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# Taylor, Paul. *"Gladdicheyt" in Karel van Mander's 'Schilder-boeck':Lexicographie artistique : formes, usages et enjeux dans l'Europe moderne/ Artistic lexicography : forms, uses and issues in Early Modern Europe.*

2018

Published Work

**To cite this version:**

Taylor, P. (2018). *"Gladdicheyt" in Karel van Mander's 'Schilder-boeck'* (pp. 377–394). https://doi.org/10.26530/OAPEN_644313

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**Publisher's URL:** https://www.pulm.fr/

**DOI:** 10.26530/OAPEN_644313

**Date submitted:** 2020-03-27

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# "*Gladdicheyt*" in Karel van Mander's *Schilder-boeck*

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PUM

Those of us who work on the vocabulary of art know that the standard dictionaries of the European languages are not as helpful as we would like. The lexicographers who have worked on these great enterprises over the years have not always found time to tease out the nuances of the technical terms employed by artists. As a result, while working on an art theoretical text we can be misled even by the most scholarly of dictionaries, when trying to translate what appears to be a simple, basic word in a language.

This is of course much more likely to occur when a word is used in an idiosyncratic way by an individual author. This paper concerns a word of that kind: the Dutch adjective "*glad*", the central meaning of which is "smooth".[1] Connected to this adjective is "*gladdich*", meaning "smoothish" or "rather smooth";[2] the abstract noun is "*gladdicheyt*", "smoothness".[3] Although the central meaning of "*glad*" is "smooth", I shall try to show that Karel van Mander (1548–1606) in his *Schilder-boeck* gave the word a number of other meanings which do not immediately seem related to the concept of smoothness. So far as

1. Sometimes "*glad*" is written with a "t" as "*glat*", but so far as I can see the meaning remains the same. Van Mander never uses "*glad*" with a d to mean "smooth", but I doubt that this fact is significant; it is probably just a coincidence resulting from a small sample. He uses "*glat*" with a t to mean both "smooth" and a number of other meanings shared with "*glad*" with a d.

2. Karel VAN MANDER, *Het Schilder-Boeck*, Haarlem, P. van Wesbuch, 1604, I, fol. 10 r°, 116 r°, 123 v°–124 r°.

3. Karel VAN MANDER, 1604, fol. 124 v° and 144 r°.

I have been able to discover, these meanings were shared by no other author.

In order to recover these meanings I shall be making much use of the abridged translation of Giorgio Vasari's (1511–1574) *Vite de' piu eccellenti pittori, scultori e architettori* that Van Mander published as part of his *Schilder-boeck*.[1] By contrasting Italian terms with the Dutch words Van Mander chose in order to translate them, we can learn much about the nuances of meaning he gave to his terminology. "*Glad*" is a particularly revealing example of this, since it is *only* from seeing how it is used in translation that we can come to appreciate the variety of senses Van Mander gave the word. If we were trying to interpret "*glad*" purely from its usual meaning and from the context of the Dutch words around it, we would misinterpret it. Without Vasari's text to compare to Van Mander's, it would seem sensible to interpret "*glad*" as "smooth" in almost every case.[2] Some of the contexts might make that translation seem a little odd, but there would be nothing to make the reading impossible.

This opens up before us a considerable problem of method. Most of the time we do not have a parallel text in a foreign language which we can use as a check on the meanings of the words we are studying. We rely heavily on the immediate textual context when we are analysing the sense of a passage. The example of "*glad*" shows, however, that this immediate context is not always sufficient. For anyone who works on the meanings of artistic terms, "*glad*" provides reason to be sceptical about the results of a monoglot philological enquiry. And since most of our philological enquiries are monoglot, the argument that follows may be methodologically disturbing.

"*Glad*", as I have said, can usually be translated by the English word "smooth", but the Dutch word ranges over a broader semantic field than its English counterpart. Like "smooth", "*glad*" can refer to hairless skin, so it can be used as an alternative for "bald" or "shaved"; but it

1. The most recent and complete scholarly analysis of Van Mander's Italian *Lives* is Saskia COHEN-WILNER, *Rederijkersdromen en Schildersdaden. De* Italiaanse Levens *in het* Schilder-Boeck *(1604) van Karel van Mander*, PhD thesis, University of Amsterdam, 2016.

2. I argued that this was the correct translation, inaccurately I now think, in Paul TAYLOR, "Book Review. Karel van Mander, *The Lives of the Illustrious Netherlandish and German Painters. Preceded by The Lineage, Circumstances and Place of Birth, Life and Works of Karel van Mander, Painter and Poet and likewise his Death and Burial*, ed. by Hessel Miedema. 6 volumes. Doornspijk, 1994–1999", in *Oud Holland*, 115, 2001–2002, p. 131–154 (here p. 134).

has too a number of other, related senses. It often has connotations of lustrous appearance—in fact the *Woordenboek der Nederlandsche Taal* suggests that the word may be related to the noun "*glans*", which means "shine", "gloss" or "lustre". [1] When referring to animals, it can describe sleek, shiny fur. The connotations of glossiness extend the word still further, so that it can describe other surfaces which have an oily or polished or slick appearance. From here it is a small step to a further meaning: "*glad*" can mean "slippery". Van Mander himself uses the word in this sense on one occasion. In his *Lives of the Ancient Painters*, which is based on Antoine du Pinet's French translation of Pliny the Elder, he translates the phrase "*chemins glissans*" by "*slijckighe en slibberige gladde wegen*", which might be translated as "muddy and slippery slick paths". [2]

So "*glad*" already has a range of applications which is greater than that of the English word "smooth". Van Mander then took the term and gave it a still broader field of connotation. Take for example a phrase in Van Mander's life of Andrea Mantegna (ca. 1431–1506), which is of course an abbreviated translation of Vasari's life of Mantegna. He writes of "*het vleesch met zijn soeticheyt en gladdicheyt*". It would be easy to translate this as "the flesh with its sweetness and smoothness", but it would appear that this was not what Van Mander meant to say. The original phrase of Italian he was trying to translate was "*la tenerezza e morbidezza della carne*", "the tenderness and softness of flesh". [3]

Van Mander uses "*glad*", "*gladdich*" or "*gladdicheyt*" to translate "*morbido*" or "*morbidezza*" on six separate occasions. "*Morbido*", which means "soft" in Italian, is used by Vasari to refer to surfaces, often but not always of flesh, which are painted so well that they seem as soft and yielding as they do in real life.

So why use the word "*glad*" to render this seemingly very different concept? There are other Dutch words which have the meaning of softness, such as "*poeseligh*" or "*sacht*". In fact Van Mander does also

1. *Woordenboek der Nederlandsche Taal*,'s- Gravenhage, Sdu Uitgeverij, 1993, s. v. "*Glad*".

2. Karel VAN MANDER, 1604, I, fol. 87 v°–88 r°; Gaius PLINIUS, *Histoire du Monde*, tr. by A. du Pinet, Lyon, Claude Senneton, 1562–1566 [1st ed. *Historia naturalis*, Rome, ca 77 AD], II, p. 652; Plinius, ca 77, XXXV. xxxvii. 117. On the translations and commentaries of Pliny used by Van Mander see the comments by Hessel Miedema in Karel van Mander, *Den grondt der edel-vry schilderconst*, ed. by H. MIEDEMA, Utrecht, Haentjens, Dekker and Gumbert, 1973, II, p. 644–645.

3. Karel VAN MANDER, 1604, I, fol. 108 r°; Giorgio VASARI, *Le vite de' piu eccellenti pittori, scultori e architettori*, Florence, I Giunti, 1568, I, p. 489.

use these words to render "*morbido*". He uses "*sacht*" just once but "*poeseligh*" six times. As it happens, Van Mander seems to have changed his mind about which word to use as the translation progressed. From folios 96 to 102 he translated "*morbido*" with "*vloeyend*" ("flowing"); then he switched to "*glad*", which he used up to folio 123; before then turning to "*poeseligh*", which he used almost exclusively for the rest of the book. [1]

One possibility, then, is that Van Mander simply didn't know what "*morbido*" meant, and only hit on the correct translation when he reached folio 124. However that doesn't seem very likely, given that Van Mander's Italian was excellent and "*morbido*" is an extremely common word, both in everyday Italian and in early modern art theory. And there are too other indications that Van Mander intended to give the word "*glad*" an art theoretical sense related to softness. This emerges from the fact that, on three occasions, he used "*glad*" to translate "*unione*". [2] So for example when translating a passage in which Vasari tells us that an *Annunciation* by Andrea del Sarto (1486–1530) displayed "a most pleasant unity of colouring", "*un'unione di colorito molto piacevole*", Van Mander uses the Dutch phrase "*een gladdicheyt der verwen*", which might be translated as "a smoothness of colours" (Fig. 1).

However "*unione*" does not mean "smoothness" in Italian. It is a key term in Italian art theory, and one to which Vasari devotes a whole chapter of his introduction to the arts of architecture, sculpture and painting at the beginning of the *Vite*. [3] A close relative of "*unione*" is the Dutch word "*houding*", since both terms draws together con-

1. Karel VAN MANDER, 1604, *vloeyend*: I, fol. 96 v°, 97 v°, 102 r° (Giorgio VASARI, 1568, I, p. 118, 130, 223); *glad/glat*: I, fol. 101 v°, 108 r°, 115 r°, 116 r° (twice), 123 v°-124 r° (Giorgio VASARI, 1568, I, p. 162, 489; II, p. 13, 17, 18, 151); *poeseligh*: I, fol. 124 r°, 138 r°, 139 v°, 161 v°, 174 v° (Giorgio VASARI, 1568, II, p. 154, 340, 355, 688, 805); *sacht*: I, fol. 137 r° (Giorgio VASARI, 1568, II, p. 328); *niet op so drooge*: fol. 144 r° (Giorgio VASARI, 1568, II, p. 577).

2. Karel VAN MANDER, 1604, I, fol. 101 v°, 104 v°, 124 v° (Giorgio VASARI, 1568, I, p. 162, 376; II, p. 154).

3. Giorgio VASARI, 1568, I, p. 10–66 (48–50). Vasari's introduction has been translated into English in Gerard Baldwin Brown (ed.), *Vasari on Technique*, tr. by L. Maclehose, London, J.M. Dent, 1907. "Technique" is an eighteenth-century term, unknown to Vasari; see Paul Taylor, "From Mechanism to Technique: Diderot, Chardin and the Practice of Painting", in S. DUPRÉ and C. GÖTTLER (ed.), *Knowledge and Discernment in the Early Modern Arts*¸ Abingdon, Routledge, 2017.



Figure 1 – Andrea del Sarto, *The Annunciation*, 1512–13, oil on panel, 183 × 184 cm. Florence, Palazzo Pitti. © Photographic Department of the Uffizi Galleries.

cepts of harmony and the evocation of space through careful colour arrangement. [1] As Vasari puts it:

> All pictures, whether in oil or in fresco or tempera, should be so united in their colours that the principal figures in the stories are brought out with the utmost clearness, the draperies of those in front being kept so light that the figures which stand behind are kept darker than the first, and so little by little as the figures retire inward, they become also in

1. Paul TAYLOR, "The Concept of *Houding* in Dutch Art Theory", in *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 55, 1992, p. 210–232 (222–226); Paul Taylor, "*Houding* and Keeping", in J. JAŹWIERSKI and P. TAYLOR (ed.), *The Visual Culture of Holland in the 17th and 18th Centuries and its European Reception*, Lublin, Wydawnictwo KUL, 2016, p. 93–118 (98).

> equal measure gradually lower in tone in the colour both of the flesh tints and the garments. . . . [1]

The idea then is that colour should be used as a way of evoking space, with lighter colours gradually becoming darker as figures recede. Vasari notes that if this effect is to be achieved, the colours will need to be laid down in a way which is "*unite*", united or unified.

"*Unione*" is connected to "*morbido*", since for Vasari "*morbidezza*" was a principal element in this harmonious creation of figures that round in space. Take for example another passage in Vasari's life of Andrea del Sarto, referring to a painting of Christ appearing to Mary Magdalene (Fig. 2). Vasari says of this work that " . . . *per colorito e per una certa morbidezza et unione è dolce per tutto* . . . ", "in colouring and a certain quality of softness and unity, it is sweetness itself". Van Mander translates this phrase as "*t'welck seer lieflijck en gladdich ghecoloreert was*", "which was coloured very gracefully and rather smoothly". [2] One might think here that "*lieflijck*" is being used to translate "*morbidezza*", but usually Van Mander employs this word to translate "*dolce*" or "*vago*"; [3] so here perhaps he is using "*lieflijck*" to translate "*dolce per tutto*", while "*gladdich*" is covering "*una certa morbidezza et unione*". The suffix "*-ich*" may be an attempt to capture Vasari's adjective "*certa*"—which shows how closely Van Mander follows the sense of his source.

In Vasari's description of Andrea's *Noli me tangere* we see "*morbidezza*" and "*unione*" side-by-side, and Van Mander appears to think they are so closely related that he can translate them with a single word. Although the two words clearly have distinct meanings, they also have much in common. In order to depict soft, convincing flesh, one must make sure that lights connect smoothly to darks, and that there are no sharp edges as limbs gradually round in space. If lights cut too quickly to dark then the result will be not soft, but hard and crude. Here I am following Vasari's own terminology. He says of the manners of certain

1. Giorgio VASARI, 1568, I, p. 48–49: "*Tutte le pitture adunque, o a olio o a fresco o a tempera, si debbon fare talmente unite ne' loro colori, che quelle figure che nelle storie sono le principali venghino condotte chiare chiare, mettendo i panni di colore non tanto scuro adosso a quelle dinanzi che quelle che vanno dopo gli abbino più chiari che le prime, anzi, a poco a poco, tanto quanto elle vanno diminuendo a lo indentro, divenghino anco parimente di mano in mano, e nel colore delle carnagioni e nelle vestimenta, più scure. . . .* " For a discussion of *unione* in Vasari, see Roland LE MOLLÉ, *Georges Vasari et le vocabulaire de la critique de l'art dans les "Vite"*, Grenoble, Ellug, 1988, p. 19–42.

2. Giorgio VASARI, 1568, II, p. 151; Karel VAN MANDER, 1604, I, fol. 123 v°-124 r°.

3. Karel VAN MANDER, 1604, I, fol. 118 r°, 118 v°, 130 v° (Giorgio VASARI, 1568, II, p. 70, 71, 206) "*dolce*"; fol. 135 r°, 176 r° (Giorgio VASARI, 1568, II, p. 236, 811) "*vago*".



Figure 2 – Andrea del Sarto, *Noli me tangere*, ca 1510, oil on panel, 176 × 155 cm. Florence, Galleria degli Uffizi. © Photographic Department of the Uffizi Galleries.

artists that they are *tagliente*, cutting, and that they are also *duro*, hard, or *crudo*, crude.

Writing of Battista Franco (ca. 1510–1561), for example, he complains that the artist "was not able to shake off, nor could he prevent his works from having, something hard and cutting . . . ". [1] Looking at this print (Fig. 3) may give us some idea of what Vasari meant; Franco's shadows do not always round very smoothly. The face of the Mary supporting the Virgin is particularly abrupt in this regard.

Vasari gives us two suggestions as to how this hard, cutting manner comes about. Artists who draw too much from the antique, who spend too little time studying the life itself, are likely to end up with a cutting manner. Battista Franco is one artist who is said to have spent too much time drawing after statues; another is Andrea Mantegna, whose fascination for antique sculptures apparently led to a *tagliente* style. Vasari writes of Mantegna's "*maniera un pochetto tagliente e che tira talvolta più alla pietra che alla carne viva*", "somewhat cutting manner which sometimes resembles stone rather than living flesh". [2]

A second failing which could lead to a cutting manner was drawing too much by candlelight. Vasari claims that the painter Sebastiano Florigerio (ca. 1500–1543) was led astray by his addiction to artificial light. "Bastiano", he writes, "had a very crude and cutting manner: because he much delighted in drawing reliefs and natural objects by the light of the candle." [3] In fact the two failings may sometimes have resulted from the same artistic practice, since in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries apprentice artists often drew from statues and plaster casts by candlelight. [4]

Candlelight tends to produce shadows with firm edges, which look uniform and flat. [5] There has long been disagreement amongst artists as to whether or not this effect is to be sought or avoided. Vasari and Van Mander preferred the soft light of day; in the seventeenth century artists such as Michelangelo da Caravaggio (1571–1610) and Rembrandt van Rijn (1606–1669) favoured the candlelit look; by the

1. Giorgio VASARI, 1568, II, p. 586: " . . . *non se la potea levar da dosso, né fare che le sue cose non avessono del duro e del tagliente.* . . . "

2. *Ibid.*, II, p. 489.

3. *Ibid.*, II, p. 185: "*Ebbe Bastiano la maniera cruda e tagliente: per che si dilettò assai di ritrarre rilievi e cose naturali a lume di candela.*"

4. Paul TAYLOR, "Flatness in Dutch Art: Theory and Practice", in *Oud Holland*, 121, 2008, p. 153–184 (166–167).

5. Giorgio VASARI, 1568, I, p. 50.

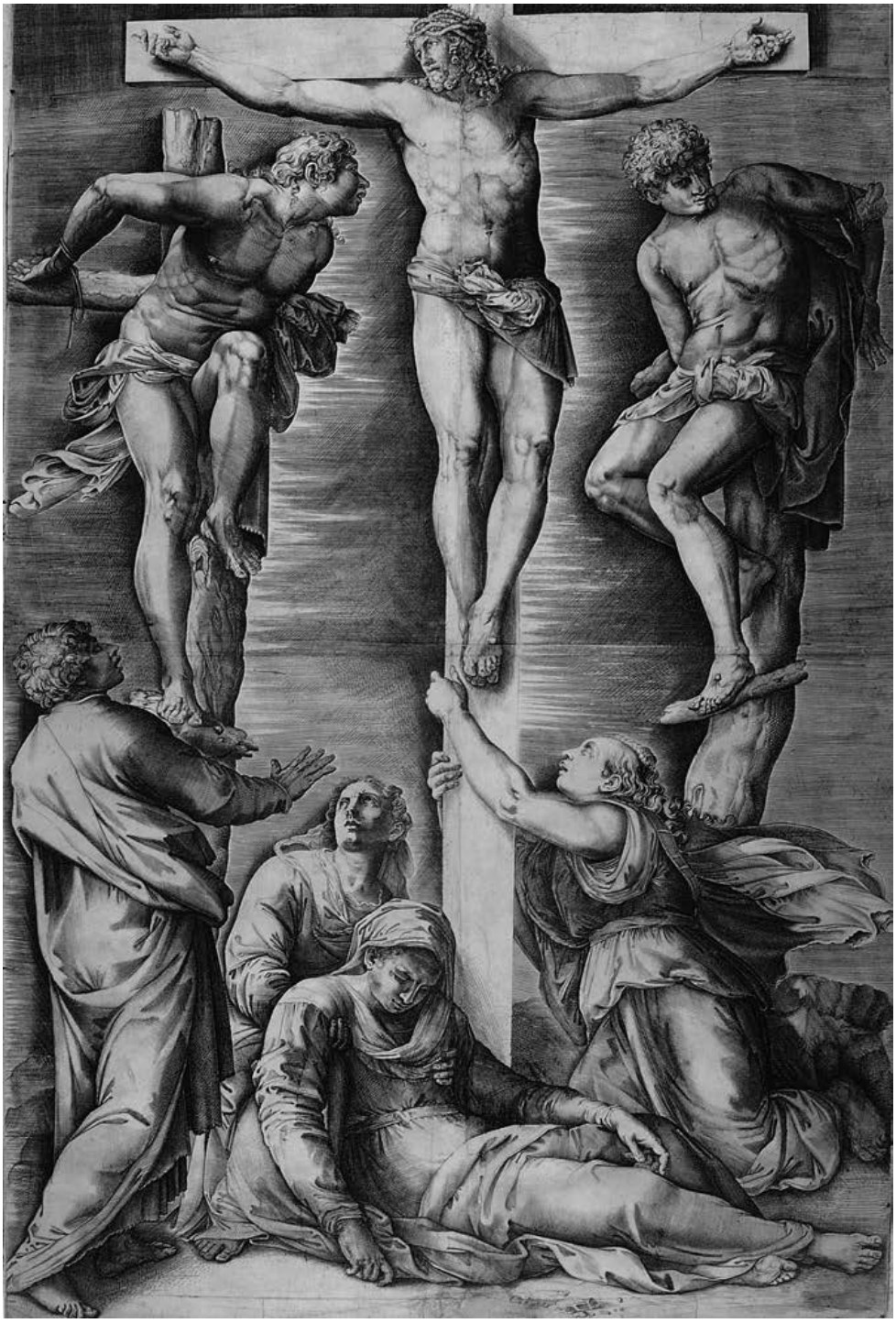


Figure 3 – Giovanni Battista Franco, *Calvary*, ca. 1550, engraving, 77 × 50,3 cm, Brigham Young University Museum of Art, purchase/gift of the Mahonri M. Young Estate, 1959. © Photo: Brigham Young University Museum.

end of the century painters like Pierre Mignard (1612–1695) and Gérard de Lairesse (1640–1711) had returned to the more even effects of daylight.[1] To us the question of which form of lighting is to be preferred will seem nothing more than a matter of taste. But to Vasari and Van Mander—and also to Leonardo da Vinci (1452–1519) and Gérard de Lairesse[2]—the cutting manner was to be avoided for a reason. Those who used flat, firm-edged shadows were failing to depict the gradual rounding of forms in space; if highlight and dark shadow were allowed to abut one another then the figure would look as if it were cut up into planes, rather than smoothly receding.

Van Mander translated Vasari's "*tagliente*" with the word "*ghesneden*", "cut" or "cut up". He sometimes paired this word with another term of disapproval, "*cantigh*", "angular". So he tells us that in Lucas van Leyden's (ca. 1494–1533) *Last Judgment* (Fig. 4), although the flesh showed careful study of the life, "the nudes were rather angular or cutting on the highlights, as was frequently the case among painters at that time".[3] He makes similar criticisms of the work of Jan van Scorel (1495–1562) and Maerten van Heemskerck (1498–1574), and clearly thinks of this as a typical failing of Netherlandish painting in the first half of the sixteenth century.[4] Had he lived a few more decades, he would have seen that it was even more common in the Dutch painting of the middle of the seventeenth century.

We have seen that Van Mander uses "*glad*" to translate "*morbido*" and "*unione*", and perhaps it is not too difficult to see why. Opposed to "*morbido*" and "*unione*" are "*duro*" and "*tagliente*", and the concept "smooth" makes an obvious contrast to "cutting". In paintings by Vasari and Caravaggio (Fig. 5, Fig. 6) we can see two very different conceptions of shading. Caravaggio places areas of dark shadow next

1. Ulrike KERN, *Light and Shade in Dutch and Flemish Art*, Turnhout, Brepols, 2014, p. 177–201.

2. Paul TAYLOR 2008, p. 165.

3. Karel VAN MANDER, 1604, I, fol. 213 v°: "*Hier in comen veel verscheyden naeckten van Mannen en Vrouwen, waer wel te mercken is, dat hy op het leven wel heeft gemerckt, bysonder de Vrouwen naeckten, die hy van lieflijcke carnatie heeft gheschildert: dan alsoo doe veel t'ghebruyck by den Schilders was, zijn dese naeckten op den dagh wat seer cantigh, oft ghesneden.*" In English: "In this there appears a great variety of nudes of men and women, in which it is clear that he paid close attention to the life, especially of the female nudes, which he painted in a lovely flesh-colour; but the nudes were rather angular or cutting on the highlights, as was frequently the case among painters at that time."

4. Karel VAN MANDER, 1604, I, fol. 245 r°, 246 r°; cf. I, fol. 48 v° (*Grondt der edel-vry schilder-const*, ch. XII, v. 27–28).

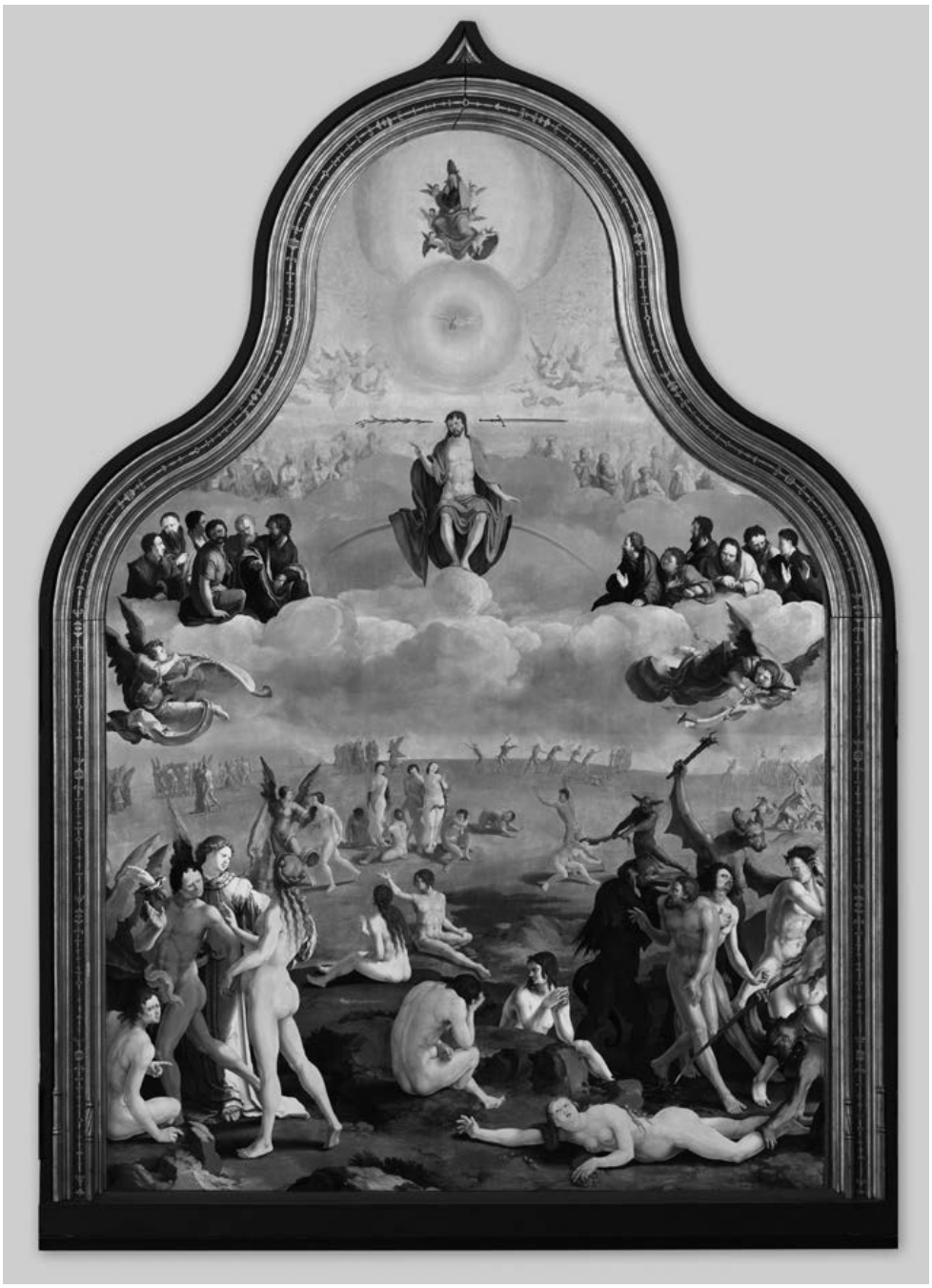


Figure 4 – Lucas van Leyden, *The Last Judgment* (central panel), 1526–1527, oil on panel, 269.5 × 184.8. Leiden, Museum de Lakenhal. © Public domain.

to large flat highlights, so cutting up his figures into planes of light and shade. Vasari on the other hand smooths his lights down through mid-tones. [1] Artists who cut up light and shade like Caravaggio had not softly smoothed together their tints. One can understand then why Van Mander might have thought that "*glad*" would well express the opposite concept to "*ghesneden*" and "*tagliente*".

We might be tempted to think that, in all these contexts, "*glad*" just meant "smooth", and that Van Mander was using this concept to pick up on a central strand of what Vasari wanted to say. However it cannot be quite that simple, because Van Mander also uses "*glad*", on one occasion at least, to mean "lifelike". When describing an altarpiece (Fig. 7) by Rosso Fiorentino (1494–1540) Vasari praises its "*vivacità di colori*", and Van Mander renders this in Dutch as "*gladde coloreringe*". [2]

The idea would seem to be that, if a painting shows a soft unity of colouring which makes figures seem as if they are really rounding gradually and smoothly in space, then it will be lifelike. Of course, if one is to be precise in one's use of words, one should keep these concepts distinct; softness is not the same thing as unity, unity is not the same thing as lifelikeness, and smoothness is not the same thing as any of the above. But in early modern art theory, authors liked to blend concepts which we think of as different semantic entities. [3] If something is painted smoothly it will be painted softly, in a lively unified way. We think of the relationship here as one of entailment,

1. It should be said that the strong contrasts we see in Caravaggio have been made still stronger by the general darkening of blacks and browns which occurs in oil painting over time: Paul TAYLOR, *Condition: the Ageing of Art*, London, Paul Holberton, 2015, p. 161–194. Comparisons of Caravaggio's surviving paintings with seventeenth-century prints after those paintings make this darkening evident, but it is also clear from the same prints that his style of shading was already somewhat "*tagliente*" soon after they were made.

2. Giorgio VASARI, 1568, II, p. 206: "*Per che cresciuto in pregio e fama, fece in S. Spirito di Fiorenza la tavola de' Dei, la quale già avevano allogato a Raffaello da Urbino, che la lasciò per le cure dell'opera che aveva preso a Roma; la quale il Rosso lavorò con bellissima grazia e disegno e vivacità di colori: né pensi alcuno che nessuna opera abbia più forza o mostra più bella di lontano di quella; la quale per la bravura nelle figure e per l'astrattezza delle attitudini non più usata per gli altri, fu tenuta cosa stravagante . . . "*; Karel VAN MANDER, 1604, I, fol. 130 r°: "*Doe hy wat naems hadde vercregen, maeckte hy tot S. Spirito tot Florencen een Tafel, die Raphael Vrbijn besteedt wesende, verliet, om zijn occasie te Room: Dese maeckte Rosso met sulck een gratie, teyckeninghe, en gladde coloreringe, dat niemant te dencken heeft, dat eenigh werck van verre te sien, meer cracht heeft oft beter toont: En midts datmer in siet een cloeckheyt der Beelden, en een gheweldt der actituden, by ander niet ghemeene, werdet ghehouden voor seer seldtsaem*".

3. Paul TAYLOR, 2001–2002, p. 131–154 (137).



Figure 5 – Giorgio Vasari, *Perseus Freeing Andromeda*, 1570–1572, oil on slate, 117 $\times$ 100 cm. Florence, Palazzo Vecchio. © Public domain.



Figure 6 – Michelangelo da Caravaggio, *Madonna of Loreto*, 1604–1606, oil on canvas, 260 × 150 cm. Rome, Chiesa di Sant' Agostino. © Public domain.



Figure 7 – Rosso Fiorentino, *Madonna and Child with Saints* (Pala Dei), 1522, oil on canvas, 250 × 299 cm. Florence, Palazzo Pitti. © Public domain.

rather than of identity of meaning; but seventeenth-century writers on art often enriched their language by collapsing consequence into sense.

So far we have been looking at the uses to which Van Mander put "*glad*" in his translations of Vasari and Pliny, where we have an original language with which we can compare his Dutch. But in his lives of Netherlandish painters he uses the word without this semantic key, and we have to do what we can to work out his meaning from the Dutch context. After our work on the translations, we have to assume that "*glad*" is a much richer concept than its literal meaning would suggest. Take for example Van Mander's use of the word when writing about Jan van Eyck's (ca.1390–1441) *St Barbara* (Fig. 8). He writes: "I have seen a small little image of a woman by him with a little landscape behind her, that was only dead-coloured and yet was most excellently neat, and *glat*. . . . "[1]

How should we translate "*glat*"? Jacqueline Pennial-Boer and Charles Ford, working under the direction of Hessel Miedema, rendered it as "smooth".[2] That is clearly not wrong, but Van Mander may have meant something art theoretically precise. He may have been trying to say that the painting was softly united; that the sense of recession was gracefully captured by an adept use of tone. That would after all be an accurate analysis of this delicately spacious painting.

One of our greatest problems, as historians who would like to reconstruct the meanings of art theoretical language, is that this language is largely oral. When Van Mander was talking to his fellow artists, the sense of a term could be made clearer and richer in the context of a conversation. He could quickly explain, or reveal by a gesture or intonation, that he implied more by a word like "*glad*" than its simple literal meaning. But once the word left contexts like these, when it no longer formed part of conversations between people, and found itself as a black shape on a printed page, then the connotations that it had in those face-to-face discussions became much harder to

1. Karel VAN MANDER, 1604, I, fol. 202 r°–v°: " . . . *ick een cleen conterfeytselken van een Vrouw-mensch van hem hebbe ghesien, met een Landtschapken achter, dat maer gedootverwet was, en nochtans seer uytnemende net, en glat, en was . . .* ".

2. Karel VAN MANDER, *The Lives of the Illustrious Netherlandish and German Painters. Preceded by The Lineage, Circumstances and Place of Birth, Life and Works of Karel van Mander, Painter and Poet and likewise his Death and Burial*, ed. by H. MIEDEMA, Doornspijk, Davaco, 1994–1999, p. 69.



Figure 8 – Jan van Eyck, *St Barbara*, 1437, oil on panel, 41.4 × 78.7 cm. Antwerp, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten. © Public domain.

appreciate. When researching the meanings of art theory we have to try to reconstruct nuances of implication in conversations which we are unable to share. [1]

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1. Walter ONG, *Orality and Literacy*, New York, Routledge, 1982; Robyn CARSTON, *Thoughts and Utterances: the Pragmatics of Explicit Communication*, Oxford, Blackwell, 2002.