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Insights into the Dutch Vasari: Carel van Mander's Life of Titian

Only a handful of authors wrote in Dutch on art during the 17th century. Literary sources are meagre relative to the wealth of visual material that was produced in Holland during the Golden Age. Carel van Mander's *Het Schilderboeck*, published first in 1604 and again in 1618, was the most influential Dutch art book of the time. It provided an authoritative source for the history of painting from its ancient beginnings until 1604, and it established a pattern for subsequent Dutch art writing, a mixture of biography and discursive theory.¹

For *Het Schilderboeck*'s chapters on Italian Renaissance painters, van Mander translated into Dutch portions of Giorgio Vasari's *Le vite de' più eccellenti Pittori, Scultori e Architettori* of 1568 (the first edition of this book was published in 1550; it was enlarged and corrected in the second edition). Vasari's book served as the foremost authority for the history of the arts, including painting, sculpture and architecture, since antiquity and up to the mid-sixteenth century. As van Mander translated Vasari's Italian into Dutch, he often abridged and occasionally embellished his source. He also brought Vasari's information up to date by adding chapters about significant Italian artists working since 1568.² Van Mander's translations, or rather adaptations, from Vasari are generally

dismissed by those who are seeking an original account; critics have emphasized the lack of originality in van Mander's biographies of the Italian artists chronicled by Vasari. In large measure, this estimation may be valid, but the search for originality in the biographies is based on a misunderstanding of van Mander's purpose: he was not attempting to be original, he was making available to the Dutch the whole history of Italian Renaissance art, and at the same time he was educating his readers as to his own views of what art should be.

A close look at van Mander's account of the life of Titian, for example, reveals his heavy and purposeful editorializing. We can see how the Dutch writer consistently modified his Italian source in order to present a more relevant view of that artist for his readership. His alterations to Vasari's account are of two kinds. One kind is his reinterpretations, which may be due to misunderstanding, deliberate or not, of the original text. The other consists of additions to Vasari's text that bespeak his interest in updating it. Whether repeated from Vasari or not, van Mander's observations about Titian and his art emphasize Titian's importance for his supreme mastery of the rough style of *colorito*. This critical evaluation has consequences for the development of Dutch baroque art,

especially that of Rembrandt.

Of all the Venetian painters, none was so renowned as Titian and none considered so thoroughly representative of Venetian painterly values. These values are primarily manifest in paint handling. They emphasize the viscous texture and tonal variation of pigment, the coloristic quality of paint, and the optical mixture of disparate areas of pigment on canvas (the technique called *impasto*). Titian achieved his painterly effects by applying oil pigment in bold, unblended strokes which harmonized when viewed at a distance. Rather than preparing elaborate drawings, he often blocked out his compositions in broad brushed paint, and completed the pictures by applying pigment in layers to obtain coloristic and tonal effects. His followers, especially Bassano, Palma Giovane and Tintoretto, used some or all of these techniques, and were generally linked by the critics with his style.

This emphasis on the application of *impasto* is in opposition to the method and values of the central Italian artists, such as Raphael, Michelangelo and Vasari himself, who meticulously prepared their compositions with a series of drawings on paper, and then transferred these designs to the painting surface. To these artists, referred to by critics loosely as Tuscan-Roman, the line of the composition carried the meaning and style of the whole; they upheld the primacy of the line as the most estimable component of the art of painting. Vasari, born in Tuscany and active in Florence and Rome, was by nature, training and taste a champion of drawing. His preference for the values maintained by the Tuscan-Roman painters dominated *Le Vite*. His basic premise that drawing served as the foundation of all the other arts led to his assumption that drawing

should precede brushwork in the creation of a work. Venetian artists deviated from this assumption in both theory and practice. None the less Vasari responsibly attempted to correct his innate prejudice, which dominated the 1550 edition of *Le Vite*, in his second edition of 1568, in which he added a lengthy chapter about Titian and material about other Venetian artists. Proud of the Tuscan-Roman linear style, Vasari proclaimed its crisp definition of form to be superior to the open, suggestive and rough Venetian style.

Van Mander was not bound to support Vasari's view of the primacy of line over colour, nor to maintain Vasari's regional biases. Advising the young artist to travel, van Mander remarked: "In Rome one learns to draw, in Venice to paint."³ Thus he modified Vasari's prejudice and presented the Tuscan and Venetian values as different, but equally praiseworthy and worth while for the student.

There are three parts of *Het Schilderboeck* in which van Mander wrote about Titian: in the prefatory poem *Den Grondt*, in the biography of Titian, and incidentally in the biographies of other artists, usually northerners, who studied with Titian. The life of Titian gives the fullest account of his activities, and it provides material for the present discussion, which will focus on the most significant alterations to Vasari's account.

Never having been to the Veneto, van Mander was not familiar at all with that territory. He knew nothing about the location of Titian's birthplace, the small town of Cadore. He felt that the obscurity of the village demanded some explanation for having produced such a famous personality,

so he begins his life of Titian with two sentences of his own:

One could mention from days of old a large number of exceptionally gifted men, in various professions of honourable repute, who have made famous the unknown places or villages of their birth. Among these we should especially mention the great Titian, of the house of Vecelli. He was born in 1480 in Cadore.⁴

Then, following Vasari, van Mander states that Titian was sent at the age of ten to live with his uncle in Venice:

Seeing that this child was greatly inclined toward painting, he placed him with Giovanni Bellini, who at that time was a famous painter. Excelling under his training, Titian quickly showed himself to have been endowed by Nature with all the talents that belong to painting. His master [Bellini] and other painters in that country at that time had no knowledge of the Antique, and made their works after life, but with a dry, hard and tortuous manner; thus Titian learned in this way.⁵

Vasari's original text stated that Bellini depicted things *dal vivo* (from life), but in a *manera secca, cruda e stentata* (a dry, hard and laboured style). Vasari had used Bellini to set up a contrast of painting styles

between the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries: Bellini represented the old style, that of the fifteenth century, and served by contrast, in Vasari's account, to establish Titian's next teacher, Giorgione, as a painter in the progressive style representative of the sixteenth. Van Mander made no such use of Bellini and omitted his biography from *Het Schilderboeck*.

Vasari described Giorgione's manner in full, as a way of easing the transition between Bellini's dry style and Titian's soft one. However, van Mander transferred Vasari's descriptions of Giorgione's own art to that of Titian. In assigning Giorgione's painterly style to Titian, van Mander misunderstood Vasari's text. He writes:

Titian began to paint from life without drawing [first], although painting should be united with drawing. But when in 1507 he saw the manner of Giorgione, he began to make his work softer, more three-dimensional, and in a more beautiful manner; nevertheless, doing the best that he could, he made his paintings from life without drawing, instead expressing all that he saw, whether hard or soft, with paint. He maintained as a certainty that to paint in colours, without otherwise learning to draw on paper, was the best way to proceed, and the right kind of drawing; nevertheless the one belongs with the other, together they flourish.⁶

Let us compare this passage with Vasari:

Around the year 1507, Giorgione da Castel Franco was not at all happy with the way he had been painting, and he began to give his works more softness and greater relief, with a beautiful manner; [he] became accustomed to throwing into high relief living and natural things, and he learned to depict as best he could with colours, and to make highlights with unmodulated and sweet tints; he demonstrated how [to show] vivacity without making drawings, maintaining that painting with only the paints themselves, without any other drawings on paper, was the true and best method of depiction and true drawing.⁷

We can see that van Mander has changed the subject of the verb "began." Vasari wrote that it was Giorgione who changed his style around 1507; van Mander says Titian did so. Although van Mander retains the date of 1507, he uses it to fix the moment when Titian saw Giorgione's works and became influenced by them. Whether wittingly or not, he has revised Vasari's text to proclaim Titian the innovator in the new manner of painting without drawing. He has also distilled the meaning of the new manner by adding the last sentence, which states that painting and drawing belong and flourish together.

The second instance reflecting a substantial misunderstanding concerns a portrait by

Titian that was admired very highly because it could have been mistaken for the work of Giorgione. Vasari wrote that Titian was eighteen years old when this work was almost presumed to be Giorgione's. Van Mander repeated Vasari's text, but omitted the specific example of the portrait that had caused the confusion. Here is Vasari:

In the beginning, he began by following the manner of Giorgione. When he was no older than eighteen, he made a portrait of a friend of his, a gentleman of the Barbarigo family, that was regarded as very beautiful, having good and natural resemblance in the flesh tones, the hairs so distinct one from the other that you could count them, as you could the stitches of a silvered satin jacket in that work. In short, it was considered so well made and with so much skill, that if Titian had not written his name on the dark background, it would have been regarded as the work of Giorgione.⁸

In order to emphasize Titian's precocity, van Mander here lowers Titian's age by six years. By reporting Titian's age as twelve rather than eighteen, he makes nonsense of the 1480 birthdate (which is suspect in any case; modern critics put it at 1488 or 1490) and of the year 1507 which he himself gives as the turning point of Titian's painting, the year he came under Giorgione's influence. At twenty-seven an artist can hardly be considered a youthful prodigy! Van Mander's corruption of Vasari's text reads:

He was twelve years old when he made a portrait, painted very naturally and a good likeness in the flesh tones, also the hair, clothes and silk appearing very lifelike, so that people began to think his work was by Giorgione.⁹

Of the other kind of adaptation of Vasari's text that van Mander made, the additions, there are six. In the first, under the caption "Titian learned landscape from the Netherlanders," he wrote:

... he made a large piece, the Flight into Egypt, in which Mary comes through a great wood with a beautiful landscape; because he spent a great deal of time on these [landscapes], he kept some Netherlanders working in his house, for they were skilled masters of landscape and greenery. Likewise he painted many animals in the wood, copied from life, which appeared very lifelike.¹⁰

Probably in a manner as chauvinistic as he thought it correct, van Mander changed Vasari's "Tedeschi" (Germans) to "Nederlanders." Netherlandish artists did contribute landscape backgrounds to Italian paintings during the sixteenth century. And it is true that Titian did employ northern artists in his workshop, among them Lambert Sustris. But here van Mander went beyond Vasari's account, implying that Titian learned to paint landscape from the Netherlanders.

The second addition occurs in van Mander's account of Titian's meeting with Charles V at Bologna in 1530, where he cleverly inserts the anecdote about Alfonso Lombardi that Vasari had related in his separate life of that sculptor. Titian had come to paint the emperor's portrait, but Alfonso wished to sculpt a likeness also; Alfonso stood so that he was hidden from view, and while Titian painted, he himself made a small wax medallion in the emperor's likeness. The emperor was so impressed with it that he commissioned it in marble, and paid half of Titian's promised fee of a thousand scudi to Alfonso; in this way Titian was made to share the payment. The caption given to the story, "The Liberality of the Emperor Charles to Art," refers to this grand payment which came to be divided between Titian and Alfonso. The importance of the incident is one of monetary reward and recognition of artistic skill. However, both Vasari and van Mander admired Alfonso for surreptitiously making the medallion and thereby gaining fame and fortune.¹¹

The third addition to the biography also concerns Charles V and Titian, and reflects the oft-repeated comparison with Apelles and Alexander. Vasari noted how Titian's portraits of Charles V so pleased the emperor that he would have himself portrayed by no other artist, and that he gave the painter a thousand scudi. Van Mander repeated this statement but added a phrase. Under the caption "Titian was highly paid, and knighted by the emperor," van Mander stated: "... he wished to be like the great Alexander, who had also chosen his Apelles."¹² This is hardly a novel remark, since Titian had consciously cultivated the comparison of himself to Apelles. The comparison had been made by both Dolce

and Aretino, and probably had become commonplace by 1600. Yet it underscores the stature of Titian as court painter.

Two additions concern engravings after two of Titian's grandest altarpieces. Following Vasari, van Mander stated that Titian had made an Annunciation for the church of Santa Maria degli Angeli at Murano, and that the nuns would not pay him his high fee of 500 florins. On Aretino's advice, Titian then gave the altarpiece to the Empress Isabella, who was so pleased with it that she and Charles V gave the painter 2000 florins. Van Mander added: "This Annunciation, I believe, is the one that is in print, in which the Angels above carry the columns with the Plus Ultra."¹³ The engraving, made by Jacopo Caraglio, was made only after the altarpiece went to the imperial family, as a token of thanks for its generosity.¹⁴ Van Mander does not mention that according to Vasari, a painting by Pordenone was installed in the church in Murano in place of the intended Titian.¹⁵

The second addition concerning an engraving occurs in van Mander's description of Titian's *Martyrdom of St. Lawrence*, a subject he portrayed in two large altarpieces, one for the church of Santa Maria degli Crociferi, now the Jesuit church in Venice, and another for the Escorial, commissioned by Philip II. Van Mander noted: "And I think that this is engraved by Cornelis Cort, the very expert engraver."¹⁶ Vasari went on to describe the painting at length, as a night event with three sources of light, and many figures. Van Mander relays these aspects of the composition with appropriate admiration. The print was published in 1571, too late for Vasari's notice in 1568. Van Mander's naming of the engraver and his praise for Cort may be due

to regional pride: Cornelis Cort (1533-1578) was born in Hoorn and trained in Antwerp, and employed by Titian to engrave ten of the master's best designs.¹⁷

Van Mander's final addition to Vasari's narrative is the conclusion: one sentence about Titian's death. Vasari wrote: "When Vasari, author of the present history, went to Venice in the year 1566 to visit Titian, as his very dear friend, he found him, in spite of his great age, with brushes in hand and still painting."¹⁸ Van Mander amended this passage as follows:

He was in his 86th year still found with brushes in hand and sitting at work. He died in 1576 in Venice from the great plague, at the old age of 96 years.¹⁹

Still emphasizing Titian's great age and continued painting, van Mander's conclusion updated Vasari, giving the year and cause of Titian's death.

These instances are only those alterations of substance made by van Mander to Vasari's biography of Titian. However, van Mander retained, although shortened by eliminating descriptive passages, the general account of Titian's works. The attentive reader would learn of over 36 individual works of art, including mythologies, altarpieces, portraits and biblical scenes. The presentation of Titian was therefore a fairly complete one, for both painterly style and oeuvre. Even the anecdote of Michelangelo's visit to Titian, at the Belvedere in Rome, was repeated:

Michelangelo with Vasari visited Titian in the Belvedere, and saw a nude

Danae made by him, in whose lap was Jupiter transformed into gold; Michelangelo, after they had left, highly praised his work and the manner of its colouring; but he said that it was a shame that the Venetian painters did not begin by learning to draw well and had no better studies; because if this man had been helped by the art of drawing as much as he has been by nature, especially as concerns copying from life, he could do still better.²⁰

In adapting Vasari's biography, van Mander retained its main points of information and interpretation of Titian's painterly style. Titian's name was synonymous with the Venetian heritage, a painterly style that exploited the direct application of pigment to canvas, and that bypassed intermediary drawings. The function of drawing was subsumed by the act of painting itself. This manner of painting was done from life, and so it recorded the appearance of reality with a directness that also conveyed softness, three-dimensionality and naturalness. Following Vasari, van Mander described Titian as changing his early crisp style to his late rough style. Generally repeating his source, van Mander described Titian's late working method and style in the following terms:

... he first made his works completely crisply, so that one could look at them from nearby as well as from far away; and in his latest [years] he worked with brush strokes

that were bold and uneven, and patchy, so that there was no perfection when viewed from nearby, but when viewed from afar, there was good harmony.²¹

This late style was inimitable, and achieved only after long practice, study and experience. Titian's art represented in its mature phase and its in critical reputation an expert, yet rough, painterly style. The result was a pigment surface that glowed with richly tonal images. Van Mander placed Titian's early style and his late one in opposition in order to demonstrate an acceptance of both styles. He amplified this discussion in *Den Grondt*, in order to emphasize that the young artist needed training in precision before he could deviate from that style toward a looser handling of the brush.²²

This opposition of crisp and rough runs through seventeenth century art writing like a fine thread. It appears in Samuel van Hoogstraten, who echoed van Mander's passage about Titian's painting style.²³ It is also maintained by Wybrand de Geest, who revised van Mander's didactic work *Den Grondt* in 1702. De Geest described the crisp clean style with examples from Dürer, Bruegel, Lucas van Leyden, Jan van Eyck and the early Titian; however, when he went on to discuss the rough manner, rather than use the late Titian as his example, he inserted Rembrandt: "But now one may also see a rough style of painting, as that of Rembrandt, and others like him."²⁴ This substitution of Rembrandt for Titian is a sign that the lineage of the rough manner of painting endured from the Venetian Renaissance through the Dutch Baroque, from Titian to Rembrandt. This implied

parallel between the aesthetic of Titian's late style and that of Rembrandt confirms that the two painters shared values of impasto, brushwork and tone.²⁵

However, this cryptic statement by Wybrand de Geest expresses an acceptance of a range of painterly styles that echoes van Mander's of a century earlier; one looks towards Venice for evocative painterly handling, and toward Rome for expert draughtsmanship. The two directions were acceptable around 1600, and they remained so. This may be seen in Rembrandt's own pupils, whose effects range from the crisp and meticulous, as in Gerard Dou, to the blurry and rough, as in Aert de Gelder. No single style was completely dominant in the Dutch Republic, although there were fashions and prevailing manners of painting during the seventeenth century. The two extremes, "net" and "rouw," co-existed in artists' workshops and in the critical literature, and both were available directions.

NOTES

¹ The bibliography on van Mander is extensive. See W. Melion: *Shaping the Netherlandish Canon: Karel van Mander's Schilder-Boeck*, Chicago, 1991.

² The best discussion of van Mander's knowledge of Italian art and of his own biographies of the Italian artists is still H. Noë: *Carel van Mander en Italië*, The Hague, 1954.

³ "Te Roome leertmen teekenen, ende te Venetien schilderen." Carel van Mander: *Het Schilderboeck*, Haarlem, 1604, *Den Grondt*, Book I, p.75. *Het Schilderboeck* has been reprinted by Broude (New York, 1980)

and Davaco (Doornspijk, 1973).

⁴ "Een groot ghetal doorluchtighe Mannen, in verscheyden oeffeningen van eerlijcken gheruchte, soude men van oudts tijdt af weten te noemen, die onbekende plaetsen oft Dorpen, van hun geboorten halven hebben vermaert ghemaect. Onder dese waer besonder te tellen den grooten Tiziano, van den huysse Vecelli. Desen was te Cadoor ... gheboren A° 1480." Van Mander 174v; cf. G. Vasari, *Le Vite*, ed. G. Milanesi, 9 vols., Florence, 1906, vol VII, p.425.

⁵ "Desen dit kindt siende seer totter Schilder-const ghenegen, bestelde hem by Joan Bellino, die doe ter tijdt een vermaert Schilder was. Onder wiens onderwijs hem bevljgende, gaf wel haest te kennen, dat hem de Natuere alle de deelen, die tot de Schilder-const voeghen, hadde gegheven. Ghelijck nu zijn Meester, en ander Schilders daer in't Landt, geen kennis hebbende van den Antijcken, hun dingen meest al deden nae t'leven, doch met een drooghe, harde, en quellijcke maniere; soo leerde Tiziano hun sulcx nae." Van Mander 174v.

⁶ "Tiziano begon nae t'leven te schilderen sonder teyckenen: doch wil schilderen met het teyckenen vereenight sijn. [Caption] Maer doe A° 1507 hy de maniere van Giorgione sagh, begon zijn dinghen poeseliger, meer verhevender, en op een schoonder maniere te maken: gebruyckende evenwel ten besten dat hy mocht, zijn dingen sonder teyckenen te schilderen nae 'tlevens, waernemende met den verwen uyt te beelden alles wat hy daer in sagh, t'zy hardt oft soet. Houdende voor ghewis, dat t'schilderen met de verwen, sonder andersins te leeren teyckenen op papier was de beste maniere van doen, en de rechte teyckeninge: Daer nochtans behoort t'een

met t'ander t'samen op te wassen." *Ibid.* 174v.

⁷ "Ma venuto poi, l'anno circa 1507, Giorgione da Castel Franco, non gli piacendo in tutto il detto modo di fare, cominciò a dare alle sue opere più morbidezza, e maggiore rilievo, con bella maniera; usando nondimeno di cacciar sì avanti le cose vive e naturali, e di contrafarle quanto sapeva il meglio con i colori, e macchiarle con le tinte crude e dolci, secondo che il vivo mostrava, senza far disegno, tenendo per fermo che il dipignere solo con i colori stessi, senz'altro studio di disegnare in carta, fusse il vero e miglior modo di fare et il vero disegno." *Ibid.* 427. Vasari goes on to explain at length the advantages of drawing first.

⁸ "A principio, dunque, che cominciò seguitare la maniera di Giorgione, non avendo più che diciotto anni, fece il ritratto d'un gentilhuomo di cà Barbarigo amico suo, che fu tenuto molto bello, essendo la somiglianza della carnagione propria e naturale, si ben distinti i capelli l'uno dall'altro, che si contereбbono, come anco si fareбbono i punti d'un giubone di raso inargentato che fece in quell'opera. Insomma, fu tenuto sì ben fatto e con tanta diligenza, che, se Tiziano non vi avesse scritto in ombra il suo nome, sarebbe stato tenuto opera di Giorgione." *Ibid.* 428.

⁹ "T'zijn twaelf Jaren conterfeyte hy seer natuerlijk gelijkende, en vleesachtlich gheschildert, oock hayr, cleederen en sijden, seer levende ghedaen wesende, datmen zijn dingen begon aen te sien voor de dingen van Giorgione." Van Mander 174v.

¹⁰ "... maeckte hy een groot stuck, de vluchtinge van Egypten, daer Maria comt

door een groot bosch met een schoon Lantschap; want hy hem veel tijd op dese handelinghe hadde ghewent, hebbende daerom eenighe Nederlanders in huys ghehouden werckende, dat fraey Meesters van lantschappen en groenicheyт waren: Desgelijcx maeckte hy in't bosch veel dieren, die nae 'tlevен ghedaen, seer levende schenen." *Ibid.* 174v.

¹¹ *Ibid.* 175v; Vasari V, 88f.

¹² "...hy ... wilde wesen, ghelijck als den grooten Alexander, daer toe oock zijn Apelles hadde vercoren." Van Mander 176v.

¹³ "Dees Boodtschap (acht ick) ist die in Print comt, daer d'Engheleп boven de Plus outre Colomneп houden." *Ibid.* 176. The columns represent the Pillars of Hercules (the Straits of Gibraltar), and the motto (Beyond) symbolizes the extension of the Spanish Empire across the Atlantic.

¹⁴ For the engraving by Jacopo Caraglio, see M.C. Isola, *Immagini da Tiziano*, exhibition catalogue, Rome, Villa della Farnesina, 1977, cat. no.11. The painting is now lost.

¹⁵ Vasari, VII, 441.

¹⁶ "...en ick acht, dat dit van Cornelis Cort, den seer constighen Plaetsnijder, ghesneden is." Van Mander 177; cf. Vasari, VII, 453.

¹⁷ For Cort's engraving of *St. Lawrence*, see Isola, cat. no. 27. The relationship between Titian and Cort has not yet received the full treatment it deserves. Not only did Titian explicitly commission Cort to make these engravings, but he also took out a privilege from the Venetian government to publish them and to retain copyright. The subjects engraved by Cort were evidently selected by

Titian and, I suggest, are representative of Titian's best works at that time. See further M.A. Chiari: *Incisioni da Tiziano. Catalogo del fondo grafico a stampa del Museo Correr*, Venice 1982, 48ff. Recent literature on Cort now includes the excellent CD-ROM by M. Sellink and H. Leeftang, *The New Hollstein Dutch and Flemish Etchings, Engravings and Woodcuts 1450-1700: Cornelis Cort*, Rotterdam, 2000.

¹⁸ "Quando il Vasari scrittore della presente storia fu l'anno 1566 a Vinezia andò a visitare Tiziano, come suo amicissimo, et lo trovò, ancorchè vecchissimo fusse, con i pennelli in mano a dipignere." Vasari, VII, 459.

¹⁹ "Hy was t'zijnen 86 Jaer noch ghevonden met den pinneelen in de handt en sitten werckende. Hy is ghestorven A^o 1576 doe te Venetie de groote sterfte was, zijns ouderdoms 96 Jaren." Van Mander 177v.

²⁰ "Michel Agnolo met Vasari besocht hebbende Tiziano in Belvideer, hadden ghesien van hem ghedaen een naeckte Danae, in den schoot van Iuppiter, in goudt verandert; en weder keerende Michel Agnolo, prees sijn werck, en maniere van zijn coloreren seer; maer seyde, dat het schade was, dat de Veneetsche Schilders in hun begin niet wel en leerden teyckenen, en gheen beter studie en hebben; want soo desen Man gheholpen waer met de Teyckenconst, ghelijck hy is van der Natuer, en bysonder met d'leven te volgen, men soude met mogen meer, noch beter doen." *Ibid.* 176-176v. The Danae anecdote has often been discussed; see E.J. Sluijter, "Emulating

sensual beauty; representations of Danae from Gossaert to Rembrandt," *Simiolus* 27 (1999), 4-45.

²¹ "... want eerst maeckte hy zijn dingen heel net, datment soo geern van by als van verre sagh; en ten lesten wrocht hy zijn dingen met cloeck en pinceel-streken henen, en ghevleckt, soo dat het van by geen perfectie, maer van verre te sien, goeden welstandt hadde." Van Mander 177; cf. Vasari, VII, 478..

²² Van Mander 48-48v.

²³ Samuel van Hoogstraten: *Inleyding tot de hooge Schoole der Schilderconst*, Rotterdam, 1940, p.422.

²⁴ "Maar nu mag men ook wel een ruw schildery zien, als van Rembrand, en diergelijck soort." Wybrand de Geest: *Den Leermeester der Schilderconst door Carel van Mander*, Leeuwarden, 1702, p.92.

²⁵ For this shared aesthetic, see B.W. Meijer, *Rondom Rembrandt en Titiaan*, exhibition catalogue of Het Rembrandthuis, The Hague, 1991; E. van de Wetering, "Rembrandt's Method: Technique in the service of illusion," in C. Brown et al.: *Rembrandt: the Master and his Workshop*, exhibition catalogue, New Haven and London, 1991, p.15-39; and A. Golahny, "Rembrandt's Paintings and the Venetian Tradition," Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia University, 1984.