kinds of art were admired for a roughness that signified their closeness to originating, elemental nature: that is, art that imitated nature not in its most finished and perfected form (*natura naturata*), but in its original, inchoate, and creative form (*natura naturans*).[119]

It was through the medium of drawing in particular that an artist could probe the elemental forces of nature most deeply. Art literature frequently repeated variations upon the stories of the origins of art first told by Pliny and Quintilian, that of a mortal tracing lines around a figure's shadow.[120] Samuel van Hoogstraeten gives two such examples, one in which a shepherd traces likenesses of his sheep around their shadows in the sand, and another in which a woman outlines her lover's shadow on the wall. Hoogstraeten then describes these beginnings as rough ("ruw" and "ongelekt").[121] These tales of art's origins, although characterized pejoratively, still teach that drawing was the medium that enabled humanity to take the first step in the separation of art from pure nature; thereby they imply that drawing emerges directly from nature's powerful forces. Two features of Rembrandt's *Homer*—the exclusive use of lines rather than modeling, and linear roughness or crudeness—may thus have been regarded not only as evidence of art's antiquity, but also of its closeness to the primeval and most creative form of nature.[122]

Seeing Rembrandt's late drawing style as "natural" in the sense of plumbing the originating depths of nature corresponds in at least one way with the legacy that his biographers transmitted. Rembrandt had long been criticized for following nature slavishly: Andries Pels cited the master's bold depiction of a coarse woman with garter marks on her legs as an example of this notion.[123] Most often contemporary critics, employing a classicistic bias applied earlier to artists such as Caravaggio, regarded this unselective imitation of nature as a rejection of beauty, and in most Italian and Italianizing art literature, the impulse to follow unimproved nature at the expense of beauty was roundly condemned.[124] Although Rembrandt's late drawings such as the *Homer* do not re-create exact details of appearance (*natura naturata*), in one important sense—one that contemporaries knew through art literature—they do imitate the fundamental form of nature (*natura naturans*) in which the classicizing concept of beauty was profoundly irrelevant.

Rembrandt and his learned contemporaries must also have been familiar with the idea that roughness or artlessness provided evidence of the artist's ability to tap into the divine source of creativity that resided in nature. The well-known history of associating the imitation of the creative processes of nature with knowledge of and imitation of God hardly bears repeating.[125] Nature was considered by some to be a source of truth parallel to heavenly revelation. Pico della Mirandola, in his defense of a rough, inelegant style that reveals wisdom, found the origins of philosophical truth equally in nature and heaven. Those listening to wisdom conveyed in this style would not applaud, but sit in "the silence which comes rather from astonishment on the part of the few who are looking very deeply into something; either something dug from the inner depths of nature, or something brought to men from the throne of Jove."[126] In a similar vein, as Hessel Miedema has shown, one idea of nature stimulated by religious attitudes in Dutch seventeenth-century artistic culture was indeed to understand its God-given essence, rather than solely to mimic empirical observations.[127]

The spare, rough handling of the pen strokes in the *Homer*, combined with Rembrandt's insistent display of the working process in this completed work, may be regarded in two interrelated ways. Both the roughness of his marks on the sheet and the general principle of incompleteness that informs the work as a whole suggested to contemporaries that Rembrandt was revealing the creative forces of nature and divine fashioning, rather than flaunting his personal virtuosity. Roughness and incompleteness also engendered the visual effect of stripping away disguising artifice to reveal truth without subterfuge. These ideas, implicit in the group of related late drawings, might apply to a large body of Rembrandt's late works in other media as well. The wish to create a truly authentic, spiritual style that had its source in

architettonico nella teoria cinquecentesca sull'Opera Rustica," in Marcello Fagiolo, ed., *Natura e artificio*, Rome, 1979, 55–97; and Irving Lavin, "Bernini's Image of the Sun King," in Lavin (as in n. 99), esp. 147–61. The rustic order associated positively the quality of unornamented roughness with great antiquity; see James S. Ackerman, "The Tuscan/Rustic Order: A Study in the Metaphorical Language of Architecture," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, XLII, 1983, 15–34, repr. in Ackerman (as in n. 6), 495–545. For editions of the architectural treatises owned by Jan Six that predate the *Homer*, see Six: Alberti, 22 (no. 327); Vitruvius, 20 (no. 289), 51 (no. 323); Serlio, 20 (no. 290), 23 (no. 360); Scamozzi, 23 (nos. 361, 362), 27 (no. 412); and Palladio, 23 (no. 363), 26 (nos. 404, 405).

120. Pliny, *Natural History*, 35.15; Quintilian, *Institutes*, 10.2.7. See also Ellenius, 50. Renaissance examples are cited by Robert Rosenblum, "The Origin of Painting: A Problem in the Iconography of Romantic Classicism," *Art Bulletin*, XXXIX, 1957, 279–80.

121. Hoogstraeten (as in n. 28), 244–45.

122. Lavin, 40 n. 22, defined these qualities of style in Bernini's drawings of nature in a "primitive" or formless state, e.g., drawings of fireworks or water pouring from a fountain. Although Rembrandt created different, remarkably subtle effects through variation in his roughened line in the group of drawings represented by the *Homer*, the departure from a canon of beauty in the handling of line in order to represent a principle of originating nature is related conceptually. For other ideas about capturing and regularizing nature through a geometrical line, see above, n. 12.

123. For the passage in Pels (as in n. 4), see Alpers, 137–39 n. 48.

124. This idea was most frequently illustrated by the story of the ancient painter Zeuxis selecting different, perfected parts of the most beautiful maidens of Croton to create an exemplary Helen; see Panofsky (as in n. 49), esp. 14–16; Białostocki, 23–24; and Summers, 186–99.

125. For this theme in art literature, see H. W. Janson, *Apes and Ape Lore in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance*, London, 1952, 302; Białostocki, 29–30; and Wolfgang Kemp, "Disegno: Beiträge zur Geschichte des Begriffs zwischen 1547 und 1607," *Marburger Jahrbuch für Kunstwissenschaft*, XIX, 1974, 224–27. See also Ellenius, 30–31, for humanist treatments of this idea.

126. Garin, ed. (as in n. 107), 812; trans. Breen (as in n. 107), 397.

127. Hessel Miedema, "Over het realisme in de Nederlandse schilderkonst van de zeventiende eeuw," *Oud-Holland*, LXXXIX, 1975, 10–11.

nature—one that replicated divinely created prime matter, as it were—would provide one explanation for why Rembrandt left only *res* instead of *verba* for generations of artists and art historians who have puzzled over the meanings of his style.

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Nicola Courtright teaches Renaissance and Baroque art and architecture at Amherst College. She is currently completing a book on the Counter-Reformation program and cultural context of the Tower of the Winds, a papal apartment built and decorated for Gregory XIII in the Vatican Palace [Department of Fine Arts, Amherst College, Amherst, Mass. 01002].