



Pieter de Grebber and the Oranjezaal in Huis ten Bosch

Part I: *the Regulen* (1649)

Margriet van Eikema Hommes

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Introduction

The Haarlem history and portrait painter, Pieter de Grebber (c.1600-1652/53), of whom today about seventy paintings are known, was in his day a famous and esteemed artist. Theodorus Schrevelius in his *Harlemias* from 1648 wrote: ‘...for this Pieter de Grebber is so felicitous in invention as well as perfect in his handling of paint that he deserves to be counted among the best painters of our century.’ The painter was also praised by Samuel Ampzig (1628), Philips Angel (1642), Samuel van Hoogstraeten (1678) and Arnold Houbraken (1718-21).¹ Pieter de Grebber, who was born of a pious Catholic family, was taught first by his father Frans Pietersz de Grebber (1573-1649) and was subsequently apprenticed to Hendrick Goltzius.² He received significant commissions from the Haarlem city council and various other Haarlem institutions as well as painting religious works for Flemish churches and Dutch clandestine churches. Under the supervision of the architect-painter Jacob van Campen, De Grebber also painted for the

stadholder's palaces Huis Honselaarsdijk and Huis Noordeinde, both of which unfortunately have not survived.³ But probably De Grebber's most important and honourable commission was that for the Oranjezaal, the central hall of the newly built palace Huis ten Bosch in The Hague (fig. 1), for which he made three paintings. The decoration of this hall was commissioned by Amalia van Solms in memory of her in 1647 deceased husband Stadholder Frederik Hendrik. Between 1648 and 1652 twelve artists from the Northern and Southern Netherlands were commissioned to paint the allegorical program glorifying the life of the Stadholder.⁴ This program was invented by Amalia together with Frederik Hendrik's former secretary Constantijn Huygens and Jacob van Campen. Van Campen was also largely responsible for the compositions of the paintings as well as being the principal coordinator of the realization of the ensemble. De Grebber's *Triumphal procession, with spoils of war* (1648) (figs. 2,3), and his *Triumphal procession, with sacrificial bull* (1650) (figs. 2,4), are part of a series of paintings on the lowest level of the hall representing a classical triumphal procession. In one of the four vaulted portions of the ceiling, De Grebber also painted *The ascension of Frederik Hendrik into heaven* (1650) (figs. 2,5), a representation that continues in the accompanying, small square vault diagonally above the large ceiling painting (figs. 2,6), and also in the cupola of the lantern; the tall glazed construction that admits light to the area below. In the cupola De Grebber was responsible for a quarter of the painted surface that depicts a golden sky with cherubs on the wing (figs. 2,7). From documents it is known that De Grebber received 500 guilders for each painting of the triumphal procession and 1200 guilders for his work in the vaulted ceiling and cupola.⁵ Precisely from the period in which De Grebber was active in the Oranjezaal, there is a written source describing his pictorial intentions. While most seventeenth-century painters wrote little or nothing about their pictorial strategies, De Grebber put his ideas in writing in the form of eleven practical rules, known as the *Regulen* [Rules: to be observed and followed by a good painter and draughtsman; compiled for the interest of studious apprentices] was printed in Haarlem in 1649 on one folio by Pieter Casteleyn (fig. 8 and Appendix).⁶ This article is devoted to these instructions, which prescribe the rules on *ordinantie* [arrangement of the constituent parts of the picture in its apparent three-dimensional space], decorum and use of colour for the art of history painting. It will be demonstrated that the *Regulen* not only provide insight into the compositional and pictorial choices made in the Oranjezaal, but that

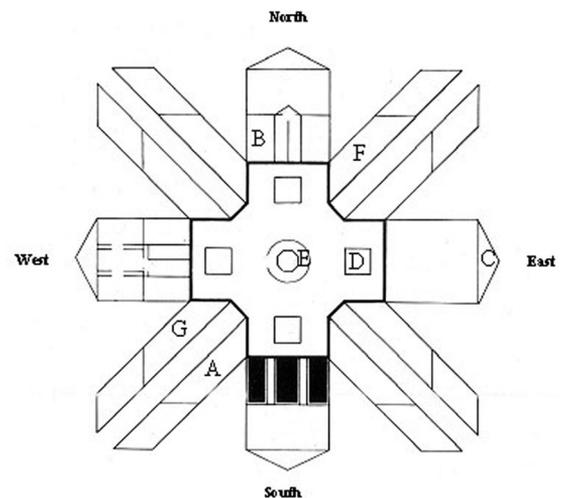


Fig.1 Oranjezaal, Royal Palace Huis ten Bosch, The Hague

Fig.2

Plan of the Oranjezaal.

- A. De Grebber *Triumphal procession, with spoils of war* (figure 3)
- B. De Grebber *Triumphal procession, with sacrificial bull* (figure 4)
- C. De Grebber *The ascension of Frederik Hendrik into heaven* (figure 5)
- D. De Grebber *Cherubs with the name of Jehova* (figure 6)
- E. De Grebber *Sky with cherubs on the wing, holding garlands and monograms* (figure 7)
- F. Van Campen *Triumphal procession, with gifts from the East and West*, (figure 12)
- G. De Braij *Triumphal procession, with musicians and conquered banners* (figure 13)



Fig. 3
 Pieter Fransz. de Grebber, *Triumphal procession, with spoils of war* (signed and dated 'P. DGrebber AN° 1648'), oil on canvas, c.385 x c.202 cm
 Royal Collections, Huis ten Bosch, The Hague



Fig. 4
 Pieter Fransz. de Grebber, *Triumphal procession, with sacrificial bull* (signed and dated 'P. DE GREBBER F 16..' and '1650'), oil on canvas, c.390 x c.262.5 cm
 Royal Collections, Huis ten Bosch, The Hague

Fig. 5
 Pieter Fransz. de Grebber, *The ascension of Frederik Hendrik into heaven*, 1650 (signed and dated 'P. DE GREBBER / FECIT A No 1650'), oil on panel, maximum width 752 cm
 Royal Collections, Huis ten Bosch, The Hague

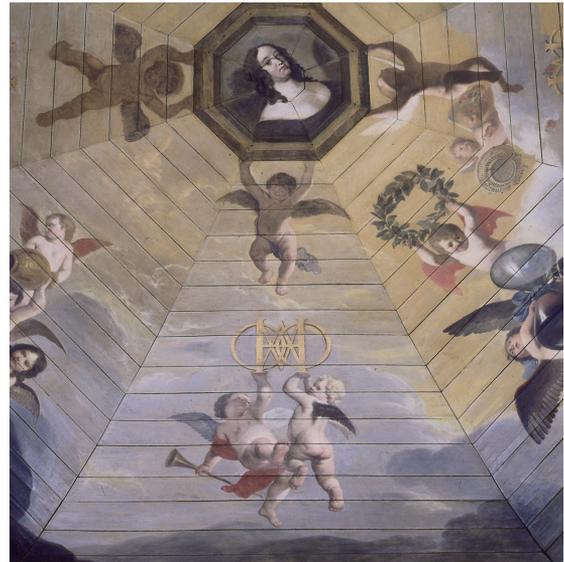




Fig. 6
Pieter Fransz. de Grebber, *Cherubs with the name of Jehova*, oil on panel, c.127 x c.118.5 cm
Royal Collections, Huis ten Bosch, The Hague



Fig. 7
Pieter Fransz. de Grebber, *Sky with cherubs on the wing, holding garlands and monograms*, two of the eighth triangle sections in the cupola, each with a maximum width of c. 287 cm, oil on panel
Royal Collections, Huis ten Bosch, The Hague



De Grebber's advice was so carefully followed, not only by himself, but also by the eleven other painters who contributed to the ensemble, that this commission was more than likely the immediate cause for De Grebber putting his views into writing.⁷ In the accompanying article (part II), on the basis of the technical examination of De Grebber's paintings in the Oranjezaal, it will be demonstrated how the principles of the *Regulen* greatly influenced his painting technique.

The Haarlem painters' milieu.

To date, De Grebber's *Regulen* have received only limited attention in art historical literature and most authors would admit that they did not know how to interpret the meaning and function of the pamphlet.⁸ Van Thiel, who first published the *Regulen*, assumed that the folio was primarily intended as Pieter Casteleyn's masterpiece, (in 1649, Casteleyn became a master book-printer), and that the contents of the pamphlet were therefore of only minor importance.⁹ Taverne was the only author to suggest a connection between the *Regulen* and the initiative(s) of a group of Haarlem painters for an academically-minded study programme of the 1630s.¹⁰ In 1631,

this group of painters drafted a new charter for the Haarlem Guild of St. Luke, which set forth in one of the regulations that the guild should encourage painters, to hold joint sessions in '...drawing, anatomy and other skills and exercises...'. Furthermore, the best masters of the guild had to give '...public lectures, lessons and demonstrations...' to all the guild members, *vrije gasten*¹¹ and other interested persons.¹² Here, the initiative is taken to come to a collective education along the lines of the famous academy founded in 1583 by Cornelis van Haarlem, Carel van Mander and Hendrick Goltzius. These three painter-friends had regularly met outside the realm of the guild in order to exchange skills and to

study from the nude.¹³ It seems that those who drafted the 1631 charter aimed to revive such a study programme but now incorporated within the framework of the guild.¹⁴ In regard to De Grebber's *Regulen*, it is interesting that the driving spirit behind the charter was the painter-architect Salomon de Braij, who, later, just as De Grebber, would make several paintings for the Oranjezaal. De Braij and De Grebber both belonged to a group of well educated Haarlem history painters and architects with many contacts.¹⁵ Jacob van Campen too, moved in the circle of this intellectual milieu. Just as De Grebber, De Braij had been an apprentice of Goltzius and moreover he had studied with Cornelis van Haarlem.¹⁶

Erroneously, Taverne presumed that the 1631 draft charter had been accepted by the city council while this was not the case.¹⁷ However, this certainly does not imply that collective study sessions, could not have been carried out outside the guild. The draft charter shows that the better educated painters in Haarlem were interested in raising the level of the art of painting, by means of collective education and joint studies. In this light, De Grebber may also have written his *Regulen*; as suggested by its subtitle, '...compiled for the interest of studious apprentices'. The historiated initial 'D' at the beginning of the first line of the *Regulen* depicts Minerva, Fama and Mercurius positioned around a globe with the inscription Batavia. Pieter Casteleyn used this initial more often, but in the specific context of the *Regulen*, the three personages might be interpreted as personifications of the virtues of a well educated Netherlandish painter, or refer to knowledge, fame and flourishing (sale of work); attributes, which a well educated Netherlandish painter could expect to earn.¹⁸ That De Grebber may have been interested in an academic study programme, may be deduced from Philips Angel's *Lof der Schilder-konst* (1642), given the content of Angel's eulogy the year before on the occasion of the festive St. Luke day meeting of the Leiden painters. According to Angel, Pieter de Grebber had acquired his great skill of painting human bodies as a result of many years of intensive study after the nude.¹⁹ Although no drawn nude studies by De Grebber are known, his paintings, including the *Triumphal procession, with spoils of war* (1648) in the Oranjezaal, certainly give evidence of his meticulous observation (fig. 3).²⁰

The *Regulen* and seventeenth-century Dutch art theory

Assuming that De Grebber's *Regulen* reflect didactic ideas circulating in a more or less close-knit group of

well educated, ambitious Haarlem artists, De Grebber's act of putting such views into writing connects him with his illustrious townsman Karel van Mander, who almost half a century earlier, in 1604, had formulated the fundamentals of the art of painting in his *Den grondt der edel vry schilder-const*.²¹ According to Taverne, the *Regulen* are merely a summarized version of several principles in Van Mander's *Grondt*, and he concluded that we may even call De Grebber's pamphlet a sort of pocket edition of Van Manders' didactic poem.²² However, upon closer consideration of De Grebber's pamphlet, it becomes evident that, although indeed some of his advice is undoubtedly in accordance with Van Mander's principles; other instructions differ from those in the *Grondt*. It thus seems that De Grebber was not merely repeating Van Mander's views, but only those aspects that he considered relevant for himself and his colleagues, and that, in addition, he expressed the ideas of his time.

Possibly, we may take De Grebber's *Regulen* as a sort of equivalent of Angel's *Lof der Schilder-konst*, in which Angel discussed - although much more extensively than De Grebber - all sorts of virtues '... necessarily required in one and the same painter.'²³ Both Sluiter and Miedema have pointed out that Angel's directions deviate to some extent from notions expressed in earlier theoretical treatises, and that they also differ substantially from Van Mander's instructions, although they both emphasized that this deviation should not be interpreted as deliberate.²⁴ Furthermore, Sluiter demonstrated that the qualities of a good painter according to Angel, are predominantly practical and that his examples also directly apply to pictures by Leiden artists in Angel's circle. Although most of De Grebber's instructions differ from those by Angel, his advice is also specifically practical, and this, as will be pointed out, even applies to those rules which, just as Angel's, reflect traditional concepts of humanistic art theory. Angel knew Franciscus Junius' *De schilder-konst der oude* (1641), the Dutch translation of his *De pictura veterum* (1637), in which a framework of rules based upon Classical texts was formulated, which the Antique painters would have followed in order to create their perfect paintings.²⁵ Considering the intellectual milieu in which De Grebber moved, he also would have been acquainted with this important and erudite treatise, as is also evident from one single borrowing.²⁶ It is only later in the seventeenth century that Junius' book strongly came to influence Dutch art theory; only then did authors attempt to define a coherent system of fixed 'infallible' rules in order to emulate the Antique art of painting.²⁷ This is not yet the case

should be noted, however, that Van Campen's compositional sketches would have served this purpose adequately. But this does not rule out the possibility that the *Regulen* played a part as well, since they clearly sum up the principles underlying Van Campen's designs. In thinking about the function of the *Regulen*, it is also tempting to refer to the public study meetings proposed in the 1631 draft charter. If these study meetings did, indeed, take place, could De Grebber's *Regulen* perhaps have played a role in them? A public demonstration devoted to the Oranjezaal does not actually seem that unlikely, considering the large impact this commission had on the local circle of painters, with four of Haarlem's most prominent masters producing as many as twelve large paintings.

Whereas both Van Mander and Angel continually explained their instructions in great detail, De Grebber chose the format of the broadsheet for his eleven propositions. If the *Regulen* were indeed intended as an aid for the twelve painters of the Oranjezaal and reflect the contents of a public lesson, this may account for their succinct form. Miedema pointed to the similarity between the *Regulen* and a university sheet with theses.³⁴ The comparison was inspired by the title page of Angel's *Lof der Schilder-konst*, for which elements were borrowed from vignettes of the University of Leiden.³⁵ According to Miedema, the relationship of Angel and De Grebber's instructions to university practice, indicated a '...vague ambition of painters] to achieve a level parallel to academic education.' Although I recognise that an artist's academic ambition is reflected in De Grebber's *Regulen* - even though as explained above, this ambition must have been already rather defined in Haarlem-, I do not see the similarity with the thesis sheets. These sheets were used in the Dutch Republic, in the seventeenth century, for disputations at universities or *academies* and the *Illustre* schools or *athenaea*. They were small brochures - a minimum of four pages long but sometimes with as many as thirty - and their front page served exclusively as a title page, never containing the actual theses.³⁶ With the form of his pamphlet, De Grebber does not appear to be referring to university practice. Indeed, the function of his *Regulen* is completely different from the thesis sheets used at disputations. De Grebber's rules were not formulated to promote discussion, but were intended as a practical manual.

De Regulen and the painting ensemble in the Oranjezaal

Light and distance

The close relationship between the *Regulen* and the decorative programme in the Oranjezaal is most evident from its first rule, in which De Grebber speaks about paintings made as part of a commission: 'It is necessary to know where it [a painting] will hang before it is made, for various reasons: because of the lighting; because of the height at which it will hang; so that we can establish our distance and horizon, which is why it is also necessary for all *ordineers* [draughtsmen] to have a thorough understanding of the ground rules of perspective.' While none of Jacob Van Campen's sketches for the paintings in the Oranjezaal have been preserved, we do have four of his written accounts. These are entitled *Memorie*, meaning a note of what to remember, in this case, for the making of a painting (fig. 9). In his *Memories*, Van Campen briefly instructed the painters on the subject of the image, the personages, the size of the painting and of the figures. Furthermore, he discussed precisely those aspects mentioned in De Grebber's first rule. The *Memories* specify the direction of the light to be depicted relative to the position of the pictures to the windows. Thus, the two surviving *Memories* for pictures on the west wall - to the right of the windows - instruct the painters to depict the figures as lit by 'The correct day light', i.e. lit from the left.³⁷ This was certainly also the instruction received by De Grebber for his *Triumphal procession, with spoils of war* (fig. 3), directly to the right of the windows. Van Campen's two *Memories* for paintings on the east wall, mention a light according to 'The incorrect day light', which meant lit from the right (fig. 9).³⁸ In the three *Memories* for pictures on the second level of the hall, the height at which they were to be hung is specified, while the only *Memorie* referring to a part of the triumphal procession on the lowest level in the hall, specifies the exact height of the horizon and the vanishing point.

Even more than the *Memories*, in the Oranjezaal, the paintings themselves are evidence of the considerable importance attached to De Grebber's principles. In seventeenth-century painting ensembles, it was common practice to imitate the actual light direction in the room, i.e. from the left or from the right, in pictures hung at an angle to the windows. However, for paintings directly facing the windows, where the actual lighting is frontal, a fictive side illumination was always preferred. Painters avoided a frontal light since this gives a much less effective relief than lighting from one or



Fig.10
Detail of fig. 3. In the golden candelabra the highlights have been rendered with pastose yellow paint that contrasts with the smooth execution of the rest of the metal

Fig.9
Jacob van Campen, *Memorie voor de heer Jordaens*. Archive of Prince Frederik Hendrik (A14-XIII-23/p. 21) Royal Collections, Huis ten Bosch, The Hague

other side. With side illumination, we see both the light and the shadow side of an object, which creates a convincing effect of modelling. With frontal illumination, the shadowed side of a form is hidden from the spectator, so that the painter is deprived of his most important means to create a three-dimensional effect.³⁹ It is thus striking that in the Oranjezaal a frontal illumination was chosen for most pictures on the north wall. De Grebber's *Triumphal procession, with sacrificial bull* (fig. 4) in particular, demonstrates the effects convincingly; all figures are uniformly lit, apart from some with cast shadows. They also exhibit narrow, dark shadows along their contours; an effect occurring when convex forms are lit from the front. The *Memorie* for this painting would have read something like 'With the light from the front', which is how a frontal illumination is described in contemporary sources.⁴⁰

In the Oranjezaal, it is not only the direction of the light but also the type of light depicted that matches the actual illumination precisely: in the scenes with the triumphal processions, the quality of the light seems to correspond naturally to the light from the windows.⁴¹ This means that, for example, in De Grebber's *Triumphal procession, with spoils of war*, directly next to the windows, the figures were modelled as if lit by bright sunlight (fig. 3)⁴², with pale, broadly lit areas – almost as if overexposed by the radiant sunlight – and abrupt, luminous shadows, in which reflections play an important role.

Sharp, dark shadows cast onto the floor and the front of the triumphal archway, enhance the effect of brilliant sunlight. The parts of the triumphal procession hanging further away from the windows, show the effect of diffuse daylight.⁴³ This differentiation in the type of light, depending on the location of the paintings in the room, indicates that individual painters of the triumphal procession must have received additional information to that contained in the *Memories*. This differentiation in the type of light seems quite exceptional in the mid-seventeenth century; at least no precedents are known to the author.

An exception to the diffuse light depicted in the parts of the triumphal procession furthest away from the windows, is De Grebber's *Triumphal procession, with sacrificial bull* (fig. 4), in which the daylight is quite harsh, with dark, sharp shadows, and narrow shadows along the contours. However, because De Grebber had to depict a completely frontal light, it should be noted that these shadows were his only means to create an effect of modelling; the combination of frontal and diffuse light would have resulted in virtually flat figures.

De Grebber's two triumphal processions are also characterized by a different use of colour. While in the *Triumphal procession, with sacrificial bull*, bright yellow, red and blue are used, the procession next to the windows is executed mostly in earth tones. The choice of a different palette may also have been influenced by the light situa-

tion depicted; certainly by the end of the seventeenth century it was known that colours lost their intensity in bright sunlight.⁴⁴ From De Grebber's paintings, it becomes evident that the differences in the rendering of light also have far-reaching implications for his painting technique, as will be explained in part II. The succinctness of the *Regulen* thus does by no means imply that it is merely a series of commonplaces, of little practical value for painters; even a few single words such as 'because of the lighting' can carry very broad connotations.

In addition to the admonition 'because of the lighting', the painters in the Oranjezaal took into account the 'horizon' mentioned by De Grebber, and not only in the parts of the triumphal procession on the lowest level in the hall where the horizon had been specified by Van Campen. The canvases on the second level, that hang at a height of five metres and are thus viewed from below, each have a low horizon and the figures are usually depicted from a low viewpoint. In the vaulted ceilings the effect of a view from below is even stronger, as in De Grebber's *The ascension of Frederik Hendrik into heaven* (fig. 5).

With the remark 'so that we can establish our distance', De Grebber may have been alluding to the amount of detail one should include, and the looseness of the brushstrokes, depending on the distance of the painting to the spectator. In fact, art-theoretical treatises of the period recommend a less precise handling of the brush for paintings which were to be viewed from a distance. From Samuel van Hoogstraeten's *Inleyding tot de hooge schoole der schilderkonst* (1678) we know that he found finely executed pictures unsuitable for examination from a distance, since subtle gradations were evened out and the image would lose its force.⁴⁵ According to Van Hoogstraeten, the individual brushstrokes in loosely painted works might lack coherence when seen from close by, but from a distance they melted into a convincing representation of reality. By the end of the seventeenth century, De Lairese held the opinion that the painter had to work '...neatly and fluently as high as the hand can reach, more nimbly in the middle plane and thus upwards with increasing looseness, although taking care that the uppermost regions appear to have a strength and fluidity which equals the lowest areas.'⁴⁶ Thus, according to De Lairese, loose brushwork was allowed on condition that it was not at the expense of the impact and fluidity of the depiction; in short, the freer execution should not be noticeable to the spectator. Indeed, seen from below, De Grebber's ceiling paintings appear just as fluent and strong in their execution as his pictures at the lower level. The artist was able to

estimate the amount of nuance required for his paintings in high-up locations, since, from a distance, his loose brushstrokes melted into convincingly coloured and modelled figures.⁴⁷ Also, in his choice of underdrawing, underpainting and contour lines, De Grebber took the distance between painting and spectator into account, as will be explained in part II.

It is particularly the first of De Grebber's *Regulen* which is repeated almost literally in Gerard de Lairese's *Groot Schilder-boek* (1707): 'Firstly he should be well aware of the future location of his painting and determine the horizon and viewpoint accordingly. He should pay attention to the direction of the light ... He should also pay due attention to perspective...'⁴⁸ This remark, considered by De Lairese as one of the rules '...of composition that should be given heed to...' suggests that De Lairese knew De Grebber's pamphlet. It can be no coincidence, therefore, that this remark is part of the chapter on *Painting life-sized figures*, wherein De Lairese, as emerges from several remarks, was thinking especially of the Oranjezaal; De Lairese must have known that the *Regulen* were formulated with the decoration of this hall in mind. Not only does he discuss the brushwork in Jacob Jordaens' *Frederik Hendrik in triumph* in this chapter, he also deals with the positioning of pictures with a 'different *handeling* [handling of the brush]' in one large room, and the above mentioned variation in brushwork, depending on the distance of the painting to the spectator. Moreover, De Lairese continues his advice to '...pay attention to the direction of the light', with an analysis of lighting that seems directly based on the Oranjezaal: '... whether it has to be strongly lit, with even shadows because the painting is close to the windows, or soft and diffuse when it is further from them. In a landscape or an interior this will be evident at once, and whether the shadows should be glowing [i.e. warm and with reflections] or not, because life size objects as well as small ones certainly look very different in these two locations. Who fails to understand this must have a very limited intelligence.'

Rules on the *ordinantie* in history paintings

Several of De Grebber's *Regulen* relate directly to the *ordinantie* [arrangement] of figures in history paintings. These rules were followed by all the painters in the Oranjezaal, including De Grebber. It should be noted, however, that it was Jacob van Campen who had made elaborate compositional sketches for each of the depictions.⁴⁹ The following similarities show that Van Campen and De Grebber held the same views on these aspects of composition.

To begin with, there is the instruction to avoid figures who are cut off by the frame: ‘Anything that extends beyond the frame of the painting is unsightly, and should therefore be avoided...’ (rule IX).⁵⁰ Only in the case of very specific subjects ‘demanding a higher viewpoint’, such as an *Ecce Homo*, were half-figures permitted. In this De Grebber is a lot stricter than Van Mander, who also disapproved of truncated figures but permitted the practice when using a repoussoir ‘... unless one depicts some kind of plane in front of them, for example stones or something else relevant to the scene with which to block the view of the rest.’⁵⁰ De Grebber’s rule seems to express open criticism of the practice of, for example, the Utrecht Caravaggists, who often used half-figures, but also of De Grebber’s own *Moses striking water from the rock* (c.1630), in which several figures, to the left, are cut off by a hill in the foreground.⁵¹ In the Oranjezaal, truncated figures were consistently avoided, with the exception of a few pictures on the second level, where figures can be seen surfacing from the water. In both his processions, De Grebber managed to fit all foreground figures in their entirety into the composition. It is true that, in his *Triumphal procession, with sacrificial bull* (1650), there is a girl in silver dress who has been cut off to the right, but she is in the background (fig. 4).

Another rule followed by all the Oranjezaal painters is, ‘The principal [figures] of the History must be represented in the most beautiful part of the painting and should be in the foreground’ (rule III). Here, De Grebber seems to distance himself from the practice of, for example, the Haarlem Mannerists, who would, in fact, place the painting’s main theme at the centre of the composition, but further to the back.

Rule III admonishes the history painter not to render all heads on a level: ‘It must be avoided that the figures appear trimmed, that is to say, that the top of the heads should not follow a straight line as if drawn with a ruler, all one the same level. To avoid this, you should try to make a few figures who are stooping down, or insert children or women, who are somewhat smaller.’ This rule is particularly relevant to the scenes with the triumphal procession, for it is especially in these compositions, consisting of large groups of people passing underneath an archway, that the danger of figures appearing trimmed easily occur. De Grebber’s advice to prevent this problem from happening was followed by everyone. In his own procession next to the window, one of the men in the foreground can be seen kneeling; he also added children of various sizes. Children are also added in his *Triumphal procession, with sacrificial bull* (fig. 4), while the lowest level of the composition is filled with a sheep and a tiny dog.

De Grebber recommended ‘Neither should the figures stand in isolation, that is to say separated from one another, but they should all be involved in the action together. And should the history require just one figure, make sure that he is integrated with the surrounding props’ (rule VII). This last remark might apply to the four rectangular canvases by Cristiaen van Couwenberg, each of which has a herald, and props which play an important ‘binding’ role. In each part of the triumphal procession in the Oranjezaal, the figures are joined to form a close-knit group. The crowd is densely packed in a narrow and shallow space, so that all the figures overlap and none stands apart. Occasionally, even more overlap was achieved by positioning the procession obliquely to the picture plane, as in De Grebber’s procession next to the window (fig. 3). In De Grebber’s procession on the north wall of the hall, the figures stand parallel to the picture plane (fig. 4). Here, the artist united the group with the aid of props, consisting of a pattern of red and green garlands and similarly coloured textiles.

Rules on decorum

Two of the eleven *Regulen* concern the representation of the history, according to the principles of decorum. The second rule states that the painter should first closely study the literary source of the history he wishes to depict, in order to represent the story as accurately as possible; especially in the case of a Scriptural story or true account. The tenth rule warns that all the figures in the representation must appear to be behaving in a way which is true to their type and in accordance with the specific circumstances of the story. Here, De Grebber is repeating some well-known notions from humanist art theory, which go back to Horace’s principles for the *Ars Poetica*.⁵² Obviously, the people chiefly responsible for the implementation of these recommendations in the Oranjezaal, were Van Campen, Constantijn Huygens and Amalia van Solms; after all, they had determined the contents of all the pictures. However, individual painters also played an important role; for example, in the rendering of facial expressions, types of complexion and postures.⁵³ From *Frederik Hendrik in triumph*, we know that Jacob Jordaens did not share the opinion of the Oranjezaal commissioners on a number of points. A letter in which Jordaens explains his objections, reveals that he would have preferred to omit several personifications since he found them improper for a triumphal procession, and would have liked to include some other figures.⁵⁴

Rules on the use of colour and light and shade

Finally, four of De Grebber's *Regulen* are associated with the use of colour, and light and shade in a painting, mostly offering advice on how to achieve convincing modelling and the illusion of depth in the depiction. It is not surprising to find several differences between the individual painters on these points, for it is these pictorial aspects, above all, in which artists express their personal style.

In the sixth rule, De Grebber recommends the organisation of light and shade into general areas: 'Take special care to connect the lights well, and not to place a highlight here, and a shadow there, so that from a distance it [the finished painting] looks like so many meaningless specks, but the *gheweldt* [force] of the painting should be visible from a distance as well as from close by. Which is why this is one of the weightiest rules.' Thus, according to De Grebber the purpose of carefully organising the painting into combined light and dark areas is that it allows the spectator to experience, from close by as well as further away, the full *gheweldt* [force] of the painting, a seventeenth-century term referring to the powerful effect of three-dimensionality.⁵⁵ This advice is in complete accordance with the ideas on the pictorial function of colour and tone, as formulated within the art-theoretical debate in the Northern Netherlands of the mid-seventeenth century. Paul Taylor shows that the concept of *houding* [poise] played a central part in this.⁵⁶ *Houding* related to both the harmony of colour, and the illusion of three-dimensionality in a painting. It is essentially a concept of the balance of strong and weak nuances, but also of light and dark tones of colour, which can either bring the forms forward or allows them to recede into the background. The two-dimensional surface in a painting was thus developed into a continuously advancing space, in which the figures were located and you could, as it were, move freely about. In his *Inleyding tot de hooge schoole der schilderconst* (1678), Samuel van Hoogstraeten noted that a convincing effect of *houding* could only be achieved by the proper organisation of light and dark tones.⁵⁷ This implied that light and shade should not be mixed up, but should instead be organised into general areas; the brightest lights together with the weaker lights, and the darkest tones with the lighter shadows.⁵⁸ A similar notion is expressed by Philips Angel. According to him, only the ordering of light and shade into larger 'units' would give a painting its *kracht* - a term just like *gheweldt*, relating to the convincing effect of three-dimensionality - and *welstand*, a concept that, by the middle of the seventeenth century, had come to mean something similar to *houding*.⁵⁹ De



Fig. 11

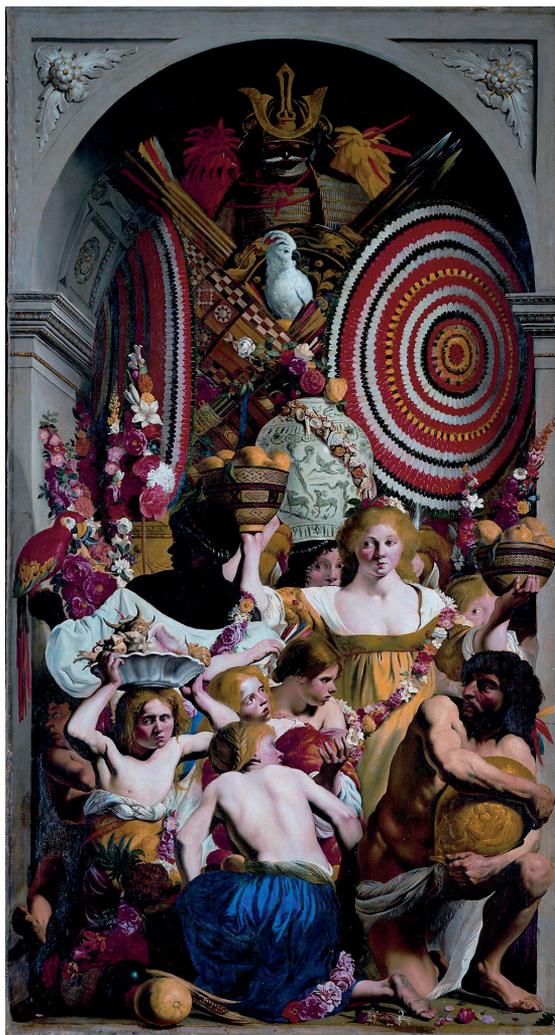
Detail of fig. 4. De Grebber has depicted the fur of the breast of the bull by applying a tough, pigment-rich paint with a stiff brush. The beads in the decoration of the white bull have first been modelled in paint. Only for the highlights small pieces of gold leaf were applied

Grebber's rule about *gheweldt* makes the same point. According to Van Hoogstraeten, too much alternation of light and shade results in a picture with a flat appearance, like a chess- or draughtboard, while De Grebber describes the effect as 'so many meaningless specks'.⁶⁰ Van Hoogstraeten and De Grebber both took their comparisons from Junius.⁶¹ But, although Junius had warned against the abrupt juxtaposition of light and dark areas, he had not yet made the link between the organisation of light and shade and the convincing illusion of space.⁶²

The eleventh and last of De Grebber's *Regulen* reads 'According to the receding of the figures they should be made to look stronger or fainter: that is as they reduce in scale, so they must also be reduced in contrast of colour and tone.' Modelling the forms in the background with more subdued colours and less tonal contrast, is a common method for obtaining atmospheric perspective. It had been used, and described in Antiquity.⁶³ By the middle of the seventeenth century, painters had developed many more methods for this purpose, including the reduction of detail for forms in the background. De Lairese explains how warm and bright colours seem to come forward, while cool and muted colours do not.⁶⁴ Another method, described by Van Hoogstraeten, is based on the concept of *kenlijkheit*, [perceptibility] and has to do with the coarseness of the paint surface. According to Van Hoogstraeten, the *kenlijkheit* makes forms project optically - a slightly coarse paint surface gives the eye something to focus on, so that the area seems substantial and close by - while very smoothly painted forms seem to recede into the back-

ground.⁶⁵ In the Oranjezaal yet another method was used. In many of the paintings, the shapes in the background are indicated only slightly with loose brush strokes, while, in the foreground, the paint has been brushed out much more carefully (fig. 13). Although the brushstrokes in the background are clearly discernible, these parts do not come forward but strongly recede. Apparently, we do not experience a clearly visible brush stroke as *kenlijk*, [perceptible]. This has to do with the fact that the areas concerned were painted with strongly diluted paint, so that the paint surface is completely flat, while towards the front of the image more 'buttery' paint was used that was applied more thickly.

Fig.12
Jacob van Campen, *Triumphal procession, with gifts from the East and West*, oil on canvas, 380 x 205 cm
Royal Collections, Huis ten Bosch, The Hague



The above methods for creating depth, were all used by De Grebber. In the procession next to the window we see the 'reduction in contrast of colour and tone'. For example, the metal objects in the background exhibit less bright colours and fading tonal contrasts. Furthermore, the shapes further back within the image lack detail; they are merely indicated with thin paint and loose brushstrokes, leaving the underpaint visible in large parts. In contrast, the golden candelabra at the very front of the painting, has been painted with smooth brushstrokes in combination with thickly applied highlights that, as will be explained in part II, give the metal its dazzling shine (fig. 10). A characteristic use of *ken-*

Fig.13
Salomon de Bray, *Triumphal procession, with musicians and conquered banners*, 1649, oil on canvas, 382/383.5 x 207 cm
Royal Collections, Huis ten Bosch, The Hague



lijkheit can be found in the procession on the north wall, where De Grebber used a rough paint texture to imitate the fur on the white bull's head and chest, but applied the paint smoothly brushed out for the animals hindquarter (fig. 11). In this procession we also see the use of colour as recommended by De Lairese: warm, bright yellow and red for the shapes in the front, and cool blues and greys in the background. For the golden decorations of the white bull in the foreground, De Grebber used gold leaf. However, the ornaments of the black bull with the barrels, behind, were made with paint only; gold leaf would have made these ornaments optically advance too much. In his procession next to the window (fig. 3), De Grebber let the large candelabra and the foot of the standard-bearer overlap with the front of the archway and the boy with the platter casts a strong shadow to the right. Such characteristic *trompe l'œil* effects can be found in all other parts of the triumphal procession and must have been introduced at the suggestion of Van Campen.⁶⁶

Of all these methods, De Grebber only mentions the reduction of colour and tonal contrast in his *Regulen*, and indeed these rules were not intended as a comprehensive overview of all known techniques. In order to exemplify the importance of a convincing illusion of depth, De Grebber may have chosen to mention only one authoritative, classical rule and omit all the other 'tricks'. De Grebber's remark 'because of the lighting' shows how much meaning can be hidden in one single word in his *Regulen*. This must have applied to the effect of depth as well.

Naturally, a convincing atmospheric perspective contributes to the effect of *houding*. It was a challenge to create the illusion of a logically continuous space in the overcrowded triumphal processions. Especially in Jacob van Campen's *Triumphal procession, with gifts from the East and West*, the figures seem to be pressed against the painting's surface (fig. 12). This is because of the abrupt alternation of colours and tones, and because all the forms, including those in the background, are rendered in vivid colours and much detail. Van Campen appears to have had difficulties with the other pictorial *Regulen* as well; perhaps, he was simply not experienced enough as a painter and not sufficiently familiar with the subtleties in this field.⁶⁷ In Salomon de Braij's *Triumphal procession, with musicians* (1649), however, the effect of *houding* is successful, thanks to a clever manipulation of light and shade and the differentiated handling of forms in the foreground and background (fig. 13).⁶⁸ In comparison to this picture, the effect of depth in both De Grebber's processions is less convincing and there does

not seem to be enough space for all the people, animals and objects - although he did not actually depict more figures than De Braij. In De Grebber's *Triumphal procession, with spoils of war* this is particularly caused by the fact that almost all the bodies are strongly lit, and modelled with much tonal contrast. Contrary to De Braij, light and shade have only been organised into larger clusters in a few places. In fact, De Grebber's procession is made of loose, 'cut-out' figures that have been rendered convincingly individually (possibly they were based on his own life studies), but don't form a coherent group together. This is remarkable, since De Grebber successfully organised light and shade in several of his earlier works.⁶⁹ In his *Triumphal procession, with sacrificial bull* the apparent lack of space (there is little room for the two black bulls and horses standing between the protagonists) seems to be the result of less successful atmospheric perspective; there is too much detail and the use of colour and tonal contrasts is too strong in the background.

The eighth of the *Regulen* recommends: 'Jumbling of figures should be avoided, by which we mean that an arm, or a leg, or hands, or anything that belongs to one figure, should not appear to belong to another.' This advice was almost literally taken from Van Mander but certainly applies to the paintings in the Oranjezaal.⁷⁰ Especially in the paintings with the triumphal procession, where many life-size figures and objects are placed in a narrow pictorial space, there is the danger of 'jumbling of figures'. For example, in Jacob van Campen's procession, there are several forearms which do not obviously belong to anyone in particular and require closer inspection, since they are not logically connected to the torsos and because there is not enough differentiation between the fleshtones (fig. 12). In both of De Grebber's processions it is absolutely clear to whom each body part belongs. Nonetheless, through ageing, a sort of 'jumbling of figures' has unfortunately occurred in his *Triumphal procession, with spoils of war*. Because of light, scattering from the strong craquelure of the (once) dark glaze in the hair of the man with the vase, this area now blends in with the grey colour of the shield behind, so that the body no longer seems to have a head.

In his fifth rule, De Grebber recommends that, whenever a second level is needed, because of the nature of the history depicted, the artist should always take care that the main emphasis remains in one level, this being the level in which one wishes to depict 'the greatest glory.' This rule seems tailored to the triumphal processions, since they all have this second level, consisting of objects carried high above the heads of the figures. All painters

have rendered the second level with more subdued, mostly darker tints, so that 'the greatest glory' is, indeed, reserved for the foreground. But the measure in which the contrast is applied differs from picture to picture, so that the effect of depth is not always equally convincing.

Conclusion and summary

Pieter de Grebber's *Regulen* (1649) consists of a single printed broad sheet with eleven brief instructions for history painting, focusing on the *ordinantie*, decorum and the use of colour. It was argued that this pamphlet is not just a reflection on older notions, but should be

interpreted as a series of concrete and directly applicable recommendations, which were probably formulated because of the decorations for the Oranjezaal, Huis ten Bosch. This cycle of paintings includes three works by De Grebber (1648-50). The date of the pamphlet coincides with De Grebber's activities for the ensemble and all eleven *Regulen* have been followed very closely in the Oranjezaal. The *Regulen* provide insight into the methods of De Grebber and the other painters in the hall, explaining their pictorial choices, compositional aspects of their paintings, and their use of light and colour to create a convincing effect of depth and volume.

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Notes

1 Th. Schrevelius, *Harlemias, Ofte, om beter te seggen, De eerste stichtinghe der Stadt Haerlem...* (Haarlem, 1648), 382: '...want dese Pieter de Grebber is soo geluckigh in inventie als suyver in 't schilderen dat hy by de beste Schilders onser eeuw meriteert gestelt te worden.' Samuel Ampzig, *Beschrijvinge ende Lof der Stadt Haerlem*, (Haarlem, 1628), 370, Philips Angel *Lof der schilder-konst*, (Leiden 1642), 52-53, S. van Hoogstraeten, *Inleyding tot de hooge schoole der schilderkonst ...* (Rotterdam 1678), 257, A. Houbraken, *De groote*

schouburgh der Nederlantsche konstschilders en schilderessen, 3 vols. (Amsterdam, 1718-21), 3 vols, vol.2, 42, 122, 127.
2 For a bibliography of Pieter de Grebber: R. Hazeleger, *Pieter Fransz de Grebber, schilder tot Haerlem*, [unpublished master thesis] (Utrecht, 1979), 31-39. J.A. Welu, P. Biesboer (eds.), *Judith Leyster: Schilderes in een mannenwereld*, [exh. cat., Frans Halsmuseum, Haarlem], (Zwolle, 1993), 220-221. A. Blankert, J. Giltaij, F. Lammertse (eds.), *Hollands Classicisme in de zeventiende-eeuwse schilderkunst*, [exh.cat., Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, Rotterdam & Städtisches Kunstinstitut, Frankfurt] (Rotterdam, 1999/2000), 116-118.
3 Q. Buvelot, 'Ontwerpen voor geschilderde decoratieprogramma's', in: J. Huisken, K.Ottenheim, G. Schwartz eds., *Jacob van Campen. Het klassieke ideaal in de Gouden Eeuw*, (Amsterdam, 1995), 120-153, esp. 122, 126-127. P. van der Ploeg, C. Vermeeren, "'Uijt de penningen van de zeeprinsen"' *De stadhouderlijke schilderijenverzameling*', P. van der Ploeg, C. Vermeeren eds., *Vorstelijk Verzameld. De kunstcollectie van Frederik Hendrik en Amalia*, [ex. cat. Royal Cabinet of Paintings Mauritshuis] (The Hague, 1997-1998), 34-60, esp. 40-45, D.F. Slothouwer, *De paleizen van Frederik Hendrik*, (Leiden 1945), 55, 77, 79, 268, 270-271, 284, 286, 287, 306.
4 On the iconography of the Oranjezaal: H. Peter-Raup, *Die Ikonographie des Oranjezaal*, (Hildesheim and New York, 1980). B. Brennkmeijer-De Rooij, 'Notities betreffende de decoratie van

de Oranjezaal in Huis Ten Bosch', *Oud Holland*, 96 (1982), 133-190.
5 These amounts are known from a preserved estimate, on which Huygens wrote 'Gissinge van van Campen, 10 Majj 1649': Slothouwer 1945, 315.
6 Pieter Fransz. de Grebber, *Regulen: welcke by een goet Schilder en Teycknaer geobserveert en achtervolgt moeten werden; Te samen ghestelt tot lust van de leergierighe Discipelen/*, (Haarlem 1649), Noord-Hollands Archive, Haarlem, (portef. Plano 2, no. 4).
7 This research is part of the project Comparative Studies of Paintings in the Oranjezaal (project leader A van Grevenstein), which is project P1 in the De Mayerne Research Program of the Netherlands Organisation for Scientific Research (NWO). In this project the technical and stylistic aspects of the painting ensemble in the Oranjezaal were subjected to a thorough study, where critical studies of the paintings were placed in a broad art-historical framework (to be published circa 2007 as part of a book on the Oranjezaal, by the Netherlands Institute for Art History (RKD), The Hague). The analytical work is supported by the FOM approved research programs 28 and 49 granted to Prof. Dr. J.J. Boon (FOM Institute AMOLF, Amsterdam). The analytical research of the painting materials and degradation processes is being carried out by A. van Loon, E. Ferreira et al., under the supervision of Prof. Dr. J. J. Boon. The research was started under the NWO Molart Program when the

paintings were being conserved for the State Building Department by the Limburg Conservation Institute (SRAL), Maastricht, 1998-2001.
8 For example, Brennkmeijer-De Rooij, 'Theorie van de kunst', B. Haak, *Hollandse schilders in de Gouden Eeuw*, (Zwolle, 2003) [1st edition 1984], 60-70, esp. 63. H. Miedema, *De archiefbescheiden van het St. Lukasgilde te Haarlem 1497-1798*, (Alphen aan de Rijn, 1980), 2 vols, vol. 1, 278, note 146.
9 P.J.J. van Thiel, 'De Grebbers regels van de kunst', *Oud Holland*, 80 (1965), 126-131.
10 E.R.M. Taverne, 'Salomon de Bray and the reorganization of the Haarlem guild of St. Luke in 1631', *Simiolus*, 6 (1972-73), 50-69.
11 A *vrije gast* was a painter who, after finishing his apprenticeship, worked for yet another year in the workshop of a master painter, before earning his money independently: M.E.W. Goosens, *Schilders en de markt. Haarlem 1605-1635*, [Ph.D. thesis University of Leiden] (Leiden, 2001), 78-79.
12 Miedema 1980, vol 1, 121, article 40: 'Ende sullen vinderen oock beneerstigen dat men gemeender handt, ofte dan met eenigh getal van willige uijt den meesteren, alle de konsten, en kennisse van dien werde bevytycht, ende met een samen en te gelycke doeninge van teekenen, ontleeden, en andere konstige doenten, en oefeningen werden betraght ende naer gespeurt, en voorts met openlijcke lessen, leeringen, en demonstratie der bequaemsten tot dies den leerwillighen toehouder, Gilderbroederen en vrije

- gasten deeser konsten ijder sijne konste en de wetenschap, geex-pliceert ende verklaert, sulckx dat deese stadt en oock den gilde daer aff een ere hebben, en loff wert gesproocken.’
- 13** H. Miedema, ‘Kunstschilders, gilde en academie. Over het probleem van de emancipatie van de kunstschilders in de Noordelijke Nederlanden van de 16^{de} en 17^{de} eeuw’, *Oud Holland*, 101 (1987) 1, 1-34, esp. 15-16.
- 14** In this respect it is remarkable that the old Cornelisz. van Haarlem was involved in the drafting of a new charter, while he was never concerned with guild matters before: Taverne 1972-1973, 55-56.
- 15** About the cultural milieu in Haarlem: M.J. Bok, ‘Familie, vrienden en opdrachtgever’, in Huiskens et al. 1995, 27-52, esp. 32-34. Q. Buvelot, ‘Jacob van Campen als schilder en tekenaar’, in Huiskens et al. 1995, 53-119, esp. 56-58. A. Blankert, ‘Classicisme in de Hollandse historieschilderkunst’, in Rotterdam & Frankfurt 1999/2000, 12-33, esp. 20-22. K. Ottenheym, ‘De schilder-architecten van het Hollands classicisme’, in Rotterdam & Frankfurt, 1999-2000, 34-53, esp. 39-45. P. Huys Janssen, *Caesar van Everdingen 1616/17-1678: monograph and catalogue raisonné*, Doornspijk 2002, 41-43, and the review of this book by F. Lammertse in *Oud Holland*, 117 (2004), 262-67.
- 16** Rotterdam & Frankfurt 1999-2000, 84-86.
- 17** The charter was first submitted in 1631, and again in 1634. However, the Haarlem magistrate never ratified the charter, as was first noticed by Miedema in Miedema 1980, 93, note 49.
- 18** The same year this historiated initial was also used by Pieter Casteleyn in: *Harlemum concors*, S.P.Q.H. *Dicata. Harlemi, Ex officina Petri Castelynij*, (Haarlem 1649). The qualities ascribed to Minerva, Mercurius and Fama were considered especially relevant for artist, see H. Miedema ed., C. van Mander, *Grondt der edel vrij schilderconst ...* (Utrecht, 1973), 2 vols, vol. 2, and K. Levy, ‘Goltzius voor kenners van toen’, *Goltzius als schilder, Openbaar kunstbezit*, 29 (1985) 5, 166-175. For the meaning of Batavia: *Woordenboek der Nederlandsche Taal*, 29 vols, vol.2, part 1, (The Hague and Leiden, 1898), 1067-1068.
- 19** Angel 1642, 53.
- 20** Few studies of dressed models, ascribed to De Grebber, are known, for example: *Study of a girl*, (signed on the back grebber f.), black and red chalk, slightly heightened with white, on grey-brown paper; 262 x 183 mm, University print room, Göttingen, Inv. no. H 37.
- 21** K. van Mander, ‘Den grondt der edel vry schilderconst: waer in haer ghestalt, aerdt ende wesen de leerlustighe jeught in verschyden deelen in rijm-dicht wordt voorghedraghen’, *Het schilder-boeck waer in voor eerst de leerlustighe uegght den grondt der edel vrij schilderconst in verschyden deelen wort voorghedraghen ...* (Haarlem, 1604), 1-55.
- 22** Taverne 1972-73, 54.
- 23** Angel 1642, 35.
- 24** E.J. Sluijter, ‘De lof der schilderkunst, Over de schilderijen van Gerrit Dou (1613-1675) en een traktaat van Philips Angel uit 1642, (Hilversum, 1993), 8-10, 33-77, and H. Miedema, ‘Philips Angels Lof der schilder-konst’, *Oud Holland*, 103 (1989) 4, 181-222.
- 25** F. Junius, *De Schilder-konst der Oude, Begrepen in drie Boecken*, (Middelburg, 1641). About Angels’ sources: Miedema 1989, 194, 196. A commented edition with a French translation of the first book was published by: C. Native, *Franciscus Junius, De pictura veterum, libri tres ...* (Genève, 1996).
- 26** The remark in the sixth rule that a painting with a too strong alternation of light and shade ‘schynt dat van verden niet te zijn als placken’ is extracted from Junius 1641, 269.
- 27** J.A. Emmens, *Rembrandt en de regels van de kunst*, (Utrecht, 1968), en A. Ellenius, *De arte pingendi; Latin art literature in seventeenth-century Sweden and its international background*, (Uppsala/Stockholm, 1960).
- 28** Rotterdam & Frankfurt 1999-2000, 12-33, 26.
- 29** In 1643-44, Van Everdingen had painted the outer wings of large organ in the St. Laurens church in Alkmaar that had been designed by Van Campen. During the preparation and realization of the painting, Van Everdingen had lived for at least one and a half year at Van Campen’s country-house in Randenbroeck near Amersfoort. Soutman was on friendly terms with Van Campen, as is evident from an engraved print by Jacob Louis, published by Soutman after a painting by Rubens, and that he dedicated to Van Campen: Jacob Louis, after Peter Paul Rubens, *The rest of Diana and her nymphs*, (Holl. 4), 34 x 40.5 cm. De Braij and Van Campen, of the same generation, knew each other from the 1620s in Haarlem, where they, as previously mentioned, belonged to a small group of young artists who strove for the ideal of an artist who was grounded in both the art of painting and Classical architecture. In his *Architectura moderna...* (Amsterdam, 1631), De Braij praised Van Campen as ‘...den wonderlucken en dapperen Schilderen, en Bouw-meester...’ and he included a description of a building designed by Van Campen as well.
- 30** The vaulting on the north with Allegory on the excellent rule of Frederik Hendrik, maximal width 752 cm, is first attributed to Pieter Claesz. Soutman by the author and Lidwien Speleers. This new attribution will be underpinned in the forthcoming book on the Oranjezaal (2007).
- 31** Letters by Constantijn Huygens and Jacob Jordaens: Slothouwer 1945, 352, 355-58. The role of Van Campen will be discussed in detail in the forthcoming book on the Oranjezaal (2007). See also Buvelot 1995.
- 32** The influence of the figures on the organ shutters in the Church of St. Laurens on the compositions in the Oranjezaal will be discussed in detail in the forthcoming book on the Oranjezaal (2007).
- 33** Rotterdam & Frankfurt 1999-2000, 26.
- 34** Miedema 1989, 191-192.
- 35** The title page of Angel’s book depicts a personification of *Pictura*, with palette, pencils and a painting, placed on a pedestal within a circular fence. On the derivations of these print: P. Chapman, ‘A Hollandse *Pictura*: observations on the title page of Philips Angel’s *Lof der schilder-konst*’, *Simiolus*, 16 (1986), 233-248, and Sluijter 1993, 16-17, 78-79 (notes 3-4, with further literature).
- 36** Verbal communication Dr. Dirk van Miert, Warburg Institute, London, en Dirk van Miert, *Illuster onderwijs. Het Amsterdamse Athenaeum in de Gouden Eeuw, 1632-1704*, forthcoming, (Amsterdam 2005), esp. para-
- graaf 5-2. De disputatie. The sheet Miedema referred to was printed for a doctoral defense in 1597 at Leuven University. This sheet is discussed by F. Baudouin, ‘Een thesisprent ontworpen door Abraham van Diepenbeeck en gegraveerd door Adrien Lommelin’, in *Bijdragen tot de geschiedenis van de grafische kunst*, opgedragen aan Prof. dr. Louis Lebeer ter gelegenheid van zijn tachtigste verjaardag, (Antwerpen, 1975), 26-43, esp. 29, en door A. de Mets, *Reliques de l’ancienne Université de Louvain au Musée Plantin-Moretus à Anvers. Les thèses à image, Mémoires couronnés et autres mémoires publiés par l’Académie Royale de Médecine de Belgique*, Coll. in 8°, t. XXI, 7 Fasc., (Brussel, 1926).
- 37** ‘De reghte dagh.’ (Memorie for Gaspar de Craijer) and ‘Reghte dagh.’ (Memorie for Thomas Willeboirts Bosschaert): Slothouwer 1945, 318.
- 38** ‘Verkeerden dagh.’ (Memorie for Gonzales Coques) and ‘De verkerde dagh.’ (Memorie for Jacob Jordaens): Slothouwer 1945, 318.
- 39** This problem is described in seventeenth-century sources, for instance by Pierre Le Brun, *Recueil des essais des merveilles de la peinture, or the ‘Brussels manuscript’* (1635), Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale Albert I^{er}, MS no. 15.552: M.P. Merrifield, *Original treatises on the arts of painting...* (New York, 1967), 2 vols [repr. of the 1st ed. London 1849], vol. 2, 766-841, esp. 779: ‘... un jour de pleine face c’est à dire qui donne à tout le pourtrait un jour de front; et la il n’y a point d’ombre.’
- 40** For example, in: K. Dankers and A. Wiltschut, *Teykenbouk voor de jonge jeugt in t’ ligt ghebragt door K. Dankers en geteekent door Adrianus Wiltschut*, (1701), Frits Lugt Collection, Paris.
- 41** On the light concept in the Oranjezaal: M. van Eikema Hommes, ‘The visual concept of the Oranjezaal’ to be published in the forthcoming book on the Oranjezaal (2007) and M. van Eikema Hommes, ‘Een ingenieus 17e-eeuws lichtconcept: de Oranjezaal Huis ten Bosch’, (in preparation).
- 42** The effect of bright slanting sunlight is also visualized in Theodoor van Thulden’s *Triumphal procession*, with prisoners (1648) directly to the left to the windows, opposite this pro-

cession by De Grebber.

43 A diffuse daylight is visualized in Theodoor Van Thulden's *Triumphal procession, with elephant and paintings* (1651), Salomon de Bray's, *Triumphal procession, with musicians* (1649) en Gerrit van Honthorst's, *Triumphal procession, Amalia with her daughters observing the victory* (1650).

44 The phenomenon is described by: Gerard de Lairese, *Groot Schilder-boeck*, (Amsterdam, 1707), 2 vols, vol. 1, 248, 274

45 Hoogstraeten 1678, 235-36. By means of an anecdote of the Antique sculptors Phidias and Alcamenes, Van Hoogstraeten explains why smooth and precisely executed paintings are less suitable for distant examination. The two sculptors each made a sculpture for the Goddess Minerva, which were to be placed on a high pillar. Alcamenes' precisely executed sculpture had a pleasant appearance from close by, but from a distance it lost all its gracefulness. Phidias' sculpture was executed coarsely, but when placed on the pillar all coarseness melted into a graceful beauty.

46 Lairese 1707, vol. 1, 11: '... net en mals zo hoog de hand reykt, lugtiger in de middelspatie, en zo na hoog klimmende allengs lugtiger, met zulk een voorzichtigheid nochtans, dat het bovenste dezelfde kracht en malshheid schynd te bezitten, als het onderste.' On the meaning of *kracht*, *lugtig*, and *malshheid* at the De Lairese: L. de Vries, 'Gerard de Lairese: The critical vocabulary of an art theorist,' *Oud Holland*, 117 (2004), 79-98. De Vries pointed out that De Lairese uses the concept *kracht* in relation to strong, protruding colours and in relation to strong contrasts between light and dark. The term *kracht* is hereby always related to the strong effect of volume. This was also pointed out by: P. Taylor, 'The concept of *houding* in Dutch art theory', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 55 (1992), 210-232, esp. 217-18. Taylor indicates that the concept of *kracht*, meaning a strong effect of three dimensionality, can also relate to the whole depiction.

47 He had also had experience with this in the ceiling painting for the hall of Huis Honselaarsdijk (demolished in the nineteenth century), that was more than five or six metres (c. 15

or 16 Rijnlandse voet) above the ground: R. Meischke, 'De modernisering van de twee grote zalen van het Huis Honselaarsdijk in 1637 door Jacob van Campen', *Nederland Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek*, 33 (1983), 191-206.

48 Translation based on that by Dr. Lyckle de Vries, who is preparing an English translation of Gerard de Lairese's *Groot Schilder-boeck* (1707). Lairese 1707, vol. 1, 10: 'Hy geeve dan voor al wel acht, waar zyn stuk geplaatst moet worden, om den Horisont en oogpunt wel te stellen. Hy moet letten waar den dag van daan komt, of het krachtig gedaagd moet zyn, en vlak van schaduw, als digt aan de glaazen, dan zwak en smeltende, wanneer het ver daar af zy, het wel men, of in een Landschap of kamer, haast gewaar zal worden, en of het in de schaduw gloeiend moet zyn of niet; want het is zeker, dat de voorwerpen, schoon levensgrootte, in die twee plaatzen zeer verschillende zyn, zo wel als kleine dingen: wie zulks niet bevatten kan, moet een gering verstand bezitten. Hy neem desgelyks nauw acht op de Perspectief...'

49 From a letter by Jacob Jordaens to Constantijn Huygens, it is known that this painter did not simply want to follow Van Campen's design. Jordaens proposed several changes: Slothouwer 1945, 356-358.

50 Mander 1604, 17r. verse 24: '... Oft soo yet anders/ datmen heeft de temen/ Dat slux t'ghesight van de rest mach benemen.'

51 Pieter de Grebber, *Mozes striking water from the rock*, (c. 1630), canvas 165 x 132 cm, Tourcoing, Musée des Beaux-Arts.

52 Emmens 1968, 40-41. Junius 1641, gives similar advice in his third book in chapters 1 and 4. Similar advice can also be found in Angel 1642, 44-51. The advice in De Grebber's second rule is also given by Van Mander 1604, 15v. verse 7. Van Mander, in the sixth chapter on the *affecten* also extensively deals with the necessity of depicting the character and the mood of the personages in a painting.

53 For example in Theodoor van Thulden's *Triumphal procession, with prisoners*, (the realistic depiction of the greave and anger of the prisoners is in concordance to the

text of Plutarchus, see Capps, E., Page, T.E., Rouse. W.H.D. eds., *Plutarch's Lives*, The Loeb Classical Library, (1914-26), 11 vols, (1914-26), vol. 6, (1918), 443-445. Plutarchus described how in the triumphal procession of AEmilius Paulus the young children of the conquered Macedonian king Perseus were leaded together with their teachers and foster parent. The greave of these prisoners was thus deep the Roman spectators became deeply moved.

54 Slothouwer 1945, 356-358.

55 Taylor 1992, esp. 217-18. A clear definition of the concept *force* (in Dutch *gheweldt* or *kracht*) is given by W. Sanderson, *Graphice*, The use of pen and pencil... (London, 1658), 23: '... with force what it is? Force, it is the rounding, and rising of the work, in truth of nature, as the limbs require it without sharpness in out lines, or flatness within the body of the piece.'

56 Taylor 1992, 210-232.

57 Hoogstraeten 1678, 300.

58 Hoogstraeten 1678, 305-306.

59 Angel 1642, 39-40. Angel's remark is interpreted by Taylor 1992, 219-220. Miedema has pointed out that Angel is the first author who uses the concept of *welstand* in the sense of a three-dimensional articulation of space in a painting: H. Miedema, 'Philips Angel, Praise of painting. Translated by Michael Hoyle, with an introduction and commentary by Hessel Miedema', *Simiolus*, 24 (1996), 227-258, 255. According to Miedema, Angel uses the concept of *welstand* even as a synonym for *houding*: H. Miedema, 'Karel van Mander: did he write art literature', *Simiolus*, 22 (1993-94), 58-64, 61 note 16. The translation of the concept of *welstand* as optimal quality by Vries 2004, 79-98, 81, certainly does not apply to Angel, according to the author.

60 Hoogstraeten 1678, 305-06.

61 Junius 1641, 269.

62 The grouping of light and shade is first explicitly associated with a convincing illusion of space by Angel 1642.

63 This principle is already described in Ptolemeus' *Optica*: E.H. Gombrich, *Gombrich on the Renaissance*, 3 vols, vol. 3: *The Heritage of Apelles*, (London, 1993), 3-17, esp. 12.

64 Lairese 1707, for example, vol. 1, 208, 229. See also: Vries 2004, 91,

and Taylor 1992, 217.

65 Hoogstraeten 1678, 306-309. On Van Hoogstraeten's ideas on the suggestion of space in a painting and the use herein of paint texture: E. van de Wetering, *Rembrandt. The painter at work*, (Amsterdam, 1997), chap. VII, esp. 181-185.

66 It must have been the intention that in a later stage, the front of the archway would be elaborated, so that this would continue almost invisibly into the actual architectural elements of the hall executed in the same colour.

Than, the *trompe l'oeil* effect would have been even more successful.

67 Van Campen was mainly working as an architect and from his hand only few paintings are known. For a catalogue of Van Campen's paintings and drawings: Buvelot 1995, 105-119.

68 In this painting, also De Braij's use of contour lines plays an important part in the rendering of *houding*; for De Braij's methods in rendering a convincing illusion of space: M. H. van Eikema Hommes, 'The contours in the paintings of the Oranjezaal, Huis ten Bosch' in: Weststeijn, T. et al. eds., *The learned eye, Regarding Art, theory, and the artists' reputation, Essays for Ernst van de Wetering*, (Amsterdam, 2005), 59-84.

69 An example is his *The finding of Mozes*, canvas 169.5 x 228.5 cm, Dresden, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister.

70 Mander 1604, 18v. verse 39.

Photo credits

fig. 1, 5, 6, 7: Stichting Restauratie Atelier Limburg. Photographer: Edwin Verweij.

fig. 3, 4, 12, 13: Royal Collections, Huis ten Bosch, The Hague.

Photographer: Margareta Svensson, Amsterdam.

fig. 8: Municipal Archive Haarlem. fig. 9: Royal Collections, Huis ten Bosch, The Hague.

RULES:

TO BE OBSERVED AND FOLLOWED BY A GOOD PAINTER AND
DRAUGHTSMAN; COMPILED FOR THE INTEREST
OF STUDIOUS APPRENTICES/
BY MASTER PIETER FRANZ. DE GREBBER

I.

It is necessary to know where it [a painting] will hang before it is made, for various reasons: because of the lighting; because of the height at which it will hang; so that we can establish our distance and horizon; which is why it is also necessary that all draughtsmen have a thorough understanding of the rules of perspective.

II.

It is necessary to make a thorough reading of the histories: (especially those which are Scriptural or based on historical events) so that the true meaning can be revealed as closely as possible.

III.

The principal [figures] of the history must be represented in the most beautiful part of the painting and should be in the foreground.

III.

It must be avoided that the figures appear trimmed, that is to say, that the top of the heads should not follow a straight line as if drawn with a ruler, all on the same level. To avoid this, you should try to make a few figures who are stooping down, or insert children or women who are somewhat smaller.

V.

You should observe that (should the history require you to do so) a certain level should be inserted for the splendour of the work, and, if you need to add two levels, to make sure that the main emphasis remains on one and in that place where you wish to express the greatest glory.

VI.

Take special care to connect the lights well, and not to place a high-light here, and a shadow there, so that from a distance it looks like so many meaningless specks, but the force of the painting should be visible from a distance as well as from close by. Which is why this is one of the weightiest rules.

VII.

Neither should the figures stand in isolation, that is to say separated from one another, but they should all be involved in the action together. And, should the history require just one figure, make sure that he is integrated with the surrounding props.

VIII.

Jumbling of figures should be avoided, by which we mean that an arm, or a leg, or hands, or anything that belongs to one figure, should not appear to belong to another.

IX.

Anything that extends beyond the frame of the painting is unsightly, and should therefore be avoided, as well as anything that sticks half out of the ground, unless you wish to make an Ecce Homo, or some such, demanding a higher viewpoint, then it is permitted to have something sticking out of the ground.

X.

The roles of the figures should also be taken into account, that is to say, that each figure shows his role, not that a soldier adopts the role of a monk and is depicted in demure pose, nor should the monk appear to be soldier-like, but the role of each figure should be clear and in accordance with the meaning of the scene.

XI.

According to the receding of the figures they should be made to look stronger or fainter: that is as they reduce in scale so they must also be reduced in contrast of colour and tone.

THE END.

Printed in Haarlem, by Pieter Casteleyn, Book-printer in the Market at the sign of the Emperor's Crown, Anno 1649.

REGULEN:

WELCKE BY EEN GOET SCHILDER EN TEYCKENAER
GEOBSERVEERT EN ACHTERVOLGHT MOETEN WERDEN; TE SAMEN
GHESTELT TOT LUST VAN DE LEERGIERIGHE DISCIPELEN/
DOOR MR. PIETER FRANZ. DE GREBBER.

I.

De plaets is van noode te weten daermen hangen wil dat ghemaect sal worden, om verscheyde redenen; om 't licht: om de hoogte des plaets: om soo vorder ons afstand en Orizont te nemen; waer toe oock dient dat alle Ordineerders de grondt van de Perspectif behooren grondigh te verstaen.

II.

Is't van noode datmen de Historien wel door-leest: (bysonder als het Schriftuerlijcke ofte waerachtighe Historien zijn) om den sin soo nae als't moghelijk is wel uyt te beelden.

III.

Het principaelste van de Historie moet in het schoonste van 't stuck en vooraen ghebracht werden.

III.

Alle gheschooretheydt moet ghemijdt werden, dat is, dat de Hoofden boven niet en zijn of zy met een Linie getrocken waeren, even Hoogh. Om dit te mijden salmen soecken eenighe beelden te maeken die bocken, ofte kinderen, ofte vrouwen die wat kleynder zijn tusschen beyden voeghen.

V.

Daer moet waerghenomen werden datter (soo die Historie eenighsins sulckx vereyscht) eenighe hoogte in ghebracht werdt, tot rijckelijckheydt van 't Werck, en sooder twee in ghebracht werde, dat d'eene altyds de meeste blijft, en dat op die plaets daermen de meeste heerlijckheydt wil uytbeelden.

VI.

Moetmen wel letten, dat het licht wel met malkander ghebonden is, en niet en werdt ghevonden hier een lichtje, daer een bruyntje, soo dat het schynt dat van verden niet te zijn als placken, maer de Schilderije moet dat hebben, dat van veers, als van by, zijn gheweldt kan ghesien werden. Waer van desen reghel een van de besonderste is.

VII.

Oock moet men mijden dat de beelden niet enkel en staen, te weten van malkander ghescheyden, maer moeten by den anderen ghebracht werden, dat zy door, en om elkander leven. En soo de Historij maer een beelt vereyscht, sult ghy sien door het bywerck bindingh te maecken.

VIII.

De haspelingh der beelden moeten ghemijdt werden, 't welck is dat de Arm, ofte Been, ofte Handen, of yets dat van de eene is, den ander niet en schijnt toe te komen.

IX.

Alle voorbeelden half uyt de lijst komende is onschoon, en moeten daer om ghemijdt werden, en oock voorbeelden die voor half uyt de grondt steecken, ten waer dat men wilde maecken een Ecce Homo, of dierghelijcke, daer nootsaekelijck uyt beeldingh van hoogte vereyscht werdt, dan moghen die voor uyt de grondt uyt steecken.

X.

De werkinghe vande beelden moet oock waerghenomen werden, dat is dat elck beeldt sijn werck doet, niet dat een Soldaet treedt in de werkingh van de Monnick en soo sedigh staet, en weder de Monnick schijnt een Soldaet te zyn, maer elck zijn gheleghentheydt van werkingh als de sin mede brengt, soo moeten de werkinghen uyt vallen.

XI.

Naer de verschietingh der beelden moeten zy stercker oft flaeuwer ghehouden werden: dat is, soo veel als zy verliesen door verkleeningh, soo veel nae advenant zy verflaeuwen van koleure oft sterckte.

EYNDE.

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