

**CORPUS RUBENIANUM**  
**LUDWIG BURCHARD**

**PART XXI**

**BOOK ILLUSTRATIONS  
AND TITLE-PAGES**

**VOLUME I**

**J. RICHARD JUDSON  
CARL VAN DE VELDE**

# CORPUS RUBENIANUM LUDWIG BURCHARD

AN ILLUSTRATED CATALOGUE RAISONNÉ  
OF THE WORK OF PETER PAUL RUBENS  
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BY THE LATE DR. LUDWIG BURCHARD  
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VAN DE XVIde EN XVIIde EEUW"

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**BOOK ILLUSTRATIONS  
AND TITLE - PAGES**

**VOLUME I**

**J. RICHARD JUDSON  
CARL VAN DE VELDE**

**HARVEY MILLER - HEYDEN & SON**  
**LONDON • PHILADELPHIA**

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VAN DE 16e EN DE 17e EEUW**

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AND TITLE-PAGES**

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201. *Title-page for Vestigi delle Antichita di Roma ...*, engraving (Prague, 1606)
202. C. Galle, *Vignette for B. Cordier, Catena Patrum Graecorum in Sanctum Ioannem*, proof print (No. 59). Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale
203. C. Galle, *Title-page for B. Cordier, Catena Patrum Graecorum in Sanctum Ioannem*, engraving (No. 59)

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204. C. Galle, *Title-page for D. Van Mauden, Speculum Aureum Vitae Moralis*, engraving (No. 60)
205. C. Galle, *Title-page for M. Bonacina, Opera Omnia*, engraving (*Antwerp, 1632*)
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207. After Rubens, *Printer's Device for Jan van Meurs*, drawing (No. 60a). Leningrad, Hermitage
208. C. Galle, *Title-page for L. Blossius, Opera*, engraving (No. 61)
209. ? Rubens, *Title-page for L. Blossius, Opera*, drawing (No. 61b). London, British Museum
210. C. Galle, *Title-page for L. Blossius, Opera*, proof print (No. 61). Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale
211. Rubens, *Henry IV Receiving Maria de Medici's Portrait*, painting. Paris, Musée du Louvre
212. C. Galle, *Title-page for M.C. Sarbievski, Lyricorum Libri IV*, engraving (No. 62)
213. Rubens, *Title-page for M.C. Sarbievski, Lyricorum Libri IV*, grisaille sketch (No. 62a). Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum
214. Rubens, *Title-page for B. Baubuis and B. Cabilliau, Epigrammata, C. Malapert, Poemata*, drawing (No. 63a). Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum
215. C. de Mallery, *Title-page for B. Baubuis and B. Cabilliau, Epigrammata, C. Malapert, Poemata*, engraving (No. 63)
216. *Portrait of St. Dionysius: illustration for P. Lansselius, Sancti Dionysii Areopagitae Opera Omnia*, engraving (*Paris, 1615*)
217. C. Galle, *Title-page for B. Cordier, Opera S. Dionysii Areopagitae, I*, engraving (No. 64)
218. Rubens, *Title-page for B. Cordier, Opera S. Dionysii Areopagitae, I*, drawing (No. 64a). Oxford, Ashmolean Museum
219. C. Galle, *Title-page for B. Cordier, Opera S. Dionysii Areopagitae, I*, proof print (No. 64). Haarlem, Teylers Museum
220. C. Galle, *Title-page for B. Cordier, Opera S. Dionysii Areopagitae, I*, proof print (No. 64). Dresden, Kupferstichkabinett
221. C. de Mallery, *Title-page for B. Cordier, Opera S. Dionysii Areopagitae, II*, engraving (No. 65)
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223. C. Galle, *Title-page for F. Tristan, La Peinture de la Sérénissime Princesse Isabelle Claire Eugénie*, proof print (No. 66). Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet
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227. C. Galle, *Title-page for M. Barberini, Poemata*, engraving (No. 68)
228. ? Rubens, *Title-page for M. Barberini, Poemata*, drawing (No. 68b). Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum
229. C. Galle, *Title-page for M. Barberini, Poemata*, proof print (No. 68). Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale
230. C. Galle, *Title-page for M. Barberini, Poemata*, copper plate (No. 68). Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum
231. C. Galle, *Portrait of Pope Urban VIII: illustration for M. Barberini, Poemata*, engraving (*Antwerp, 1634*)
232. C. Mellan, *Portrait of Pope Urban VIII*, engraving
233. O. Leoni, *Portrait of Pope Urban VIII*, etching
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240. Rubens, *St. Teresa of Avila Interceding for Bernardino de Mendoza*, painting. Antwerp, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten
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248. C. Galle, *Title-page for J. Lipsius, Opera Omnia, I*, proof print (No. 73). Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet
249. C. Galle, *Title-page for J. Lipsius, Opera Omnia, I*, engraving, counter-proof (No. 73). Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale
250. *Title-page for Inscriptionum Antiquarum ... Liber*, engraving (Leiden, 1588)
251. *Title-page for Procopius, Historiarum Libri VIII*, engraving (Augsburg, 1607)
252. *Title-page for M.T. Cicero, Opera Omnia*, engraving (Hamburg, 1618)
253. *Title-page for S. Van Dort, Den Metamorphosis ofte Herscheppinge van P. Ovidius Naso*, engraving (Antwerp, 1650)
254. C. Galle, *Title-page for J. Lipsius, Opera Omnia, II*, engraving (No. 74)
255. Rubens, *Printer's Device for the Plantin Press*, drawing (No. 74a). Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum
256. *Vignette for J. Fulligatus, Vita Roberti Bellarmini*, woodcut (Antwerp, 1631)
257. C. Galle, *Title-page for M. de Morgues, Diverses Pièces pour la Défense de la Roynne Mere*, engraving (No. 75)
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259. C. Galle, *Title-page for M. de Morgues, Diverses Pièces pour la Défense de la Roynne Mere*, proof print (No. 75). Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet
260. Rubens, *Time Rescues Truth*, painting. Paris, Musée du Louvre
261. C. Galle, *Title-page for J. Boyvin, Le Siège de la Ville de Dole*, engraving (No. 76)
262. E. Quellin, *Title-page for J. Boyvin, Le Siège de la Ville de Dole*, drawing (No. 76). Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum
263. C. Galle the Younger, *Title-page for Ph. Chifflet, Concilii Tridentini ... Canones et Decreta*, engraving (No. 77)
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265. C. Galle the Younger, *Title-page for Liutprand, Opera*, engraving (No. 78)
266. E. Quellin, *Title-page for Liutprand, Opera*, drawing (No. 78). Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum
267. C. Galle the Younger, *Title-page for Liutprand, Opera*, proof print (No. 78). Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale
268. C. Galle the Younger, *Portrait of Count-Duke Olivares: illustration for Liutprand, Opera*, engraving (No. 79)

269. E. Quellin, *Portrait of Count-Duke Olivares: illustration for Liutprand, Opera*, drawing (No. 79). Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum
270. P. Pontius after Rubens, *Portrait of Count-Duke Olivares*, engraving
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272. E. Quellin, *Title-page for B. de los Rios, De Hierarchia Mariana*, drawing (No. 80). Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum
273. J. Neeffs, *Title-page for C. Gevartius, Pompa Introitus Ferdinandi*, engraving (No. 81)
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277. C. Galle, *Title-page for H. Goltzius, Romanae et Graecae Antiquitatis Monumenta*, proof print, second state (No. 82). Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet
278. C. Galle, *Title-page for H. Goltzius, Romanae et Graecae Antiquitatis Monumenta*, proof print, third state (No. 82). Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum
279. C. Galle, *Title-page for H. Goltzius, Icones Imperatorum Romanorum*, engraving (No. 83)
280. E. Quellin, *Title-page for H. Goltzius, Icones Imperatorum Romanorum*, drawing (No. 83). Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum
281. C. Galle, *Title-page for H. Goltzius, Icones Imperatorum Romanorum*, proof print (No. 83). Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale
282. C. Galle, *Title-page for H. Goltzius, Icones Imperatorum Romanorum*, copper plate (No. 83). Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum.
283. *Title-page for C. Neapolis, Anaptyxis ad Fastos P. Ovidii Nasonis*, engraving (*Antwerp, 1639*)
284. *Title-page for F. de Marselaer, Legatus Libri duo*, engraving (*Antwerp, 1626*)
285. *Portrait of J. de Solorzano Pereira: illustration for J. de Solorzano Pereira, Politica Indiana*, engraving (*Antwerp, 1703*)
286. C. Galle the Younger, *Title-page for F. de Marselaer, Legatus Libri duo*, engraving (No. 84)
287. C. Galle the Younger, *Title-page for F. de Marselaer, Legatus Libri duo*, proof print (No. 84). Haarlem, Teylers Museum
288. P. Pontius, *St. Francis Seraphicus Atlas*, engraving (No. 85)
289. Rubens, *St. Francis Seraphicus Atlas*, grisaille sketch (No. 85a). Philadelphia, John G. Johnson Collection

290. P. Pontius, *The Dispute between Minerva and Neptune*, engraving (No. 86), upper half
291. P. Pontius, *The Dispute between Minerva and Neptune*, engraving (No. 86), lower half
292. P. Pontius, *The Dispute between Minerva and Neptune*, proof print (No. 86), upper half. Vienna, Albertina
293. P. Pontius, *The Dispute between Minerva and Neptune*, proof print (No. 86), lower half. Vienna, Albertina
294. A. Van Diepenbeeck, *The Dispute between Minerva and Neptune*, drawing (No. 86). Antwerp, Stedelijk Prentenkabinet

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## ABBREVIATIONS

### LITERATURE :

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*Antwerp, 1946* – *Teekeningen, Grauwtschetsen en Prenten van en naar P.P. Rubens*, Rubenshuis, Antwerp, 1946.

*Antwerp, 1956* – *Tekeningen van P.P. Rubens*, Rubenshuis, Antwerp, 1956.

*Antwerp, 1971* – *Rubens en zijn tijd, tekeningen uit Belgische verzamelingen*, Rubenshuis, Antwerp, 1971.

*Bologna, 1965* – *Plantin-Rubens, Arte grafica e tipografica ad Anversa nei secoli XVI e XVII*, Biblioteca dell' Archiginnasio, Bologna, 1965.

*Brussels, 1938–39* – *Dessins de Pierre-Paul Rubens*, Palais des Beaux-Arts, Brussels, 1938–39.

- Brussels, 1953 – P.P. Rubens, esquisses et dessins*, Museum, Brussels, 1953.
- Cambridge-New York, 1956 – Drawings and Oil Sketches by P.P. Rubens from American Collections*, Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University, Cambridge, and The Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, 1956.
- Elewijt, 1962 – Rubens Diplomaat*, Rubenskaasteel, Elewijt, 1962.
- Helsinki, 1952–53 – P.P. Rubens, esquisses, dessins, gravures*, Ateneum, Helsinki, 1952–53.
- Liège, 1949 – Musée Plantin-Moretus, Société libre d'Emulation*, Liège, 1949.
- London, 1835 – One hundred original drawings by Sir P.P. Rubens, collected by Sir Thomas Lawrence*, Royal Academy, London, 1835.
- London, 1950 – A Loan Exhibition of Works by Peter Paul Rubens, Kt.*, Wildenstein & Co., London, 1950.
- Paris, 1954 – Anvers, ville de Plantin et de Rubens*, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, 1954.
- Rotterdam, 1939 – Petrus Paulus Rubens, teekeningen*, Museum Boymans, Rotterdam, 1939.
- Rotterdam, 1953–54 – Olieverfschetsen van Rubens*, Museum Boymans, 1953–54.

## AUTHOR'S PREFACE

When Professor R.-A. d'Hulst, President of the Nationaal Centrum voor de Plastische Kunsten van de 16de en de 17de Eeuw, first invited me to write Volume XXI of the *Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard*, it was thought that one person could complete the work within a reasonable period of time. However, it soon became apparent that this would not be possible because, among other things, the Archives of the Plantin Press in Antwerp had to be restudied. Consequently, a member of the Nationaal Centrum, Dr. Carl Van de Velde, was asked to conduct this part of the research. He has collected, along with the help of Mr. Paul Huvenne and Dr. Hans Vlieghe, all the documents published in the Appendixes and has made the translations. The text of the introductory chapters and the catalogue raisonné are basically my work. This does not mean that the authors have worked in isolation. On the contrary, there has been a close and invaluable interaction. Dr. Van de Velde was also extremely helpful in the reading of the texts illustrated by Rubens, and he, in turn, was expertly assisted by Mr. Hugo Demarneffe.

I would like to take this opportunity to express my warm appreciation to my friend and colleague Professor R.-A. d'Hulst for the patience and sound counsel which he freely gave throughout the writing of this volume. I cannot thank my co-author enough for the many long hours he has spent working on my part of the manuscript. Numerous other colleagues have also been most generous with their knowledge. I am especially grateful to Professor J.G. van Gelder, Professor E. Haverkamp Begemann and Dr. Anne-Marie Logan for the many conversations we have had about the drawings. I am most appreciative of the warm hospitality shown to me by the staff of the Rubenianum in Antwerp. I value highly the many kindnesses rendered me by my colleagues in various Institutes: Rijksprentenkabinet, Amsterdam; Plantin-Moretus Museum, Antwerp; Stedelijk Prentenkabinet, Antwerp; Royal Library, Brussels; Musée des Beaux-Arts, Dijon; Teylers Museum, Haarlem; Rijksbureau voor Kunsthistorische Documentatie, The Hague; British Museum, Department of Prints and Drawings, London; Frick Art Reference Library, New York; Pierpont Morgan Library, New York; Ashmolean Museum, Oxford; Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Estampes, Paris; Musée du Louvre, Cabinet des Dessins, Paris; Collection of Her Majesty the Queen of England, Windsor Castle.

Several associates have been of special assistance on a variety of problems, and I wish to express my gratitude to Mr. Keith Andrews, Mr. J.H. van Borssum Buisman, Mr. Georges Colin, Dr. Y. Kuznetsov, Miss Ruth Mortimer, Professor Konrad Oberhuber, Miss Nora De Poorter, Professor J.Q. van Regteren Altena, Mr. Marc Vandenven, Dr. Hans Vlieghe, Dr. Leon Voet and Professor Joachim Wijnhoven.

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I also thank Mrs. Evan H. Turner for her comments on the text and Mrs. Catherine Stribling for her splendid typing of my part of the manuscript. The part which originated in Antwerp was typed with equal skill by the staff of the Rubenianum.

Finally, I am grateful for the patience of my children and for the advice of my wife Carolyn who has encouraged this study since its inception late in 1969.

J. Richard Judson



## I. RUBENS AND MORETUS

With the simultaneous emergence of Rubens as a designer of title-pages and book illustrations and of Balthasar Moretus as the creative force in the Plantin Press, the illustration of books took on a new dimension in seventeenth-century Antwerp. Whereas the frontispieces of sixteenth-century publications were purely decorative and only loosely related to the text, those of the seventeenth century often had an allegorical significance closely related to the book's contents.<sup>1</sup> Although from time to time Rubens conceived title-pages for a number of other publishers in Antwerp, Douai and Roermond,<sup>2</sup> this fundamental change in the concept of title-page design was brought about by the long and intimate association between the Plantin Press and Peter Paul Rubens.

Moretus and Rubens had known each other well before they first collaborated on the illustrations for Philip Rubens's *Electorum libri II*, published in 1608 (Nos. 1-5; Figs. 41-44, 46). In fact the friendship went back to their childhood days when both attended "Papenschool" or Latin School near Antwerp's Church of Our Lady. The school was run by Rumoldus Verdonck. Balthasar Moretus studied there from April 23, 1586, to October 22, 1590, and Rubens sometime during the years from 1586 to 1590.<sup>3</sup> In 1590, the two boys left Verdonck. From 1592 to 1594, Moretus went to study with Justus Lipsius in Louvain<sup>4</sup> and Rubens, shortly after the wedding of his sister Blandina on August 25, 1590, became a page at the residence of Marguerite de Ligne-Arenberg, Countess of Lalaing. Moretus returned to Antwerp in 1594 and started working for his father, Jan Moretus, at the Plantin Press;<sup>5</sup> Rubens came back to study painting in Antwerp, becoming a member of the Guild of St. Luke in 1598. The long-standing friendship between the two young men cannot only be inferred from the fact that they went to the same school and lived nearby, but is also attested by some surviving letters. On November 3, 1600, Balthasar Moretus wrote to Philip Rubens, reminding him how they both had studied with Lipsius in

<sup>1</sup> *Voet*, II, pp. 214-216.

<sup>2</sup> Rubens made title-page designs for Jan van Meurs, Hieronymus and Jan Verdussen, Jacob de Bie, Jan Cnobbaert, Marten Nutius, Jan van Keerbergen, Jan Hompes, Hendrik Aertsens and Gerard van Wolsschaten.

<sup>3</sup> *Rooses, Rubens-Moretus*, 1882-83, I, p. 210.

<sup>4</sup> *Voet*, I, p. 208.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibidem*.

Louvain. Of even greater importance, Moretus's personal relationship with Peter Paul is further emphasized when Moretus describes the latter's character as excellent and gentle.<sup>6</sup> Philip, writing to Moretus from Rome on February 17, 1606, closes with the words, "My brother, with whom I am living, sends you friendly greetings."<sup>7</sup> Two later letters from Philip in Rome to Moretus in Antwerp, dated June 23 and September 9, 1606, convey his brother's regards to the publisher.<sup>8</sup> The friendship between Balthasar Moretus and the Rubens brothers continued throughout their lives. When Philip died on August 28, 1611, Peter Paul invited Moretus to write the inscription for the tomb,<sup>9</sup> and after the painter's death, some 29 years later, Moretus wrote to Mathieu de Morgues that "truly our city has lost much by the death of Mr. Rubens, and me in particular, one of my best friends."<sup>10</sup>

This close personal relationship was carried over into a long-lasting professional association between them as artist and publisher.<sup>11</sup> It was the collaboration of these two brilliant and fascinating men that transformed the concept of the title-page from a generally decorative and strongly architectural configuration governed by Renaissance and Mannerist principles to the free, open, seventeenth-century form containing subtle and complicated allegorical allusions to the text. In a letter of August 1, 1617, from Bernard Bauhuis to Moretus, we learn why at least one author was desirous of having a title-page for his book: "At the beginning of the book, my dear Moretus, many people would like to see some engraving . . . It amuses the reader wonderfully, it attracts the buyer, it decorates the book and it does not add much to the price."<sup>12</sup>

<sup>6</sup> *Rooses, Rubens-Moretus, 1882-83, I, p. 207.*

<sup>7</sup> *Ibidem, I, p. 213.*

<sup>8</sup> *Rooses-Ruelens, I, pp. 334, 349.*

<sup>9</sup> *Rooses, Rubens-Moretus, 1882-83, I, pp. 215-218, for Moretus's text done in collaboration with Jan van de Wouwer.*

<sup>10</sup> *Ibidem, I, p. 219; Rooses-Ruelens, VI, p. 308.*

<sup>11</sup> Rubens not only had business dealings with Moretus concerning the designs of book illustrations, but, on at least one occasion, he sold books to the publisher. On November 27, 1630, three hundred and twenty-eight copies of Hubert Goltzius's *Graeciae Universae Nomismata* were sold to Moretus for 4,920 guilders and the plates for another 1,000 guilders (see below, p. 335, under Nos. 82-83) and Appendix III, p. 484 [108]. Rubens also made a number of paintings for Moretus, including the triptych of *The Resurrection of Christ* for Jan Moretus's tomb; for further details about this and other works see *Rooses, I, pp. 275, 276, 279, 281, 282, 284-292.*

<sup>12</sup> Appendix I, p. 367 [8].

Although Rubens made important innovations in his designs for title-pages and book illustrations, his main interest and profession was painting. We know that he did not think about his drawings and oil sketches for books during normal working hours, and that he wanted six months notice for each commission because he would only have time to reflect about it on Sundays and holidays. This suggests that during the week he was fully occupied with his painting, but was able to devote Sundays and religious holidays to making designs for books, as this was not work but an intellectual exercise. On one occasion Moretus, very likely attempting to discourage his client, wrote to Balthasar Cordier on September 13, 1630, that Rubens would not produce designs during his normal working hours unless he were paid 100 guilders per sheet.<sup>13</sup> When one considers the publication costs, one hundred guilders for the design alone was prohibitive.<sup>14</sup> Rubens was normally paid 20 guilders for a grisaille sketch or a drawing in-folio, 12 guilders for the same in-quarto, 8 guilders for a design in-octavo and five for one in-24<sup>mo</sup>.<sup>15</sup> From 1610 to 1618, Rubens received in all 280 guilders from Moretus for title-page and book illustration designs, and from 1624 to 1640 he was paid 387 guilders.<sup>16</sup>

In general, Rubens executed detailed drawings which were closely followed by the engraver. However, in one case, the design for the *Gelresche Rechten* (No. 47a; Figs. 159, 160), he hastily sketched a "first idea" and then elaborated it carefully on the other side of the sheet. In the more detailed drawing, he reversed the figures so that they would be engraved as he had originally conceived them on the *verso* of the drawing. But normally, the engraver would trace Rubens's design directly onto the plate or execute his own drawing after the original by Rubens.<sup>17</sup> Probably the earliest preserved example of such an engraver's drawing is the sheet in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, for Giacomo Bosio's *Crux Triumphans* (No. 37b; Fig. 127). Although a large portion of the study is done with wash, it lacks the tonal gradations which are characteristic of Rubens's drawing style. Furthermore, the areas of wash are in

<sup>13</sup> Appendix I, p. 385 [53].

<sup>14</sup> For the documentation see *Voet*, II, pp. 223, 227, 228. For an idea of the value of the guilder in terms of wages paid in the printing business late in the sixteenth century see the wage tables in *Voet*, II, pp. 336-338.

<sup>15</sup> *Bouchery-Van den Wijngaert*, pp. 113, 114. For a detailed discussion of formats see *Voet*, II, pp. 160-168, 526-561.

<sup>16</sup> *Bouchery-Van den Wijngaert*, p. 49 and Appendix III, pp. 447-449 [1, 2].

<sup>17</sup> See Nos. 10, 10a, 55a; Figs. 55, 56, 192.

strong contrast to the white paper and this, along with the dull lines of the pen, creates a flat surface effect not in keeping with the sense of movement in space that one associates with Rubens. This is most evident when one compares this drawing with Rubens's 1617 design for Jacob de Bie's *Nomismata Imperatorum* (No. 39a; Fig. 131). The latter is conceived in terms of light and shadow which impart the feeling of movement so typical of Rubens's style. In his designs of 1613 and 1614 for the *Opticorum Libri sex* and the *Breviarium* (Figs. 56, 72), where line plays a strong role in articulating the forms, there had been, nevertheless, a sense of space and atmosphere not present in the 1617 Victoria and Albert Museum sheet. Here, furthermore, the architectural details are very carefully worked out, resulting in a two-dimensional effect, whereas in the drawing for the *Nomismata Imperatorum* (Fig. 131) the details are summarily indicated, giving a sense of the three-dimensional to the architecture. Because of its overly precise flatness, the *Crux Triumphans* drawing (Fig. 127) appears to have been thought of as a surface composition much in the same way that an engraver would cut his design into a plate. Consequently, it is most likely that this drawing was Cornelis Galle's translation of a now lost Rubens design. This method of working can be documented by the two drawings linked with Herman Hugo's 1626 *Obsidio Bredana* (No. 55; Fig. 190), which was also designed by Rubens and engraved by Cornelis Galle. The stylistic differences discussed above recur in these two drawings, one in London (Fig. 191) and the other in Dijon (Fig. 192). The London drawing contains all of the painterly and three-dimensional characteristics of a Rubens while the one in Dijon, which is traced for transfer, points to an artist who thinks like an engraver.

Rubens executed not only drawings for his title-pages, but also oil sketches.<sup>18</sup> He may have used this technique because it was more in keeping with his painterly way of conceiving images, and because it was probably quicker and easier for him than drawing. Careful drawings required more worked-out forms, especially when done first in black chalk, then wash, then reinforced with the pen and finally, in many cases, with the addition of white chalk highlights. Moreover, the oil sketches were easier for the engraver to read when he was cutting the broad areas of light and shadow which were an essential part of Rubens's style (No. 58a; Fig. 200).

Unfortunately, the inscriptions on the engravings do not tell whether or not

<sup>18</sup> See Nos. 58a, 62a, 72a; Figs. 200, 213, 245.

Rubens's original design was an oil sketch or a drawing. In the case of the earliest extant modello, made for the 1628 *Catena Patrum in S. Lucam*, and now in the collection of Count Seilern, London (Figs. 199, 200), there is no inscription, while of those signed "pinxit", only one oil sketch is preserved.<sup>19</sup> There are also book-titles signed "invent" for which oil sketches exist.<sup>20</sup> These Rubens modelli were composed, as were the drawings, in two different ways. In one group, the master rendered the composition in the opposite direction of the finished title-page, and the engraver copied it directly onto the plate,<sup>21</sup> with or without intermediary drawing.<sup>22</sup> The second type of oil sketch was painted in the same direction as the engraved frontispiece,<sup>23</sup> and there is evidence that the engraver or his assistant then executed a drawing which reversed Rubens's original composition and which then was transferred onto the copper. That this complicated procedure was actually followed can be demonstrated in the Rubens grisaille sketch in Antwerp (No. 60a; Fig. 206), the corresponding drawing in Leningrad (Fig. 207) and the engravings made for Van Meurs's printer's device, which were used in several title-pages (Figs. 204, 205). Rubens's modello (Fig. 206) was painted in the same direction as it would eventually appear on the title-pages. Cornelis Galle (?) reversed the oil sketch in his Leningrad design (Fig. 207), which is indented for transfer and stylistically has all of the characteristics of a drawing conceived by an artist used to working with the burin. Galle then traced the drawing onto the plate, which appeared first, as far as is known, without the designer's or engraver's signatures on the title-page of a book published by Van Meurs in 1631.<sup>24</sup> A year later "Pet. Paul Rubens pinxit" and "Corn. Galle sculpsit" were cut into

<sup>19</sup> For example, the 1632 frontispiece for M. Sarbievski, *Lyriconum Libri IV* (Nos. 62, 62a; Figs. 212, 213).

<sup>20</sup> See the one in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, for the 1635 publication by Don Diego de Aedo y Gallart (No. 72a; Fig. 245) and the one in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge for the *Pompa Introitus Ferdinandi* (No. 81a; Fig. 274).

<sup>21</sup> Cf. oil sketches in the Plantin-Moretus Museum, Antwerp, for Sarbievski's 1632 *Lyriconum Libri IV* (No. 62a; Fig. 213) and in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, for the 1635 edition of *El Viaje del Infante Cardenal* (No. 72a; Fig. 245).

<sup>22</sup> Up until now, no engraver drawings in the same direction as Rubens's oil sketches have turned up.

<sup>23</sup> Cf. the oil sketch for Cordier's 1628 *Catena Patrum in S. Lucam* in the collection of Count A. Seilern (No. 58a; Fig. 200) and the one for the *Pompa Introitus Ferdinandi*, Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge (No. 81a; Fig. 274).

<sup>24</sup> David van Mauden, *Speculum Aureum Vitae Moralis*.

the plate, which was then used on the frontispiece of M. Bonacina's *Opera Omnia* (Fig. 205). The same process appears to have been used for Blossius's 1632 *Opera* (No. 61; Fig. 208) and for Boonaerts's 1634 *In Ecclesiasticum Commentarius* (No. 70; Fig. 237), but in these cases only the drawings (British Museum, London, and Albertina, Vienna), are preserved. These sheets seem to have been copied by Cornelis Galle, or a member of his shop, from lost Rubens oil sketches because they are conceived primarily in terms of light and shadow. In the Vienna drawing, the artist has even added whitish-yellow oil paint to bring out the highlights. Both designs are characterized by obvious weaknesses in the rendering of the forms and by a flat, two-dimensional space, all of which suggest the engraver's drawing style discussed above.<sup>25</sup> Because of the accent on the painterly, because of their stylistic shortcomings and because they were both indented for transfer, it is most likely that these two sheets are the engraver's working drawings made after lost oil sketches by Rubens.

Rubens not only painted very loose and free studies for title-pages, but he also made drawings to simulate oil sketches which were then transferred immediately to the plate by the engraver. This is very clear in his designs for Mudzaert's *De Kerckelycke Historie* (No. 49a; Fig. 167), for F. Van Haer's *Annales Ducum Brabantiae*, III (No. 52a; Fig. 180) and for Cordier's *Opera S. Dionysii* (No. 64a; Fig. 218). These drawings, indented for transfer, the last two of which contain oil paint, are very close in the broad handling of the medium to the oil sketch in the collection of Count Seilern, London (Fig. 200). There is another design, the one for Hugo's *Obsidio Bredana* (Fig. 191), which was also conceived as an oil sketch with broad areas of light and shade and in which oil paint was used to accentuate the painterly quality. However, this example is in the same direction as the print and therefore a working drawing (Fig. 192) was made in the opposite direction and was then transferred to the plate.

There are also several other drawings that were very likely made, after lost Rubens oil sketches,<sup>26</sup> by the engraver or someone from his entourage. These designs, like the one for Van Meurs's device in Leningrad (Fig. 207), can be

<sup>25</sup> See p. 28.

<sup>26</sup> See Nos. 61b, 70a; Figs. 209, 238.

connected with title-pages inscribed "pinxit". In every case, beginning with the sheet in the Hermitage for Scribani's 1624 *Politico-Christianus* (No. 54a; Fig. 186), the drawings are executed in the manner of an engraver and not in the free and quick mode of Rubens. Although the style of the one in Leningrad is hard to connect with the ones used for prints signed "pinxit", those made for the ca. 1630 Van Meurs device (Fig. 207), for the 1634 *De Symbolis Heroicis* (Fig. 235) and for the 1634 *Poemata* of M. Barberini (Fig. 228) all appear to be by the same hand (Cornelis Galle?)<sup>27</sup>. To this group, one might add the sheet illustrating *The Death of Seneca* (Fig. 109) made for Lipsius's *L. Annaei Senecae Philosophi*, the drawing for volumes one and two of Van Haer's *Annales Ducum Brabantiae* (Fig. 175) and the one for a print inscribed "inuenit" which was executed for the 1617 *Crux Triumphans* (Fig. 127).

From this discussion it seems likely that Rubens made more oil sketches for title-pages than has been thought. Unfortunately, the documents are of no help because they indicate that he was paid the same sum of money whether he painted or drew the design. However, because the oil sketch was the medium most suited to his way of thinking, Rubens probably made more of them for his frontispieces than are preserved today.

Rubens continued to design book illustrations until late in his career when, because of lack of time or painful attacks of the gout,<sup>28</sup> he was unable to make such drawings and had Erasmus Quellin execute them under his supervision (Figs. 258, 262, 266, 269, 272).<sup>29</sup>

Upon completion of the design, whether by Rubens or under his direction, it was sent to the author or patron. He, in turn, gave it back to Moretus with or without corrections. The publisher then sent the design to the engraver, who

<sup>27</sup> Dr. Anne Marie Logan first suggested that the drawing for Barberini's *Poemata* of 1634 (No. 68b; Fig. 228), Plantin-Moretus Museum, Antwerp, was not by Rubens. She was also the first to propose in public at a lecture at the College Association of America, Washington, D.C., 1975, that the drawing for the title-page of Lipsius's *Opera Omnia*, 1637 (No. 73a; Fig. 247), traditionally attributed to Rubens, was not executed by him.

<sup>28</sup> See Appendix 1, p. 416 [124].

<sup>29</sup> See, for example, the letter from Philippe Chifflet in Brussels to Balthasar Moretus in Antwerp stating that "even if another painter draws it, it is sufficient that it should be under the direction of his hand..." (Appendix 1, p. 374 [25]); or the letter of May 18, 1639, in which Moretus in Antwerp writes to B. de los Rios in Brussels: "Recently I have sent to Galle the image of the frontispiece which Quellin has drawn after the directives of Rubens" (Appendix 1, p. 418 [127]).

cut the plate and then sent it back to Moretus for a final review. The latter either returned the plate and the design to the engraver for corrections or had it printed in Anwerp by Theodore Galle and, after his death in 1633, by his successor and son, Jan Galle.<sup>30</sup> The engraver made proofs, which were corrected by the designer,<sup>31</sup> the publisher and the author. Counter proofs (Figs. 120, 249) were also made in order to compare, with more precision, the print and the original composition.<sup>32</sup> Theodore Galle and later his son Jan then made the corrections in the plate and returned it with the original design to Moretus for the final approval.<sup>33</sup>

The contents of the book designs created by Rubens or under his direction were not exclusively based upon his own ideas. In fact, there was usually a close cooperation between the publisher, the author or patron and the artist. In a number of cases, Rubens scrupulously adhered to the dictates of Moretus and his patron or the author. The earliest preserved documents that demonstrate Rubens's dependence upon the publisher are the three designs worked out by Balthasar Moretus for the frontispiece of the 1614 *Breviarium Romanum*.<sup>34</sup> One of the three Moretus lay-outs (Fig. 77) was carefully followed by Rubens in his drawing for the title-page preserved in the British Museum, London (Fig. 72), except for the two bottom corners. Here he departed from the instructions by substituting flutes, a lute and organ pipes for Moretus's *St. Cecilia Playing the Organ* at the right, and a harp and crown for Moretus's *David Playing the Harp* at the left. Further documentation informs us that the programs for the title-pages were often conceived by the authors or patrons. For example, on January 22, 1611, Nicolaas Rockox wrote to Jacob de Bie: "I have also delivered to Monsieur Rubens the frontispiece of the *Moneta* to make a neat drawing of it" (No. 33; Fig. 114).<sup>35</sup> On February 26, 1611, Rockox wrote again to De Bie: "I send you here what Monsieur Rubens has

<sup>30</sup> *Bouchery-Van den Wijngaert*, pp. 70, 71.

<sup>31</sup> Cf. proof prints corrected by Rubens (Nos. 18b, 21b, 22a, 26b, 27b, 57b; Figs. 73, 82, 84, 91, 93, 194).

<sup>32</sup> See under Nos. 36, 73; Figs. 120, 249.

<sup>33</sup> For letters describing this in more detail see Appendix I, pp. 375, 376 [26-29], 380, 381 [38-41], 387-391 [59-66], 392-395 [72-77].

<sup>34</sup> *Rooses, Rubens-Moretus*, 1882-83, II, p. 54; *Rooses, Rubens-Moretus*, 1884, p. 49; *Bouchery-Van den Wijngaert*, p. 62, figs. 31, 32; *Hellinga*, pp. 182, 183, figs. 64-67.

<sup>35</sup> Appendix I, p. 427 [158].



designed for the frontispiece of your book. You can decide whether you will have it engraved by Cornelis Galle or do it yourself. In that case you will have to keep in mind what he has written next to the figure and take some beautiful head of Roma in the ring from the *Fasti* of Goltzius. The figure is solidely after the antique down to the feet".<sup>36</sup> A similar procedure was adopted with regard to the frontispiece for the *Vita B. Simonis Valentini*, 1614 (No. 17; Fig. 69) by the humanist and civil servant Johannes van de Wouwer. In a letter of 1613, the author writes to Moretus that "the image which in your presence I recently gave to Galle is now in the hands of our most graceful Rubens. I hope that it will come out of it with a richer decoration and a more ingenious composition, so that it can also be engraved in copper with considerable art".<sup>37</sup> On November 4, 1621, Moretus wrote to Rome, to Father Francesco Longo a Coriolano, the author of the *Summa Conciliorum* (No. 50; Fig. 172), that he would do him a favour if he suggested a subject to decorate the frontispiece of the book and the image of the title.<sup>38</sup>

This method of following the author's or patron's wishes concerning the contents of title-pages continued throughout Rubens's career, as is evident in the correspondence of 1638 between B. de los Rios in Brussels and Moretus in Antwerp,<sup>39</sup> and the numerous letters exchanged between Moretus and Philippe Chifflet, the Court Chaplain in Brussels,<sup>40</sup> when working out the frontispieces for Jean Boyvin's *Siège de Dole*, 1638 (No. 76; Fig. 261) and for Ph. Chifflet's *Concilii Tridentini Canones et Decreta*, 1640 (No. 77; Fig. 263).

Rubens certainly did not carefully read all of the books for which he made title-pages. He translated the ideas provided to him by his publishers, authors and patrons into a monumental style very closely related to that of his mythological and allegorical paintings. However, he was not alone responsible for the design of these magnificently conceived titles. Many other elements had to be considered, for to Moretus it was extremely important that the design for the title-page and the typography be neatly and carefully coordinated. This is clearly revealed early in his career. In a letter dated December 21, 1615, he

<sup>36</sup> Appendix I, p. 430 [160].

<sup>37</sup> Appendix I, p. 428 [156].

<sup>38</sup> See Appendix I, p. 406 [100].

<sup>39</sup> Appendix I, pp. 417, 418 [125-129].

<sup>40</sup> Appendix I, pp. 372-381 [20-43].

writes to Giacomo Bosio concerning the title-page for the *Crux Triumphans*, 1617 (No. 37; Fig. 126): "I find that the one engraved in Rome, which I received, is not well adapted to the more convenient format of the page".<sup>41</sup> This problem of the aesthetic coherency of the title-page was continuously in his mind as demonstrated so vividly in his correspondence during the 1630's. In a letter of June 20, 1631, to the Jesuit Matthias Mairhofer, Moretus explained that he did not approve of the title-page of his correspondent's book, because the words of the title were printed in too small characters and not arranged properly with regard to the illustration. Therefore, the title-page had to be remade. A little over a month later, on July 31, 1631, he wrote again to Mairhofer that he did not find the title-page beautiful enough and that some figures were not satisfactory. Rubens, Moretus added, agreed with his judgment in this matter. For the dignity of the Plantin Press, the plate would have to be improved or replaced by a new one, at the publisher's expense.<sup>42</sup>

From the very beginning Rubens's work was most often engraved by Cornelis Galle, although at least eight other engravers executed title-pages after Rubens's designs.<sup>43</sup> In a letter to B. Van Haeften dated August 28, 1634, Moretus writes: "... I shall have the title engraved by Cornelis Galle, because Rubens wishes specially to have his drawings engraved by his hand."<sup>44</sup> This suggests that Galle was Rubens's favourite engraver, but perhaps he was really Moretus's choice because of family ties. In 1598, Balthasar Moretus's sister, Catherine, had married Theodore Galle, Cornelis's brother.<sup>45</sup> From 1600 until 1694, the Plantin Press had almost all of their engravings cut by the Galle studio.<sup>46</sup> Cornelis's earliest plates executed after Rubens's designs were published in the 1608 *Electorum libri II* (Nos. 1-5; Figs. 41-46). Subsequently, Rubens's plates were made by Theodore Galle until 1615 when Cornelis replaced his brother as the main engraver for Rubens's book illustrations.<sup>47</sup> This association lasted

<sup>41</sup> Appendix I, p. 369 [13].

<sup>42</sup> Appendix I, p. 407 [103, 104]. For more examples of Moretus's care for the title-page designs see his letters to B. Van Haeften and M. de Morgues (Appendix I, pp. 398, 410 [84, 111]).

<sup>43</sup> Theodore Galle, Jan Collaert, Jacob de Bie, Michel Lasne, Charles de Mallery, Jacob Neeffs, Lucas Vorsterman, Marinus van der Goes.

<sup>44</sup> Appendix I, p. 398 [83].

<sup>45</sup> *Bouchery-Van den Wijngaert*, p. 70; *Voet*, II, p. 206.

<sup>46</sup> *Voet*, II, p. 206.

<sup>47</sup> *Bouchery-Van den Wijngaert*, p. 72.

throughout the latter's life. Cornelis Galle moved to Brussels in 1636, and he and Moretus could no longer talk over the book illustration problems but had to write each other.<sup>48</sup> Most fortunately, a part of this correspondence has survived, and from it we can deduce something of the Moretus-Rubens-Galle working relationship during the last four years of Rubens's life. This was undoubtedly similar to their earlier association, but with one important difference. During the last three years, Rubens suffered from attacks of the gout and had difficulty designing small images and retouching them after they had been cut by the engraver.<sup>49</sup> Consequently he had another artist, Erasmus Quellin, make the drawings under his supervision.<sup>50</sup> The correspondence between Moretus and Cornelis Galle concerning the title-page for M. de Morgues's *Diverses Pièces* (No. 75; Fig. 257) tells the reader a number of interesting facts about the cooperative evolution of the title-page. On July 14, 1637, Moretus writes to Galle that he is enclosing the title-page design and the copper into which it was to be cut. He adds that if there are questions about the drawing that Galle should please contact the patrons du Verdier or de Morgues, both of whom are in Brussels.<sup>51</sup> The letter concludes with the request that Galle should forward to him the finished plate and the drawing after which he would be paid.<sup>52</sup> On August 18, 1637, Galle notified Moretus that he was sending him the finished title and that Mathieu de Morgues had approved it. He adds that the lettering must be finished and that he awaits further orders.<sup>53</sup> Several weeks later, on September 6, Galle informed Moretus that he had corrected the plate and had shown the lettering to the author. They were approved and subsequently cut by Galle's son.<sup>54</sup> Another communication from Galle to Moretus on September 10, 1637, mentions that nothing is printed well in Brussels and consequently Galle had to send to Antwerp for prints made after

<sup>48</sup> One might also add that Cornelis Galle very likely lived in Brussels from around 1602, his probable return from Italy, until sometime prior to 1610 when he was made a master in the Antwerp Guild of St. Luke. He married in Brussels in 1623 but went to live there only from 1636 until his death on March 28, 1650 (*Boucbery-Van den Wijngaert*, pp. 73, 76).

<sup>49</sup> Appendix I, p. 416 [124].

<sup>50</sup> See letters in Appendix I, pp. 374, 418 [24, 127].

<sup>51</sup> Appendix I, p. 387 [58].

<sup>52</sup> A document of July 11, 1637, specifies that the copper for the title cost 4 guilders and 18 stuivers (see Appendix III, p. 476 [89]).

<sup>53</sup> Appendix I, p. 388 [60].

<sup>54</sup> Appendix I, p. 388 [61].

his plates.<sup>55</sup> The Galle-Moretus correspondence about the title-page for J. Boyvin's *Le Siège de Dole*, 1638 (No. 76; Fig. 261), advises us that the patron, Ph. Chifflet, has slightly changed the inscriptions, that the figure of the King must be altered and that Galle can do this in Brussels.<sup>56</sup>

This exchange of letters dealing with the Boyvin title-page also reveals that when the engraver had completed his work, he returned the drawing and the finished plate to the publisher. In a letter of April 9, 1638, Galle tells Moretus that he has made the corrections on the plate which had been ordered by the patrons, Chifflet and de Morgues.<sup>57</sup> In the case of the title-page for H. Goltzius, *Icones Imperatorum*, 1645 (No. 83; Fig. 279), Galle also sent the finished title to Moretus and asked him to send a proof (Fig. 281) to the designer. Galle offered to correct it according to Moretus's "wish" and suggested that the latter order the inscriptions.<sup>58</sup> In still another case, Moretus writes on August 29, 1637, to the author M. de Morgues, in Brussels,<sup>59</sup> that he has returned the frontispiece to Galle because the "painter" (designer), Erasmus Quellin, wants to make some corrections.<sup>60</sup> Moretus goes on to say that he has printed the inscriptions and the mottos of the title and placed them in the positions in which they must be cut and that Galle's son or Charles de Mallery is to cut them.

It is clear from the documents that authors and patrons alike felt that a frontispiece by Rubens enhanced the beauty and value of their book, and that for the publisher, it was not too expensive.<sup>61</sup> However, it was certainly not the Rubens frontispiece which assured the popularity of a book but the contents. Books as B. Bauhuis's, B. Cabilliau's and C. Malapert's *Epigrammata*, 1634 (No. 63; Fig. 215) and J. Bidermann's *Heroum Epistolae*, 1634 (No. 67; Fig. 225) seem to have been best-sellers, as Moretus printed 4,000 copies of each, and they were sold to the public for eight and ten stuivers respectively.<sup>62</sup> In the case

<sup>55</sup> Appendix I, pp. 388, 389 [62].

<sup>56</sup> Appendix I, p. 390 [64].

<sup>57</sup> Appendix I, p. 390 [65].

<sup>58</sup> See letter of September 9, 1639, from Cornelis Galle to Balthasar Moretus (Appendix I, pp. 390, 391 [66]).

<sup>59</sup> This letter is concerned with the frontispiece for M. de Morgues, *Diverses Pièces*, 1637 (No. 75; Fig. 257).

<sup>60</sup> Appendix I, p. 411 [113].

<sup>61</sup> Appendix I, pp. 367, 379 [8, 34].

<sup>62</sup> Appendix III, pp. 472, 473 [78, 82]; Appendix II, pp. 438, 439 [23, 26].

of the former, a letter of August 1, 1617, from Bauhuis to Moretus says that the first edition is in great demand, that it should be reprinted before the Frankfurt Book Fair and that "Rubens with his divine gifts will invent something for the first page which befits my poetry".<sup>63</sup> The success of these books was very likely due to the strong possibility that they were used as text books in the Jesuit Colleges.

On the other hand, Moretus published books which he knew would not sell in great numbers even though they contained Rubens illustrations. On June 15, 1623, the publisher wrote to Chifflet in Brussels:<sup>64</sup> "Even the works (you will be surprised) of that former Leader of wisdom and literature, I mean Justus Lipsius, are only bought by a small number of people." Consequently, in 1637 a limited edition of 300 was printed,<sup>65</sup> and the price was extremely high: 45 guilders on common paper and 54 guilders on better paper.<sup>66</sup> Moretus did not always undertake all of the financial risks himself and in a number of cases was helped by the author or by a rich "Maecenas". In his letter of June 15, 1623, quoted in part above, Moretus tells Chifflet that he has printed Agostino Mascardi's *Silvarum Libri IV*, 1622 (No. 48; Fig. 165) "not so much with my money as with the author's, since he bought 500 copies of the book".<sup>67</sup> The Plantin accounts give further details. On September 8, 1621, Moretus received 300 guilders on account from Mascardi's intermediary, Charles Cotta, for 500 copies of the book. The latter also says that he will pay for the engraving of the title-page, and that a second intermediary, Raphael Rauano, will underwrite the remainder of the expenses after the book has been printed.<sup>68</sup> One thousand copies of the title were printed and paid for on January 7, 1622,<sup>69</sup> and the book sold for 1 guilder and 2 stuivers.<sup>70</sup> In still another case, Antonius van Winghe made on June 12, 1631, through his intermediary, M. Brant, an advance payment of 1800 guilders for which he would receive 1200 guilders worth of copies of L. Blosius's *Opera*, 1632 (No. 61; Fig. 208) and 600 guilders

<sup>63</sup> Appendix I, p. 367 [8].

<sup>64</sup> Appendix I, p. 370 [17].

<sup>65</sup> Appendix III, p. 475 [87].

<sup>66</sup> Appendix II, p. 442 [30].

<sup>67</sup> Appendix I, p. 370 [17].

<sup>68</sup> Appendix III, pp. 481, 482 [100].

<sup>69</sup> Appendix III, p. 463 [43].

<sup>70</sup> Appendix II, p. 436 [13].

worth of other books.<sup>71</sup> Blossius's book eventually sold for 8 guilders and 10 stuivers or 10 guilders and 10 stuivers when printed on thinner white paper and 11 guilders when printed on heavier white paper.<sup>72</sup> In one instance, the author, B. de los Rios, agreed to pay for the drawing and the cutting of the frontispiece for his book entitled *De Hierarchia Mariana*, 1641 (No. 80; Fig. 271).<sup>73</sup> It seems, however, that Moretus had trouble with de los Rios. On March 9, 1639, he wrote to C. Galle in Brussels saying, among other things, that he would add what the author would not pay.<sup>74</sup>

The above examples involve only a partial subsidy by patron or author, but there is one clearly documented case where the entire cost was defrayed by a wealthy and influential backer. The book, M. de Morgues' *Diverses Pièces*, 1637 (No. 75; Fig. 257), was political in content and espoused the cause of Queen Maria de' Medici over Cardinal Richelieu. The detailed correspondence between the author and the publisher mentions not only the size of the edition but for the first time the total cost of producing the book. On December 13, 1637, Moretus wrote to de Morgues saying that the book was finished and that he had printed 1,200 copies, but that due to the high cost of the paper and the frontispiece, the books could not be sold for less than 12 guilders each. He goes on to say that since the author and his brother have assured him that Her Majesty will purchase the entire edition, he has counted on this and looks forward to receiving his payment "all at once". He further states that he has advanced all of the expenses and that he must pay his workers each week.<sup>75</sup> The entire affair ended successfully as attested to by the receipt of payment signed by Moretus in Antwerp, March 6, 1638.<sup>76</sup> He was paid 12,000 guilders during the months of January, February and March for having printed 1,000 copies of the *Diverses pièces*, and for having sent 100 of them to Monsieur de Saint-Germain. He had also to deliver 900 to Her Majesty. Although he had printed 1,275 copies of the title-page, only 1,200 were used for the actual publication.<sup>77</sup> In this case and on other occasions, the publisher printed a small over-run of the title-pages, about 25 to 75, which suggests that more books were

<sup>71</sup> Appendix III, p. 485 [110].

<sup>72</sup> Appendix II, p. 439 [21].

<sup>73</sup> Appendix I, p. 393 [74].

<sup>74</sup> Appendix I, pp. 391, 392 [69].

<sup>75</sup> Appendix I, pp. 411, 412 [114].

<sup>76</sup> Appendix IV, p. 503 [7].

<sup>77</sup> Appendix III, p. 477 [91].

printed than actually stated in the documents. Could this have been an unbound reserve?

The price of books containing Rubens illustrations varied according to the size, the quality of paper and the number of illustrations. Many of the books were printed on two or three different grades of paper and the grade of paper determined the price of the book. For example, the 1617 *Crux Triumphans* (No. 37; Fig. 126) was sold for 6 guilders 10 stuivers when printed on common paper, for 7 guilders on “fin median paper” and for 7 guilders 10 stuivers on white paper “fin ... de Lyon”.<sup>78</sup> Although Lipsius’s 1637 *Opera Omnia* (No. 73; Fig. 246) came out as a set of six books, two of them, the *Tacitus* and the *Seneca*, had already been published in 1627 and 1632 respectively. For those who already owned these two volumes, it was possible to purchase only four of the books at a cost of 45 guilders when printed on “common paper” and 54 guilders on “better paper”. The complete *Opera Omnia*, on the other hand, was offered for 60 guilders on “common paper” and 72 guilders on “better paper”.<sup>79</sup> In the case of the *Missale* published in 1613 (Nos. 6–9; Figs. 47–53) and in 1616, it was possible to buy the works with fewer illustrations and poorer paper at a considerable savings. The 1613 *Missale Romanum* was offered to the public for 7 guilders when printed on “common paper” and containing just the vignette on the title-page. For four more guilders one could have it completely illustrated on the same paper and for 12 guilders 10 stuivers it was also fully illustrated but printed on “larger paper”.<sup>80</sup> The 1616 *Missale* was priced at 7 guilders when printed on ordinary paper and illustrated with the engraved vignette on the title-page and ten illustrations. Eleven guilders purchased a volume with the same type of paper but with 21 engravings, while for 12 guilders 10 stuivers one received the same number of illustrations but the paper was better.<sup>81</sup>

Because the Plantin Press imported their paper from abroad,<sup>82</sup> and especially from France, its availability depended often on weather conditions and political

<sup>78</sup> Appendix II, p. 434 [9]. For other examples where three grades of paper were used see Appendix II, pp. 435, 439 [12, 21].

<sup>79</sup> Appendix II, p. 442 [30].

<sup>80</sup> Appendix II, p. 431 [2].

<sup>81</sup> Appendix II, p. 434 [8]. See *Voet*, II, pp. 379–388, for a detailed discussion of the importance of paper in determining the price of books printed in the sixteenth century.

<sup>82</sup> *Voet*, II, p. 32 and *passim*.

considerations which, on a number of occasions, caused serious delays in publication. For example, F. Van Haer's *Annales Ducum Brabantiae* (Nos. 51, 52; Figs. 174, 179) was held up for five months due to the scarcity of paper caused by the severe winter of 1622 in Lorraine.<sup>83</sup> At least five books were seriously delayed in the 1630's because of the war in Lorraine. On January 26, 1633, Moretus wrote to Van Haeften in Affligem that he had postponed the engravings for the *Regia Via Crucis* (No. 71; Fig. 242) and the printing of Cordier's *Opera S. Dionysii* (No. 64; Fig. 217) because "some of the paper mills have been destroyed and the craftsmen killed".<sup>84</sup> Lipsius's *Opera Omnia* (No. 73; Fig. 246) and Goltzius's *Icones Imperatorum* (No. 83; Fig. 279) seem to have been ready for the press in 1635, but a letter from Moretus to the publisher H. Barentsen in Amsterdam dated December 19, 1635, states that "through the lack of paper, I have had to stop printing ... the Emperors of Goltzius which remain to complete the Opera of Goltzius ...; I hope to finish the Opera of Lipsius towards the end of next January."<sup>85</sup> The former eventually appeared in 1645 and the latter in 1637.

In conclusion, Balthasar Moretus was certainly the main organizing power in the Plantin Press and through his long and close friendship with Rubens involved the artist in the art of the book. Moreover, the letters and documents make it abundantly clear that the content and final appearance of the title-pages conceived by Rubens for the Plantin House were done under the close supervision of Moretus. He seems to have worked out the layouts, with or without the help of the author or patron, and Rubens followed them when creating his ingenious figures, shapes and forms. It is also very likely that Rubens's designs were frequently copied by Cornelis Galle, or by one of his colleagues, before being transferred onto the copper plate. In addition, many of Rubens's original designs were probably oil sketches rather than drawings if one accepts the attribution to Cornelis Galle, or his workshop, of a number of the drawings heretofore given to Rubens. It is also interesting to note that problems which plagued Moretus and the Plantin Press such as paper shortages, finances, deadlines for Books Fairs like Frankfort, numbers and costs of illustrations to be included, are all still with us today.

<sup>83</sup> See letter of April 2, 1622, from Moretus to Van Haer (Appendix I, p. 399 [86]).

<sup>84</sup> Appendix I, p. 396 [78].

<sup>85</sup> Appendix I, p. 366 [6]. For other letters concerning these publications see Appendix I, pp. 415, 416 [121, 123].



## II. THE STYLISTIC DEVELOPMENT OF RUBENS'S DESIGNS

Sixteenth-century book illustration in Antwerp, especially title-page designs, received its strongest impetus from Christophe Plantin. Until his arrival in Antwerp, just after the middle of the sixteenth century, the woodcut technique was the most frequently employed. It was Plantin who risked using copper engraving, a more technically difficult and expensive method, thereby achieving a more vivid pictorial imagery.<sup>1</sup> Although copper engravings had been used in books as early as 1484 by Colard Mansion in Bruges,<sup>2</sup> by Plantin in 1559 for *La magnifique et sumptueuse Pompe funèbre de Charles Cinquième*, with designs by Hieronymus Cock, engraved by Jan and Lucas van Doetechum<sup>3</sup> and by Hubert Goltzius for his 1563 *Caesar sive Historiae Imperatorum Caesarum-que Romanorum ex antiquis numismatibus restitutae liber primus*, the major change in the evolution of book illustration did not occur until 1566.<sup>4</sup> In this year Plantin published the famous medical treatise by A. Vesalius and J. Valverde, *Vivae Imagines Partium Corporis Humani* (Fig. 1), also completely illustrated with copper engravings cut, in part, by Frans and Pieter Huys. The latter also made the frontispiece after a design by Lambert van Noort.<sup>5</sup> As Voet has pointed out, Plantin's use of the burin technique in 1566 was copied at once by his Antwerp competitors.<sup>6</sup> By altering the technique from the woodcut to the copper plate, the engraver achieved more decorative effects, greater nuances of light and shade and much freer and looser imagery. As the copper engraving was so attractive and effective a medium for artists who conceived their works in a painterly way, the inventions of painters like Marten de Vos and later Peter Paul Rubens could be more easily translated into a reproductive technique.

Title-pages of the sixteenth century, whether executed in woodcut or engraving, depended very much for their visual vocabulary on imaginative combinations of elements borrowed from commemorative arches, tomb sculpture attached to the wall or freestanding, church altars, portals, window frames,

<sup>1</sup> Voet, II, pp. 201, 202.

<sup>2</sup> [Cat. Exb.] *Anvers, ville de Plantin et de Rubens*, Paris, 1954, p. 188.

<sup>3</sup> Voet, II, pp. 197, 202.

<sup>4</sup> Voet, II, p. 203.

<sup>5</sup> Voet, II, pp. 197, 199, 208, pl. 33.

<sup>6</sup> Voet, II, p. 203.

fountain architecture, fantastic decoration (grotesques) and combinations of antique architectural-decorative motifs. These title-pages do not repeat specific monuments or their details, but following the *maniera* style of the sixteenth century, were extremely original, decorative and contained odd combinations. For example, the woodcut title-page for Thomas a Veiga's *Commentarii in Cl. Galeni Libros*, Antwerp, 1566 (Fig. 2) is arranged like a triumphal arch whimsically decorated above with putti holding two fantastic cornucopiae and flanking a cartouche with strap-work.<sup>7</sup> The terms, on the other hand, are a further elaboration on mid-sixteenth century French book decoration such as one finds in Alciati's *Emblemata*, Lyons, 1551 (Fig. 3), while the ornaments above and below are similar to those found in the circle of Cornelis Floris, Cornelis Bos, Hieronymus Cock and others working in France and Antwerp during the 1540's.<sup>8</sup> In contrast to the imaginative and airy forms of the aforementioned illustration, one finds, in the same years, the strongly architectonic engraved title-page for the 1566 *Vivae Imagines Partium Corporis Humani* (Fig. 1). The architecture, with its broken pediment and coat-of-arms placed in the center of the break, the Corinthian columns and pilasters behind, the projecting socles and geometrically shaped center with the distinctly printed title, brings to mind that designed by Bartolomeo Ammannati ca. 1552 for the fountain on the via Flaminia, Rome<sup>9</sup> or the attached wall-monument to Cardinal Enckevoort in Santa Maria dell'Anima, Rome,<sup>10</sup> attributed to Giovanni Mangone da Caravaggio.

Another type of engraved frontispiece used by Christophe Plantin instead of stressing the heaviness of the enframing device accentuates its weightlessness. The frontispiece for St. Augustine's *Opera*, Antwerp, 1577 (Fig. 4), appears to float before the page and could be a free adaptation of Italian niche decorations or window designs. The pediment with winged angels reclining on either side and the general lightness of the ensemble is akin in spirit to the decoration of one of the niches in the Sforza Chapel, Santa Maria Maggiore,

<sup>7</sup> See also the upper zone of the arch in the *Triumphelijcke Incompst van den Hoogmogenden Prince Philips . . . in de Stad van Antwerpen, Anno 1549*, Antwerp, 1550, illustrated in S. Schéle, *Cornelis Bos*, Stockholm, 1965, p. 54, fig. 36.

<sup>8</sup> See S. Schéle, *op. cit.*, figs. 22-56 and *passim*.

<sup>9</sup> *Venturi*, XI, 2, fig. 209.

<sup>10</sup> *Venturi*, X, 1, fig. 206.

Rome, attributed to Michelangelo<sup>11</sup> or a window design such as Buontalenti's drawing preserved in the Print Room, Florence.<sup>12</sup> This same type of imaginative architecture without any means of support is present earlier in a French title-page of 1566 (Fig. 5), but there it is weighed down by decorative motifs and lacks the suspended quality of the Flemish design.<sup>13</sup>

There are other title-pages designed during the second half of the sixteenth century in Antwerp that place *maniera* figures within the framework of a free-standing monumental Renaissance tomb. For example, the general layout of the title-page for Gillis van den Rade's publication of J. Van der Noot's *De Poetische Werken*, Antwerp, 1584 (Fig. 6), recalls such a monument as Andrea Sansovino's for Cardinal Ascanio Sforza in Santa Maria del Popolo, Rome<sup>14</sup> with its two large allegorical figures placed before Corinthian columns and flanking the title placed within an arch, while above figures stand or sit on the entablature.

One must also remember the importance of Italian portals for Flemish title-page designs. Broken pediments with coats-of-arms in the center supported by seated angels are found on many title-pages<sup>15</sup> and seem to be modeled after those crowning the entrances to buildings or chapels in Italy such as the one designed by Christoforo Stati for the Rucellai Chapel in Sant'Andrea della Valle, Rome.<sup>16</sup>

These and numerous other title-pages published in Antwerp during the second half of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries by Plantin, Van Keerbergen, Nutius, Verdussen and Trognésius imaginatively combine architectural details and tomb sculpture in a manner which was to be carried on by Rubens but with very different results.

Rubens's earliest documented title-page design was executed in 1611 for Johannes Hemelaers's *Imperatorum Romanorum Numismata Aurea* (No. 33;

<sup>11</sup> *Venturi*, XI, 2, fig. 194.

<sup>12</sup> *Venturi*, XI, 2, fig. 532.

<sup>13</sup> See *Mortimer, French*, I, p. 173, No. 137, repr. on p. 172.

<sup>14</sup> *Venturi*, X, 1, fig. 102.

<sup>15</sup> See the title-page of H. Natalis, *Adnotationes et Meditationes in Evangelia*, Antwerp, 1595 (Fig. 7).

<sup>16</sup> *Venturi*, X, 3, fig. 563.

Fig. 114), but did not appear until 1615.<sup>17</sup> Here he uses a female type found on antique coins, placing it in a rusticated niche of the sort frequently found in sixteenth-century Italian architecture. It was also at this time that Rubens began the construction of his house, which contained similar rusticated niches.<sup>18</sup> However, an analogous combination of a personification placed in, or in front of such a rusticated niche is found in earlier book illustrations such as *Fertility* in Hubert Goltzius's *Thesaurus Rei Antiquariae Huberrimus*, Antwerp, 1579, pl. 219 (Fig. 115). Whatever the actual source, Rubens has created nothing new except to impart to the allegorical figure a seventeenth-century grandeur. The same can be said of his design for F. Aguilon's *Opticorum Libri sex* of 1613 (Fig. 56). Although the general layout calls upon architectural and tomb sculpture vocabulary, Rubens appears to have solved the problem within the context of earlier title-pages indebted to the plastic arts. He seats the principal figure on a pedestal within a niche-like enclosure. Just below, to the right and left, there are terms supported by projecting socles with an indented space between them. As early as 1570 one finds a similar arrangement but cluttered by the *maniera* love of over-detailing in the title-page for Andrea Palladio's *I quattro Libri dell' Architettura*, Venice, 1570 (Fig. 57). Here the main allegorical figure is enthroned within a niche and below there is a pedestal-like rectangle inscribed with the book-title and allegorical figures to the right and left of this very elaborate and fantastic setting. A variation on this kind of *maniera* composition but with the center entirely occupied by the book title can be found in the 1597 frontispiece for J.J. Boissard's *II. Pars Antiquitatum Romanarum* (Fig. 58). Even closer to Rubens's placement of *Optica* is the main personification in the 1600 publication entitled *Symbola Divina & Humana*

<sup>17</sup> The designs for the engravings of the life of St. Ignatius of Loyola, published in Rome in 1609, which have been attributed to Rubens by J. Held (*Rubens and the Vita Beati P. Ignatii Loiolae* of 1609, in *Rubens before 1620*, ed. by J.R. Martin, Princeton, N.J., 1972, pp. 93-134) are not taken into consideration here because they do not illustrate the text of a book, but form a series of inscribed prints such as one often finds in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (see e.g. *Hollstein*, II, p. 66, Nos. 355-378; IV, p. 203, Nos. 198-248; VII, p. 12, Nos. 34-47; XV, p. 160, Nos. 224-239). Besides, there is also some question as to whether or not the Louvre drawing for the *Life of St. Ignatius* is by the same hand as the sheet in Edinburgh for the same series, also published by J. Held (*Some Rubens Drawings Unknown or Neglected, Master Drawings*, XII, 1974, pp. 249, 250, pl. 26b). Furthermore, it is difficult to accept Held's attribution to Rubens of the title-page for the series (*Rubens and the Vita ...*, *op. cit.*, pp. 104-107, fig. 47).

<sup>18</sup> This relationship was noticed by *Evers*, 1943, p. 172.

*Pontificum, Imperatorum, Regum* (Fig. 59). In this title-page engraved by Gillis Sadeler, the figure is no longer enframed by solid architectural forms but the niche-like structure curves around her and is pierced by daylight. The forms, however, are still mannered and constrained to the surface. It is Rubens who imparts a new vigour to them. His allegorical figures are solid, three-dimensional, and displace space, as opposed to the wispy and overly posed earlier figures. His architecture is heavy and is the antithesis of the light and decorative surface forms of 1599 and earlier. However much Rubens is indebted to the past for his general composition, there can be little doubt that he has translated previous ideas into the new seventeenth-century vision of monumental three-dimensional shapes that move in a measurable space.

The basic arrangement of the main figures in the 1613 Aguilon title-page (Fig. 55) is continued in the frontispiece for the 1614 *Breviarium* (No. 18; Fig. 71). Now, however, the framing architecture is eliminated and the figures stand before the open sky. Rubens also includes flying angels, who give the upper portion a more dramatic and illusionistic character. The general concept seems to be closely allied with sixteenth-century Italian sculpture such as Bandinelli's designs for the *Tombs of Pope Leo X and Pope Clement VII* in Santa Maria sopra Minerva, Rome.<sup>19</sup> In these monuments, the Pope is seated in the center on a raised pedestal and flanked on either side by saints. Rubens departs from these sculptural models by eliminating the architectural boundaries between the figures. In this way he creates an image similar to sixteenth-century sculptural ensembles of the Virgin enthroned and flanked by saints.<sup>20</sup> His *Ecclesia* is a type used throughout Italy during the latter half of the sixteenth century for sculptural representations of Popes whether in or out-of-doors.<sup>21</sup> Although Rubens's compositions and figures seem to resemble closely Italian commemorative sculpture, there is at least one sixteenth-century *maniera* title-page which uses an analogous arrangement, L. Dolce's Italian translation of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, published in Venice in 1553 (Fig. 74). Here the main figure, Jupiter, is enthroned above and surrounded by clouds while below, to

<sup>19</sup> Venturi, XI, 2, figs. 501, 510.

<sup>20</sup> Cf. Alfonso Lombardi's *Madonna and Child with Saints John the Baptist and John the Evangelist*, Pinacoteca Civica, Faenza (Venturi, X, 1, fig. 438), or Francesco and G.B. Altarese's ensemble in Vicenza, Torre Civica, where flying angels crown the Virgin (Venturi, X, 3, fig. 270).

<sup>21</sup> For numerous examples see Venturi, X, 3, figs. 466, 467, 469, 473, 479, 480, 490, 524, 542, 551, 555, 556.

the right and left, an allegorical figure stands on a socle unimpeded by the architectural framework. However similar the basic notion may be to Rubens's design, it must be remembered that the earlier book illustration is completely *maniera* in style.

Rubens repeated his *Breviarium* (Fig. 72) composition with slight variations in several of his designs in 1622, 1623 and later.<sup>22</sup> As early as 1640 Rubens's follower Abraham van Diepenbeeck must also have had this type in mind when executing his title-page for the *Afbeeldinghe van d'Eerste Eeuwe der Societeyt Iesu* (Fig. 8).

In 1615, Rubens's 1611 design for the *Imperatorum Romanorum Numismata Aurea* was published and one year later his drawing for the frontispiece of the *Commentaria in Pentateuchum* (Nos. 36, 36a; Figs. 118, 119). In the latter, he continues the enthroned figure type seated on a large pedestal containing the book title, which he had used so successfully in the 1613 and 1614 title-pages. As in the former, he encloses Moses within an architectural setting but now the entire body is framed and rises up through the entablature and part of the pediment. Although the fragmentation of the architectural elements is common in the sixteenth century and usually denies space or creates odd and unreadable combinations, Rubens clearly depicts the breaks and allows Moses to exist in an easily defined spatial area. Moses is not wedged into the architecture but light and shade invade the space around him. This is very different from the sixteenth century, where the figures are imprisoned by the structure which presses in upon them,<sup>23</sup> but similar to the figure of Paul, although reversed, in the Nutius and Van Meurs 1614 publication of the *Commentaria in D. Pauli Epistolas* (Fig. 125).<sup>24</sup> Rubens's praying angels are in basically the same position as those in the aforementioned title-page, which suggests that he might very well have had parts of this frontispiece in mind when creating his own. Furthermore, his compositional and architectural vocabulary, including Corinthian capitals, fragmented entablature and pediment upon which angels kneel and pray to a vision appearing in the top center, are all found earlier in

<sup>22</sup> *De Kerckelycke Historie* (No. 49; Fig. 166), the *Summa Conciliorum Omnium* (No. 50; Fig. 172) and the *Annales Ducum Brabantiae, I-II* (No. 51; Fig. 174); later it was repeated for *De Hierarchia Mariana* of 1641 (No. 80; Fig. 271).

<sup>23</sup> Cf. Giovanni Antonio Dosio's *Tomb of Antonio Massa di Gallese*, Rome, San Pietro in Montorio (*Venturi*, XI, 2, fig. 322).

<sup>24</sup> The same frontispiece was also used for the 1621 and 1627 publications of this book by Nutius.

Italian (Fig. 122), French (Fig. 123) and Flemish (Figs. 9, 10) book illustrations or title-pages. The inclusion of the medallions secured to the columns as well as the broken pediment, but with reclining instead of praying angels are details found in the *Breviarium Monasticum*, Rome, 1613 (Fig. 124).

The year 1617 was the most important one for the publication of Rubens's title-page designs: for the first time, his full range of creativity is realized. Very likely his earliest project in 1617 was the frontispiece for the *Crux Triumphans* (No. 37; Fig. 126), finished sometime prior to May 29. Contrary to the previous year's architectural arrangement (Fig. 118), he returns to a solid, sculptural concept which is softened in the upper zone by a new accent upon a painterly and illusionistic rendering of the sky. The figures and the supports recall monumental tomb sculpture with a central figure flanked by two lesser ones below, as one finds, for example, in Michelangelo's *Medici Tombs* or in Leone Leoni's *Monument to Gian Galeazzo Medici* in the Duomo, Milan.<sup>25</sup> Although Rubens changes the basic arrangement of the earlier works by having the personifications enter the Saviour's space, the figure of Christ is clearly based upon Michelangelo's statue in Santa Maria sopra Minerva, Rome. The allegorical figures bring to mind the mourning ones that sit precariously along the edge of the pedestal in monuments like the one designed by Vasari for Michelangelo in Santa Croce, Florence,<sup>26</sup> or sixteenth-century fountain ensembles.<sup>27</sup> However, Rubens's figures are not separated from each other but rather enter into one another's space and are therefore part of a composition that advances toward the viewer. This is accomplished by the movement of the pedestal, which recedes back into depth along the sides and moves forward and out at the spectator in the central section. This sense of logical movement is reinforced by Faith and Divine Love, who sit firmly on the pedestal and whose bodies are turned diagonally to the picture plane. The dynamic foreground sculptural ensemble is combined with a visionary and pictorial rendering of the sky and an architectural solidity in the background; everything is unified into a coherent and impressive whole. Here Rubens achieves the ideal, unified dramatic seventeenth-century integration of architecture, painting and sculpture in a title-page

<sup>25</sup> *Venturi*, x, 3, fig. 350.

<sup>26</sup> *Venturi*, xi, 2, fig. 386.

<sup>27</sup> Cf. Giovanni da Bologna's *Neptune*, Boboli Gardens, Florence (*Venturi*, x, 3, fig. 590).

design which looks forward to, and might even have inspired, the works of the other great seventeenth-century "Baroque" artist, Giovanni Lorenzo Bernini.<sup>28</sup>

The greater stress on more painterly and dramatic sky effects found in the *Crux Triumphans* (Fig. 126) is carried even further in the frontispiece, which was completed by July 15, 1617,<sup>29</sup> for *De Justitia et Jure*, also published by the Plantin Press (No. 38; Fig. 128). Here Rubens adds stars and trees and eliminates all of the structural elements except for the base and the circular medallion, which has become more decorative than massive. Justice really is supported by the clouds like Christ in *The Last Judgment*<sup>30</sup> or the Virgin in *The Assumption*.<sup>31</sup> Down below, two bound prisoners, symbolic of vice and based on the antique or a sixteenth-century adaptation of the latter,<sup>32</sup> support the frame containing the title. This type of bound nude prisoner or slave also begins to appear in Rubens's painted oeuvre at this time.<sup>33</sup> In this book design, Rubens moves away from the sculptural and architectural framework and, for the first time, thinks of the title-page more in terms of painting. Nonetheless, this change in attitude was not decisive, for in the same year 1617, Rubens designed two decidedly architectonic frontispieces. The one made for Jan van Meurs's *Biblia Sacra* (No. 40; Fig. 136) is an obvious return to the architectonic concepts of the 1613 *Opticorum libri sex* (No. 10; Fig. 55), although, as Evers has pointed out,<sup>34</sup> the *Biblia Sacra* arrangement presents a more unified surface. In the latter, the imaginary architectural forms do not project strongly out into space, and the terms are set in front of a flat wall surface. Rubens's structure is imaginative, but the placement of Theology before a niche overlapped by

<sup>28</sup> Cf. for example the projects for the *Monument of Alexander VII*, design in Windsor Castle (H. Brauer and R. Wittkower, *Die Zeichnungen des Gian Lorenzo Bernini*, Berlin, 1931, pp. 168, 175, pl. 129a). The possible connection between Bernini and Rubens's title-pages was first suggested by Held, 1960, pp. 261-264.

<sup>29</sup> Appendix I, p. 405 [98].

<sup>30</sup> Cf. *The Last Judgment*, Munich (K.d.K., p. 118).

<sup>31</sup> Cf. the painting in Brussels of 1616-17 (K.d.K., p. 120).

<sup>32</sup> See below, p. 186 under No. 38.

<sup>33</sup> Cf. the 1617 cartoon for *The Funeral of Decius Mus*, Vaduz, Collection of the Prince of Liechtenstein ([*Cat. Exh.*] *Peter Paul Rubens. Aus den Sammlungen des Fürsten von Liechtenstein*, Vaduz, 1974, p. 14, No. 22, pl. XXII).

<sup>34</sup> Evers, 1943, p. 174.



volute uniting both sides with the center<sup>35</sup> suggests late sixteenth and early seventeenth-century Italian church façades.

Directly in opposition to the more decorative, imaginative, thin surface structure made for the *Biblia Sacra* (No. 40; Fig. 136), stands the rustic, massive niche Rubens designed in the same year for *'t Vaders Boeck* (No. 42; Fig. 146). This heavy architectural setting was created, with or without the intervention of the artist's patron, with an obvious concern for the content of a book which focuses upon the lives of the hermit saints who lived in ancient times. The rusticated framework with moss and ivy clearly suggests Antiquity and the wilderness. It is ultimately based upon Roman prototypes<sup>36</sup> that Rubens knew so well in Mantua and which he freely adapted in the garden architecture for his own house in Antwerp.

Late in 1617, Jacob de Bie's *Nomismata Imperatorum* (No. 39; Fig. 130) was published in Antwerp and, once again, befitting the contents of the book, Rubens turned back to the antique and produced a highly imaginative ensemble based on the imagery found in Roman coins and antique sculpture. Although the general arrangement can be found in various combinations in earlier mannerist title-pages for books like Jean Jacques Boissard's *Romanae Urbis Topographia*, I, of 1597 (Fig. 133),<sup>37</sup> or Guicciardini's 1599 *De Oorloghen van Italien* (Fig. 134), Rubens gives the illustration a new direction and a clarity not found earlier.

The year 1617 appears to solidify and establish Rubens's approach to title-page design which formed the framework out of which his mature style evolved. Now for the first time sculptural and illusionistic elements combine to become a basic part of his repertoire. Previously, the forms had been sculptural, their heaviness clearly articulated and the parts separated. In 1617 the monumental forms move and interact together. This is achieved through a new interest in a more developed use of light and shade and a breaking down of structural boundaries within the framework of the image. In the *Crux Triumphans* and in *De Justitia et Jure* (Figs. 126, 128), the figures overlap and invade

<sup>35</sup> For a similar combination of volutes and entablature see the title-page of A. du Laurens, *Historia anatomica humani corporis*, Paris, [1600], illustrated in *Mortimer, French*, I, p. 231, No. 189.

<sup>36</sup> For a discussion of the symbolism of this type of niche see K. Dorment, *Tomb and Testament: Architectural Significance in Titian's Pieta*, *The Art Quarterly*, xxxv, 1972, pp. 399-418.

<sup>37</sup> *Evers*, 1943, p. 176, Fig. 83.

each other's space. This is quite different from the clearly partitioned view, whether established by the architecture or by strong contrasts of light and shade in the earlier title-pages (Figs. 55, 71, 118).

In 1618, Rubens introduces a new motif into his title-pages, the "sepulchral altar". Again he borrows an antique format for a book concerned with Antiquity: H. Goltzius's *Graeciae Universae Nomismata...*, Antwerp, 1618 (No. 43; Fig. 148), and this form, with a slight variation, is used again in 1622 for a book that imitates ancient literature, Agostino Mascardi's *Silvarum Libri IV* (No. 48; Fig. 165).

The illusionism of 1617, based on a combination of sculptural and painterly elements, becomes, in 1619, more closely allied to Rubens's painting style. His design for P. Ribadineira and H. Rosweyde's *Generale Legende der Heylighen* (No. 44; Fig. 149), is conceived in much the same visionary way as the ca. 1615-16 *Last Judgment* in Dresden and the *Great Last Judgment* in Munich.<sup>38</sup> This painterly approach also characterizes the 1620 design for Thomas a Jesu's *De Contemplatione Divina* (No. 45; Fig. 153) where, for the first time, there is the suggestion of a fully developed landscape disappearing into the distance. However, in this same year he also returns to an imaginative rustic architectural design for the *Gelresche Rechten* (No. 47; Fig. 158). The architectural vocabulary behind the royal personages has a rustic quality similar to that in the image for *'t Vaders Boeck* of 1617 (No. 42; Fig. 146). The similarity ends there and again no specific Italian architectural model can be found. Actually, Rubens has really taken over an earlier frontispiece arrangement such as the one for H. d'Oultremannus's *Descriptio Triumpho and Spectaculorum ... Alberto et Isabellae*, Antwerp, 1602 (Fig. 162) and replaced the mannered classical architectural vocabulary with the rusticated type associated with Roman Antiquity and North-Italy, especially Mantua. There is also a possible debt to North-Italy in the poses of Isabella and Albert, which are very similar to those found in an illustration in Fabrizio Caroso's *Il Ballarino*, Venice, 1581 (Fig. 164).<sup>39</sup>

There are no published Rubens book illustrations in 1621. Agostino Mascardi's *Silvarum Libri IV* of 1622 (No. 48; Fig. 165) repeats the 1618 "sepulchral altar" type. The other book with a Rubens title-page published in 1622 repeats an earlier type. His project for *De Kerckelycke Historie*

<sup>38</sup> *K.d.K.*, p. 118.

<sup>39</sup> *Mortimer, Italian*, I, pp. 153-155, No. 106.

(No. 49; Fig. 166), and also those for the first volume of the *Annales Ducum Brabantiae* (No. 51; Fig. 174) and for the *Summa Conciliorum* (No. 50; Fig. 172), both published in 1623, are all close variations on the 1614 *Breviarium* frontispiece (Fig. 71). On the other hand his work for the two other title-pages issued in 1623, volume III of F. Van Haer's *Annales Ducum Brabantiae* (No. 52; Fig. 179) and C. Baronius's, H. Spondanus's and H. Rosweyde's *Generale Kerckelycke Historie* (No. 53; Fig. 183), are original in concept. The scheme for Van Haer's book employs a rustic stone wall which is a variant on the niche in his earlier frontispiece printed in 1615 in Hemelaers's publication on coins (No. 33; Fig. 114) and the 1617 *Vaders Boeck* (Fig. 146). In 1623 (Fig. 179) the rusticated niche is replaced by a rough wall which is part of a Doric temple. The building is pierced by a door which opens out toward the viewer and in the opening appears a hanging containing the book's title. Rubens here creates a solid and readable architectural form executed in the heavy Doric style. In doing this he breaks with book designs of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries where architectural details were used in fantastic combinations to create wholly imaginative structures. This is most evident when one compares titles like the 1566 *Vivae Imagines Partium Corporis Humani* (Fig. 1), the 1584 *De Poeticsche Werken* (Fig. 6) or J. B. Villalpando's *De Postrema Ezechielis Visione* of 1604 (Fig. 11). However, one element does carry over from earlier examples and that is the piercing of the architrave and frieze with the niche containing Janus's bust. This parallels the coat-of-arms with the Order of the Golden Fleece found in the 1604 title-page cited above (Fig. 11). Nevertheless, this one deviation from an otherwise pure Doric building does not diminish the readable and monumental character of the image which Rubens uses again later with slight variations.

Whereas the *Annales Ducum Brabantiae*, III title-page (Fig. 179) is conceived in terms of a clearly defined spatial area, the *Generale Kerckelycke Historie* (Fig. 183) is rendered with the same vigour as Rubens's illusionistic paintings executed around 1623. He places the personification of the Church in the bottom center of the scene. She is surrounded by clouds with flying angels carrying torches and lamps. Below, the figures rise up from outside of the actual picture plane toward the Church. Their monumental bodies, intense facial expressions and gestures recall the Apostles surrounding the tomb in Rubens's ca. 1618–20 *Assumption of the Virgin* in Düsseldorf<sup>40</sup> or the sick in the bottom

<sup>40</sup> *K.d.K.*, p. 193.

register of the 1617–18 *Miracles of St. Francis Xavier*, Vienna.<sup>41</sup> In any case, he creates the image for the *Generale Kerckelycke Historie* (Fig. 183) with the same painterly vision as the 1619 *Generale Legende der Heylighen* (Fig. 149), but in the former he reduces the number of participants and conceives a greater sense of movement beyond the confines of the actual picture plane. The forms now enter the spectator's space, and through the interplay of light and shade they merge with one another. There are no longer clearly delineated zones such as one finds in the semi-circular arrangement of the 1619 title-page (Fig. 149).

Rubens's four title-page designs of 1623 were succeeded in the following year by just one, that for Carlo Scribani's *Politico-Christianus* (No. 54; Fig. 185), published by Marten Nutius. Here he reverts, in part, to the type of design he had used for Lessius's *De Justitia et Jure* (Fig. 128), where two personifications, on a raised platform, flank an oval containing the book title. However, he has made some crucial changes. By eliminating the figures below and above, there is now a greater concentration on the principal participants, who are not set so far back in the scene. They stand on steps, which begin at the base of the composition and suggest space leading logically from the spectator's world to the main figures, who create a complicated allegory.<sup>42</sup> The figures and the oval shield with attributes dominate the page while in the 1617 scene the eye is distracted from the theme by the abundance of detail starting in the bottom foreground and continuing up into the sky. The earlier stress on illusionism has given way to a clear presentation of massive sculptural forms. The new stress on an emblematic presentation is also evident in Rubens's painting at this time.<sup>43</sup> The sculptural character of his figures, the easy manner in which they rest against the oval and the free movement of their bodies bring to mind Bernini's *Tomb of Urban VIII*, St. Peter's, Rome (Fig. 12).<sup>44</sup> Rubens's arrangement was used in 1626 by Theodore van Loon, but in an overly decorative manner, for the frontispiece of F. de Marselaer's *Legatus* (Fig. 284).

Two years after the appearance of Scribani's volume, H. Hugo's *Obsidio Bredana* (No. 55; Fig. 190) was issued by Moretus with a Rubens frontispiece. He used the same general format as in the design for Scribani's *Politico-*

<sup>41</sup> *Vlieghe, Saints*, II, pp. 26–29, No. 104, Fig. 6.

<sup>42</sup> See pp. 237, 238, under No. 54, for an explanation.

<sup>43</sup> Cf. *The Felicity of the Regency of Maria de' Medici*, Louvre, Paris (Evers, 1943, p. 181; *K.d.K.*, p. 257).

<sup>44</sup> *Held*, 1960, pp. 262, 263.

*Christianus* (Fig. 185), but instead of placing the main figures on the top of a series of steps, they now stand on an architectural framework that suggests the fortifications described and illustrated in the book.<sup>45</sup>

As in the 1624 design, everything is close to the picture plane with a strong illusionistic light effect in the top foreground. There is no effort to establish an visionary background, but this scene, like in the Scribani frontispiece, is built up in planes parallel to the picture surface like an antique relief. The strong diagonal movements into depth and beyond the picture frame that are frequent in Rubens's paintings of this time are not present here. The same tendency to close off the background is also evident in his next title-pages, dating from 1628. In the *Vitae Patrum* (No. 57; Fig. 193) the figures are no longer enclosed by architecture as they were in the 1617 edition,<sup>46</sup> but ascend a steep hill and serve as the framing device for the title and the grotto above sheltering Saints Anthony and Paul. Here Rubens continues to use an early sixteenth-century format where episodes connected with the book rise up and encircle the title.<sup>47</sup> The same emphasis upon a surface composition is evident in his modello and subsequent frontispiece for Cordier's *Catena Patrum in S. Lucam* (Fig. 199), where the figures are placed before and on top of a wall. This tendency to minimize the background and accentuate the foreground really begins in the design for Scribani's 1624 title-page (Fig. 185). By 1628 there is no longer an indication of a landscape and the sky is reduced to a minimum. In the title-page for the *Catena Patrum in S. Lucam*, Rubens divides the image into two obvious zones<sup>48</sup> with the most important personages and attributes placed on top of the page and those of lesser importance arranged below with the coat-of-arms of the Emperor Ferdinand II. This hierarchic arrangement of the Saints is also present in his paintings at this time.<sup>49</sup> However, a clear sense of space progressing from the foreground back to the architecture is found only in the paintings and is completely lacking in the emblematic presentation of this title-page.

<sup>45</sup> See p. 241, under No. 55.

<sup>46</sup> *Evers*, 1943, p. 182.

<sup>47</sup> Cf. for example the 1521 Basle publication of N. Perrot's *Cornucopiae* (Fig. 197) or Theodore de Bry's title-page for *America*, v, Frankfort, 1596 (Fig. 198).

<sup>48</sup> *Evers*, 1943, p. 183.

<sup>49</sup> Cf. *Madonna Adored by Saints*, St. Augustine's Church, Antwerp (Fig. 19), which was completed in 1628.

A very marked change soon occurred in Rubens's attitude toward title-page compositions. On August 12, 1631, Galle was paid for the cutting of the plate for Blosius's 1632 *Opera* (No. 61; Fig. 208).<sup>50</sup> Here, Rubens had freed his design from the architectonic, frontal and static arrangement present in his modello for Balthasar Cordier's 1628 *Catena Patrum in S. Lucam* (Fig. 200). He has replaced the architecture which enframed the figures and divided the scene into separate parts by an illusionistic merging of the zones. Whereas the earlier non-structural images of 1619 (Fig. 149), 1623 (Fig. 183) or 1628 (Fig. 193) were either arranged in a circular movement up and down on either side of the title or frontally on clouds, the Blosius composition is arranged on a diagonal from the bottom left to the upper right. This is really a further expansion of the scheme he had used earlier for *Henry IV Receiving the Portrait of Maria de' Medici*, Louvre, Paris (Fig. 211),<sup>51</sup> but now made to appear more like a large seventeenth-century Italian altarpiece reminiscent of Guido Reni.<sup>52</sup> This accent on a more open and illusionistic image continues in Rubens's design for Cordier's *Opera S. Dionysii* (No. 64; Fig. 217) which appeared in 1634. His drawing for this title-page was finished before December 18, 1632,<sup>53</sup> but the publication was held up because of the paper shortage caused by the war in Lorraine.<sup>54</sup> In this composition, he returns to a frontal arrangement but retains a strong sense of illusionism by having the figures rise up and diminish in size as they move higher and further back in space. Clouds are more prominent than before, and the shapes disappear within them. Here Rubens opens up the upper zone even more than in the Blosius frontispiece. On July 28, 1632,<sup>55</sup> Galle was paid for cutting the frontispiece designed by Rubens for *Romanae et Graecae Antiquitatis Monumenta* (No. 82; Fig. 275) which, because of various problems, did not appear until 1645. Here he continues the type he had developed for the 1628 *Vitae Patrum* (Fig. 193) with the figures moving up and down and encircling the central title area.

<sup>50</sup> Appendix III, p. 467 [58].

<sup>51</sup> Evers, 1943, p. 184.

<sup>52</sup> Cf. Guido Reni's *Assumption of the Virgin*, Sant' Ambrogio, Genoa, and *The Virgin in Glory with Saints*, Pinacoteca, Bologna, illustrated in C. Gnudi and G.C. Cavalli, *Guido Reni*, Florence, 1955, pls. 75, 132.

<sup>53</sup> Appendix III, p. 468 [61].

<sup>54</sup> Appendix I, p. 396 [78].

<sup>55</sup> See Appendix III, p. 467 [59].

In contrast to the more illusionistic title-pages of 1632, the oil sketch finished that year for Sarbievski's *Lyriconum Libri IV* (No. 62a; Fig. 213) further expands the "sepulchral-altar" type of composition he used for Mascardi's *Silvarum libri IV* (Fig. 165).

Although no books published in 1633 containing frontispieces by Rubens are known, it is documented that he completed in that year at least two designs for books which did not appear until 1634. In fact, 1634 seems to have been the most prolific year for the publication of his title-page creations. Seven such works were issued, but four of the drawings or oil sketches had been finished in the two preceding years. The earliest one, already discussed, was done sometime prior to December 18, 1632, when Galle was paid for cutting the plate for Cordier's *Opera S. Dionysii* (No. 64; Fig. 217),<sup>56</sup> while one can cautiously suggest that the invention for Boonaerts's *In Ecclesiasticum Commentarius* (No. 70; Fig. 237) was realized by early January 1633, when permission was granted in Antwerp and Brussels to print the book.<sup>57</sup> The plates for Pietrasanta's *De Symbolis Heroicis* (No. 69; Fig. 234) and for the volume containing the Bauhuis and Cabilliau *Epigrammata* and Malapert's *Poemata* (No. 63; Fig. 215) were cut in 1633. Only three of the books containing a 1634 publication date are illustrated with Rubens frontispieces designed in that year (Nos. 66–68; Figs. 222, 225, 227). It is clear that external matters, such as the war in Lorraine, which made it difficult to purchase paper, had once again held up the publication of several of these books.<sup>58</sup>

Cordier's *Opera S. Dionysii* (No. 64; Fig. 217) and its position in the chronological development of Rubens's title-pages have already been discussed. This 1631 project led directly to the illusionistic and non-structural format of Blossius's 1632 *Opera* (No. 61; Fig. 208). When considering all of Rubens's title-pages published in 1634, it is clear that the Boonaerts design (Fig. 237) follows most closely the more supernatural direction of Blossius's 1632 *Opera* (Fig. 208). Jesus, the son of Sirach, is in much the same kneeling position and instigates a similar diagonal movement that connects the earthly and heavenly zones as does Blossius. However, in the 1634 composition, the artist drastically

<sup>56</sup> Appendix III, p. 467 [61].

<sup>57</sup> Although one must admit that there is no fixed relationship between the date of a privilege or permission to publish and the date of the design for the corresponding frontispiece.

<sup>58</sup> This was the case in Cordier's *Opera S. Dionysii*; see letter of January 26, 1633 from Moretus to Van Haefthen (Appendix I, p. 396 [78]).

reduces the numbers of figures and adds a highly imaginative architecture with spiral columns suggesting heaven. Below there is a detailed landscape, which recedes into the distance while in the foreground the earth opens to fearful faces looking up and reaching toward Heaven. For these reasons, it is plausible to suggest that the Boonaerts title-page followed the one done for the *St. Dionysius*. All of these title-pages, except for the Boonaerts, were published by the Plantin Press, which means that we know when their plates were cut. Such documentation does not exist for Boonaerts's book, which was produced by Jan van Meurs. Furthermore, all of the Plantin books of 1634 fit together in a more coherent stylistic group, while the Boonaerts (Fig. 237) is the culmination of the 1632 Blossius style (Fig. 208).

After completing the painterly and visionary Boonaerts title-page, Rubens returned to a more classical and structural arrangement. His image for Pietrasanta's *De Symbolis Heroicis* (No. 69; Fig. 234) was transferred to a plate by August 12, 1633<sup>59</sup> and marks a return to the "sepulchral-altar" form, which he had first used in 1618 (Fig. 148) and to which he added figures in 1622 (Fig. 165) and a fully developed landscape by 1632 (Fig. 212). In *De Symbolis Heroicis* (Fig. 234), he places the figures close to the foreground plane, adds a third personification above the center of the altar and only barely indicates a distant landscape. The figures have become larger and the stress upon the surface reverts back to the composition for Scribani's 1624 frontispiece (Fig. 185). This renewed emphasis upon the foreground plane and the rejection of the illusionary in favour of the sculptural are the governing ideas behind the remainder of Rubens's frontispieces published in 1634. This is certainly the case in the Hermathene image created for the Bauhuis, Cabilliau, Malapert publication engraved by December 10, 1633<sup>60</sup> and the Bidermann title (No. 67; Fig. 225) engraved by January 25, 1634, which is a close variation on the altar used in the frontispiece of Sarbievski's 1632 *Lyriconum libri IV* (Fig. 212). Rubens's creation for Tristan's *La Peinture de la Sérénissime Princesse* (No. 66; Fig. 222) returns, on the other hand, to the cylindrical altar of salvation like the one he used for the *Portrait of Philip Rubens* illustrated in the 1615 *S. Asterii Homiliae* (No. 29; Fig. 100). However, in the later composition, which contains some of the symbols found in the early work, the antique niche is replaced by a

<sup>59</sup> Appendix III, p. 471 [73].

<sup>60</sup> Appendix III, p. 486 [114].



circular disc containing signs of the zodiac. The last publication of 1634 with a Rubens title-page emphasizes even more the architectural and the structural along with the arrangement of the forms on the picture plane. The frontispiece for Cardinal Barberini's *Poemata* (No. 68; Fig. 227), engraved by February 3, 1634, combines a monumental antique figure with a sixteenth-century Italianate rusticated architecture, which blocks off all but a very slight view into the distance. This emphasis upon the frontal plane with little indication of the background is continued in the frontispiece for Van Haeften's 1635 *Regia Via Crucis* (No. 71; Fig. 242). Rubens had finished the design by August 16, 1634,<sup>61</sup> just seven days after Galle had cut the title-page for Cardinal Barberini's *Poemata* (Fig. 227). Although Rubens continues the compositional principles of the *Poemata* and other publications of 1634,<sup>62</sup> the idea of figures climbing a hill and carrying a cross can be found earlier in a title-page like the one for G. Mayr's *Thomas à Kempis*, Augsburg, 1615 (Fig. 241). However, in the latter the figures clearly climb up and around to the top of the mountain whereas in Rubens the peak is an altar-like shape containing the title and there is no movement back into depth.

Rubens continued to compose title-pages until the end of the year 1634 with the obvious affirmation of the architectural and sculptural foreground arrangements that had reappeared as a strong principle in his work in the summer of 1633. All of these title-pages are small in size, being in-4° or in-24°, and did not allow him nearly as much space to work with as the in-folio format which, in the early 1630's, became illusionistic and unstructural. This may have been one reason for his return to a more classical compositional structure, although late in 1634 he also used it for a folio-sized frontispiece: Lipsius's *Opera Omnia* (No. 73; Fig. 246) which was cut by December 11, 1634<sup>63</sup> but which did not appear until 1637 because of the paper shortage.<sup>64</sup>

Rubens's scheme, which takes an architectural form, in this case a rusticated arch used as a framework for a portrait above and personifications below, is found in earlier books. In fact such an arrangement, but with a highly mannered structure and figures, had been used for the *Inscriptionum Antiquarum... Liber*, published in Leiden in 1588 (Fig. 250), for the 1607 Procopius *Historiarum*

<sup>61</sup> Appendix I, p. 397 [82].

<sup>62</sup> See Nos. 66, 67, 69; Figs. 222, 225, 234.

<sup>63</sup> Appendix III, p. 470 [68].

<sup>64</sup> Appendix I, p. 415 [123].

*Libri VIII* (Fig. 251) and for the *Opera Omnia* of Cicero published in Hamburg in 1618 (Fig. 252). Rubens reinstates a sense of the architecture as a structure and has three-dimensional figures placed in a readable but limited space. His arrangement, although made more decorative, more cluttered and less monumental, is used again in the 1650 title-page designed by Quellin for S. Van Dort's *Den Methamorphosis van Ovidius* (Fig. 253).

Rubens's only title-page published in 1635, the one for D. de Aedo y Gallart's *El Viaje del Infante Cardenal* (No. 72; Fig. 244), carries on the compositional ideas of his title-pages done in 1633-34. However, the sculptural figures and the decorative framework around the title are reminiscent of his tapestry designs.<sup>65</sup>

The last preserved design executed by Rubens is the oil sketch (No. 81a; Fig. 274) for the *Pompa Introitus Ferdinandi* (No. 81; Fig. 273) which, after several delays, was published in January 1643. Rubens may have completed this modello as late as 1639, since Jan van Meurs was only charged with the printing of the book on December 5, 1638.

In this final oil sketch, Rubens continues the architectural emphasis seen in his earlier frontispieces. He expands the type he had used for the Lipsius title-page (Fig. 246), which was designed before the end of 1634. However, instead of the rusticated arch of the earlier work and the combination of figures attached to it and seated in front of it, he now creates a more imaginative and sophisticated interpretation of a Roman arch with all of the personifications included as parts of the architecture. The composition opens up and is no longer read as a surface scene. There is a sense of space continuing beyond the confines of the picture structure and thereby creating an illusory expanse. This last documented Rubens sketch shows the artist combining the traditional architectural-type of frontispiece with a seventeenth-century painterly and imaginative reconstruction of an antique arch into an architectural scene that could conceivably have existed.

There is still one other title-page that may have been made entirely by Rubens around this time. On March 6, 1638, F. de Marselaer wrote to Moretus saying that Rubens had at last designed the frontispiece for the *Legatus* (No. 84; Fig. 286) for which he had waited almost three years.<sup>66</sup> On September 18, 1656,

<sup>65</sup> Cf. *The Triumph of the Eucharist* series and especially *K.d.K.*, pp. 293, 297.

<sup>66</sup> Appendix I, p. 408 [105].

Balthasar Moretus the Younger wrote to the same de Marselaer that he had received the copper for the frontispiece designed by the late Rubens.<sup>67</sup> From these letters it is clear that Rubens designed the title-page for the *Legatus* and that it was finished early in 1638. The composition continues the sculptural type with the allegorical figures now placed on a free-standing base and with space invading all sides. Rubens establishes a direct contact between Minerva and Mercury, who flank the title and are placed beneath the bust of *Politics*. As in the *Pompa Introitus Ferdinandi* (Fig. 246), he loosens up an earlier type and allows even more space and movement to invade the picture. It is the culmination of an evolution that began with the 1613 *Opticorum Libri sex* (Fig. 55) and slowly developed until the 1626 *Obsidio Bredana* (Fig. 190), where the composition is basically frontal and in one plane and where the figures, although no longer placed within an architectural framework, as yet do not interact with each other. By the late 1630's this has changed and the dynamic movement associated with Rubens has become an integral part of the design for the *Legatus* (Fig. 286).

Apart from the frontispiece of 1638 made for his neighbour de Marselaer, Rubens did not continue to make detailed designs for title-pages after 1636. It is not certain that he stopped doing this type of work for reasons of health as suggested in a letter of April 8, 1637. On that date Moretus wrote to his nephew, Frans Raphelengius, in Leiden, that the artist was unable to design small images, or retouch those cut by the engraver, because of an attack of the gout.<sup>68</sup> When this attack occurred is not precisely known, but a letter from Moretus to M. de Morgues in Brussels dated February 10, 1637,<sup>69</sup> states that Rubens will be able to contribute to the design for the title-page of the latter's *Diverses Pièces* (No. 75; Fig. 257). However, on February 11, 1638, Moretus informed Chifflet saying that Rubens had no time to make the drawing for his frontispiece and that another artist would do it.<sup>70</sup> This suggests that Rubens's attacks of the gout may not have been as debilitating as implied in the letter of April 8, 1637, and that he simply did not have the time to work on title-page designs during these years. It is not impossible that he made quick,

<sup>67</sup> Appendix I, p. 408 [106].

<sup>68</sup> Appendix I, p. 416 [124].

<sup>69</sup> Appendix I, p. 410 [109].

<sup>70</sup> Appendix I, p. 374 [24].

scribble-like sketches, which were then redrawn in detail by another master. This seems all the more likely as Galle wrote to Moretus on March 18, 1639, that de los Rios had seen the frontispiece for his book made by Rubens.<sup>71</sup> In any case, after 1636, apart from the aforementioned exception, Rubens participated in the creation but not in the actual drawing of finished title-page designs. This manner of working becomes clear in a letter of April 3, 1637, from Moretus to J. du Verdier in Brussels. The publisher writes that Rubens has conceived the frontispiece for de Morgues's *Diverses Pièces* (No. 75; Fig. 257) and has charged another master to draw it.<sup>72</sup> He probably roughly sketched out the idea for his collaborator, in this case Erasmus Quellin. The latter completed the design (Fig. 258) by May 22, 1637, when Moretus sent it to de Morgues for his approval.<sup>73</sup> It seems that the author was not entirely satisfied and returned the design to Moretus for corrections.<sup>74</sup> On August 29, 1637, it was sent to the engraver to be cut<sup>75</sup> and the book finally was completed early in December.<sup>76</sup> As can be seen from the letters, this first attempt<sup>77</sup> at having Rubens supervise the design for a frontispiece executed by another artist was not without complications. The composition, as finally printed, continues a type that had been emerging in the artist's œuvre since his 1613 design for Aguilon's *Opticorum Libri sex* (Fig. 55) and continued into the early 1620's with a greater freedom of movement in book III of F. Van Haer's 1623 *Annales Ducum Brabantiae* (Fig. 174).

As a result of this successful collaboration between Rubens, the "idea man", and Quellin, the "draughtsman", the two artists continued to work together. The next collaborative effort was completed by December 27, 1637,<sup>78</sup> when Quellin was paid 24 guilders for the title-page of H. Goltzius's *Icones Imperatorum* (No. 83; Fig. 279). The design was cut by Cornelis Galle after a delay and finally sent by him to Moretus on September 9, 1638.<sup>79</sup> However, probably

<sup>71</sup> Appendix I, p. 392 [70].

<sup>72</sup> Appendix I, pp. 422, 423 [140].

<sup>73</sup> Appendix I, p. 410 [110].

<sup>74</sup> See letters in Appendix I, pp. 410, 411 [111, 113].

<sup>75</sup> Appendix I, p. 411 [113].

<sup>76</sup> Appendix I, pp. 411, 412 [114].

<sup>77</sup> Whether or not he did this earlier with Van Diepenbeeck for Rosweyde's *Vitae Patrum* (No. 57) is open to question.

<sup>78</sup> Appendix III, p. 489 [123].

<sup>79</sup> Appendix I, pp. 390, 391 [66, 67].

because of Balthasar Moretus's death in 1641, the printing was postponed until 1645.<sup>80</sup> The image goes back to the enthroned antique type that we saw in the 1617 *Nomismata Imperatorum* (Fig. 130), but now the figure of Roma is replaced by Caesar, who is framed by an imaginative niche and flanked below by Constantine and Rudolph. These Emperors continue the type designed by Rubens for the *Portico of the Emperors*.<sup>81</sup> Quellin himself borrowed these figures and the pedestal for his frontispiece of C. Neapolis's *Anaptyxis ad Fastos Ovidii*, Antwerp, Plantin Press, 1639 (Fig. 283). In reality, he not only used the composition but also appropriated details from other Rubens designs such as Lipsius's *Opera Omnia* (Fig. 246), Van Haer's *Annales Ducum Brabantiae*, III (Fig. 179) and Tristan's *La Peinture de la Sérénissime Princesse* (Fig. 222).

A few months later, in 1638, Rubens and Quellin once more joined forces to work on the frontispiece for Jean Boyvin's *Le siège de Dole* (No. 76; Fig. 261), which was printed by June 5, 1638.<sup>82</sup> As early as January 17, 1638, Rubens's name had been strongly proposed as the designer for this frontispiece.<sup>83</sup> By February 1, Moretus had discussed the matter with Rubens. The latter agreed to do it and asked for the "subject" to be illustrated.<sup>84</sup> This was supplied by Philippe Chifflet, who carried on the negotiations between the author and the publisher.<sup>85</sup> Ten days later, on February 11, Moretus wrote to Chifflet that Rubens had no time to take care of the drawing and would have "another painter make it".<sup>86</sup> This arrangement pleased Chifflet, who wrote the publisher on February 13, 1638, that it was sufficient that it should be under the direction of Rubens's hand, "out of which nothing comes that is not worthy of admiration".<sup>87</sup> After having suggested numerous corrections,<sup>88</sup> Chifflet finally approved the title-page in a letter of May 7, to Moretus.<sup>89</sup> Its format is very

<sup>80</sup> Appendix III, p. 481 [98].

<sup>81</sup> For details see p. 341, under No. 83.

<sup>82</sup> Appendix III, p. 477 [92].

<sup>83</sup> Appendix I, p. 372 [21].

<sup>84</sup> Appendix I, p. 373 [22].

<sup>85</sup> See Appendix I, p. 373 [23], for letter of February 1, 1638, giving Chifflet's notion of what the frontispiece illustration should contain.

<sup>86</sup> Appendix I, p. 374 [24].

<sup>87</sup> Appendix I, p. 374 [25].

<sup>88</sup> Appendix I, pp. 374-376 [24, 26-29].

<sup>89</sup> Appendix I, pp. 375, 376 [29].

different from earlier Rubens title-page designs and appears to have been inspired by the antique, especially Roman-Imperial relief sculpture.

Although B. de los Rios's *De Hierarchia Mariana* (No. 80; Fig. 271) was not published until three years after Boyvin's *Le siège de Dole* (Fig. 261), negotiations for the frontispieces of both had begun at roughly the same time. On February 13, 1638, we learn that Rubens will supervise the Boyvin composition and someone else will draw it.<sup>90</sup> Ten days later de los Rios wrote asking Moretus not to forget to remind Rubens to design the title for his book.<sup>91</sup> However, more than a year had passed before Galle could inform Moretus on March 18, 1639,<sup>92</sup> that de los Rios had seen the title. Several weeks later Moretus wrote to Galle that Rubens had conceived the idea for the frontispiece and that Quellin would make the drawing.<sup>93</sup> Presumably the drawing was completed by April 18, and Quellin was paid 24 guilders on May 25.<sup>94</sup> Nevertheless, many changes were made in the design as documented in the correspondence,<sup>95</sup> and consequently the book was not completely ready until the middle of 1641, when Moretus paid the printing bill, on June 22.<sup>96</sup> The composition itself continues a type present in Rubens's title-pages since the 1614 *Breviarium* (Fig. 71) and continued in the 1622 *Kerckelycke Historie* (No. 49; Fig. 166) and the 1623 *Summa Conciliorum* (No. 50; Fig. 172), where the gesture of Saints Peter and Paul establish an interaction between the middle and upper zones of the illustration. In the latter composition the clear division of the composition is discarded and the figures stand or kneel on clouds that appear to move up and down and around the pedestal. The perfect symmetry of the earlier works has been abandoned and the whole scene takes on a decidedly fluid and illusionistic character more in keeping with Rubens's painting style of the late 1620's and the 1630's.<sup>97</sup>

The last two title-pages made by Quellin under Rubens's supervision were created for books published in 1640: Liutprand's *Opera* (No. 78; Fig. 265) and

<sup>90</sup> Appendix I, p. 374 [25].

<sup>91</sup> Appendix I, p. 417 [125].

<sup>92</sup> Appendix I, p. 392 [70].

<sup>93</sup> Appendix I, p. 392 [71].

<sup>94</sup> Appendix IV, p. 505 [10]; Appendix III, p. 490 [128].

<sup>95</sup> See Appendix I, pp. 393, 418 [73, 127-129].

<sup>96</sup> Appendix III, p. 478 [96].

<sup>97</sup> Cf. for example, the breaking down of the celestial and terrestrial zones in his 1628 *Madonna Adored by Saints*, St. Augustine's Church, Antwerp (Fig. 19).

Chifflet's *Concilii Tridentini Canones et Decreta* (No. 77; Fig. 263). Quellin's design for the title of Liutprand's *Opera* was completed by May 25, 1639, when he was paid 24 guilders for it by Balthasar Moretus.<sup>98</sup> His title-page for Chifflet's book, on the other hand, was not finished until the middle of January 1640. Rubens was still thinking about it during the last week of December 1639,<sup>99</sup> and it was not until January 12, 1640, that we learn of its execution in two letters from Moretus, one to Chifflet and the other to Cornelis Galle.<sup>100</sup> Only more than 18 months later, on August 22, 1641, Quellin received 3 guilders for his design.<sup>101</sup> This continues the type which one finds continuously in Rubens's work since the 1614 *Breviarium* (Fig. 71): an enthroned figure with personifications on either side below. However, the composition, as in *De Hierarchia Mariana* (Fig. 271) which was finished just before Liutprand's *Opera*, is much looser and freer. The artist has returned to a balanced arrangement, eliminating the swirling clouds and adding a tree just behind the circular pedestal. These trees, as in the earlier title-page for Sarbievski's *Lycorum Libri IV* (Fig. 212), support attributes and coats-of-arms, and in Liutprand's *Opera* they have the added function of serving as a framing device for History. Some of the clarity of the previous Rubens compositions is lost through the addition of too many details in the upper zone and perhaps this is the result of a less careful control of the design by Rubens.

Rubens's more traditional composition is changed in the emphasis upon the architecture in the *Concilii Tridentini Canones et Decreta* (No. 77; Fig. 263). The evolution of the frontispiece was, as the correspondence between Moretus and Chifflet demonstrates, no easy matter.<sup>102</sup> In fact, Rubens and Quellin were not brought in until almost fifteen months had passed and several ideas had been deemed unsuitable. The ultimate solution marks a return to the rusticated door or niche-like Italian architecture that Rubens had used for his own house and for earlier paintings and titles.<sup>103</sup> The personifications in the bottom of

<sup>98</sup> Appendix III, p. 490 [128]; IV, p. 505 [10].

<sup>99</sup> Appendix I, p. 379 [36].

<sup>100</sup> Appendix I, pp. 380, 393 [38, 74].

<sup>101</sup> Appendix III, p. 493 [137].

<sup>102</sup> See Appendix I, pp. 376-381 [30-43].

<sup>103</sup> Cf. Figs. 114, 146.

the frontispiece are variants on those found earlier; <sup>104</sup> the wall ends above the pediment and one has an illusionistic view of the Council in action.

In spite of their different layouts, these two designs pleased their patrons enormously. On March 3, 1640, Chifflet wrote Moretus: "This morning I have received the frontispiece of the Council, which is very good. My brother had also found it beautiful." <sup>105</sup> A further letter from Chifflet to Moretus, written on June 6, six days after Rubens's death, stated that "the frontispiece will be found beautiful in Rome. I think that it is the last design of Sieur Rubens, whom God may have in glory. We can say, for his memory, that he has been the most learned painter in the world." <sup>106</sup>

<sup>104</sup> Cf. for example, those at the bottom of the *Summa Conciliorum*, 1623 (Fig. 172).

<sup>105</sup> Appendix I, p. 381 [42].

<sup>106</sup> Appendix I, p. 381 [43].



### III. IMPORTANCE FOR ANTWERP

Until Rubens began to design title-pages and book illustrations, this important aspect of book decoration was dominated by sixteenth-century *maniera* concepts. The figures were too tall for their surroundings and their proportions distorted as was the space. The tomb-like structures or building façades in or upon which the figures and titles were placed were mannered and cluttered with unreal decorative motifs. This vocabulary was set in an unreadable space close to the foreground plane. The *maniera* style prevailed in the designs made for books published by the leading Antwerp houses until as late as 1613, when the Plantin Press published Rubens's first title-page.<sup>1</sup> Although the latter, in his design for Aguilon's *Opticorum Libri sex* (No. 10; Fig. 55), used the same basic vocabulary as his immediate predecessors, the way it was utilized was totally new and different. Rubens's architecture, dramatic light effects, angels and figures are rendered with normal proportions that move forward and backward in clearly legible space. He reduces the earlier over-abundance of detail and asserts a sense of the three-dimensional. However, these innovations were slow to catch on, and Rubens's impact upon Antwerp book illustrations is not evident until 1615 in the title-page for C. Scribani's *Amor Divinus*, published by Nutius and Van Meurs (Fig. 16). Whereas, in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, the figures enframing the text or title were arranged in separate niches, in a rising compartmentalized landscape or within an elaborate architectural decoration (Figs. 7, 9, 10, 13, 14, etc.), in the Scribani frontispiece they are freestanding and rise up encircling the text in the same way as in Rubens's *Tree of Jesse* illustration for the 1613 *Missale* (No. 6; Fig. 47). The designer of the Scribani title does exactly the same thing, but for obvious reasons eliminates the tree. As far as one knows, it was Rubens who first arranged his figures in such a way as to give them a real sense of continuous movement surrounding the printed word, and this innovation was utilized by the designer for Scribani's book of 1615. However, this dependence upon Rubens in the

<sup>1</sup> See e.g. the title-page of P. Opmeer, *Opus Chronographicum Orbis Universi*, H. Verdussen, 1611 (Fig. 13); *Annales Magistratum et Provinciarum*, Plantin Press, 1609; R. Bellarmine's *Solida Christianae Fidei Demonstratio*, M. Nutius, 1611 (Fig. 14); C. Scribani, *Het Eerste Deel der Meditatie*, J. Trogniesius, 1613 (Fig. 15).

second decade of the seventeenth century is an isolated case. His impact upon Antwerp book illustration does not appear to be of any real significance until the mid 1620's.

It was not until 1622, in the title-page for Cornelis Cornelisz. van der Steen's *Commentaria in quatuor Prophetas Maiores* (Fig. 17), that Rubens's clear-moving space enters the vocabulary of Antwerp title-pages. In 1617, in his design for the *Crux Triumphans* (No. 37; Fig. 126), he had given the illusion of the architecture moving forward and backward in space. The same effect is found in the 1622 title-page cited above, where the bottom projects out of the frame, and as one's eye moves upward, the other segments of the structure recede and rise in space. Illusionistic space moves around and behind the structure as in the Rubens composition.<sup>2</sup>

Two years later, in 1624, his compositional concepts were obviously borrowed by the anonymous designer of Emanuel Sueyro's *Anales de Flandes* (Fig. 135).<sup>3</sup> In this frontispiece the artist uses the same rounded pedestal for the title that had been introduced by Rubens in his 1617 *Nomismata Imperatorum* (No. 39; Fig. 130). Here are found figures below to the right and left. The river gods in the 1624 scene also recall, in their placement, those of Rubens done in 1623 for volume I-II of the *Annales Ducum Brabantiae* by F. Van Haer (No. 51; Fig. 174). Although the personifications flanking the title in Sueyro's book are somewhat exaggerated in their musculature and posture, they are now free-standing and are not restricted by the architecture.<sup>4</sup>

This interest in Rubens's compositional innovations continued in the 1620's, but, as in the 1624 adaptation (Fig. 135), the figures lack his robust quality as well as the illusion of space beyond that delineated by the artist. This type of formal borrowing, but with little understanding of what Rubens was really doing, occurs again in Theodore van Loon's design for F. de Marselaer's 1626 *Legatus* (Fig. 284). The latter is an overly decorative and spaceless misinterpretation of Rubens's dynamic title-page for C. Scribani's 1624 *Politico-Christianus* (No. 54; Fig. 185).

<sup>2</sup> The same symbols surrounding Christ are found above Moses in the 1616 *Commentaria in Pentateuchum...* (No. 36; Fig. 118) and are taken from Ezekiel 1 : 4-10.

<sup>3</sup> Attributed to Rubens in *V.S.*, p. 193, No. 4, but rejected by *Rooses*, v, p. 122.

<sup>4</sup> The personification of Flanders surrounded by trophies has no connection with Rubens but is a type found in sixteenth-century title-pages like F. Guicciardini's *De Oorlogen van Italien*, published in Dordrecht in 1599 (Fig. 134).

It was not until around 1628 that a greater understanding of Rubens's achievements in the field of title-page design begins to be seen. Although the title-page for M. Van Daelhem's 1628 *Arca Honoraria Christi et Sanctorum* (Fig. 18) used a round Rubens-like pedestal, the composition ultimately derived from the one that Rubens had introduced in the 1614 *Breviarium* (Fig. 71) and carried on, with slight changes, in the 1623 *Summa Conciliorum* (Fig. 172). In the latter, as in the 1628 title-page, the Saints make direct contact with the enthroned figure above by means of gestures. However, the type of Virgin and Child, seated on a round pedestal and interacting with the Saints below, suggests that the designer was probably also impressed by Rubens's painting at this time. This is most clearly seen in comparing the design with Rubens's 1628 *Madonna and Saints* in the church of St. Augustine, Antwerp (Fig. 19). However, in the former there is a greater accent upon the frontality of the composition, which is more in keeping with title-page design.

By the late 1620's and early 1630's, Rubens's compositional ideas for title-pages seem to have caught on as is evident in the frontispiece by an unknown artist for A. Van Teylingen's *Het Paradys der Wellusticheyt*, Antwerp, J. Cnobbaert, 1630 (Fig. 20).<sup>5</sup> The layout is similar to Rubens's 1622 design for D. Mudzaert's *De Kerckelycke Historie* (Fig. 166) except for the standing figure on the pedestal. The isolated figure of *Memorie* seated in a landscape may also recall the two hermit Saints in Rubens's *Vitae Patrum* (Fig. 193), but in the later work *Memorie* is placed at the bottom of the structure. In *Het Paradys der Wellusticheyt* (Fig. 20), the designer introduces trees that enframe and reinforce the personifications to the right and left as found in Rubens's 1620 *De Contemplatione Divina* (Fig. 153).

The change to the freer and more illusionistic style of Rubens becomes even stronger in the 1630's and there are numerous borrowings from the master. In the frontispiece engraved by C. Galle for the 1632 *Missale S. Monasteriensis Ecclesiae* (Fig. 21), the title is printed on a piece of drapery held at the top corners by an angel—an illusionistic device employed by Rubens as early as 1620 for Thomas a Jesu's *De Contemplatione Divina* (No. 45; Fig. 153). The figures encircling the title continue his arrangements of 1613, 1614 and 1619 for the illustrations of the *Tree of Jesse* (No. 6; Fig. 47), the *Breviarium* design for the *All Saints* scene (No. 28; Fig. 94) and the title-page for the *Generale*

<sup>5</sup> *V.S.*, p. 201, No. 54; *Rooses*, v, pp. 127, 354 (as not after Rubens).

*Legende der Heylighen* (No. 44; Fig. 149). However, in the 1632 frontispiece (Fig. 21) there is more space between the figures and consequently less dynamic overlapping and movement.

By the next year, 1633, Rubens's idea of imparting a sense of movement to the composition is found in the title-page by an unknown artist for J. Manteilius's *Dagh van Devotie* (Fig. 22). This is a return to the basic idea introduced in Rubens's 1619 *Generale Legende der Heylighen* (Fig. 149), where figures are placed in clouds and rise up and around the title. However, in the 1633 scene a landscape is added below and the chalice with the wafer is the uppermost image.

In 1634 Marten Nutius published C. Van der Steen's *Commentaria in Ecclesiasticum*.<sup>6</sup> Here, the unknown designer has eliminated the architectural member and placed monumental, but overly sentimental figures in a clear triangular disposition. This scheme continues the Rubens arrangement beginning in the 1614 *Breviarium* title (Fig. 71), but the personifications flanking the title have no clear means of support, their poses are exaggerated and their empty expressions give the scene a heaviness untypical of Rubens.

In at least one title-page executed in Antwerp in the 1630's, it is clear that the artist knew Rubens's work but did not follow specific models. The frontispiece for C. Curtius's 1636 *Virorum Illustrium ex Ordine Eremitarum Augustini Elogia...*, engraved by C. Galle and published by Cnobbaert (Fig. 23), is entirely in Rubens's spirit. The imaginative architectural setting recalls, but with obvious changes, the one used for the 1620 *Annales Sacri* (Fig. 154) as do the angels perched above. The double head in the top center suggests a coupling of the heads flanking Van Meurs's printer's mark (Fig. 204), while the seated personifications move out into space like those in the 1617 *Cruce Triumphans* (Fig. 126). One cannot help but think that this is a pastiche of Rubens's ideas, and that without the latter this title-page would never have come into being. The same can be said of the title-page designed by E. Quellin and engraved by J. Neeffs for C. Neapolis's *Anaptyxis ad Fastos Ovidii*, published in 1639 by Moretus (Fig. 283).<sup>7</sup> The core of the composition with Caesar on the right and Romulus to the left of the circular pedestal is obviously based on Rubens's 1637 design for Goltzius's *Icones Imperatorum* (No. 83; Fig. 279). The medallion with the

<sup>6</sup> Attributed to Rubens by *V.S.*, p. 13, No. 16, but rightly rejected by *Rooses*, v, p. 89.

<sup>7</sup> *Rooses*, v, pp. 107, 108 (as not by Rubens).

portrait of Numa Pompilius is placed on the pedestal within a rounded niche and with a pecten shell above and is reminiscent of the 1615 portrait of Philip Rubens for the *S. Asterii Homiliae* (No. 29; Fig. 100). The double headed bust (Janus?) above recalls the one in volume III of F. Van Haer's *Annales Ducum Brabantiae* of 1623 (No. 52; Fig. 179), and the signs of the zodiac encircling the heads are present in his portrait of the Infanta Isabella for the 1634 frontispiece of *La Peinture de la Sérénissime Princesse* (No. 66; Fig. 222). The She-wolf suckling Romulus and Remus is continuously used by Rubens, for example in the bottom of his frontispiece for J. Lipsius's *Opera Omnia* (No. 73; Fig. 246).

A year later, in 1639, an other important follower, Abraham van Diepenbeeck, executed a title-page design which clearly continues the former's compositional ideas. The frontispiece for *Mundi Lapis Lydius* (Fig. 24) carries on the sculptured-tomb type introduced by Rubens in his 1614 *Breviarium* (No. 18; Fig. 71) and continued in 1622 in *De Kerckelycke Historie* (No. 49; Fig. 166) and later e.g. in de Marselaer's *Legatus* (Fig. 286)<sup>8</sup>, where the figures are free-standing and clouds swirl down behind them. The base with its circular steps projecting out toward the spectator is first present in Rubens's 1617 *Crux Triumphans* (No. 37; Fig. 126). In this same year of 1639, the design by Rubens's collaborator Erasmus Quellin for the title-page of the *Terrae Sanctae Elucidatio* (Fig. 25) was published.<sup>9</sup> Here the artist appears to be following a design like Rubens's 1620 *Annales Sacri* (No. 46; Fig. 154) for the general arrangement, with the Saints placed within an imaginative architecture, bordering the title and standing on projecting pedestals. His God the Father is very similar to Rubens's Moses in the 1616 *Commentaria in Pentateuchum* (Fig. 118) which was based on the St. Paul in the 1614 title-page of the *Commentaria in D. Pauli Epistolae* (Fig. 125). Still another title-page designed by Quellin prior to May 25, 1639,<sup>10</sup> and published in 1640 contains a number of details that are borrowed from Rubens. In the frontispiece for F. Goubau's *Pii Quinti Epistolarum Libri quinque* (Fig. 26), the younger draughtsman has used the idea found in *Romanae et Graecae Antiquitatis Monumenta* (No. 82; Fig. 275) of figures

<sup>8</sup> The design for the *Legatus* was made in 1638 (see below, p. 345, under No. 84).

<sup>9</sup> *Basan*, p. 117, No. 25 and *V.S.*, p. 197, No. 29, attributed this title-page to Rubens. *Rooses*, v, pp. 109, 110, rightly gave it to Quellin and published a document dated October 16, 1637, stating that Quellin was paid 24 guilders for designing the title.

<sup>10</sup> For the document see *Rooses*, v, pp. 81, 82. *Basan*, p. 169, No. 5 and *V.S.*, pp. 193, 194, No. 5, attributed the design to Rubens.

ascending and descending around the title. His figures also recall the types used by Rubens in the aforementioned design as well as in the *Generale Kerckelycke Historie* (Fig. 183). The portrait of the Pope brings to mind the similar heads in Lipsius's *Opera Omnia* (No. 73; Fig. 246) and in the *Pompa Introitus Ferdinandi* (No. 81; Fig. 273).

Quellin's continued dependence upon Rubens's title-page vocabulary is most evident in the frontispiece for S. de Leon's *In Ecclesiasticum ... Expositio & Illustratio*, published in Antwerp by Pieter Bellerus in 1640 (Fig. 27). God the Father repeats the type Rubens had used in his 1616 *Commentaria in Pentateuchum* (No. 36; Fig. 118) for Moses who was also enframed by the architecture.<sup>11</sup> However, the semi-circular architecture enframing God the Father appears to have more in common with that used by Rubens in his 1613 *Opticorum Libri sex* (No. 10; Fig. 55). The freer and more active turning and twisting figures flanking the 1640 title suggest a knowledge of Rubens's 1623 *Summa Conciliorum* (No. 50; Fig. 172), but they display a greater sense of movement.

Abraham van Diepenbeek's use of Rubens's innovations continued into the 1640's. His design for the 1640 title-page for the *Afbeeldinghe van d'Eerste Eeuwe der Societeyt Jesu* (Fig. 8), preserves the Rubens arrangement that first appeared in the 1614 *Breviarium* (No. 18; Fig. 71) and continued with minor changes in *De Kerckelycke Historie* of 1622 (No. 49; Fig. 166) and the 1623 *Summa Conciliorum* (No. 50; Fig. 172).<sup>12</sup> A year later, in 1641, Van Diepenbeek's design for C. Butkens's *Trophées ... de la Duché de Brabant* (Fig. 28) was published in Antwerp, and, once again, clearly illustrates his dependence upon Rubens. The composition, with the personification of Brabant (?) enthroned on a cylindrical pedestal, flanked below by Charlemagne and St. Albert and free of enframing architectural elements, brings to mind the frontispiece for Liutprand's *Opera* (No. 78; Fig. 265) designed under Rubens's direction. The use of the rounded pedestal and the figure of Charlemagne also

<sup>11</sup> In 1639 Quellin had also employed this Rubens figure type in the *Terras Sanctae Elucidatio* (Fig. 25).

<sup>12</sup> Also cf. the figure of Heresy in Van Diepenbeek with those in the above cited Rubens frontispieces of 1622 and 1623.

suggest that Van Diepenbeeck knew the Rubens-Quellin design for Goltzius's *Icones Imperatorum* (No. 83; Fig. 279).<sup>13</sup>

Van Diepenbeeck's 1643 frontispiece for the *Acta Sanctorum*, I (Fig. 29), published by Jan van Meurs, included a personification in the top center which is a close variation, in reverse, of Rubens's History in the title-page for Van Haer's *Annales Ducum Brabantiae, I-II* (No. 51; Fig. 174) as well as in that for Liutprand's *Opera* (No. 78; Fig. 265) published in 1640. The turning and twisting figures behind, accompanied by smaller playful cupids, recall those in Rubens's 1622 title for *De Kerckelycke Historie* (No. 49; Fig. 166). The inclusion of a hilly landscape with a cave ultimately goes back to the sixteenth-century engraving by Theodore de Bry for H. Bezoni's *America*, V (Fig. 198), which Rubens adapted both for his 1628 *Vitae Patrum* (No. 57; Fig. 193) and for the *Arch of the Mint* in the *Pompa Introitus Ferdinandi*.<sup>14</sup> This dependence upon Rubens is further demonstrated in Van Diepenbeeck's title-page for Gregorius de St. Vincent's *Opus Geometricum Quadraturae Circuli ...*, published in 1647 (Fig. 30). However, here the artist does not copy a specific design but uses Rubens's idea of combining large and realistically rendered figures who conduct a scholarly experiment with cupids as assistants. Rubens did this in the vignettes for his 1613 *Opticorum Libri sex* (Figs. 61, 63, 65-68). Van Diepenbeeck probably also follows Rubens in placing the title on a stretched-out animal skin with the head in the top center.

Rubens's creations became more refined through the efforts of his Antwerp colleagues as the century advanced. For example, in Quellin's title-page design for the 1643 publication of R. de Arriaga's *Disputationes in Primam Partem D. Thomae* (Fig. 31), all the structural members are omitted except for the base. The figures, however, are arranged in a triangular relationship that recalls Rubens's title-pages, beginning with the 1614 *Breviarium* (Fig. 71). In one of the few designs in which Rubens eliminated the tomb or architectural framework, the 1634 *Opera S. Dionysii* (Fig. 217), he inscribed the title on a diagonally placed slab of stone set on a base that projects on either side and recedes to the center. The same configuration is echoed in the bottom zone of this 1643

<sup>13</sup> The same plate was used again for the 1724 edition of the *Trophées de la Duché de Brabant* published in The Hague by Christiaan van Lom.

<sup>14</sup> *Martin, Pompa*, Figs. 99-102.

title-page (Fig. 31), while Quellin also included an enthroned personification that continued the Moses type used by Rubens in the title for the 1616 *Commentaria in Pentateuchum* (No. 36; Fig. 118).

Still in 1643, Quellin's title-page for B. Cordier's *Expositio Patrum Graecorum in Psalmos* (Fig. 32) was published in Antwerp. It depicts an amply robed David kneeling on a diagonal within an exotic architectural setting. The interior is invaded by angels in clouds, and the lower right corner is opened up and contains figures reaching and looking up from a fiery underworld. This scene suggests that Quellin was taking inspiration from Rubens's 1634 design for Boonaert's *In Ecclesiasticum Commentarius* (No. 70; Fig. 237). Some two years later, in 1645, an unknown designer seems to have based his frontispiece of M. de Dole's *Den Spighel vanden Berowhebbenden Sondaer* (Fig. 33) on a very early Rubens creation, the 1615 *Imperatorum Romanorum Numismata Aurea* (No. 33; Fig. 114). In this same year, 1645, the title-page of L. Nonnius's *Diaeteticon* (Fig. 34)<sup>15</sup> appears to be an expanded and somewhat modified version of Rubens's design for the *Icones Imperatorum* (No. 83; Fig. 279), which appeared in the same year but had been designed in 1638.

Quellin's dependence upon Rubens's earlier compositions and motifs remains constant into the late 1640's and 1650's. Around 1647 his frontispiece for *Vitae D. Aurelii Augustini Libri IV* combines several Rubens motifs. Quellin uses Rubens's arrangement of 1622 (Fig. 165), where a portrait enframed by a wreath is placed upon an altar containing the title. The latter is flanked by tall personifications standing on projecting rocks such as one finds in Rubens's design of the later 1630's made for de Marselaer's *Legatus* (No. 84; Fig. 286). In 1650 Quellin once again shows his debt to Rubens in the 1650 title-page done for *Den Metamorphosis ofte Herschepping van P. Ovidius Naso...* (Fig. 253). The rusticated architecture and the seated allegorical figure next to the portrait of Ovid bring to mind the upper section of Rubens's title-page for Lipsius's *Opera Omnia* (Fig. 246). The placement of Poetry and Painting and the address below are done in a manner totally in keeping with Rubens's title-page compositions. However, the figures are thinner, more delicate and more decorative than the monumental ones associated with Rubens. The same

<sup>15</sup> The same title-page was used for the 1646 edition.



process occurred seven years later in Quellin's title-page for *Flavissae Poeticae* (Fig. 35), where the personifications stand on projecting rocks free of any architecture and border the oval-shaped title enframed by branches while angels fly above. All of this is a distant recollection of the compositional structure introduced into the world of frontispieces in Rubens's 1626 *Obsidio Bredana* (No. 55; Fig. 190).<sup>16</sup>

Abraham Van Diepenbeeck also continued to produce title-page designs in the Rubens mode well into the 1660's. His composition for the 1666 *Ventilabrum Medico-Theologicum* (Fig. 36) calls upon the type established by Rubens for the 1614 *Breviarium* (No. 18; Fig. 71), where the major personification is enthroned above, while below and on either side of the title are placed figures of lesser importance. Van Diepenbeeck's topmost is a distant echo of Rubens's History in Van Haer's *Annales Ducum Brabantiae, I-II* (No. 51; Fig. 174), while her position within the architecture and the symbols above her head suggest that Van Diepenbeeck had looked also at the upper section of Rubens's 1616 design for the *Commentaria in Pentateuchum* (No. 36; Fig. 118). Further evidence of Van Diepenbeeck's continuous dependence on Rubens is the title for C. Hazart's 1667 *Kerckelycke Historie* (Fig. 37), where he has rearranged Rubens's title published some 44 years earlier in the 1623 *Generale Kerckelycke Historie* (No. 53; Fig. 183). The same personification of the Church is used, but Van Diepenbeeck has taken the open book and the lamb found above in the Rubens and placed them in a lower position. This, and other obvious changes, illustrate his dependence upon Rubens even at such a late date in his career.

It can be seen that Rubens had a profound and lasting influence on the design of title-pages in seventeenth-century Antwerp. This city, because of the Plantin Press, was the most influential and important publishing center in Western Europe during the second half of the sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries.<sup>17</sup> Consequently, Antwerp book design strongly dominated the other publishing centers on the Continent and in England. Rubens's innovations were

<sup>16</sup> For the inclusion of the lyre above the text see Rubens's design for Sarbievski's 1632 *Lyricorum Libri IV* (Fig. 212) and Bidermann's 1634 *Heroum Epistolae* (Fig. 225).

<sup>17</sup> Voet, I, p. 362 and *passim*.

utilized in such cities as Paris, Leiden, Amsterdam, Frankfort and London during the second and third decades of the seventeenth century, after they had become firmly established in Antwerp.<sup>18</sup>

Although Rubens was the first to break away from sixteenth-century *maniera* principles in his design for title-pages and to introduce seventeenth-century figures and spatial concepts, he continued to use the vocabulary established by sixteenth-century artists. He transformed the overly decorative architecture, the exaggerated postures and poses of the figures and the unclear space of the sixteenth and early seventeenth-century frontispieces into monumental architecture with three-dimensional figures moving in a readable illusionistic space. In short, he applied his innovative painting ideas to book illustration. However, his new painterly notions were never allowed to dominate the printing. This was due to his close collaboration with Balthasar Moretus, a genius in maintaining the balance between the artistic concept of the title-page and typography. The concerted effort of these men brought book illustration into line with seventeenth-century concepts of art. Their designs played a decisive role during this period and dominated the scene well into the second half of the century. It was not until the appearance around 1650 of works by artists such as Pietro da Cortona in Rome,<sup>19</sup> and Nicolas Poussin in Paris that a style rivalling Rubens's in importance can be found in Western European designs for title-pages and book illustrations.<sup>20</sup>

<sup>18</sup> For the importance of Rubens for France see [Cat. Exb.] *Anvers, ville de Plantin et de Rubens*, Paris, 1954, p. 258 and a title-page like the one designed for Andreas Saussaius's *Martyrologium Gallicanum*, Paris, 1637 (Fig. 38), which is a close variation of Rubens's *All Saints* image for the 1614 *Breviarium* (No. 28; Fig. 94). For Leiden see for example the title-page used in the 1632 edition of U. Emmius's *Graecorum Res Publicae* (Fig. 39), which is a provincial adaptation of Rubens's design for the 1618 *Graeciae Universae Nomismata* (No. 43; Fig. 148); while for Frankfort compare the frontispiece for J.A. von Werdenhagen's *De Rebuspublicis Hanseaticis* (Fig. 40), which is a direct copy of the architecture, the cupids and the fruits and vegetables found in Rubens's *Ceres*, Hermitage, Leningrad (*K.d.K.*, p. 83).

<sup>19</sup> Cf. for example his design for J.B. Ferrarius, *Hesperides Sive de Malorum Aureorum Cultura et Usu Libri quatuor*, Rome, 1646.

<sup>20</sup> [Cat. Exb.] *Anvers, ville de Plantin et de Rubens*, Paris, 1954, p. 258.

# CATALOGUE RAISONNE



1.5. ILLUSTRATIONS FOR PH. RUBENS, ELECTORUM LIBRI II. Antwerp, 1608

COPY EXAMINED: Antwerp, Rubenianum, No. 5/75.

The full title of the book reads as follows: PHILIPPI RVBENII ELECTORVM LIBRI II. *In quibus antiqui Ritus, Emendationes, Censurae*, EJVSDEM *ad IVSTVM LIPSIVM Poëmatia*. Philip Rubens (1574–1611), Peter Paul's brother, was a scholar and humanist of international repute who had studied Latin and Greek with Justus Lipsius in Louvain. The latter wanted him to be his successor, but Philip went to Italy in 1601, where he received his doctorate in law and served as librarian and secretary to Cardinal Ascanio Colonna. Peter Paul Rubens lived with his brother Philip in Rome for approximately a year and a half, beginning in 1605. During that time, Philip delivered his teacher's edition of Seneca to Pope Paul V. He refused a chair in Bologna and returned to Antwerp in 1607. Two years later he became the Secretary of the City of Antwerp, a position which he retained until his premature death in 1611.

The author has divided his work into two books. They are printed in one volume in-4° of 124 pages and illustrated with a printer's mark on the title-page and six engravings, four large ones on folding sheets and two small ones, all but the last (Fig. 45) designed by Peter Paul Rubens. Book One contains forty chapters and Book Two, thirty-seven. Each chapter is concerned with an aspect of Roman life (for example ceremonies used for the founding of cities, for purification, for sacrificing animals, etc.) or presents critiques and emendations of passages by Latin authors. However, there is no single underlying theme connecting the various chapters. Peter Paul Rubens seems to have designed five illustrations for this publication while still in Italy,<sup>1</sup> but he did not do the Plantin device on the frontispiece, nor the Empress Faustina coin on p. 87 (Fig. 45).<sup>2</sup> The former was very likely composed by Theodore Galle, while the Faustina coin, according to a suggestion by Mrs. Van der Meulen, may well have been engraved after a design by Jacob de Bie. This notion is made even more convincing when one remembers that Philip Rubens writes that the coin used for the illustration came from the Rockox Collection in Antwerp.<sup>3</sup> Furthermore, we know that De Bie made numerous drawings after the Rockox coins in 1607.

On August 9, 1608, Theodore Galle presented a bill to Jan Moretus for the plates cut by Cornelis Galle for this book. It is very likely that Galle made

these engravings before settling in Antwerp, as he did not become a master there until 1610. <sup>4</sup> The cost of the plates along with the copper came to 170 guilders and 10 stuivers (Appendix III, pp. 448, 454 [3, 21]). On September 20, 1608, Theodore Galle charged Jan Moretus 55 guilders and 2 1/2 stuivers for printing 1,035 copies of the Plantin device to be used on the title-page and for 1,000 copies of each illustration (Appendix III, pp. 448, 455 [4, 22]). The price of the book, 22 guilders, must have been influenced by the high price of the illustrations (Appendix II, p. 429 [1]).

<sup>1</sup> *Bouchery-Van den Wijngaert*, p. 58.

<sup>2</sup> *Rooses*, v, p. 116; *Van den Wijngaert*, p. 51, No. 240 (6); *Bouchery-Van den Wijngaert*, p. 58; *Van der Meulen, Antiquarius*, pp. 79, 80, note 31.

<sup>3</sup> Et de his vetus exstat numus, quem videre fuit in Musaeo viri nobilis & tertium Antuerpiae iam Consulis Nicolai Rokox I" (Ph. Rubens, *op. cit.*, p. 87).

<sup>4</sup> *Bouchery-Van den Wijngaert*, p. 75.

1. ICONISMUS STATUAE TOGATAE: ILLUSTRATION FOR PH. RUBENS, ELECTORUM LIBRI II, Antwerp, 1608, opposite p. 25 (Fig. 41)

Engraving; 199 : 273 mm.; below on the right : *Corn. Galle sculp.*

COPIES: (1) Engraving in H. Bossius, *De Toga Romana Commentarius*, Amsterdam, 1671, p. 82; (2) Engraving by J. Ruphon (?) after the left figure, in O. Ferrari, *De Re Vestitaria Libri septem*, Padova, 1685, p. 21; (3) Engraving by J. Ruphon (?) after the central figure, in O. Ferrari, *op. cit.*, p. 19, opposite p. 136; (4) Engraving by J. Ruphon (?) after the right figure, in O. Ferrari, *op. cit.*, p. 20; (5) Engraving after the central figure in A. Solerius, *De Pileo*, Amsterdam, 1671, p. 158.

EXHIBITED: *Paris*, 1954, No. 361.

LITERATURE: *Basan*, pp. 164, 165, No. 7 (1); *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p. 333, No. 1267; *V.S.*, p. 202, No. 61; *Dutuit*, VI, p. 209, No. 7 (1); *Rooses, Rubens-Moretus*, 1882-83, II, pp. 51, 52; *Rooses, Rubens-Moretus*, 1884, pp. 46, 47; *Rooses-Ruelens*, I, p. 12; *Rooses*, v, pp. 115, 116, No. 1297; F.M. Haberditzl, *Studien über Rubens, Jahrbuch der kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses*, XXX, 1912, pp. 271, 272, figs. 13, 14; G. Gabrieli, *Ricordi Romani di P.P. Rubens, Bolletino d'Arte*, 2nd series, VII, 1927-28, pp. 596-609; E. Kieser, *Antikes im Werke des Rubens, Münchner Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst*, X, 1933, pp. 110, 111; *Van den Wijngaert*, p. 51, No. 240 (1); *Bouchery-Van den Wijngaert*, pp. 57, 58; *Evers*, 1942, p. 32, fig. 6; J. Müller Hofstede, *Rubens' Grisaille für den Abendmahlstisch des Boetius à Bolswert, Pantheon*, XXVIII, 1970, p. 108; *Van der Meulen, Antiquarius*, p. 79, note 31.

Rubens's first illustration is of a Roman statue, seen from three views, dressed in a toga and inscribed *ICONISMVS STATVAE TOGATAE* (illustration of a statue in a toga). This design goes with the text on page 21 in Book One chapter XVII, which is entitled *Quid sinus togae - Quintilianus illustratus* (something about the folds of the toga - an illustration of Quintilian). The text by M. Fabius Quintilian describes eight folds in the drapery of the orator. The numbers in the engraving refer to that list.

Although there are many examples of this antique-toga type that Rubens could have known,<sup>1</sup> it is most likely that his design for this illustration was drawn after the lost *Statue of a Man in a Toga* known to have been in the garden of the Cesi Collection, Rome.<sup>2</sup> This possibility is made even more likely because Rubens used another piece of sculpture from the same collection in this book (No. 3; Fig. 43). In any case, he could not have seen the *Statue of the Emperor Titus*, Vatican Museum, as proposed by a number of authors beginning with M. Rooses,<sup>3</sup> because the statue was not discovered until 1828.<sup>4</sup>

Rubens seems to have used this type with the deeply chiseled facial features for his 1608 *Saints Nereus and Achilleus*, S. Maria in Vallicella, Rome.<sup>5</sup>

The plate was used again for Albert Rubens's *De Re Vestiaria Veterum*.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. for example the sculpture reproduced in S. Reinach, *Répertoire de la Statuaire Grecque et Romaine*, II, Paris, 1897, p. 624, No. 7, and in L.M. Wilson, *The Roman Toga*, Baltimore, 1924, fig. 26.

<sup>2</sup> C. Hülsen, *Römische Antikengärten des XVI. Jahrhunderts*, Heidelberg, 1917, p. 26, No. 89, fig. 18.

<sup>3</sup> *Rooses*, V, p. 115.

<sup>4</sup> W. Amelung, *Die Sculpturen des Vaticanischen Museums*, I, Berlin, 1903, pp. 40, 41, No. 26, pl. IV; H. von Heintze, in W. Helbig, *Führer durch die öffentlichen Sammlungen klassischer Altertümer in Rom*, 4th ed., I, Tübingen, 1963, p. 323, No. 417.

<sup>5</sup> F.M. Haberditzl, *loc. cit.*

<sup>6</sup> Antwerp, 1665, p. 169.

**1a. ICONISMVS STATVAE TOGATAE: ILLUSTRATION FOR PH. RUBENS, ELECTORUM LIBRI II: DRAWING OR OIL SKETCH**

Technique and measurements unknown.

*Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.*

The design for this engraving was executed while Rubens was still in Italy. This is quite clear when one considers that the Privilege for publication is dated

November 15, 1607, and that on August 9, 1608, Theodore Galle was paid 170 guilders and 10 stuivers for all the Cornelis Galle engravings and the expenses for the copper (Appendix III, p. 450 [3]). We also know that Rubens left Rome for Antwerp on October 28, 1608. All of this makes it certain that the designs for the *Electorum libri II* were completed while the artist was still in Italy.<sup>1</sup> Moreover, it is quite likely that Rubens's inventions for Philip's book were completed in the Spring of 1607<sup>2</sup> and brought back to Antwerp by the author in May of that year.<sup>3</sup> J.S. Held, on the other hand, believes that the designs were executed in 1601-1602 during Rubens's first sojourn in Rome.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Bouchery-Van den Wijngaert*, p. 58.

<sup>2</sup> R. Oldenbourg, *Peter Paul Rubens*, Munich-Berlin, 1922, p. 45.

<sup>3</sup> *Bouchery-Van den Wijngaert*, loc. cit.

<sup>4</sup> *Held*, I, p. 63.

2. ICONISMUS CIRCENSIVM ...: ILLUSTRATION FOR PH. RUBENS, ELECTORVM LIBRI II. Antwerp, 1608, p. 33 (Fig. 42)

Engraving; 200 : 317 mm.; below on the right: *Corn. Galle sculp.*

COPY: Engraving by J. Ruphon after the left figure, in O. Ferrari, *De Re Vestiaria Libri septem*, Padova, 1685, II, pl. F opposite p. 109.

EXHIBITED: *Paris*, 1954, No. 361.

LITERATURE: *Basan*, pp. 164, 165, No. 7 (2); *Smith*, *Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p. 333, No. 1266; *V.S.*, p. 202, No. 61; *Dutuit*, VI, p. 209, No. 7 (11); *Rooses*, *Rubens-Moretus*, 1882-83, II, pp. 51, 52; *Rooses*, *Rubens-Moretus*, 1884, p. 47; *Rooses*, V, pp. 115, 116, No. 1298; R. Oldenbourg, *Peter Paul Rubens*, Munich-Berlin, 1922, p. 46, fig. 22; E. Kieser, *Antikes im Werke des Rubens*, *Münchner Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst*, X, 1933, p. 110, note 3; *Van den Wijngaert*, p. 51, No. 240 (2); *Bouchery-Van den Wijngaert*, pp. 57, 131, pl. 25; *Van der Meulen*, *Antiquarius*, p. 80, note 31.

A praetor stands at the far left with his right hand raised and holding a cloth to signal the start of a chariot race. To his right is a chariot containing two men and pulled by four horses. A fourth man with his right arm outstretched and looking back at the driver is placed behind the rump of the horses and just before the cart. Horses' legs and the crossed feet of a fallen man are visible in the far right. The image is inscribed with the words ICONISMVS CIRCENSIVM ET MISSIONIS MAPPAE (illustration of the circus games and the lowering of the



cloth). It illustrates chapter XXX of the First Book. The second paragraph of this chapter relates to the illustration and identifies it as a relief at the Porta Nomentana in Rome. According to P. Santi Bartoli, the sculpture was in one of the palaces of the Barberini family by 1693. <sup>1</sup> Today it is in the depot of the Vatican Museum. <sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> "In aedibus Barberini" (P. Santi Bartoli, *Admiranda Romanarum Antiquitatum*, Rome, 1963, pl. 23).

<sup>2</sup> G. Kaschnitz-Weinberg, *Sculture del Magazzino del Museo Vaticano*, Vatican City, 1936-37, No. 416, pl. LXXVI; see also *Van der Meulen, Antiquarius, loc. cit.*

2a. ICONISMUS CIRCENSIVM ...: ILLUSTRATION FOR PH. RUBENS, ELECTORUM LIBRI II: DRAWING OR OIL SKETCH

Technique and measurements unknown.

*Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.*

For chronology and documentation see No. 1a.

3. ICONISMUS DUPLICIS STATVAE TUNICATAE: ILLUSTRATION FOR PH. RUBENS, ELECTORUM LIBRI II. Antwerp, 1608, p. 67 (Fig. 43)

Engraving; 206 : 276 mm.; below on the right: *Corn. Galle sculp.*

EXHIBITED: *A Loan Exhibition of Works by Peter Paul Rubens Kt.*, Wildenstein and Co., London, 1950, No. 11; *Paris, 1954*, No. 361.

LITERATURE: *Basan*, pp. 164, 165, No. 7 (3); *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p. 333, No. 1267; *V.S.*, p. 202, No. 61; *Dutuit*, VI, p. 209, No. 7 (III); *Rooses, Rubens-Moretus, 1882-83*, II, pp. 51, 52; *Rooses, Rubens-Moretus, 1884*, p. 47; *Rooses-Ruelens*, I, p. 12; *Rooses*, V, p. 115, No. 1299; E. Kieser, *Antikes im Werke des Rubens, Münchner Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst*, X, 1933, p. 110, note 3; *Van den Wijngaert*, p. 51, No. 240 (3); *Bouchery-Van den Wijngaert*, p. 57; *Held*, I, p. 114; *Burchard-d'Hulst*, 1963, I, pp. 157-159, 208-211; *d'Hulst*, 1968, p. 96; *Van der Meulen, Antiquarius*, p. 80, note 31.

On the left *Roma* is enthroned in profile and on the right is a standing goddess holding a wreath in her left hand. The latter is in three-quarter profile and her body faces front. On page 67 Rubens's design entitled *ICONISMVS DVPLICIS STATVAE TVNICATAE* (illustration of two standing statues in a tunic) is

the illustration for Book Two, chapter XX, entitled *De tunica interiore disceptatum. Ovidius, Plutarchus, Agellius explicati* (Discussion about the undermost tunic. Commented on by Ovid, Plutarch, Agellius). In his text Philip Rubens refutes the notion proposed by one Lazarus Baisius that tunics were open on both sides so that the thighs of a swiftly walking person were visible. The chapter closes with the following statement: "Plurimae sunt statuae, quibus, si opus sit, hoc probemus: duae sint instar omnium, altera Romae ipsius in hortis Caesiis, altera Deae cuiusdam, in domo Farnesiorum" (There are numerous statues that could prove this, if necessary; two may serve as representative of all, one of Roma itself in the gardens of Cardinal Cesi, the other representing some goddess in the Farnese Palace). For a front view of the *Roma* see the drawing of 1541-47 in Frans Floris's Roman sketchbook in Basle<sup>1</sup> and the engraving published in 1549 by Lafreri.<sup>2</sup> The sculpture was removed to the Museum of the Palazzo dei Conservatori in 1720.<sup>3</sup> The standing goddess, known as the *Flora Farnese*, is in the Museum at Naples.<sup>4</sup>

Rubens used the seated *Roma* again in 1617 for the frontispiece of Jacob de Bie's *Nomismata Imperatorum Romanorum* (No. 39; Fig. 130). There, however, she is frontal, carries a globe in her right hand and a sword in her left. This image was repeated in the 1620 title-page for L. Nonnius's *Commentarius in Numismata Imp. Iulii Augusti et Tiberii ...* and in the edition of this book as volume II of the complete works of Goltzius in 1644.<sup>5</sup> The statue appears once again in a drawing in the Albertina, Vienna.<sup>6</sup> This drawing was the preliminary sketch for the modello now in the Mauritshuis, The Hague, and the only one of twelve not completed for a series of tapestries of *The Life of Constantine*, commissioned in 1622 by the Court in Paris. In both the drawing and the oil sketch she supports a globe in her left hand and in the modello there is a Victory statuette in her right.

<sup>1</sup> C. Van de Velde, *A Roman Sketchbook of Frans Floris, Master Drawings*, VII, 1969, p. 273, pl. 12b.

<sup>2</sup> Illustrated in C. Hülsen, *Römische Antikengärten des XVI. Jahrhunderts*, Heidelberg, 1917, p. 25, No. 84, fig. 17.

<sup>3</sup> E. Simon, in W. Helbig, *Führer durch die öffentlichen Sammlungen klassischer Altertümer in Rom*, 4th ed., II, Tübingen, 1966, pp. 250-252, No. 1440.

<sup>4</sup> *Illustrated Guide to the National Museum in Naples*, Naples, [1909], p. 29, No. 242, fig. 25.

<sup>5</sup> See below, p. 335, under Nos. 82-83.

<sup>6</sup> Inv. No. 8643; *Burchard-d'Hulst*, 1963, I, pp. 157-159, 208-211, No. 133; II, pl. 133; *d'Hulst*, 1968, p. 96, under No. 14.

3a. ICONISMUS DUPLICIS STATUAE TUNICATAE: ILLUSTRATION FOR PH. RUBENS,  
ELECTORUM LIBRI II: DRAWING OR OIL SKETCH

Technique and measurements unknown.

*Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.*

For chronology and documentation see No. 1a.

4. HEAD OF A ROMAN PRIEST AND AN APEX: ILLUSTRATION FOR PH. RUBENS,  
ELECTORUM LIBRI II. Antwerp, 1608, p. 73 (Fig. 44)

Engraving; 98 : 116 mm.

LITERATURE: *Basan*, pp. 164, 165, No. 7 (4); *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p. 333, No. 1268; *V.S.*, pp. 202, No. 61; *Dutuit*, VI, pp. 209, 210, No. 7 (IV); *Rooses, Rubens-Moretus*, 1882-83, II, pp. 51, 52; *Rooses, Rubens-Moretus*, 1884, p. 47; *Rooses-Ruelens*, I, p. 12; *Rooses*, V, p. 116, No. 1300; *Van den Wijngaert*, p. 51, No. 240 (4); *Bouchery-Van den Wijngaert*, pp. 57, 58; *Van der Meulen, Antiquarius*, p. 80, note 31.

This illustration contains the head of a priest in profile to the left and wearing an *albogalerus* or white cap with an apex of olive wood. The *albogalerus* is the cap worn by the *Flamen dialis* or priest of Jupiter.<sup>1</sup> A second cap with an apex is placed to the left of the priest. Philip Rubens writes about this illustration at the bottom of page 72: "Ac ne quis oculorum meorum fidem timeat, rem ipsam testem dabo: lapides, inquam, ipsos ex archetypis expressos, quorum alter in arce Capitolinâ, alter in fornice Fabiano" (In order that no one should doubt the reliability of my eyes, I shall give the object itself as witness: I mean the stones depicted after the originals, of which one is on the Capitoline Hill and the other on the Triumphal Arch of Fabius).

Today, the cap on the left can be seen on a relief inside of the *Arco degli Argentarii* on the Foro Boario and the priest on a relief in the Palazzo dei Conservatori.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See H. Stuart Jones, *A Catalogue of the Ancient Sculptures preserved in the Municipal Collections of Rome, The Sculptures of the Museo Capitolino*, Oxford, 1912, p. 261.

<sup>2</sup> *Van der Meulen, Antiquarius, loc. cit.*

4a. HEAD OF A ROMAN PRIEST AND AN APEX: ILLUSTRATION FOR PH. RUBENS,  
ELECTORUM LIBRI II: DRAWING OR OIL SKETCH

Technique and measurements unknown.

*Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.*

For chronology and documentation see No. 1a.

5. ICONISMUS APICIS ...: ILLUSTRATION FOR PH. RUBENS, ELECTORUM LIBRI II.  
Antwerp, 1608, p. 74 (Fig. 46)

Engraving; 167 : 300 mm.; below on the left: *Corn. Galle Sculp.*

EXHIBITED: *Paris*, 1954, No. 361.

LITERATURE: *Basan*, pp. 164, 165, No. 7 (5); *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p. 333, No. 1269; *V.S.*, p. 202, No. 61; *Dutuit*, VI, pp. 209, 210, No. 7 (v); *Rooses, Rubens-Moretus*, 1882-83, II, pp. 51, 52; *Rooses, Rubens-Moretus*, 1884, p. 47; *Rooses-Ruelens*, I, pp. 12, 13; *Rooses*, V, p. 116, No. 1301; E. Kieser, *Antikes im Werke des Rubens, Münchner Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst*, X, 1933, p. 110, note 3; *Van den Wijngaert*, p. 51, No. 240 (5); *Bouchery-Van den Wijngaert*, pp. 57, 131, fig. 26; *Held*, I, p. 151; *Van der Meulen, Antiquarius*, p. 80, note 31.

The engraving is entitled ICONISMVS APICIS IN LAPIDE CLIVI CAPITOLINI (Illustration of an apex on a stone on the Capitoline Hill). Reading from left to right in this design by Rubens, we begin with an *albogalerus* or white cap crowned with a fragmented apex of olive wood. Next we find an upright spoon and below a sacrificial axe or *sacena* used by the pontifices. Above the axe and to the right of the spoon there is a bowl or *patera* with palmette decorations surrounding a head. In the center of the relief one sees an *aspergillum* or sprinkler and beneath it and to the right a sacrificial knife. The latter, perhaps a *secespita*, was used by the flamines, vestals and pontifices, and is often found on Roman Republican coins. Above the latter and to the right is an *urceus* or wine-jug decorated with a fluted neck and several bacchic-like figures. The relief is closed off by a *bucranium*, the horns of which are bound with *vittae*. This is an illustration for Book Two, chapter XXV, entitled *De sacris Apicibus eorumque materia et forma* (Concerning the sacred Apexes and their material

and form). The text discussing this illustration begins on page 71. It informs us that a long time ago Philip Rubens's attention was taken up by the elegant form of the Apex on the frieze of the three columns found at the foot of the Capitoline Hill. On page 73 Rubens writes that he is inclined to believe that the headpiece belonged to a *Flamen Dialis* (priest of Jupiter), the more so because, in the opinion of several people, the remains are related to the Temple that Augustus dedicated to Jupiter the Thunderer on the Capitoline Hill. This relief has been identified as a piece of the entablature from the Temple of Vespasian.<sup>1</sup> Rubens copied the latter very carefully except that he replaced the *bucranium* on the right of the Vespasian frieze by an *albogalerus* and that he moved the *aspergillum* to the other side of the wine pitcher.<sup>2</sup> These religious objects are often found on Roman temple friezes,<sup>3</sup> and in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries they were used to represent "sacred Egyptian hieroglyphics".<sup>4</sup> Rubens used the *bucranium* with horns bound by *vittae* in his design for the emblem of the Plantin Press executed ca. 1629-30 (Fig. 255).<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> E. Kieser, *loc. cit.*

<sup>2</sup> Illustrated in L. Curtius and A. Nawrath, *Das Antike Rom*, Vienna, 1944, pl. xv.

<sup>3</sup> See H. Stuart Jones, *A Catalogue of the Ancient Sculptures preserved in the Municipal Collections of Rome, The Sculptures of the Museo Capitolino*, II, Oxford, 1912, pp. 258-262, Nos. 99, 100, 104, pls. 61, 62.

<sup>4</sup> See E. Iversen, *Hieroglyphic Studies of the Renaissance*, *The Burlington Magazine*, c, 1958, pp. 19-21, fig. 32.

<sup>5</sup> *Held*, I, p. 151; see below, pp. 307-309, No. 74a.

5a. ICONISMUS APICIS ...: ILLUSTRATION FOR PH. RUBENS, ELECTORUM LIBRI II:  
DRAWING OR OIL SKETCH

Technique and measurements unknown.

*Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.*

For chronology and documentation see No. 1a.

6-9. ILLUSTRATIONS FOR THE MISSALE ROMANUM. Antwerp, 1613

COPY EXAMINED: Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum, No. A 1546.

Among the many resolutions made by the Council of Trent to strengthen the unity of the Catholic Church was the decision to revise the main liturgical

books, the Breviary and the Missal. This was done through the briefs issued by Pope Pius V concerning the *Breviarium Romanum* (July 9, 1568) and the *Missale Romanum* (July 14, 1570). The new texts for these books were printed in Rome, but Christophe Plantin soon succeeded in obtaining the exclusive rights to publish them in the Netherlands, in Spain and in the Spanish colonies.<sup>1</sup> This monopoly was a very important factor in the financial success of Plantin and his successors.<sup>2</sup> Numerous editions of the *Breviarium*, the *Missale* and other liturgical books were published in a variety of sizes throughout the history of the Plantin Press. When they were first printed, the number of woodcuts and the subjects illustrated varied from edition to edition. Gradually, however, a definite program was established. This is of the utmost importance when working out the chronology of Rubens's designs for the *Missale Romanum* and the *Breviarium Romanum*.

The *Missale* contains the service of the Mass for the entire year. It instructs the priests as to how to celebrate the Mass and which texts should be read. The latter include the *Ordinarium*, which forms part of every Mass, and the *Proprium*, which changes according to the liturgical year (*Proprium de tempore*) or the special feasts of the Saints (*Proprium de sanctis*). In-folio editions of the *Missale* were used on the altar. The *Breviarium*, on the other hand, was usually printed in a smaller size and includes all the prayers of the Holy Office for each day which must be recited at specific hours by clerics and members of the various monastic orders.

In order to work out the relationship between the illustrations in the 1613 *Missale* in-folio, and earlier editions by Plantin, it is necessary to describe briefly a number of them. The 1572 publication was illustrated by several smaller woodcuts dispersed throughout the book and by one full-page woodcut of *Christ on the Cross* cut by Anton van Leeft after a design by Pieter van der Borcht.<sup>4</sup> The latter illustration was placed opposite the beginning of Part Two of the book, the *Canon of the Mass*. In later editions, there are more full-page illustrations, and they face the start of the texts connected with the most important feasts of the ecclesiastical year. These, in turn, are emphasized by the addition of a border decoration. The smaller vignettes, which illustrate scenes of lesser importance, were later eliminated and a scheme for the illustrations was established in the *Missale Romanum*. This was made up of eight full-page illustrations and eight border decorations. The following table contains the subjects and the corresponding chapter in the text:

*David Poenitens* – Proprium missarum de tempore  
*The Nativity* – Third Mass on Nativity Day  
*Christ on the Cross* – Canon Missarum  
*The Resurrection* – Feast of the Resurrection  
*The Descent of the Holy Spirit* – Pentecost  
*The Last Supper* – Feast of Corpus Christi  
*The Assumption of the Virgin* – Feast of the Assumption  
*All Saints* – Feast of All Saints.

In the 1587 edition of the *Missale*,<sup>5</sup> twenty-three small engravings were used. Each border decoration consists of sixteen small woodcuts depicting the Evangelists and scenes from the lives of Christ and the Virgin. In 1589 and 1590, the *Missale* was reprinted<sup>6</sup> with the same illustrations, but with new borders, cut into one copper plate for each of the eight pages. The smaller vignettes of 1587 were re-used but with two exceptions.<sup>7</sup> In 1596, another edition appeared with eight full-page woodcuts and the old composite border decorations done in sixteen small blocks. The vignettes had disappeared except for *The Angel's Message to the Shepherds*. In 1599 and 1605, the same illustrations were used but with slight changes in several of the border woodcuts and *The Annunciation* replaced *David Poenitens*. Commencing with these editions, the *David Poenitens* is only found in the *Brevarium* and never in the *Missale*.

At the same time that these editions were illustrated with woodcuts, the Plantin Press planned a new one with copper engravings. Because Marten de Vos, who made the new designs, died on December 4, 1603, this project must have been under way prior to 1603. However, it did not appear until 1606, and a second edition came out in 1610. This *Missale* had eight new illustrations while four of the eight border decorations were also redone and the rest came from the 1589 edition.

The most noticeable difference between the 1606 and 1610 Plantin *Missales* and the 1613 edition, for which Rubens designed new illustrations, was the increase in the number of border decorations and illustrations from eight to ten. Balthasar Moretus considered this an important innovation as attested to by his handwritten entry in his catalogue of published books where he added a note explaining the improvement in the illustrations: "Nota en ceste edition entrent plus que en la precedente la figure de l'Epiphanie et Ascensio Domini avec leurs vignets, sont quatre figures; et les vignets sont a toutes les figures

differents et millieure taille; et en les impressions precedentes ni avoit que trois vignets, lesquels falloit repeter" (Appendix II, p. 431 [2]).

These additions are confirmed by the payments recorded in the documents. On September 25, 1612, Theodore Galle was paid 75 guilders for cutting the plate after Rubens's design for the border decoration on page 23 (No. 7; Fig. 49) and a similar amount on March 7, 1613, for the other border decoration, on page 1 (No. 6; Fig. 47) (Appendix III, pp. 451, 452 [5, 10]). On February 13, 1613, Galle received another 75 guilders for the plate he made after Rubens's *Ascension* (No. 9; Fig. 53), and on the same day a like sum for completing the plate after Rubens's *Adoration of the Magi* (No. 8; Fig. 51) (Appendix III, p. 452 [9]). Rubens, himself, received a payment for his designs and for retouching them (Appendix III, p. 447 [1]).

The reasons for the increase in the number of illustrations and border decorations in the 1613 *Missale* are difficult to explain. It is possible that the publisher was using earlier editions of the *Breviarium Romanum* as his model. In the 1603 and 1606 breviaries in-quarto,<sup>8</sup> there is a series of ten full-page engravings with precisely the same subjects as in the 1613 *Missale*. However, there is one difference: the earlier *Breviarium* has an illustration of *David Poenitens* and not *Christ on the Cross* while in the 1613 *Missale* it is the other way around.

Rubens's participation in illustrating the 1613 *Missale* was limited to the first two borders and two large scenes that had never been included in previous missals: *The Adoration of the Magi* and *The Ascension of Christ*. The remaining eight borders were engraved by Theodore Galle after his own drawings (Appendix III, pp. 451, 452 [6-8]) while the eight full-page *maniera* illustrations were those designed by Marten de Vos for the 1606 *Missale*. From this, it is evident that Rubens's designs were made especially for the 1613 *Missale* and must not be confused with his illustrations for the new edition of the *Breviarium Romanum*, which appeared in 1614. The latter re-used Rubens's *Adoration of the Magi* (Nos. 8, 22; Figs. 51, 83) and *The Ascension of Christ* (Nos. 9, 24; Figs. 53, 87) from the 1613 *Missale* and added new illustrations by Rubens, which replaced the old-fashioned ones by Marten de Vos (Nos. 19-21, 23, 25-28; Figs. 78-80, 85, 88, 89, 92, 94). Rubens also designed the title-page (No. 18; Fig. 71). A 1614 edition of the *Missale*, which was introduced into the literature by Rooses, does not exist.<sup>9</sup> However, the 1616 *Missale*, reprinted in 1618, does contain the complete set of ten border decor-



ations and the two Rubens designs from the 1613 *Missale* and the nine Rubens illustrations from the 1614 *Breviarium*. One new composition, *Christ on the Cross* (No. 34; Fig. 116), was added to the 1616 *Missale* and this replaced the plate engraved after Marten de Vos's design, which had been used for the 1606, 1610 and 1613 editions.

By May 20, 1613, all of the illustrations for the *Missale* in-folio had been printed by Theodore Galle (Appendix III, p. 453 [11]). From the same document we learn that 725 copies of each of the twenty engravings were printed. The *Plantin Catalogue of Books Published from 1580 to 1655* (Appendix II, p. 431 [2]) states that the book will cost 7 guilders with only the title, 11 guilders if fully illustrated and 12 guilders and 10 stuivers when printed on good paper and with all the engravings.

- 1 C. De Clercq, *Les éditions bibliques, liturgiques et canoniques de Plantin*, in *Gedenkboek der Plantin-dagen 1555-1955*, Antwerp, 1956, pp. 283-318; *Voet*, I, pp. 65-69.
- 2 *Voet*, I, pp. 68, 69, 213.
- 3 M. Rooses, *De houtsneden uitgevoerd voor den Brevier en voor den Missaal in-folio*, Antwerp, 1910; idem, *De houtsneden uitgevoerd voor de Brevieren, de Missalen en andere kerkelijke boeken*, Antwerp, 1911.
- 4 M. Rooses, *Christophe Plantin, imprimeur anversois*, Antwerp, 1882, p. 163.
- 5 London, British Library, No. C 54.i.4(1).
- 6 Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum, Nos. O.B.6.5, A 2691.
- 7 The 1590 *Missale* illustrates *The Martyrdom of St. John the Evangelist* (p. 27) instead of *St. John on the Isle of Patmos*; the 1587 edition depicts *Christ on the Cross* (p. 174), while in the two later editions *Christ Nailed to the Cross* is illustrated.
- 8 Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum, Nos. A 1366 and A 1367.
- 9 Rooses does not mention this 1614 *Missale* in his earliest publication on the subject but suggests that in the *Breviarium* and *Missale* editions the new plates were incorporated as they were completed (*Rooses, Rubens-Moretus, 1882-83*, II, p. 56). Later, however, Rooses states that a *Missale* was published along with the *Breviarium* of 1614 and gives it a full title, analogous to that of the *Breviarium* of the same year (*Rooses*, V, p. 58). This error has been repeated ever since (e.g. by *Bouchery-Van den Wijngaert*, pp. 62, 63).

6. THE TREE OF JESSE: ILLUSTRATION FOR THE MISSALE ROMANUM. Antwerp, 1613, p. 1 (Fig. 47)

Engraving; 305 : 200 mm.

COPY: Engraving in *Missale Romanum*, Cologne, 1629; lit.: *Rooses, Rubens-Moretus, 1882-83*, II, p. 57; *Rooses, Rubens-Moretus, 1884*, p. 52.

LITERATURE: *Roses, Rubens-Moretus, 1882-83*, II, pp. 55, 57; *Roses, Rubens-Moretus, 1884*, pp. 50, 52; *Dutuit*, VI, p. 232; *Roses*, IV, p. 120; V, pp. 62, 64, 65, 67, No. 1262; *Van den Wijngaert*, p. 57, No. 294, p. 58, No. 294bis; *Knipping*, II, p. 293; *Bouchery-Van den Wijngaert*, p. 61, fig. 43; *Evers, 1943*, pp. 39, 195, 196, 201, 202, fig. 133; *Lugt, Louvre, Ecole flamande*, II, 1949, p. 11.

Rubens's design for the *Tree of Jesse* follows tradition by placing Jesse in a reclining position at the bottom center with two large branches rising up on either side. The branches contain the twelve Kings of Judea and culminate with an image of the Virgin and Child.<sup>1</sup> The twelve kings generally include David, Solomon, Roboam, Abia, Asa, Josaphat, Joram, Ozias, Joatham, Achaz, Ezekias and Manasses.<sup>2</sup> However, only one of the kings, David, has a recognizable attribute. The others simply wear crowns and carry scepters. These figures emblemize the royal origins of Christ's human ancestors based upon the prophesy in Isaiah.<sup>3</sup>

Originally the *Tree of Jesse* symbolized the genealogy of Christ but later became the genealogy of the Virgin. By the sixteenth century, the Virgin was seen as the most beautiful blossom from the root of Jesse and bears the Child Jesus on her arm. She is the main personage in the scene. Her royal forefathers dispose themselves around and beneath her.<sup>4</sup>

The *Tree of Jesse* is placed opposite Marten de Vos's *Annunciation*. The reason for the juxtaposition of these two scenes becomes clear when one realizes that beginning with sixteenth-century printed *Missales* the *Tree of Jesse* was often used to illustrate the *Immaculate Conception*.<sup>5</sup>

Although Rubens's composition does not break with tradition, his figure types mark a bold departure from the thin, stiff and decorous types used by his immediate forerunners. Rubens's figures are massive, three-dimensional forms that move in space whereas P. Van der Borcht's and Marten de Vos's figures<sup>6</sup> are flat and static. Rubens's, on the other hand, rise back and up toward the Virgin, giving a sense of depth and three-dimensionality to the composition. The monumental character of the kings and their turning and twisting positions are similar in spirit to Michelangelo's in the Sistine Chapel. Jesse, on the other hand, recalls antique sculpture such as the river god type.<sup>7</sup> Rubens's kings move up and down along the sides enframing a central space and might very well be the start of a compositional type which he will, along with a similar interest in dramatic chiaroscuro, use so successfully in his large

altarpieces like the ca. 1615-16 *Great Last Judgment*, Alte Pinakothek, Munich.<sup>8</sup>

Sums of money are listed in Jan Moretus's accounts as being owed to Rubens for, among other things, the retouching of four figures in the *Missale* and for drawing two vignettes and two figures (Appendix III, p. 447 [1]).

On March 7, 1613, Theodore Galle was paid 75 guilders for cutting the plate after Rubens's design (Appendix III, p. 452 [10]). This plate was used again in the 1616 and 1618 in-folio editions of the *Missale Romanum* published by the Plantin Press.

<sup>1</sup> For a detailed discussion of this imagery see A. Watson, *The Early Iconography of the Tree of Jesse*, London, 1934, pp. 94, 95 and *passim*.

<sup>2</sup> Matthew 1 : 4-10.

<sup>3</sup> Isaiah 11 : 1, 2; J. Snyder, *Geertgen schildert de voorouders van Christus*, *Bulletin van het Rijksmuseum*, v, 1957, p. 88; *Idem*, *The Early Haarlem School of Painting*, *The Art Bulletin*, XLII, 1960, p. 129.

<sup>4</sup> *Timmers*, p. 437, No. 977.

<sup>5</sup> *Timmers*, p. 482, No. 1080.

<sup>6</sup> *Evers*, 1943, figs. 131, 132.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. the so-called *Marforio* in the Capitoline Museum, Rome (H. Stuart Jones, *A Catalogue of the Ancient Sculptures preserved in the Municipal Collections of Rome. The Sculptures of the Museo Capitolino*, Oxford, 1912, p. 21, No. 1, fig. 1).

<sup>8</sup> *K.d.K.*, p. 118.

## 6a. THE TREE OF JESSE: DRAWING (Fig. 48)

Pen and brown ink and brown wash; 307 : 203 mm.; traced for transfer; below on the right, inscribed in ink: 66.

*Paris*, *Cabinet des Dessins du Musée du Louvre*. Inv. No. 20.216.

PROVENANCE: J.D. Lempereur (Paris, 1701-1779), sale, Paris, 24 May 1773, lot 305 (bought by Basan); F. Basan (Paris, 1723-1797), sale, Paris, 2 May 1781, lot 306; in the Louvre by 1886.

EXHIBITED: *Dessins flamands du XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Cabinet des Dessins du Musée du Louvre, Paris, 1952, No. 1005; *Paris*, 1954, No. 374; *Dessins de Pierre-Paul Rubens*, Cabinet des Dessins du Musée du Louvre, Paris, 1959, No. 1.

LITERATURE: *Rooses*, *Rubens-Moretus*, 1882-83, II, p. 57; *Rooses*, *Rubens-Moretus*, 1884, p. 52; *Glück-Haberditzl*, p. 37, No. 71, pl. 71; *Van den Wijngaert*, p. 57;

*Knipping*, II, p. 293, note 2; *Bouchery-Van den Wijngaert*, p. 61, fig. 44; *Lugt, Louvre, Ecole flamande*, II, 1949, p. 11, No. 1005, pl. XI; *Burchard-d'Hulst*, 1956, p. 56; *Burchard-d'Hulst*, 1963, I, p. 114.

This drawing is the design in reverse for the border illustration on page 1 of the 1613 *Missale*. For a discussion of the image see above, No. 6.

7. BORDER DECORATION FOR THE MISSALE ROMANUM. Antwerp, 1613, p. 23 (Fig. 49)

Engraving; 303 : 198 mm.

LITERATURE: *Hymans*, pp. 49, 50; *Rooses, Rubens-Moretus*, 1882-83, II, p. 55; *Rooses, Rubens-Moretus*, 1884, p. 50; *Rooses*, V, pp. 62, 64, 65, No. 1262; *Bouchery-Van den Wijngaert*, p. 61, note 4; *Evers*, 1943, pp. 37, 196, fig. 209; *Benesch, Book Illustration*, p. 8; *Goris-Held*, p. 42; *Seilern*, I, p. 87; *Burchard-d'Hulst*, 1956, p. 56; [*Cat. Exh.*] *Drawings and Oil Sketches by P.P. Rubens from American Collections*, Cambridge, Mass., 1956, p. 16; *Held*, I, pp. 147, 164; *Burchard-d'Hulst*, 1963, I, pp. 104, 114, 115.

This border decoration, engraved by Theodore Galle, illustrates *The First Scenes of the Gospel* and is opposite page 22 with its full-page illustration of *The Adoration of the Shepherds*, designed by Marten de Vos. *St. Matthew and the Angel* is placed in the upper-left corner of the border and beneath, along the left side, the following scenes in descending order: *The Virgin and Joseph refused lodging at the Inn*, *The Nativity* and *St. Luke. St. Mark* is in the upper-right corner and below him *The Annunciation to the Shepherds*, *The Adoration of the Shepherds* and *St. John the Evangelist*. *The Annunciation* is at the top center of the page and is enframed by a baroque cartouche with shells at either side and a cherub in the bottom center. *The Circumcision* is depicted within the cartouche with wings on either side. The lower edges of the frames containing *The Virgin and Joseph refused lodging at the Inn* and *The Annunciation to the Shepherds* are decorated with a shell protruding into the picture space and, underneath, a niche with a curious bouquet hanging from part of a cartouche just above what appears to be the star of Bethlehem. Flanking the niches are cornucopias overflowing with fruit, lilies and roses. These decorative elements and the cartouches can be found earlier in Rubens's *Design for a Tomb*, Print Room, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.<sup>1</sup> H.G. Evers<sup>2</sup> notes a similarity in structure between these small scenes and Rubens's work

from this time. These border decorations are very different in structure from Theodore Galle's that follow beginning on p. 43 where the pages are cluttered with detail and the small scenes are cramped and lack a feeling for the three-dimensional that we find on page 23. Rubens's sheet also uses light and shadow to model the forms, to create space and to impart a sense of drama to the themes. Galle, on the other hand, employs the light to stress the decorative character of his border decorations.

On September 25, 1612, Theodore Galle was paid 75 guilders for cutting the plate for this border decoration. This payment also included compensation for the drawing he made, and the copper he used (Appendix III, p. 451 [5]).

The plate was used again in the 1616, 1618 and 1623 Plantin editions of the *Missale Romanum*.

<sup>1</sup> Inv. No. 57:345; *Held*, I, pp. 163-165, No. A 171, fig. 36.

<sup>2</sup> *Evers*, 1943, p. 196.

7a. SIX SCENES FROM THE NEW TESTAMENT: DRAWING (Fig. 50)

1. *The Annunciation*

Pen, brown ink and brown wash; 53 : 117 mm.; below on the right, inscribed:  
*P. Del. Vaga.*

2. *The Visitation*

Pen, brown ink and brown wash; 90 : 40 mm.; below on the right, inscribed:  
*P.D.V.*

3. *The Nativity*

Pen, brown ink and brown wash; 102 : 38 mm.; below on the right, inscribed:  
*P.D.V.*

4. *The Annunciation to the Shepherds*

Pen, brown ink and brown wash; 90 : 38 mm.; below on the right, inscribed:  
*P.D.V.*

5. *The Adoration of the Shepherds*

Pen, brown ink and brown wash; 102 : 38 mm.; below on the right, inscribed  
*P.D.V.*

6. *The Circumcision*

Pen, brown ink and brown wash; 46 : 117 mm.; below on the right, inscribed:  
*P.D.V.*

New York, Pierpont Morgan Library. Inv. No. III, 183.

PROVENANCE: W. Mayor (London, died 1874); C. Fairfax Murray (London, 1849–1915).

EXHIBITED: *Cambridge-New York*, 1956, No. 10 (repr.).

LITERATURE: *Benesch, Book Illustration*, pp. 8, 9; *Goris-Held*, pp. 41, 42, Nos. 96–101, pl. 107; *Seilern*, I, p. 87; *Burchard-d'Hulst*, 1956, p. 56; *Held*, I, pp. 147, 164; *Burchard-d'Hulst*, 1963, I, pp. 114, 115.

The Pierpont Morgan drawings were very likely the initial plan for the border design later executed by Theodore Galle for the border decoration on p. 23 of the 1613 *Missale Romanum* (No. 7; Fig. 49). These drawings appear to have been originally part of one large sheet that was subsequently cut up and pasted on the mount as we see today.

There are a number of obvious changes between the drawings and the Galle engraving which further help to suggest that the designs served as a preliminary plan for the printed page. In Galle's *Annunciation*, the frame is cut at the cherub's neck, and the engraver has added a shell motif to either side of the cartouche. This drawing is the only one that was printed in reverse. Galle replaced Rubens's *Visitation* with *The Virgin and Joseph refused lodging at the Inn*. In Rubens's *Visitation*, the Virgin and Elizabeth occupy the foreground while Joseph stands behind Mary and Zacharias is enframed in the door behind Elizabeth. A barking dog leaps about in the bottom-center foreground between the two main participants while above to the right a roof with foliage shades the figures in the drawing. Rubens also places the scene within a rectangular frame decorated with antique motifs: rosettes, a palmette above, a shell and garlands below. Rubens used the same type of frame for *The Annunciation to the Shepherds* which also underwent some changes when Galle made his engraving. For example, Rubens's angel flying in from above does not carry a scroll and there are only two standing shepherds without hats. Rubens's seated shepherd in the foreground holds his staff on a more pronounced diagonal than Galle's. Galle virtually copies Rubens's *Nativity*, but adds Joseph's luggage in the left foreground. Rubens and Galle repeat the setting for *The Adoration of the Shepherds*, but Galle places the donkey above and behind the shepherd on the left. Galle's boy in the center behind the manger

looks up and out of the scene rather than down at the Child. Galle takes over Rubens's design for *The Circumcision*, but the former eliminates the platter, places a turban on the High Priest performing the operation and gives the Virgin a halo. The changes in the engraving further support the idea that the Pierpont Morgan drawings represent an early stage in the planning for the engraved page. Galle could very well have made a set of drawings based on these Rubens designs. The payment for his engraving explicitly mentions the fact that he made a drawing (Appendix III, p. 451 [5]).

These quick and luminous sketches, utilizing the pen to reinforce the structure of the forms created by the wash, are similar in technique to Rubens drawings dating around 1610.<sup>1</sup>

The attribution of the Pierpont Morgan drawings to Rubens is further strengthened by their compositional affinities with other works by the master from around 1611-12. In *The Annunciation*, the angel's pose with right hand on knee, left arm outstretched and partially enveloped in rich drapery, is very similar to the angel in the 1611-12 *Annunciation*, Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum.<sup>2</sup> The pose and gesture of the Virgin, although a bit stiff in the drawing, also demonstrate affinities with the Vienna painting. The drawing of *The Visitation* appears to be the start of a compositional idea that will culminate in the same scene on the left wing of *The Descent from the Cross*, Antwerp Cathedral.<sup>3</sup> This can be shown by comparing the Pierpont Morgan *Visitation* with several of the preparatory sketches for the wing of the great altar. A sheet in the Musée Bonnat, Bayonne,<sup>4</sup> contains a group in the upper left in which Elizabeth's right arm is extended straight out from her shoulder while the Virgin's arm extends slightly downward and touches Elizabeth's. A triangular space is formed between the arms as one also finds in the Pierpont Morgan drawing. The oil sketch in the Musée des Beaux-Arts, Strasbourg,<sup>5</sup> contains a similar type of simple architecture, not yet a palace, with foliage on the overhang and a barking dog between the two main figures. As in the drawing, Zacharias is placed behind Elizabeth and in the doorway. *The Circumcision* includes several types already present in the 1605 altarpiece in S. Ambrogio, Genoa,<sup>6</sup> where the High Priest leans down toward Christ and the former's arms are in a similar position. The child holding on to a woman on the edge of the scene is also a motif that is repeated in the drawing for the *Missale*.

The attribution of these Pierpont Morgan drawings to Rubens is further

secured by the repetition of decorative motifs that are found in other works by Rubens. The cartouche with strap work drawn with pen, ink and wash also appears in Rubens's *Design for a Tomb*, Print Room, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam<sup>7</sup> as do other motifs such as garlands, rosettes, shells, etc.

The stylistic and compositional connections between the Pierpont Morgan drawings and Rubens's works dating from ca. 1611 indicate that the work must be from his hand. The changes in composition between the Rubens drawings and Galle's engraving also suggest that the former represent an early stage in the planning for the engraved page.

The accounts of Jan Moretus II dating between March 1613 and July 1616 mention a credit to Rubens for executing the drawings for two vignettes of the *Missale* (Appendix III, p. 447 [1]). This document probably refers to the Pierpont Morgan drawings.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *The Creation of the Animals and The Temptation of Man* in the collection of Count Seilern, London (*Seilern*, I, pp. 87, 88, No. 55, pl. CVII), *Abraham, Isaac and Jacob and David Playing the Harp* in the Cabinet des Dessins du Musée du Louvre in Paris (*Lugt, Louvre, Ecole flamande*, II, 1949, p. 11, Nos. 1006, 1007, pl. XII) and the *Design for a Tomb* in the Amsterdam Print Room (*Held*, I, p. 164, fig. 36).

<sup>2</sup> *K.d.K.*, p. 47.

<sup>3</sup> *K.d.K.*, p. 52.

<sup>4</sup> Inv. No. 1438; *Burchard-d'Hulst*, 1963, I, p. 10, No. 61; II, pl. 61.

<sup>5</sup> Illustrated in *Haverkamp Begemann*, 1953, No. 11, fig. 11.

<sup>6</sup> *K.d.K.*, p. 21.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. note 1.

8. THE ADORATION OF THE MAGI: ILLUSTRATION FOR THE MISSALE ROMANUM.  
Antwerp, 1613, p. 42 (Fig. 51)

Engraving; 303 : 197 mm.

LITERATURE: *Rooses, Rubens-Moretus*, 1882-83, II, pp. 55, 56; *Rooses, Rubens-Moretus*, 1884, pp. 50, 51; *Dutuit*, VI, p. 231, No. 5 (3); *Rooses*, V, pp. 60, 65, No. 1254; *Van den Wijngaert*, p. 57, No. 5; *Bouchery-Van den Wijngaert*, pp. 47, 61, 63; *Evers*, 1943, pp. 209, 210; *Benesch, Book Illustration*, p. 7; J. Held, *A propos de l'Exposition Rubens à Bruxelles, Les Arts Plastiques*, VI, 1953, pp. 112, 113; *Burchard-d'Hulst*, 1956, p. 56; [*Cat. Exh.*] *Drawings and Oil Sketches by P.P. Rubens from American Collections*, Cambridge, Mass., 1956, pp. 17, 18; *Held*, I, p. 147.



*The Adoration of the Magi* is opposite Theodore Galle's border design enfolding the text IN EPIPHANIA DOMINI (p. 43). The Virgin, Joseph and the Child are on the right side and placed before an impressive architectural ruin with foliage growing from it and two large column fragments on a high pedestal. Christ, with a halo, is held above a stone cradle decorated with a lion's head. The Child extends His right arm toward the kneeling Caspar. The latter, with his right hand, gently holds the Child's. A dish with money is placed between the kneeling king and the stone floor supporting the cradle. Melchior is in the left foreground, holding a vessel and looking down at the Child. Balthasar is behind and to the right of Melchior and stands with arms crossed on his chest. A page blows into a container of coals lighting up his face—a type which is found earlier in *The Adoration of the Magi*, Prado Museum, Madrid<sup>1</sup> and the 1609 sketch for it in the Museum in Groningen.<sup>2</sup> Three other members of the retinue look over the shoulders of Melchior and Balthasar. The remainder of the procession is visible in the left background, which rises up steeply with no transition from foreground to background. Two camels and three men lead while two horsemen and foot soldiers appear on the top of the hill, which contains trees on the left. A great fluffy cloud drifts over the center of the sky while the Star of Bethlehem shines brightly above to the right of center.<sup>3</sup>

On February 13, 1613, Theodore Galle was paid 75 guilders for having cut the plate for this engraving (Appendix III, p. 452 [9]). The plate was used again in the 1614 edition of the *Breviarium Romanum* published by the Plantin Press (No. 22; Fig. 83). However, several small changes and additions were made. The camel seen just above the feathered hat on the left margin has been eliminated, and in place of its head, the engraver has added a tree trunk and a clump of foliage along the ridge line below the marching soldiers. Galle also changed the shadow pattern on the drapery of the kneeling Caspar.<sup>4</sup>

On October 4, 1631, Moretus paid 780 guilders to Cornelis Galle for cutting ten plates after Rubens's designs for a *Missale* in-folio.<sup>5</sup> We have not been able to trace the 1632 edition of the *Missale* in which these new plates are supposed to have appeared.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *K.d.K.*, p. 26.

<sup>2</sup> Illustrated in *Haverkamp Begemann*, 1953, fig. 6.

<sup>3</sup> For a more detailed discussion of the sources of the composition see below, under No. 8a.

<sup>4</sup> For more details see below, p. 133, under No. 22a.

<sup>5</sup> *Roses*, v, p. 66.

<sup>6</sup> *Bouchery-Van den Wijngaert*, p. 63.

8a. THE ADORATION OF THE MAGI: DRAWING (Fig. 52)

Pen and brown ink and brown wash; 292 : 192 mm.; indented with a stylus for transfer to the copper plate.

*New York, Pierpont Morgan Library. Inv. No. 1, 230.*

PROVENANCE: C. Ploos van Amstel, sale, Amsterdam, 2 March 1800, lot X, 1; Sir J.C. Robinson (London, 1824-1913); C. Fairfax Murray (London, 1849-1915).

EXHIBITED: *Five Centuries of Drawings*, Museum of Fine Arts, Montreal, 1953, No. 13; *Cambridge-New York*, 1956, No. 12; *Pierpont Morgan Treasures*, Wadsworth Atheneum, Hartford, 1960, No. 72.

LITERATURE: M. Roses, in *Rubens-Bulletijn*, v, 1910, pp. 199, 200; *Glück-Haberdtz*, pp. 36, 37, No. 68, pl. 68; *Van den Wijngaert*, p. 57; *Bouchery-Van den Wijngaert*, pp. 47, 61, 122, fig. 36; *Benesch, Book Illustration*, p. 7; *Goris-Held*, p. 42, No. 102, pl. 106; *Burchard-d'Hulst*, 1956, p. 56; *Held*, 1, pp. 147, 148, No. 139, pl. 151; *Renger*, 1, pp. 130, 131.

This drawing is a very careful study made for the engraver. Rubens, as J.S. Held writes,<sup>1</sup> made the drawing with the print in mind. This is especially noticeable in the touching hands of Caspar and Christ: in the drawing the left hands touch, in the engraving the right hands. The composition, as has been so often pointed out,<sup>2</sup> can be connected in part with Rubens's 1609-10 *Adoration of the Magi*, Prado Museum, Madrid<sup>3</sup> and the sketch for it in the Museum van Oudheden, Groningen.<sup>4</sup> The posture of the Virgin, her placement before an architectural ruin with a great column above, the type of crib with antique-like decorations, the camels in the background and the black page blowing on coals<sup>5</sup> are all present in Rubens's earlier *Adoration*. Now, however, the composition has become more compact and is not to be seen as a wall decoration which was the original function of the Prado painting. The vertical stress in the drawing suggests that Rubens had an altarpiece in mind. Besides, the composition now has a self-contained and balanced quality which reflects Rubens's painting style during the years around 1613.

<sup>1</sup> *Held*, I, p. 147.

<sup>2</sup> *Evers*, 1943, p. 210; *Benesch, Book Illustration*, p. 7; *Held*, I, pp. 147, 148.

<sup>3</sup> *K.d.K.*, p. 26.

<sup>4</sup> Illustrated in *Haverkamp Begemann*, 1953, No. 4, fig. 6.

<sup>5</sup> A motif very likely coming from Jacopo Bassano; cf. *The Adoration of the Shepherds*, San Giorgio Maggiore, Venice.

9. THE ASCENSION OF CHRIST: ILLUSTRATION FOR THE MISSALE ROMANUM.  
Antwerp, 1613, p. 302 (Fig. 53)

Engraving; 302 : 197 mm.

COPY: (1) Drawing by C. Galle (?), in reverse, Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum, Inv. No. 342; pen and brown ink, traces of black chalk, squared and traced for transfer, 270 : 164 mm.; lit.: *Bouchery-Van den Wijngaert*, pp. 63, 64.

LITERATURE: *Rooses, Rubens-Moretus*, 1882-83, II, pp. 55, 56; *Rooses, Rubens-Moretus*, 1884, pp. 50, 51; *Dutuit*, VI, p. 231, No. 7; *Rooses*, V, pp. 60, 65, No. 1255; *Van den Wijngaert*, p. 57, No. 7; *Bouchery-Van den Wijngaert*, pp. 61, 63, 64; *Evers*, 1943, p. 214.

*The Ascension of Christ* is placed opposite Theodore Galle's border decoration (p. 303) enframing the text for IN DIE ASCENSIONIS DOMINI. Rubens's Christ, frontal with arms and eyes raised, drapery flowing behind him, a powerful holy light surrounding His head and body, ascends to heaven. Below, on the Mount of Olives, the twelve Apostles are arranged in two groups, with the kneeling St. John in front of the group on the right. The Virgin, symbol of the Church which Christ left on earth, with a halo and head turned upward towards Christ, kneels on both knees in the left foreground. Mary Magdalene is in shadow to the Virgin's left. The main Biblical sources for this image are Mark, Luke and Acts.<sup>1</sup>

Rubens's Christ rises up in a position similar to the Christ in Raphael's (?) *Transfiguration*, Vatican Museum, Rome, while the monumental and moving Apostles below can be seen as a further development of the types found in Titian's *Assumption of the Virgin*, Santa Maria dei Frari, Venice. These Raphael (?) and Titian prototypes had been made even more dramatic in the early seventeenth century by Annibale Carracci in his 1601 *Assumption of the Virgin*, Santa Maria del Popolo, Rome.<sup>2</sup> Rubens certainly could have known the latter and perhaps had it in mind when making the design for *The Ascen-*

sion. The two Apostles along the margin in the right foreground recall Rubens's *Study of Two Heads* in New York.<sup>3</sup> In general, however, the expressive heads in the lower zone bring to mind those in the great series of ca. 1612 in the Prado, Madrid.<sup>4</sup>

On February 13, 1613, Theodore Galle was paid 75 guilders for cutting the plate for the *Ascension* after a drawing by Rubens (Appendix III, p. 452 [9]). A pen and wash drawing in the Print Room of the Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum, Braunschweig (Fig. 54),<sup>5</sup> might very well be Theodore Galle's design made after Rubens's for the plate.

Theodore Galle's plate was used again, with some changes, for the 1614 *Breviarium Romanum*, published by the Plantin Press (No. 24; Fig. 87).

<sup>1</sup> Mark 16 : 19; Luke 24 : 50-51; Acts 1 : 9-12. For further sources see E.T. Dewald, *The Iconography of the Ascension, The Journal of the Archaeological Institute of America*, Series 2, XIX, 1915, pp. 277, 278 and *passim*.

<sup>2</sup> Illustrated in [*Cat. Exh.*] *Mostra dei Carracci*, Bologna, 1956, pp. 236-238, No. 106, fig. 106.

<sup>3</sup> Metropolitan Museum; see *Goris-Held*, p. 31, No. 33, pl. 29.

<sup>4</sup> *Vlieghe, Saints*, I, pp. 39-48, Nos. 7-18, figs. 18, 22, 26, 30, 34, 38, 42, 46, 50, 54, 58, 62.

<sup>5</sup> See below, under No. 9a.

#### 9a. THE ASCENSION OF CHRIST: DRAWING

Pen and brown ink and brown wash, heightened with white; appr. 302 : 197 mm.

*Whereabouts unknown, presumably lost.*

PROVENANCE: H. Tersmitten (Utrecht), sale, Amsterdam (de Bary & Yver), 23 September 1754 *et seqq.*, lot 433; Abraham van Broyel, sale, Amsterdam, (A. Dankmeyer & H. de Leth), 30-31 October 1759, lot 27 ("Een Hemelvaart van Christus, geteekend met Oost-Indische Inkt en Roet, en met wit gehoogt. hoog 11  $\frac{3}{4}$ , breed 7  $\frac{1}{4}$  duim").

COPY: Drawing by T. Galle (?) (Fig. 54), Braunschweig, Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum; pen and brown ink and brown wash, 288 : 199 mm.

#### 10-16. TITLE-PAGE AND VIGNETTES FOR F. AGUILON, OPTICORUM LIBRI SEX. Antwerp, 1613

COPY EXAMINED: Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum, No. A 946.

The title reads as follows: FRANCISCI AGVILONII E SOCIETATE IESV OPTICORVM LIBRI SEX *Philosophis iuxta ac Mathematicis utiles*. The author, Father Franciscus Aguilon or Aguilonius (Brussels, 1566–Antwerp, 1617) was the Rector of the Jesuit College in Antwerp. His learned publication in-folio is concerned with optics, light and laws of sight. It contains 684 pages of text divided into six Books and an Index of 21 pages. Aguilon has written a series of exact descriptions of the laws of optics and their application to technology and art. The book has six vignettes and a title-page, all designed by Rubens.

By June 22, 1613, four plates for Books I, IV, V and VI were cut by Theodore Galle at a cost averaging 18 guilders per plate or 72 guilders in all. On the same day Galle was also paid 72 guilders for the title-page and the expenses incurred while cutting it (Appendix III, p. 454 [13]). On August 9, 1613, Galle received 12 guilders and 12 1/2 stuivers for printing 1,263 sheets of the title-page at a cost of 20 stuivers per hundred; and 66 guilders and 5 1/2 stuivers for printing seven half-page plates, each 1,263 times, totalling 8,841 folios at 15 stuivers per hundred (Appendix III, p. 454 [14]). Rubens's payments for his designs and for retouching the figures came in the form of two credits payable by Moretus (Appendix III, p. 447 [1]). Furthermore, we know that the City of Antwerp thought this publication to be of such importance that the City presented 200 guilders to the Rector of the Jesuits (Appendix IV, p. 495 [1]). The complete set of six Books was offered for sale by Jan Moretus at the price of 6 guilders and 10 stuivers, or 7 guilders and 15 stuivers when printed on white paper (Appendix II, p. 432 [3]).

10. TITLE-PAGE FOR F. AGUILON, OPTICORUM LIBRI SEX. Antwerp, 1613 (Fig. 55)

Engraving; 309 : 194 mm.

LITERATURE: *Hecquet*, p. 98, No. 20; *Basan*, p. 168, No. 1; *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p. 333, No. 1271; *V.S.*, p. 193, No. 1; *Hymans*, pp. 33, 34; *Rooses, Titels*, No. 1; *Rooses*, IV, p. 120; v, pp. 44, 45, No. 1234; *Rosenberg, Rubensfecher*, p. 13; M. Rooses, in *Rubens-Bulletijn*, v, 1910, p. 328, No. 1234; *Elias*, pp. 242, 243; *Van den Wijngaert*, p. 57, No. 293; *Bouchery-Van den Wijngaert*, pp. 59, 60, 119, 122, 123, 125, 131, 132, fig. 27; *Evers*, 1943, pp. 39, 118, 119, 171, 173, fig. 75; *Lisenkov*, pp. 52, 53; *Held*, I, p. 164; *Parkhurst*, pp. 38–40, fig. 3; M. Jaffé, *Rubens and Optics: Some Fresh Evidence, Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, xxxiv, 1971, pp. 362–366; *Renger*, I, p. 128.

The title-page is dominated by a monumental female figure representing Optics. To the right one finds a peacock with Argus's eyes set in its tail <sup>1</sup> which was a long standing symbol of the starry firmament <sup>2</sup> as well as one of Juno's attributes. On the left an eagle, generally associated with Jupiter, rests one talon upon a globe. In this case the eagle must refer to one of the Five Senses, Sight, <sup>3</sup> and the globe to Geometry, the science of measuring the earth. <sup>4</sup> Optica supports in her right hand a scepter containing a radiant eye while on her left leg she balances a pyramid and her finger points upwards. Since ancient Egypt, the scepter with a radiant eye and the pyramid have been symbolic of the Sun and directly associated with Apollo. <sup>5</sup> The eye with the radiating rays and the finger pointing to the apex of the pyramid very likely refer to Euclid's theory of perspective (in Antiquity perspective was called optics). The latter states that objects are perceived by straight visual rays converging in the eye so that the visual system is really a cone or pyramid with the object as its base and the eye as its apex. <sup>6</sup> The burning antique lamps to the right and left of Optica are traditional symbols of man's eternal life in Christ. <sup>7</sup>

The terms further reinforce the stress on optics so evident in the attributes of Optica. To the left, Mercury holds Argus's head containing eyes in the forehead. This refers to Ovid <sup>8</sup> where Mercury lulled Argus's one hundred eyes into a fatal sleep and then slew him. Mercury and Argus are also discussed in the Preface (f<sup>o</sup> 4<sup>v</sup>), where Aguilon writes about the myth of Argus who, following the poets, was covered with eyes. The author then quotes Macrobius's *Saturnalia*, who writes "... but because in this myth Argus is the sky, stippled with shining stars which have the appearance of being, as it were, the eyes of heaven. And indeed men came to call the sky Argus from its brightness and the speed of its movement, and it seems to keep watch from above over the earth, .... The expanse of the sky, therefore, with its ornament of bright stars, is thought to have been killed by Mercury when, with the coming of the day, the sun dims the stars and takes them from the sight of men and thus seems to kill them by the power of its light". <sup>9</sup>

Mercury is appropriate for this title-page image because he is often associated with reason and good sense <sup>10</sup> as is his colleague on the other side, Minerva. The latter carries a spear and a shield containing the head of Medusa which is very similar to a type inscribed PHILOSOFIA found in the famous engraved Italian playing cards (*Tarocchi*) attributed either to Mantegna or to the School of Ferrara. <sup>11</sup> Minerva, here depicted as the Goddess of Philosophy and holding

a shield with the head of Medusa, follows Ripa's *Iconologia*,<sup>12</sup> where Medusa's head symbolizes the victory of reason over the senses. According to Walter Friedlaender this image of *Philosophy* depicts Medusa's head as "a weapon of wisdom intimidating the senses".<sup>13</sup> On the bottom of this Ionic exedra, the right and left socles contain two very interesting images. They are taken, with slight changes, from Valeriano's *Hieroglyphica*,<sup>14</sup> and it is this explanation which is taken over by Aguilon in the Preface. He writes that the dog-headed ape, by a wonderful sympathy, loses its sight at the conjunction of the sun and moon as though it could grieve for the death of the moon in no clearer fashion than it does at being deprived of the sight of it; and this sight returns when the moon becomes visible again; the same animal, body erect, with its paws held up, greets the moon's first rising.<sup>15</sup> On the bottom of the page beneath the cartouche, one finds instruments used for mathematical measurements such as the octant or quadrant, the plumb line, the compass, the straight edge and the square.

Rubens's composition and the vocabulary continue, but no longer in the *maniera* style, a type found in earlier book illustrations like Gillis Sadeler's plate for the 1600 publication of the *Symbola Divina & Humana Pontificum, Imperatorum, Regum* (Fig. 59).<sup>16</sup> Ultimately, this lay-out with a personification seated on a plinth supported on a base with projecting socles appears to be based upon Italian monumental tomb sculpture.<sup>17</sup> Rubens also includes terms which were present in such funerary ensembles although he uses vases filled with fruit which serve as the transition from the heads to the upper part of the structure. He might have taken this idea from the stucco decorations planned by Giulio Romano,<sup>18</sup> and he used this type of term again in his modelli for the *Life of Achilles* tapestries<sup>19</sup> and for the title-page of the *Pompa Introitus Ferdinandi* (No. 81; Fig. 273).

The suggestion by Lisenkov that Rubens's title-page finds its source in Otto van Veen's *Amorum Emblemata...*, Antwerp, 1608,<sup>20</sup> does not seem probable. The two images are conceived very differently. This is especially evident in the main figures. Rubens's *Optica* is enthroned while Van Veen's sits on a chariot with a putto in front. Both figures do hold scepters and rays of light emanate from their heads, but this is all that they have in common. Rubens conceived his page in terms of monumental sculpture quite different from the more decorative and painterly style of the Van Veen.

On June 22, 1613, Theodore Galle received 72 guilders for cutting the plate

(Appendix III, p. 454 [13]). This copper plate is preserved in the Plantin-Moretus Museum, Antwerp.<sup>21</sup>

- 1 Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, I, 720-723.
- 2 E. Panofsky, *The Life and Art of Albrecht Dürer*, Princeton, 1955, p. 161.
- 3 *Hollstein*, I, p. 52; VII, p. 7; VIII, p. 27.
- 4 *de Tervarent*, I, col. 201; *Hollstein*, IV, p. 184.
- 5 For details see e.g. V. Cartari, *Le Imagini de i dei de gli Antichi*, Lyons, 1581, pp. 54, 56.
- 6 E. Panofsky, *op. cit.*, p. 249.
- 7 *Held*, 1960, p. 248.
- 8 Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, I, 625.
- 9 Macrobius, *Saturnalia*, I, 19, 12-13; for the English translation see Macrobius, *The Saturnalia*, translated with an introduction and notes by Percival Vaughan Davies, New York-London, 1969, p. 135.
- 10 *de Tervarent*, II, col. 269.
- 11 R. Van Marle, *Iconographie de l'art profane au Moyen-Age et à la Renaissance*, II, The Hague, 1932, p. 263, fig. 278; for other copies of this famous engraving see E. Panofsky, *op. cit.*, p. 31.
- 12 C. Ripa, *Iconologia*, Rome, 1603, p. 426.
- 13 W. Friedlaender, *Caravaggio Studies*, Princeton, 1955, p. 88.
- 14 P. Valeriano, *Hieroglyphica*, Lyons, 1586, Book VI, p. 53.
- 15 "Et cynocephalus miro quodam consensu ipsa lunae solisque coniunctione visu deficit, quasi nulla manifestiore ratione lunae defectionem dolere possit, quam aspectus orbitate, quo manibusque in altum sublatis primum eius exortum gratulatur" (F. Aguilon, *op. cit.*, f° 6<sup>v</sup>); many thanks to Prof. George Dimock for his kind help with this text.
- 16 For further discussion see text pp. 44, 45.
- 17 Cf. Domenico Fontana, *Tomb of Pope Pius V*, Santa Maria Maggiore, Rome.
- 18 Cf. Giulio Romano's modello in the Louvre, Paris, possibly executed for the fresco and stucco decorations in the Stalle del Te (F. Hartt, *Giulio Romano*, I, New Haven, 1958, pp. 88, 89, 295, No. 139; II, fig. 149).
- 19 See E. Haverkamp Begemann, *The Achilles Series (Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard, X)*, Brussels-London-New York, 1975, pp. 95, 96, 102, 108, 109, 114, 115, 120, 121, 126-128, 132, 133, 139, 140, Nos. 1a, 2a, 3a, 4a, 5a, 6a, 7a, 8a, Figs. 2, 13, 22, 32, 46, 56, 62, 74.
- 20 *Lisenkov*, pp. 52-53, figs. 1, 2.
- 21 Inv. No. KP 81 D; 315 : 199 mm.

10a. TITLE-PAGE FOR F. AGUILON, OPTICORUM LIBRI SEX: DRAWING (Fig. 56)

Pen and brown ink and brown wash, traces of underlying black chalk; 305 : 191 mm.; traced for transfer.

London, Department of Prints and Drawings of the British Museum. Inv. No. R. 1234.



PROVENANCE: J. Goll van Franckenstein (Amsterdam, 1722-1785); Sir Thomas Lawrence (London, 1769-1830); S. Woodburn (London, 1786-1853), sale, London (Christie's), 4-8 June 1860, lot 911, bought by Tiffin for £ 2-5-0; purchased on 8 June 1861.

EXHIBITED: *London*, 1835, No. 65.

LITERATURE: *Rooses, Rubens-Moretus*, 1882-83, I, p. 281; II, pp. 53, 58, 59; *Rooses, Rubens-Moretus*, 1884, pp. 24, 53, 54; *Rooses*, IV, p. 120; V, p. 45, No. 1234; *Hind*, II, pp. 16, 17, No. 34; *Glück-Haberditzl*, p. 37, No. 72, pl. 72; *Van den Wijngaert*, p. 57; *Bouchery-Van den Wijngaert*, pp. 59, 60, 122-125, fig. 28; H. Kauffmann, *Rubens und Mantegna, Köln und der Nordwesten*, Cologne, 1941, p. 100; *Held*, I, p. 164; *Parkhurst*, p. 38, fig. 4; *Held*, 1974, p. 252; *Renger*, I, p. 128, fig. 1.

This drawing is the design, in reverse, for the title-page of Franciscus Aguilon's *Opticorum libri sex* published in 1613 by the Plantin Press, Antwerp. For a discussion of the iconography see above, No. 10. There are very few changes between the drawing and the engraving. In the drawing Rubens has written "basis" on the upper left of the cornice in order to instruct the engraver to place the lamp on a small base. Rubens also left the plinth and socles blank.

The accounts of Jan Moretus II mention a debt to Rubens for making several drawings, among others, for the figures of Aguilon's book (Appendix III, p. 447 [1]). Unfortunately, these accounts do not provide a precise date for these drawings. From the date of the payment to Galle for engraving the title-page, June 22, 1613 (Appendix III, p. 454 [13]), a *terminus ante quem* for Rubens's drawing can be deduced.

## 11. VIGNETTE FOR F. AGUILON, OPTICORUM LIBRI SEX, I. Antwerp, 1613 (Fig. 61)

Engraving; 98 : 143 mm.

LITERATURE: *Hecquet*, p. 124; *Basan*, p. 194, No. 69; *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p. 346, No. 1346 (2); *V.S.*, p. 206, No. 82 (2); *Hymans*, p. 34; *Rooses, Rubens-Moretus*, 1882-83, I, p. 281; II, pp. 53, 58; *Rooses, Rubens-Moretus*, 1884, pp. 24, 48, 53; *Dutuit*, VI, p. 227, No. 69 (2); *Rooses*, IV, p. 120; V, pp. 45, 46, No. 1235; *Rosenberg, Rubensstecher*, p. 13, repr. on p. 12; M. Rooses, in *Rubens-Bulletijn*, V, 1910, p. 328, No. 1234; *Elias*, pp. 243, 244; *Van den Wijngaert*, p. 57, No. 293bis; *Lisenkov*, p. 53, fig. 4; *Parkhurst*, p. 42.

Book I is entitled DE ORGANO, OBIECTO, NATVRAQ. VISVS. (On the organ, object and nature of sight). At the end of the Preface the reader is informed that

Book One discusses the structure of the eye, its parts and all of its properties. This text is based, for the most part, upon the results of Aguilon's research and insight, but also, in a great part, upon the opinions of the leading anatomists. Rubens illustrates this with five putti and an anatomist. The scholar, seated to the left with pen in one hand and chin resting on the back of the other, is in deep thought. A putto talks to the scholar about the dissection of an eyeball which takes place before them on a six-sided cube (the relationship between the scholar and the cupid brings to mind early seventeenth-century representations of *St. Matthew and the Angel*). A putto, surgical knife in hand, performs the dissection while a second looks on. To the right a putto places a stick into a large cavity in the forehead of a colossal head drawn after the antique and representing a Cyclop. This group is connected to the main action by a standing cupid who looks down at the Cyclop while pointing to the figures studying the eyeball. Surgical instruments are placed in the bottom-right foreground.

This, like the other vignettes, serves as an illustration for the text. In the *Argumentum* of Book One the reader is told that the dissection brings to light the inner parts of the eye and, at the same time, the knowledge of its working and its capacities. Rubens is clearly indebted to his teacher Otto van Veen for utilizing putti in his illustrations as the latter had done in his *Amorum Emblemata*, published in Antwerp in 1608. In this book there are two hundred and forty-seven illustrations exclusively using putti in the emblems.<sup>1</sup> However, the compositional borrowings from Van Veen which have been suggested by Lisenkov<sup>2</sup> do not seem very convincing.

On June 22, 1613, Theodore Galle was paid 72 guilders for engraving the vignettes for Books I, IV, V and VI of Aguilon (Appendix III, p. 454 [13]). This document proves that Galle was the engraver, not J.B. Barbé, as stated by several authors.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For a detailed study of the connections between Van Veen and Rubens see *Lisenkov*, pp. 49-60, figs. 1-15.

<sup>2</sup> *Lisenkov* e.g. (p. 53, figs. 4, 5) sees a parallel between Rubens's illustrations for Book I and Van Veen's emblem on p. 45 depicting the idea that love, like gold, is tested in the fire of adversity. Lisenkov also compares the Cyclop's head with the mask containing a black hole in place of an eye in Van Veen's illustration on p. 55, or Rubens's group on the left where a putto speaks to the scholar with Van Veen's putto teaching music to Hercules (p. 83).

<sup>3</sup> *Basan*, p. 194, No. 69; *V.S.*, p. 206, No. 82; *Dutuit*, VI, p. 227, No. 69.

11a. VIGNETTE FOR F. AGUILON, OPTICORUM LIBRI SEX, I: DRAWING (Fig. 62)

Pen and brown ink and brown wash, heightened with white, 101 : 147 mm.; reinforced with a stylus.

London, private collection.

PROVENANCE: R. Cosway (London, 1740-1821); private collection, Paris, from which purchased by the present owner in 1954.

LITERATURE: M. Jaffé, *Rubens and Optics: Some Fresh Evidence, Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, XXXIV, 1971, p. 363, pl. 61c.

This drawing by Rubens, which Burchard did not know, is very close in composition and size to the engraved vignette which is reversed. Because of the above and the fact that the London sheet was reinforced with a stylus, it is clear that the drawing was used by Theodore Galle to trace the design directly onto the plate.

12. VIGNETTE FOR F. AGUILON, OPTICORUM LIBRI SEX, II. Antwerp, 1613 (Fig. 63)

Engraving; 98 : 144 mm.

LITERATURE: *Hecquet*, p. 125; *Basan*, pp. 194, 195, No. 69; *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p. 346, No. 1346 (4); *V.S.*, p. 206, No. 82 (4); *Hymans*, p. 34; *Rooses, Rubens-Moretus*, 1882-83, I, p. 281; II, pp. 53, 58; *Rooses, Rubens-Moretus*, 1884, pp. 24, 48, 53; *Dutuit*, VI, p. 227, No. 69 (4); *Rooses*, IV, p. 120; V, pp. 45, 46, No. 1236; M. Rooses, in *Rubens-Bulletijn*, V, 1910, p. 328, No. 1234; *Elias*, pp. 243, 244; *Van den Wijngaert*, p. 57, No. 293bis; *Lisenkov*, pp. 53, 54, fig. 6; *Parkhurst*, p. 42; M. Jaffé, *Rubens and Optics: Some Fresh Evidence, Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, XXXIV, 1971, pp. 363, 364, pl. 61a.

The title for Book II reads: DE RADIO OPTICO ET HOROPTERE (On the visual ray and the horopter). The horopter is the straight line which, drawn through the point where the visual axes converge, runs parallel with the one that joins the eyes.<sup>1</sup> In the Preface, Father Aguilon states that Book Two explains the different and agreeable qualities of the visual ray and of the horopter.<sup>2</sup> In this illustration a scholar, standing to the left of center, is sighting through a hole and sees the top and bottom of the distant statue, the *Colossus of*

*Rhodes*. The scholar is measuring the angular size of the *Colossus of Rhodes* and in this way he can find the height, provided he knows how far away he is from the statue. Behind the scholar and to the left a putto, using a plane table, looks at the top of an imaginary building<sup>3</sup> in the distance. Just beneath the sighting cupid, a putto holds a quadrant or octant. To the right of the scholar three putti are seated, one supports the sighting instrument, another looks up at the scholar while a third examines the alidade (the sighting part of the plane table). In the foreground a putto carries a pyramidal shape on its back while behind and in the shadows another holds an armillary sphere representing the heavens and used for sighting the positions of the stars. The armillary sphere is a small-scale reproduction of the sphere of the heavens.

Lisenkov<sup>4</sup> writes that the *Colossus of Rhodes* recalls Van Veen's putto symbolizing love until death. The putto carrying a pyramidal shape and those with the heavenly sphere and the quadrant or octant bring to mind similar figures in three other illustrations of Van Veen's book.<sup>5</sup>

Rubens's statue of the *Colossus of Rhodes* is, with slight changes, based upon the great sculpture, also carrying the attributes of Helios, in Marten van Heemskerck's design of this subject engraved by Philip Galle (Fig. 64).<sup>6</sup>

The payment to Theodore Galle, on May 20, 1613, of 18 guilders for cutting the plate of this vignette (Appendix III, p. 453 [12]), proves that it cannot have been made by J.B. Barbé.<sup>7</sup>

A variation on this representation is to be found in an oil sketch in a private collection in Frankfort a.M.<sup>8</sup> Judging from the photograph, it would appear to have been painted by a follower of Rubens. The oil sketch contains most of the measuring instruments found in the book illustration and also adds a man looking up to the sky with a telescope. The artist has also changed the background.

<sup>1</sup> "Horopter recta est linea per axium opticorum congressionem, ei, quae centra visuum connectit, parallelus incedens" (F. Aguilon, *op. cit.*, p. 110).

<sup>2</sup> "Alter [liber] diversas iuxta ac periucundas Optici radii et Horopteris proprietates explanat" (F. Aguilon, *op. cit.*, p. \*\*37).

<sup>3</sup> Called *St. Peter's* by Rooses, v, p. 45, and the *Mausoleum of Halicarnassus* by Lisenkov, p. 54.

<sup>4</sup> Lisenkov, pp. 53, 54, figs. 6, 7.

<sup>5</sup> O. Van Veen, *Amorum Emblemata*, Antwerp, 1608, pp. 233, 101, 37, 77.

<sup>6</sup> Illustrated in E.S. King, *A New Heemskerck, The Journal of the Walters Art Gallery*, VII-VIII, 1944-45, p. 67, fig. 4.

<sup>7</sup> As wrongly stated in *Basan*, pp. 194, 195, No. 69; *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p. 346; *V.S.*, p. 206, No. 82; *Dutuit*, VI, p. 227, No. 69.

<sup>8</sup> Panel, 55 : 61 cm.; prov.: sale, London (Sotheby's), 12 July 1972, lot 94; for more details, see M. Jaffé (*op. cit.*, pp. 362-364, pl. 60b), who attributes the oil sketch to Rubens and dates it around 1625.

12a. VIGNETTE FOR F. AGUILON, OPTICORUM LIBRI SEX, II: DRAWING

Technique unknown; ca. 98 : 144 mm.

Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.

For discussion, see above, Nos. 10a and 11a.

13. VIGNETTE FOR F. AGUILON, OPTICORUM LIBRI SEX, III. Antwerp, 1613 (Fig. 65)

Engraving; 100 : 145 mm.

LITERATURE: *Hecquet*, p. 125; *Basan*, p. 194, No. 69; *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p. 346, No. 1346 (1); *V.S.*, p. 206, No. 82 (1); *Hymans*, p. 34; *Rooses, Rubens-Moretus*, 1882-83, I, p. 281; II, pp. 53, 58; *Rooses, Rubens-Moretus*, 1884, pp. 24, 48, 53; *Dutuit*, VI, p. 227, No. 69 (1); *Rooses*, IV, p. 120; V, pp. 45, 46, No. 1237; *Rosenberg, Rubensstecher*, p. 13, repr.; M. Rooses, in *Rubens-Bulletijn*, V, 1910, p. 328, No. 1234; *Elias*, pp. 243, 244; *Van den Wijngaert*, p. 57, No. 293bis; *Lisenkov*, pp. 54, 55, fig. 8; *Parkhurst*, p. 42.

Book III is entitled: DE COMMVNIVM OBIECTORVM COGNITIONE (On the cognition of common objects). The Preface states that this Book demonstrates how size, distance, form, number, etc., which are also observed by other senses, are recognized by sight. This Book concerns itself with the relationships of objects in visual terms and considers problems of transparency, opacity, shadow, darkness, beauty, deformity, similarity and dissimilarity.<sup>1</sup> Aguilon's text explains that a type of playful experiment learned from children is used by the author to prove that distance cannot be judged with only one eye. The game went as follows: one boy holds a stick upright in his hand, a second tries to touch it with his extended forefinger while he looks only with one eye. This proves to be almost impossible to do.<sup>2</sup> The game is clearly the source for Rubens's illustration, however, now an elderly scholar is included. He is seated in a chair with one eye open, with his right arm outstretched and with his forefinger pointing toward a sighting stick held by a putto, with two others

behind and on either side. Lisenkov sees a connection between this image and Van Veen's emblem where a cupid teaches sunflowers to stretch out towards the sun.<sup>3</sup> The same author also connects the poses of the putti with other illustrations by Van Veen.<sup>4</sup>

The engraving was not executed by J.B. Barbé as once was supposed<sup>5</sup> but by Theodore Galle. On May 20, 1613, he was paid 18 guilders for engraving this vignette (Appendix III, p. 453 [12]).

<sup>1</sup> *Parkhurst*, p. 42.

<sup>2</sup> "Simile & illud est ludicri experimenti genus, quod à pueris olim didicimus, sed philosopho dignum summus arbitrati, vtpote cuius consideratione in eximiae huius proprietatis cognitionem devenimus. Lusus hic erat : puerorum alter bacillum erectum tenebat manu, hunc alter protenso in transuersum indice tangere nitebatur vno tantum cernens oculo, ac quoties id moliebatur, toties paenè à meta aberrabat" (F. Aguilon, *op. cit.*, p. 154).

<sup>3</sup> O. Van Veen, *op. cit.*, p. 75; *Lisenkov*, p. 55.

<sup>4</sup> O. Van Veen, *op. cit.*, pp. 25, 41, and *passim*; *Lisenkov*, p. 55, figs. 8, 9.

<sup>5</sup> *Basan*, p. 194, No. 69; *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p. 346; *V.S.*, p. 206, No. 82; *Dutuit*, VI, p. 227, No. 69.

13a. VIGNETTE FOR F. AGUILON, OPTICORUM LIBRI SEX, III: DRAWING

Technique unknown; ca. 100 : 145 mm.

*Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.*

For discussion, see above, Nos. 10a and 11a.

14. VIGNETTE FOR F. AGUILON, OPTICORUM LIBRI SEX, IV. Antwerp, 1613 (Fig. 66)

Engraving; 99 : 146 mm.

LITERATURE: *Hecquet*, p. 125; *Basan*, p. 195, No. 69; *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p. 346, No. 1346 (3); *V.S.*, p. 206, No. 82 (3); *Hymans*, p. 34; *Rooses, Rubens-Moretus*, 1882-83, I, p. 281; II, pp. 53, 58; *Rooses, Rubens-Moretus*, 1884, pp. 24, 48, 53; *Dutuit*, VI, p. 227, No. 69 (3); *Rooses*, IV, p. 120; V, pp. 45, 46, No. 1238; M. Rooses, in *Rubens-Bulletijn*, V, 1910, p. 328, No. 1234; *Elias*, pp. 243, 244; *Van den Wijngaert*, p. 57, No. 293bis; *Bouchery-Van den Wijngaert*, p. 132, fig. 29; *Lisenkov*, p. 55, fig. 10; *Parkhurst*, p. 42.

Book IV is entitled *DE FALLACIIS ASPECTVS* (On optical illusions). The Preface informs us that this Book treats the delusions which appear mainly in the sight of common objects. Rubens illustrates the problem of fallacies in perception and the idea that the appearance of an object changes if the observer sights it with his left or with his right eye. In the vignette, the scholar is kneeling on his left knee and sights past an experimental object towards a screen, on which the object is projected twice. We are involved with the problem of parallax or binocular vision. Several theorems of Aguilon's book deal with this. Rubens's vignette illustrates the theorem which states that the left eye sees the object projected on the right side, the right eye on the left side.<sup>1</sup> One of the putti holds his hand in front of the right-hand fantasy and makes it possible for the scholar to experience the truth of this proposition by alternating one eye open and one eye closed.

The numerous connections which Lisenkov<sup>2</sup> observes between Rubens's cupids and those in Otto van Veen's *Amorum Emblemata* cannot justify the idea that Rubens borrowed these figures from his former teacher.

The engraver of the vignette was not J.B. Barbé,<sup>3</sup> but Theodore Galle, who was paid 72 guilders on June 22, 1613 for cutting the plates for the vignettes in Books I, IV, V and VI (Appendix III, p. 454 [13]).

<sup>1</sup> PROPOSITIO CXXVIII. THEOREMA. Eorum quae inter horopterem spectantur & oculos, phantasiae situm mutant: nam à dextro conspecta oculo, in partem sinistram; & à sinistro in dextram porriguntur" (F. Aguilon, *op. cit.*, p. 338).

<sup>2</sup> *Lisenkov* (p. 55) sees connections with the many pointing cupids in Van Veen's emblem book, e.g. on pp. 25, 109, 141, 143, 183 and 213, with the cupids directing arrows that are changed into rays of light or vision (e.g. on p. 75), with the screen with two small circles represented by Van Veen on p. 153 (*Lisenkov*, fig. 11) and with Van Veen's image on p. 183.

<sup>3</sup> As wrongly stated in *Basan* (p. 195, No. 69), *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné* (II, p. 346, No. 1346), *V.S.* (p. 206, No. 82) and *Dutuit* (VI, p. 227, No. 69).

#### 14a. VIGNETTE FOR F. AGUILON, OPTICORUM LIBRI SEX, IV; DRAWING

Technique unknown; ca. 100 : 145 mm.

*Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.*

For discussion, see above, Nos. 10a and 11a.

15. VIGNETTE FOR F. AGUILON, OPTICORUM LIBRI SEX, V. Antwerp, 1613 (Fig. 67)

Engraving; 101 : 104 mm.

LITERATURE: *Hecquet*, p. 125; *Basan*, p. 195, No. 69; *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p. 346, No. 1346 (5); *V.S.*, p. 206, No. 82 (5); *Hymans*, p. 34; *Rooses, Rubens-Moretus*, 1882-83, I, p. 281; II, pp. 53, 58; *Rooses, Rubens-Moretus*, 1884, pp. 24, 48, 53; *Dutuit*, VI, p. 227, No. 69 (5); *Rooses*, IV, p. 120; V, pp. 45, 46, No. 1239; *M. Rooses*, in *Rubens-Bulletijn*, V, 1910, p. 328, No. 1234; *Elias*, pp. 243, 244; *Van den Wijngaert*, p. 57, No. 293bis; *Lisenkov*, pp. 55, 56, fig. 12; *Parkhurst*, p. 42.

Book V is entitled DE LUMINOSO ET OPACO (On light and shadow). Aguilon's Preface states that this Book explains the nature and the consequences of the luminous and the dark. There are five parts, dealing respectively with the propagation of the light, the meeting and coming together of lights, the entering of light, shadows and the trajectory of the light. Rubens's vignette illustrates an experiment which is described in detail by Aguilon. The author proves that the strength of the light rays does not diminish uniformly, but that the diminution becomes smaller as the rays are further away from the light source. For this experiment, one needs as long a table as possible and two lamps. One of the lamps has two flames and, consequently, radiates twice as much light as the other. A wooden board with two round holes, at least the size of an egg, is placed at one end of the table. Still another piece of wood has to be set between these holes and at right angles to the first board. This is done so that each of the lamps, when placed before their respective holes, cannot shine through the hole in front of the other lamp. This, states Aguilon, is illustrated in the vignette in front of this Book (V). With this construction, one can conduct the experiment in two different ways. The first method is to set the two lamps at an equal distance from the board with the two holes. With the help of pieces of white paper, the bundle of rays shining through the holes are stopped so that the paper intercepting the light from the double lamp is twice as far away from the light source as that used for the single light. One observes that the two pieces of paper do not show equally lighted spots. The paper illuminated by the double lamp is more strongly lit. Aguilon then describes the second method. It is possible to intercept the light from both lamps on one sheet of paper, but the lamps must not be placed at the same distance from the paper. The double lamp is twice as far from the paper as the single



one. This also shows us that the light striking the paper from the stronger source will be clearer than from the weaker source. In order to make the two spots look alike, it is necessary to move the double lamp further away.<sup>1</sup> Rubens has, evidently, illustrated this experiment in his vignette design. There, one putto holds the sheet or the board on which the light falls while the second putto moves the double-flamed lamp away. The scholar is following the experiment with deep concentration.

Lisenkov compares this image with Van Veen's emblem on p. 145, where one also has two cupids partaking in an experiment where artificial light comes through a narrow hole, APPARET DISSIMVLATVS. The same author also sees affinities in the use of candlelight between the Rubens illustration and Van Veen's on pp. 103, 137.<sup>2</sup>

On June 22, 1613, Theodore Galle was paid 72 guilders for cutting the plates for the vignettes in books I, IV, V and VI of Aguilon's work (Appendix III, p. 454 [13]). This proves that the engraver was not J.B. Barbé, as previously supposed,<sup>3</sup> but Theodore Galle.

<sup>1</sup> Adde, si placet, & aliam experimenti rationem, ad confirmandum propositum accommodatissimam. Exponatur mensa, quoad fieri potest, longissima; nam quò longior erit, eò maiorem concedet experiendi libertatem : huic iuxta alteram extremitatem duae lucernae imponantur, altera simplex vnica lucens flammula; gemina altera, cuius duae flammulae non procul ab inuicem disiunctae sint, sic vt simul ambae vnus corporis luminosi vicem subeant, quod alterius duplum sit & magnitudine & agendi facultate : id verò vt rectius fiat, singularum flammularum lychnos pares crassitie esse oportet, vt accensi pari nitore fulgeant. Tres porrò hae flammulae secundum mensae latitudinem recto ordine disponantur, eisque tabella obijciatur duobus orbicularibus foraminibus pertusa, non profectò minoribus quam vt ouum capere possint. Habeat praeterea tabella haec è loco inter vtrumque foramen medio prominens interstitium, rectis angulis commissum, quod lucernarum radios dirimat, ne promiscuè in quoduis foramen illabantur; sed per vnum quidem foramen simplicis lucernae lumen penetret, per alterum verò geminae, vti in fronte huius quinti libri rem ipsam imagine expressam habes.

His ergo ita comparatis, propositum ostendetur in hunc modum : Simplicis lucernae lumen, quod per alterum tabellae foramen exeritur, candidâ chartâ à tergo oppositâ excipiatur ad interuallum ab ipsis luminaribus quodcumque libuerit : atque eodem modo geminae lucernae lumen per alterum foramen transmissum, obiecta post tabulam charta terminetur interuallo à lucerna prioris duplo. Sanè si lumen aequalibus spatiis paribus momentis deficeret, hae duae chartae aequale lumen exhiberent; quod quemadmodum vnum luminare alterius est duplum, ita & spatia duplam rationem inter se habeant : at non ita res euenit, sed geminae lucernae fulgor clarius in charta enitet quàm simplicis, sic vt duplicato spatio minus quàm duplum factum sit decrementum; igitur charta quae geminae lucernae radios suscipit, longiore quàm dupla intercapedine abduci debet, vt apparens in ea splendor simplicis lucernae lumini exaequetur. Et haec quidem cum non procul à lucernis contingunt, spatiorum differentiae minores deprehenduntur, maximè verò cum longius inde res peraguntur.

Nunc quo pacto conuersa ratione idem eueniat, explicemus. Immotâ iuxta alteram mensae extremitatem tabellâ, post eam charta constituatur quae vtriusque lucernae radios excipiat : tum lucernae ipsae transferantur, dispari tamen à charta interuallo, sic vt geminae lucernae intercapedo sit dupla eius qua simplex distat lucerna : palâm igitur chartam intuenti geminae lucernae lumen clarius apparere quàm simplicis; vtque paria fiant ea quae in charta spectantur lumina, oportere geminam lucernam longiùs abduci, quia per duplex spatium minus quàm duplex factum fuit luminis decrementum. Et haec item quo longiùs à luminaribus contingunt, illustriora certioraque reddentur, propter ingentia interuallorum discrimina, quae in paribus luminum defectionibus obuenerè cernuntur." (F. Aguilon, *op. cit.*, p. 378.)

<sup>2</sup> *Lisenkov*, p. 55, figs. 12, 13.

<sup>3</sup> *Basan*, p. 195, No. 69; *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p. 346, No. 1346; *V.S.*, p. 206, No. 82; *Dutuit*, VI, p. 227, No. 69.

15a. VIGNETTE FOR F. AGUILON, OPTICORUM LIBRI SEX, V: DRAWING

Technique unknown; ca. 101 : 144 mm.

*Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.*

For discussion, see above, Nos. 10a and 11a.

16. VIGNETTE FOR F. AGUILON, OPTICORUM LIBRI SEX, VI. Antwerp, 1613 (Fig. 68)

Engraving; 100 : 146 mm.

LITERATURE: *Hecquet*, pp. 125, 126; *Basan*, p. 159, No. 69; *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p. 346, No. 1346 (6); *V.S.*, p. 206, No. 82 (6); *Hymans*, p. 34; *Rooses, Rubens-Moretus, 1882-83*, I, p. 281; II, pp. 53, 58; *Rooses, Rubens-Moretus, 1884*, pp. 24, 48, 53; *Dutuit*, VI, p. 227, No. 69 (6); *Rooses*, IV, p. 120; V, p. 46, No. 1240; M. Rooses, in *Rubens-Bulletijn*, V, 1910, p. 328, No. 1234; *Elias*, pp. 243, 244; *Van den Wijngaert*, p. 57, No. 293bis; *Bouchery-Van den Wijngaert*, p. 59, pl. 30; *Lisenkov*, p. 56, fig. 14; *Parkhurst*, p. 42; M. Jaffé, *Rubens and Optics: Some Fresh Evidence, Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, XXXIV, 1971, pp. 363, 364, pl. 59b.

Book VI is entitled DE PROIECTIONIBVS (On projections). The Preface states that the sixth Book concerns itself with the three types of Projections: the Orthographic, the Stereographic, the Scenographic. Rubens's design illustrates the Scenographic projections of shadows and is especially related to Proposition CLXX. <sup>1</sup> In Rubens's image a scholar, disguised as Atlas, supports a sphere on

his shoulders. The rings of the sphere are being projected upon a flat surface as they would be upon a map. Two putti stand to the right, and the one in the center uses dividers as if he were measuring distances on a map. The putti are interested in the relationship between a solid object and the shadow it casts upon a flat surface. The shadow is created by a contrast of the flaming torchlight held by the putto in the upper left corner and the dark solid objects. It is a map projection used to demonstrate the concept of projection. The book itself describes the multiple applications of making projections in astronomy, in military science, in navigation, etc., and the important role projections can play in painting. Actually, the latter is nothing more than the projection of solids in space onto a flat surface.

Lisenkov suggests that Rubens's idea for the composition could have come from Van Veen's cupid as Atlas on p. 37. Lisenkov also sees connections in poses and movements with Van Veen's emblems on pp. 35, 43, 105, where there are cupids flying, holding a compass or a torch.<sup>2</sup>

Rubens's Atlas might be based upon a not yet identified antique source or perhaps on a coin like that of Pope Julius III preserved in an engraving.<sup>3</sup>

On June 22, 1613, Theodore Galle was paid 72 guilders for cutting the plates for the vignettes in books I, IV, V and VI (Appendix III, p. 454 [13]). Consequently, he was the engraver and not J.B. Barbé.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> "PROPOSITIO CLXX. PROBLEMA. Sphaerae umbram, dato lumine, in planum consignare" (F. Aguilon, *op. cit.*, p. 679).

<sup>2</sup> Lisenkov, p. 56, figs. 14, 15.

<sup>3</sup> J.J. Luckius, *Sylloge Numismatum Elegantiorum* ..., Strasbourg, 1620, p. 142; for an illustration of this coin, the obverse very likely based on an antique prototype, see D.P. Snoep, *Van Atlas tot Laß. Aspecten van de betekenis van het Atlasmotief, Simiolus*, II, 1967-68, p. 12, fig. 8.

<sup>4</sup> *Basan*, p. 195, No. 69; *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p. 346, No. 1346; *V.S.*, p. 206, No. 82; *Dutuit*, VI, p. 227, No. 69.

16a. VIGNETTE FOR F. AGUILON, OPTICORUM LIBRI SEX, VI: DRAWING

Technique unknown; ca. 100 : 146 mm.

Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.

For discussion, see above, Nos. 10a and 11a.

17. PORTRAIT OF FATHER SIMON OF VALENCIA: ILLUSTRATION FOR J. VAN DE WOUWER, *VITA B. SIMONIS VALENTINI SACERDOTIS*. Antwerp, 1614, p. 19 (Fig. 69)

Engraving; 151 : 82 mm., margin. Below: *VIVA IMAGO B. SIMONIS SACERDOTIS VALENTINI VIXIT SANCTISSIME ANN. XXXIII. ESSE MORTALIS DESIIT VII. KAL. MAIAS M.D.CXII.*

COPY EXAMINED: Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum, No. A 1827.

LITERATURE: *Basan*, p. 79, No. 46; *V.S.*, p. 110, No. 143; *Rooses*, II, pp. 350, 351; *Rooses-Ruelens*, II, pp. 68, 69; M. Rooses, in *Rubens-Bulletijn*, IV, 1896, pp. 272, 273; *Van den Wijngaert*, p. 47, No. 204; *Boubery-Van den Wijngaert*, pp. 24, 96, 146, fig. 92; N. MacLaren, *National Gallery. Catalogues. The Spanish School*, London, 1970, pp. 88, 90.

This portrait of Father Francisco Gerónimo Simó (1578–1612) is found on page 19 of his biography by Jan van de Wouwer entitled *Vita B[eati] Simonis Valentini sacerdotis, à Joanne Woverio Antwerp[iensi] descripta*. Jan van de Wouwer (Woverius) (Antwerp, 1576–1635) was a distinguished citizen of Antwerp who served as an Alderman on three different occasions. He was also a humanist and scholar and studied with Lipsius in Louvain and then travelled to France, Spain and Italy where his close friendship with Rubens really began. He returned to Antwerp in 1602 and lived there for the rest of his life serving his city and scholarship. His biography of Father Simón of Valencia was printed in-8° and contains fifty-nine pages of text; it is dedicated to the Archduke Albert.

This is a memorial portrait of Father Simón, who was famous in Spain for his piety and charity and especially for his often repeated vision of Christ carrying the Cross on the Calle de Caballeros in Valencia. This vision was written about and painted frequently in the early seventeenth century, e.g. in Ribalta's painting in the National Gallery, London (Fig. 70). Rubens presents us with an engaging half-length portrait in an oval frame decorated with the traditional classical egg and dart motif. A cherub looks down at the deceased from the top of the frame and is a type similar to that found on the pedestal in Rubens's memorial portrait of his brother Philip (No. 29; Fig. 100). The inclusion of cherubim and the egg and dart motif on funerary monuments had

been traditional since Greek times. Rubens's predilection for symbols with a long history is also evident in the actual portrait, where Father Simón holds a lily in his left hand. The "breve lilium" was used in Antiquity, where it is mentioned, for example, by Horace<sup>2</sup> and in the late sixteenth century in the 1591 diptych by Joris Hoefnagel entitled the *Allegory of the Brevity of Life*, Musée des Beaux-Arts, Lille<sup>3</sup> and in Hendrik Goltzius's 1594 *Quis evadet*.<sup>4</sup> In his right hand Father Simón holds a crucifix. This might be explained by a passage on page 34 which says that in his heart Father Simón grieves together with the Saviour. He bears this heart scourged with inhuman cruelty, run through with terrible thorns, ferociously wounded and nailed down on the arms of the Cross. The image of the Cross is also suggested on page 50 where it is stated that Father Simón usually slept on the ground without having need for a bed, but that on the ground he placed before himself an image of Christ. One also finds a clear indication of a halo behind Father Simón's head. This detail is of some interest in that applications were made to Rome for his beatification, but it was not approved. In 1614 the church authorities prohibited the representation of Father Simón with a halo.<sup>5</sup>

Permission was granted to print the book on March 17, 1614. On April 12, 1614, Theodore Galle was paid 3 guilders 15 stuivers for printing five hundred copies of this portrait on his press (Appendix III, pp. 455, 457 [18, 23]). The small booklet was put on the market by B. Moretus at the low price of 3 stuivers (Appendix II, p. 433 [6]).

<sup>1</sup> N. MacLaren, *op. cit.*, p. 87, No. 2930.

<sup>2</sup> I. Bergström, in [*Cat. Exb.*] *Ijdelheid der Ijdelheden*, Leiden, 1970, n.p.

<sup>3</sup> T.A.G. Wilberg Vignau-Schuurman, *Die Emblematischen Elemente im Werke Joris Hoefnagels*, Leiden, 1969, I, p. 226, No. 442; II, figs. 75, 76.

<sup>4</sup> Illustrated in E. de Jongh, *Zinne- en minnebeelden in de schilderkunst van de zeventiende eeuw*, s.l., 1967, fig. 69.

<sup>5</sup> For details see N. MacLaren, *op. cit.*, p. 88, and Juan Porcar, *Cosas evengudes en la Civtat y Regne de Valencia: Dietario de Mosén Juan Porcar, 1589-1629*, ed. by V. Castañeda Alcover, I, Madrid, 1934, p. 185.

#### 17a. PORTRAIT OF FATHER SIMON OF VALENCIA: DRAWING OR OIL SKETCH

Technique and measurements unknown.

*Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.*

An undated letter from Jan van de Wouwer to Balthasar Moretus concerning the former's book about Father Simón mentions a portrait of Simón being made by Rubens for an engraving by Cornelis Galle (Appendix I, p. 428 [156]). It is difficult to date Rubens's design with precision. It could have been finished late in 1613 or early in 1614 before the Inquisition prohibited the halo in portraits of Father Simón. In any case the entire design appears to be by Rubens. The direct and engaging quality of the sitter has all of the animation that one associates with the master. The treatment of the hand, which curves up from the wrist and contains long delicate fingers, is typical of Rubens and brings to mind Nicolaas Rockox's right hand in his portrait on the left wing of the *Doubting Thomas*, Royal Museum, Antwerp.<sup>1</sup>

From Van de Wouwer's letter, one may conclude that Rubens made Father Simón's portrait after a prototype, very probably an engraving, provided by the author.

<sup>1</sup> *K.d.K.*, p. 85.

**18-28.** TITLE-PAGE AND ILLUSTRATIONS FOR THE BREVIARIUM ROMANUM. Antwerp, 1614

COPY EXAMINED: New York Public Library, 42nd. Street & Fifth Avenue, Spencer Collection, No. Neth. 1614, Catholic.

Prior to 1614, the last Plantin publication in-folio of the *Breviarium Romanum* had appeared in 1575 and included seven old-fashioned woodcuts designed by P. Van der Borcht and cut by A. Van Leeßt representing *David Poenitens*, *The Nativity*, *The Resurrection of Christ*, *Pentecost*, *The Last Supper*, *The Assumption of the Virgin* and *All Saints*. Moretus commissioned Rubens to design eight new compositions and a title-page. The latter also slightly reworked *The Adoration of the Magi* (No. 8; Fig. 51) and re-used, without change, *The Ascension* (No. 9; Fig. 53), both of which had appeared a year earlier in the *Missale Romanum*.

In the *Accounts of the Plantin Press* from the years 1610-18, there is a payment to Rubens of 132 guilders for having made the drawings for the eight illustrations and frontispiece of the 1614 *Breviarium Romanum*. The 132 guilders also included two drawings of the *Crucifixion* which were not used in the 1614 *Breviarium* (Appendix III, p. 447 [1]). All of the drawings for

the *Breviarium* were designed by Rubens before March 10, 1614, as stated in a letter from Jan Moretus II to Jan Hasrey in Madrid (Appendix I, p. 399 [87]). The documents also inform us that Theodore Galle was paid 75 guilders on February 10, 1614, for cutting the plate representing *David Poenitens* and 65 guilders on April 12, 1614, for each of the following: *The Nativity*, *The Resurrection of Christ*, *Pentecost*, *The Assumption of the Virgin*; further 75 guilders on May 15, 1614, for the title-page and *The Annunciation* and on the same day 65 guilders for *The Last Supper* and *All Saints* (Appendix III, pp. 454-456 [15, 17, 20]). The documents also state that on October 16, 1614, the title-page and the other ten illustrations were printed and that 1,275 sheets were made of each which amounted to a grand total of 14,025 at a cost of 24 stuivers the hundred or 168 guilders and 6 stuivers (Appendix III, p. 458 [25]). A copy of the *Breviarium* containing 303 sheets and with eleven engraved illustrations, printed on "mediaen" paper was sold to the public for 16 guilders and for two more guilders one could have the book printed on stronger ("double mediaen") paper (Appendix II, p. 432 [4]).

18. TITLE-PAGE FOR THE BREVIARIUM ROMANUM. Antwerp, 1614 (Fig. 71)

Engraving; 348 : 225 mm.; below on the left: *Theodorus Galle sculpsit*.

COPY: Engraving by J. Hanzelet, title-page for *Missale Romanum*, Toul, 1621, in-f<sup>o</sup>; lit.: *Basan*, pp. 181, 182, No. 38bis; *V.S.*, p. 200, No. 46; *Rooses*, v, pp. 67, 353; *Bouchery-Van den Wijngaert*, p. 64, note 1.

EXHIBITED: *Paris*, 1954, No. 366.

LITERATURE: *Rooses*, *Rubens-Moretus*, 1882-83, II, pp. 53, 54, 56; *Rooses*, *Rubens-Moretus*, 1884, pp. 48, 49, 51; *Rooses*, v, pp. 58, 59, 64, 65, note 3, No. 1250; M. Rooses, in *Rubens-Bulletijn*, IV, 1896, p. 216; *Van den Wijngaert*, p. 57, No. 294 (1); *Bouchery-Van den Wijngaert*, pp. 62, 109, 122, 132; *Evers*, 1943, pp. 41, 118, 173; *Benesch*, *Book Illustration*, p. 7; *Burchard-d'Hulst*, 1956, p. 56; *Held*, I, p. 148; *Held*, 1960, pp. 262, 263; *Hellinga*, p. 183, No. 70, repr.; *Burchard-d'Hulst*, 1963, I, p. 114; *Renger*, I, pp. 128, 129.

*Ecclesia* is seated on the pedestal and is crowned with the papal tiara. In her left hand she holds the Pope's staff and with her right hand supports an open book on her knee. The book's text is taken from Psalms 149: 1, and reads as follows: CANTATE DOMINO CANTICVM NOVVM: LAVS EIVS IN ECCLESIA SANC-

TORVM (Sing unto the Lord a new song, and his praise in the congregation of saints). A powerful light glows behind Ecclesia's head – perhaps indicating the light of the Holy Ghost. She is flanked by angels who fly out of the clouds swinging censers. The smoke from the censers contains lines from Psalms 140: 2. On the left side one reads *Dirigatur Domine oratio mea* and on the right *sicut incensum in conspectu tuo* (Let my prayer be directed as incense in Thy sight). Below, and to the left of the plinth containing the book title, one finds St. Peter with the following inscription beneath his feet from I Peter 4: 7: ESTOTE PRVDENTES, ET VIGILATE IN ORATIONIBVS (Be ye sober, and watch under prayer). On the opposite side St. Paul stands with his head bent down. Under St. Paul's feet there is a verse from Colossians 4: 2: ORATIONI INSTATE, VIGILANTES IN EA IN GRATIARVM ACTIONE (Continue in prayer, and watch in the same with thanksgiving). The pedestal of the title-page is divided into three sections. Underneath St. Peter there is an opening before a landscape containing musical instruments—organ pipes, a lute and what might be a variety of flutes. The margin contains the following text from Psalms 150: 4: *Laudate Dominum in chordis et organo* (Praise him with stringed instruments and organs). The center section displays a cartouche with the device of Pope Paul V while on the right side there is an opening on to a landscape in front of which one finds a harp and a turban with a crown referring to King David. The harp is inscribed with a text taken from Psalms 150: 3: *Laudate Dominum in psalterio et cithara* (Praise the Lord with the psalter and harp). The Biblical texts have been identified by Held.<sup>1</sup>

The arrangement of this title-page seems to have been inspired by Italian papal tomb sculpture. Although a specific model cannot be identified, this title-page, with *Ecclesia* seated on a plinth and with Saints on either side in a subordinate position, brings to mind sculptures such as Baccio Bandinelli's *Monument of Pope Leo X*, Santa Maria sopra Minerva, Rome, or Domenico Fontana's and Leonardo da Sarzana's *Tomb of Pope Nicholas IV*, Santa Maria Maggiore, Rome.<sup>2</sup> Rubens's *Ecclesia* is a type found all over Italy as a single image seated on a plinth and placed in a Cathedral square.<sup>3</sup> The same type is also part of much grander ensembles such as Domenico Fontana's *Tomb of Pope Pius V* or Flaminio Ponzio's *Tomb of Pope Clement VIII*, both in Santa Maria Maggiore, Rome.<sup>4</sup> Although Rubens's type appears to go back to sixteenth and early seventeenth-century papal commemorative and tomb sculpture, there is a marked difference in the placement of the main figure. Bandi-



nelli, Fontana and Ponzio set their figures either in niches or arches. Rubens, following the single-figured commemorative papal statue type, does not confine his figures within architectural memberings.<sup>5</sup> They stand free in space and the principal allegorical figure is surrounded by holy light and clouds. This arrangement is found in L. Dolce's Italian translation of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, published in Venice in 1553 (Fig. 54).<sup>6</sup> However, the Italian publication is conceived as a *maniera* ensemble which Rubens has translated into an impressive Baroque monumentality. His combination of the painterly and the architectural has something of the spirit of later tomb sculptures by Bernini.<sup>7</sup>

The presence of the angels surrounded by clouds imparts a greater sense of depth to the composition and reflects Rubens's interest in Venetian painting.<sup>8</sup> Venetian illusionism was experiencing a strong revival at the end of the sixteenth century in the works of artists like Lodovico Carracci, whom Rubens studied and admired. Lodovico's 1588 *Madonna dei Bargellini*, Pinacoteca, Bologna,<sup>9</sup> contains angels flying about in clouds, one of which swings a censer. Actually Rubens has used this type of illusionism in a number of his Italian compositions such as the *Holy Trinity*, fragment, Palazzo Ducale, Mantua.

The monumental figures of Saints Peter and Paul, enveloped in heavy draperies, are full-length adaptations of his ca. 1612 half-length Apostles in the Prado, Madrid<sup>10</sup> and his study of fully draped figures painted by Italian artists of the sixteenth century.<sup>11</sup> Saints Peter and Paul will appear again in somewhat altered positions in the ca. 1615 oil sketch of *Saints Peter and Paul*, private collection, Brussels,<sup>12</sup> for a lost altarpiece in the Capuchin Church, Antwerp. St. Paul, in the *Breviarium Romanum*, is also the source for the figure of *St. Simon* in Rubens's drawing in the Print Room, Statens Museum, Copenhagen<sup>13</sup> and the St. Andrew in Rubens's *Two Studies for St. Andrew and an Ancient Priest*, also in Copenhagen.<sup>14</sup> This sheet can also be connected with St. Paul in the 1623 title-page for the *Summa Conciliorum Omnium* (No. 50; Fig. 172).

Theodore Galle was paid 75 guilders on May 15, 1614, for cutting the plate for the title-page (Appendix III, p. 456 [20]).

In 1628 the *Breviarium* was reprinted and the frontispiece was modified.<sup>15</sup> Paul V's device was replaced by Urban VIII's and the date in the cartouche was altered to read M.DC.XXVIII. On August 31, 1628, Theodore Galle was paid three guilders for making the change.<sup>16</sup> The copper plate is preserved in the Plantin-Moretus Museum, Antwerp.<sup>17</sup>

- <sup>1</sup> *Held*, I, p. 148.
- <sup>2</sup> For illustrations see J. Pope-Hennessy, *Italian High Renaissance and Baroque Sculpture*, I, London, 1963, Figs. 65, 148.
- <sup>3</sup> Cf. Vincenzo Danti, *Statue of Julius III*, Perugia or Antonio Calcagni's *Statue of Sixtus V*, Loreto (*Venturi*, x, 2, figs. 415, 615).
- <sup>4</sup> Illustrated in J. Pope-Hennessy, *op. cit.*, II, Figs. 150, 151.
- <sup>5</sup> This is also evident in the 1613 title-page for F. Aguilon, *Opticorum Libri sex* (No. 10; Fig. 55) which is the prototype for the *Breviarum Romanum* (*Bouchery-Van den Wijngaert*, p. 122).
- <sup>6</sup> *Mortimer, Italian*, II, p. 494, No. 342, repr.
- <sup>7</sup> See *Held*, 1960, pp. 261–263, for possible connections between Rubens's title-pages and Bernini's tomb sculpture.
- <sup>8</sup> See Titian's 1516–18 *Assumption of the Virgin*, Santa Maria dei Frari, Venice.
- <sup>9</sup> Illustrated in [*Cat. Exb.*] *Mostra dei Carracci*, Bologna, 1956, No. 8.
- <sup>10</sup> See *Vlieghe, Saints*, I, pp. 63–66, Nos. 49, 50, Figs. 89–91.
- <sup>11</sup> See drawings illustrated in *Burchard-d'Hulst*, 1963, II, pls. 22, 23, 164, and the discussion in *Held*, I, pp. 52, 53.
- <sup>12</sup> *Vlieghe, Saints*, I, pp. 65, 66, No. 49–50a, Fig. 91.
- <sup>13</sup> Inv. No. 13.234; *Burchard-d'Hulst*, 1963, I, p. 160, No. 95; II, pl. 95.
- <sup>14</sup> Inv. No. 13.235; *Held*, I, p. 109; II, pl. 37; *Burchard-d'Hulst*, 1963, I, pp. 160, 161, No. 96; II, pl. 96.
- <sup>15</sup> *Hecquet*, p. 96, No. 6; *Basan*, p. 171, No. 9; *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p. 335, No. 1279; *V.S.*, p. 194, No. 9; *Rooses, Rubens-Moretus*, 1882–83, II, p. 54; *Rooses, Rubens-Moretus*, 1884, p. 49; *Rooses*, v, p. 59; *Bouchery-Van den Wijngaert*, pp. 63, 132, fig. 33; *Evers*, 1943, fig. 76.
- <sup>16</sup> "Den 31 Augusto vuyt gedaen inden tytel vanden brevier in folio het waepen vanden paus, ende hersneden ... 3-." (Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum, Archives, No. 123, f<sup>o</sup> 64<sup>r</sup>).
- <sup>17</sup> Inv. No. KP 167 D; 352 : 227 mm.; *Hellingsa*, p. 183, No. 68, repr. The date has been changed to 1628.

18a. TITLE-PAGE FOR THE BREVIARIUM ROMANUM: DRAWING (Fig. 72)

Pen and brown ink and brown wash, heightened with white, over pencil or black chalk; 340 : 223 mm.; traced for transfer.

London, Department of Prints and Drawings of the British Museum. Inv. No. 1881.6.11.30.

PROVENANCE: ? Sale, Paris (Basan), 13 December 1765 *et seqq.*, lot 133 ("Un titre de livre, composé de 5 figures, où se trouvent Saint Gregoire, Saint Pierre & Saint Paul, par P.P. Rubens; ce Dessin est lavé & touché avec un esprit infini digne du grand artiste qui en est l'Auteur"); A.F.E. Nogaret, sale, Paris (Regnault & Félix), 30 January 1812 *et seqq.*, lot 61 ("Les Apôtres saint Pierre et Saint Paul près d'un piedestal, où

un pape assis est encensé par deux anges. On a placé, sur la face du piedestal, un sujet représentant l'Enfant-Jésus conduit par saint Joseph. Petit dessin de Franc. Albano. Le dessin de Rubens, composé pour servir de titre à un missel, est fait à la plume, lavé au bistre, rehaussé de blanc... H. 12 p. 7 l., Larg. 8 p. 2 l."); purchased in 1881.

LITERATURE: M. Rooses, in *Rubens-Bulletijn*, IV, 1896, pp. 216, 289, No. 1250; *Rooses, Vie*, p. 208; *Hind*, II, p. 17, No. 35; *Glück-Haberditzl*, p. 36, No. 67, pl. 67; *Bouchery-Van den Wijngaert*, pp. 62, 122, 129, 132, 134, fig. 34; *Burchard-d'Hulst*, 1956, p. 56; *Held*, I, pp. 4, 38, 39, 108, 109, 148, 164, No. 140, pl. 155; *Hellinga*, p. 183, No. 67, repr.; *Burchard-d'Hulst*, 1963, I, pp. 114, 160; *Held*, 1974, p. 252; *Renger*, I, pp. 128, 129.

This drawing is the design in reverse for the title-page of the *Breviarium Romanum* (No. 18; Fig. 71) engraved by Theodore Galle. Galle repeated the inscription beneath the Saints and on the musical instruments. He did, however, make one change. In the drawing the book held by *Ecclesia* contains a text on one page while Galle placed the text on both pages.<sup>1</sup>

The original plans for the title-page were designed by Balthasar Moretus and are preserved on three sheets of paper in the Plantin-Moretus Museum, Antwerp (Figs. 75-77).<sup>2</sup> Rubens followed Moretus's third scheme (Fig. 77) very closely, but he did make some changes. Originally Moretus depicted *St. Cecilia Playing the Organ* in the lower-right corner and *David Playing the Harp* in the lower left. Rubens replaced them with musical instruments.

Sometime between March 1613 and July 1616 Rubens was paid 132 guilders by Jan Moretus II for the complete set of drawings for the *Breviarium* and two designs of *Christ on the Cross* for a *Missale*<sup>3</sup> (Appendix III, p. 447 [1]). It is most likely that Rubens executed this title-page design prior to March 10, 1614 (Appendix I, p. 399 [87]).

<sup>1</sup> For the inscriptions see pp. 119, 120, under No. 18.

<sup>2</sup> For the documentation see *Bouchery-Van den Wijngaert*, p. 62, figs. 31, 32; *Hellinga*, pp. 182, 183, Nos. 64-66, repr.

<sup>3</sup> See below, pp. 170-173, Nos. 34, 35.

18b. TITLE-PAGE FOR THE BREVIARIUM ROMANUM: RETOUCHE ENGRAVING (Fig. 73)

Engraving; 341 : 220 mm., margin; pen and brush and dark brown ink, white body colour.

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Estampes. Inv. No. C. 10505-71C.

PROVENANCE: P.-J. Mariette (Paris, 1694-1774); purchased in 1775 from the latter's estate by Hugues-Adrien Joly, Keeper of the Cabinet des Estampes.

LITERATURE: *Rooses*, v, p. 67; *Bouchery-Van den Wijngaert*, p. 63; *Held*, I, p. 148; *Hellinga*, p. 183, No. 69, repr.; *Renger*, I, pp. 129, 130.

Rubens used brush and pen with dark-brown ink in the following places: the arms and face of the angel in the upper left; *Ecclesia's* left shoulder, hand and book held by her; the shoulders and arms of the angel in the upper right; the hair, beard, drapery and foot of St. Peter; the hair, face, foot and drapery of St. Paul. White body colour heightenings were brushed into the drapery hanging over St. Peter's arm and the hair on top of his head. It was also used to highlight the upper part of St. Paul's elbow, the drapery just beneath it and that covering his left leg. White body colour is also used to accentuate the right-arm muscle of the angel on the left.

19. DAVID POENITENS: ILLUSTRATION FOR THE BREVIARIUM ROMANUM. Antwerp, 1614, opposite p. 1 (Fig. 78)

Engraving; 305 : 198 mm.

COPY: Engraving in *Breviarium Romanum*, in-4°, Antwerp, 1636, *Pars Aestiva*, opposite p. 1; 171 : 123 mm.

LITERATURE: *Hecquet*, p. 107, No. 6; *Rooses, Rubens-Moretus*, 1882-83, II, p. 56; *Rooses, Rubens-Moretus*, 1884, p. 51; *Rooses*, v, pp. 59, 64, No. 1251; *Van den Wijngaert*, p. 57, No. 294 (2); *Bouchery-Van den Wijngaert*, pp. 62, 63; *Evers*, 1943, pp. 41, 119, 202-205, fig. 136.

King David is placed opposite page 1 with its text entitled PSALTERIVM DISPOSITVM PER HEBDOMADAM. He kneels in the center foreground and looks up at a flying angel carrying a sword and surrounded by clouds. In the middle distance dead people lie about on the ground while others flee the avenging angel. There is a farm house just below and behind the angel and in the distance a walled city. Rubens has illustrated an episode from the last years of David's life as related in Samuel. <sup>1</sup> After sinning against his people, David is allowed by God to choose between three types of punishment: seven years of famine for his

people, flight from his enemies for three months while they pursue him or three days of pestilence in his land. The Lord sent a pestilence and seventy thousand people died. Rubens alludes to the latter by including the dead and fleeing in the middle distance. When the angel was about to destroy Jerusalem, the Lord said that the punishment was enough and commanded him to stay his hand. The angel appeared over the threshing place of Araunah, the Jebusite, which is represented in the left-middle distance. Jerusalem is also indicated in the background.

Rubens follows pictorial tradition by placing the kneeling David in the foreground, the angel flying above and imaginary architecture in the distance.<sup>2</sup> However, he also changes the composition considerably. He places David in profile but with his back to the spectator and omits the harp. David is dressed in rich flowing drapery and his hands, aided by the use of light and shadow, are extremely expressive of emotion which is also subtly hinted at by the upturned head. The angel does not hover above David as in the Van der Borcht and De Vos versions but rushes down toward the lower zone. This effect is aided by the powerful shaft of descending white light and the bright opening surrounded by dark clouds. The movement is carried on below by the fleeing citizens who rush out of the picture to the right. This sense of action is achieved by the dramatic light and shadow which is new for the North at this time. David's kneeling position, his upturned gaze at an apparition and the dramatic light effects might well reflect Rubens's interest in late sixteenth-century Italian art.<sup>3</sup> The threshing shed had been included earlier but with no reference to the pestilence or Jerusalem.<sup>4</sup>

On February 10, 1614, Theodore Galle was paid 75 guilders for cutting the plate (Appendix III, p. 454 [15]). It was used again in the 1628 edition of the *Breviarium* published by the Plantin Press. The copper plate is preserved in the Plantin-Moretus Museum, Antwerp.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> 2 Samuel 24 : 10-25.

<sup>2</sup> See illustrations by P. Van der Borcht and Marten de Vos for their *Missale Romanum* publications of 1572, 1606, 1610 end 1613 in *Evers*, 1943, figs. 134, 135.

<sup>3</sup> See Federico Barocci's ca. 1589-93 *Madonna del Rosario*, Palazzo Vescovile, Senigallia (H. Olsen, *Federico Barocci*, Copenhagen, 1962, pp. 186-188, No. 44, pl. 79).

<sup>4</sup> See Marten de Vos's drawing in the Plantin-Moretus Museum, Antwerp (*Knipping*, II, pp. 103, 104, fig. 66).

<sup>5</sup> Inv. No. KP 55 D; 306 : 197 mm.

19a. DAVID POENITENS: DRAWING

Technique unknown; approximately 305 : 198 mm.

*Whereabouts unknown, presumably lost.*

This lost work is included in the list of eleven designs for which Rubens received 132 guilders (Appendix III, p. 447 [I]).

20. THE ANNUNCIATION: ILLUSTRATION FOR THE BREVIARIUM ROMANUM. Antwerp, 1614, p. 108 (Fig. 79)

Engraving; 302 : 198 mm.

COPIES: (1) Drawing, in reverse, Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum, inv. No. 343; pen and brown ink, 276 : 168 mm., traced and squared for transfer; lit.: *Bouchery-Van den Wijngaert*, pp. 63, 64; (2) Engraving in *Breviarium Romanum*, Antwerp, 1618, in-4°, *Pars Hiemalis*, p. 134, in reverse; 169 : 117 mm., margin; (3) Engraving in *Missale Ordinis Fratrum B. Mariae Virginis de Monte Carmelo*, Antwerp, 1665, in-f°, opposite p. 1; 301 : 196 mm.; lit.: *Basan*, pp. 199, 200, No. 5 (1) (?).

LITERATURE: *Rooses, Rubens-Moretus*, 1882-83, II, p. 56; *Rooses, Rubens-Moretus*, 1884, p. 51; *Rooses*, V, pp. 59, 60, 64, No. 1252; P. Buschmann, *Rubens en Van Dyck in het Ashmolean Museum te Oxford, Onze Kunst*, XV, 1916, p. 12, repr.; *Van den Wijngaert*, p. 57, No. 294 (3); *Bouchery-Van den Wijngaert*, pp. 62-64; *Evers*, 1943, pp. 41, 206-208, fig. 139.

The Virgin, with a halo, kneels before her prayer stool on which lies an open book. She is seen in profile with her hands raised indicating her surprise at the appearance of the angel. Gabriel, also in profile, has one knee on the ground and gestures in a manner reflecting the drama of the moment. The Holy Spirit descends from above radiating a powerful light and is surrounded by clouds containing flying angels. Three of the angels in the upper right carry flowers. The composition was repeated in reverse, with slight changes in the light effects and the angels, in the painting attributed to Rubens in Dublin, National Gallery of Ireland,<sup>1</sup> and the repetition (Rubens?) in the Church of St. John, Mechlin. In spite of some small changes in details and the posture of the main figures, the *Annunciation* in the *Breviarium* is also similar in composition to the painted *Annunciation* of ca. 1611-12 in the Kunsthisto-

risches Museum, Vienna, and the sketch for it in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, later engraved by S. a Bolswert.<sup>2</sup>

The drawn copy in the Plantin-Moretus Museum, although it is smaller than the engraving, was possibly made for the 1631 Cornelis Galle print.

On May 15, 1614, Theodore Galle was paid 75 guilders for cutting the plate for the engraving (Appendix III, p. 456 [20]). Theodore Galle's plate was used again for the new editions of the *Missale Romanum* printed in 1616, 1618 and 1623. It was also used for the 1628 publication of the *Breviarium Romanum*.

<sup>1</sup> *Roses*, I, No. 144.

<sup>2</sup> *V.S.*, p. 13, No. 1; P. Buschmann, *op. cit.*, pp. 8, 12.

## 20a. THE ANNUNCIATION: DRAWING

Technique unknown; approximately 302 : 198 mm.

*Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.*

PROVENANCE: H. Tersmitten (Utrecht), sale, Amsterdam (de Bary & Yver), 23 September 1754, lot 432; H. van Limborch (The Hague, 1681-1759), sale, The Hague, 17 September 1759, lot 40 ("De Booschap aan Maria, met zwart gewasschen en met wit gehoogt op graauw papier, door Rubens"); Michiel Oudaan, sale, Rotterdam, 3 November 1766, teekeningen, Konstboek 5, lot 116.

Rubens received a credit of 132 guilders for the complete set of drawings for the *Breviarium Romanum*, not including the two sheets borrowed from the *Missale Romanum* (Appendix III, p. 447 [1]), but with the two designs of *The Crucifixion* made for a *Missale Romanum*.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See below, pp. 170-173, Nos. 34, 35.

## 21. THE NATIVITY: ILLUSTRATION FOR THE BREVIARIUM ROMANUM. Antwerp, 1614, p. 146 (Fig. 80)

Engraving; 302 : 198 mm.

COPIES: (1) Engraving in *Breviarium Romanum*, Antwerp, 1618, in-4°, *Pars Hiemalis*, p. 180; 164 : 114 mm., margin; (2) Engraving in *Breviarium Romanum*, Antwerp, 1636, in-4°, *Pars Hiemalis*, p. 188; 164 : 114 mm., margin; (3) Engraving in *Breviarium*

*Romanum*, Antwerp, 1639, in-4°, *Pars Hiemalis*, p. 156; 158 : 103 mm., margin; (4) Engraving by C. Galle; 160 : 103 mm., in reverse, below on the left: *NATIVITAS CHRISTI* and below on the right: C. Galle; (5) Engraving in *Missale Ordinis Fratrum B. Mariae Virginis de Monte Carmelo*, Antwerp, 1665, in-f°, p. 18; 302 : 196 mm., with slight changes in the lighting; (6) Engraving by W. De Haen; in reverse, signed: *W.D. Haen fecit*; lit.: *V.S.*, p. 18, No. 43; (7) Engraving, published by M. Snyders; 288 : 191 mm., margin; in reverse, below on the left: *Pet. Paul. Rubbens invent.*, below on the right: *Michael Snyders excud.*

LITERATURE: *Hecquet*, p. 107; *Basan*, p. 14; *Rooses, Rubens-Moretus*, 1882-83, II, p. 56; *Rooses, Rubens-Moretus*, 1884, p. 51; *Rooses*, v, pp. 60, 64, No. 1253; *Van den Wijngaert*, p. 57, No. 294 (4); *Bouchery-Van den Wijngaert*, pp. 62, 63; *Evers*, 1943, pp. 41, 195, 208, 209, 233, note 28, fig. 147; F. Baudouin, *Nota's bij de Tentoonstelling 'Schetsen en Tekeningen van P.P. Rubens'*, *Bulletin Koninklijke Musea voor Schone Kunsten*, II, 1953, p. 50; *Haverkamp Begemann*, 1953, p. 50; F. Baudouin, *De Aanbidding der Herders, een schets van P.P. Rubens, Antwerpen*, I, 1955, p. 3, fig. 5; *Burchard-d'Hulst*, 1956, p. 56; *Burchard-d'Hulst*, 1963, I, p. 114; F. Baudouin, *Rubens en zijn Eeuw*, Antwerp, 1972, pp. 89-94.

The Christ Child, wrapped in swaddling clothes, lies in a strawfilled manger. Holy Light radiates from His head which rests on a cushion. The Virgin, seated, bends down toward the Child from the left and raises the corners of the swaddling clothes. Joseph stands behind her and rests his left hand on the ox's head. To his right and in the center behind Christ, a young shepherdess wearing a straw hat and carrying a basket looks down at Christ. A bearded shepherd leaning on a staff, wearing a sheep-skin covering over his left shoulder and intensely gazing at Jesus stands to her left. Along the right edge of the scene and slightly cut off by the frame, a second shepherdess balances a milk pitcher on her head. In front of her and in the right foreground, there is a kneeling shepherd and a barking dog. Behind Joseph and the Virgin in the left background, the ox and the ass are busy feeding. The stable opens up just to the right of Joseph and one sees a tree, foliage and a clouded sky.

This type of Adoration using Holy Light as the main source of illumination has a long tradition in the North and South beginning with Geertgen tot Sint Jans's *Nativity*, London, National Gallery. Rubens first used it during his Italian sojourn in *The Adoration of the Shepherds*, Pinacoteca Civica, Fermo, of 1608<sup>1</sup> and repeated it shortly after his return to Antwerp in the *Adoration* for the Church of St. Paul's, Antwerp.<sup>2</sup> A sketch for the latter is in the Hermitage, Leningrad. Rubens includes the same young shepherdess from the



Altar in St. Paul's and the Hermitage sketch,<sup>3</sup> who wears a straw hat, carries a basket and has a low neck-line. He also uses a similar type of lighting and presentation of the Child. However, at this point all similarities end. In the book illustration, he eliminates the flying angels and places the participants in a carefully detailed and realistic architectural setting. The stable with its wooden beams, farm equipment and animals feeding in the background is a type that was used for example in the late sixteenth century by the *maniera* artist Joos van Winghe. In his drawing of *The Nativity*, Dresden, Kupferstichkabinett,<sup>4</sup> Joos van Winghe juxtaposes *maniera* figures with a realistic barn interior.<sup>5</sup> Rubens more fully expanded this architecture in his *Prodigal Son*, Antwerp, Royal Museum, and *Winter*, Windsor Castle.<sup>6</sup>

In this engraving Rubens adds a new figure type to the *Adoration* scene: the woman carrying a large copper milk pitcher. In the *Breviarium Romanum* she balances the pitcher on her head as she will also do later in the paintings in the Alte Pinakothek, Munich and in the Museum in Marseilles.<sup>7</sup> In the latter she raises her right hand to balance it.<sup>8</sup> In two other *Adorations* by Rubens, the drawing in the Fondation Custodia, Institut Néerlandais, Paris<sup>9</sup> and the oil sketch in the Rubenshuis, Antwerp,<sup>10</sup> she supports the pitcher on one knee as she kneels before the manger. This type is included in Michel Lasne's *Adoration* for the 1619 *Missale Romanum*, also published by the Plantin Press.<sup>11</sup> This also helps to secure the date for this Rubens figure type as earlier than 1619.

Rubens's design appears to be the starting point for the evolution of the composition in the ca. 1615–18 oil sketch in the Rubenshuis, Antwerp. Several motifs are strikingly similar, such as the Virgin's posture, the presence of the barking dog, the placement of the Child and to a lesser degree the general compositional arrangement.<sup>12</sup>

On April 12, 1614, Theodore Galle was paid 65 guilders for cutting the plate after Rubens's drawing (Appendix III, p. 455 [17]). The plate was used again for the 1616, 1618 and 1623 Plantin editions of the *Missale Romanum* and the 1628 edition of the *Breviarium Romanum*.

<sup>1</sup> R. Longhi, *La 'Notte' di Rubens a Fermo, Vita Artistica*, II, 1927, pp. 191–197.

<sup>2</sup> F. Baudouin, *De Aanbidding der Herders, een schets van P.P. Rubens, Antwerpen*, I, 1955, p. 145, fig. 3.

<sup>3</sup> For convincing arguments that the Hermitage sketch is the modello for the Antwerp painting and not for the Altar in Fermo see Burchard-d'Hulst, 1963, I, pp. 73, 74.

- 4 Pen and brown ink and brown wash; 254 : 270 mm.
- 5 Raphael Sadeler executed an engraving after the Dresden drawing (Albertina, Vienna, H.B. LXXVIII, 1, p. 105, No. 307), which was copied by an unknown artist late in the sixteenth century (Ecole Nationale des Beaux-Arts, Paris, inv. No. M685).
- 6 *K.d.K.*, pp. 182, 238.
- 7 *K.d.K.*, pp. 198, 166.
- 8 For the drawn study see *Burchard-d'Hulst*, 1963, I, pp. 162, 163, No. 98; II, pl. 98.
- 9 *Held*, I, No. 143, pl. 154.
- 10 *Haverkamp Begemann*, 1953, No. 20, pl. 19; F. Baudouin, *op. cit.*, pp. 1-8, figs. 1, 7, 8.
- 11 Illustrated in *Evers*, 1943, fig. 154.
- 12 *Haverkamp Begeman*, 1953, p. 50, No. 20; F. Baudouin, *Nota's bij de Tentoonstelling 'Schetsen en Tekeningen van P.P. Rubens'*, *Bulletin Koninklijke Musea voor Schone Kunsten*, II, 1953, p. 50.

21a. THE NATIVITY: DRAWING (Fig. 81)

Pen and brown ink and brown wash, heightened with white body colour; 281 : 183 mm.; indented for transfer; below on the left: *P. Rub...*

*Whereabouts unknown.*

PROVENANCE: H. Tersmitten (Utrecht), sale, Amsterdam (de Bary & Yver), 23 September 1754 *et seqq.*, lot 430; Pieter Testas the Younger, sale, Amsterdam (De Leth), 29 March 1757, lot 49 ("De Harders in de stal te Bethlehem met de Pen, gewassen en gehooft, extra fraai door P.P. Rubbens"), sold to Hoet; Gerard Hoet Jr. (The Hague, died 1760), sale, The Hague (Franken and Thol), 25-28 August 1760, lot 243; D. Muilman, sale, Amsterdam (de Bosch, Jr., Ploos van Amstel, de Winter), 29 April 1773, lot 965; Neyman (Amsterdam), sale, Paris (Basan), 8 July 1776, lot 755; A.F.E. Nogaret, sale, Paris (Langlier, Antoine, C.D. Thierry), 6 April 1807, lot 457; sale, London (Christie's) 2 April 1947, lot 47; L. Burchard (Berlin and London, 1886-1960).

EXHIBITED: *Drawings by Old Masters*, Royal Academy of Arts, Diploma Gallery, London, 1953, No. 292; *Flemish Art, 1300-1700*, Royal Academy of Arts, London, 1953-54, No. 501; *De Madonna in de Kunst*, Museum, Antwerp, 1954, No. 335; *Antwerp, 1956*, No. 48 (repr.).

LITERATURE: *Basan*, p. 14, under No. 11 bis; *Rooses*, v, p. 60; *Haverkamp Begemann*, 1953, p. 50; F. Baudouin, *De Aanbidding der Herders, een Schets van P.P. Rubens, Antwerpen*, I, 1955, p. 3, fig. 4; *Burchard-d'Hulst*, 1956, p. 56; *Burchard-d'Hulst*, 1963, I, p. 114.

There are no significant differences between this drawing and the engraving

by Theodore Galle (No. 21; Fig. 80) for which the former is a study. Stylistically the drawing is very similar to the carefully worked out sheet for *The Adoration of the Magi* in the same book (No. 22; Fig. 83). In both works Rubens uses the pen to create cross-hatching for the engraver to follow in establishing the dark areas while thinly drawn lines outline the forms and wash is used to create more subtle nuances of light and shade.

Unfortunately, the document concerning Rubens's compensation for this drawing does not yield a precise date of payment. We do know, on the other hand, that Rubens received 132 guilders sometime between 1610 and 1618 for a number of designs used in the *Breviarium Romanum* (Appendix III, p. 447 [1]). However, several documents help to suggest, with some certainty, that the design for *The Nativity* was executed in the Winter of 1613-14. The first plate cut for the *Breviarium* was completed by February 10, 1614, when Theodore Galle was paid 75 guilders for the job (Appendix III, p. 454 [15]). It was not until April 12, 1614, that Galle received compensation for cutting the next group of plates which included *The Nativity* (Appendix III, p. 455 [17]). We also learn from a letter written by Jan Moretus II to Hasrey on March 10, 1614, that the engravings for the *Breviarium* have been newly designed and drawn by Rubens. One can infer that Rubens's designs were finished by March 10, 1614 (Appendix I, p. 399 [87]). On the other hand, because of the close stylistic affinity with *The Adoration of the Magi* (Fig. 83), one might suggest a date of ca. 1613 for *The Nativity*.

## 21b. THE NATIVITY: RETOUCHE ENGRAVING (Fig. 82)

Brush and brown ink; 298 : 193 mm., margin; below on the left signed in brown ink: *P.P. Rubens*.

*Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Estampes. Inv. No. C. 10486.*

PROVENANCE: P.J. Mariette (Paris, 1694-1774); purchased in 1775 from the latter's estate by Hugues-Adrien Joly, Keeper of the Cabinet des Estampes.

LITERATURE: *Rooses*, v, p. 67; *Bouchery-Van den Wijngaert*, p. 63.

Rubens has brushed in brown ink throughout the composition. This is most evident in the shadow area of the swaddling clothes, the hair of the two shepherds, the sheep-skin over the left shoulder of the shepherd holding a

staff, the staff itself, the dog, the dress and the copper pitcher balanced on the head of the shepherdess on the right.

22. THE ADORATION OF THE MAGI: ILLUSTRATION FOR THE BREVIARIUM ROMANUM.  
Antwerp, 1614 (Fig. 83)

Engraving; 302 : 198 mm.

COPIES: (1) Engraving in *Breviarium Romanum*, Antwerp, 1636, in-4°, *Pars Hiemalis*, p. 266; 171 : 120 mm.; (2) Engraving in *Breviarium Romanum*, Antwerp, 1639, in-4°, *Pars Hiemalis*, p. 212; 156 : 103 mm.; (3) Engraving in *Missale Ordinis Fratrum B. Mariae Virginis de Monte Carmelo*, Antwerp, 1665, in-f°, p. 44; 302 : 196 mm.; lit.: *Basan*, p. 200, No. 5 (?); (4) Woodcut by C. Jegher, 1627, in *Missale S. Monasteriensis Ecclesiae...*, Antwerp, 1632, in-f°, p. 48; 274 : 187 mm., margin, with small changes, a.o. giving a halo to the Virgin; lit.: *Bouchery-Van den Wijngaert*, p. 68.

LITERATURE: *Rooses, Rubens-Moretus*, 1882-83, II, pp. 55, 56; *Rooses, Rubens-Moretus*, 1884, pp. 50, 51; *Dutuit*, VI, p. 231, No. 5 (3); *Rooses*, V, pp. 60, 65, No. 1254; *Bouchery-Van den Wijngaert*, pp. 47, 61, 63, fig. 35; *Evers*, 1943, pp. 209, 210; *Benesch, Book Illustration*, p. 7; J. Held, *A propos de l'Exposition Rubens à Bruxelles, Les Arts Plastiques*, VI, 1953, pp. 112, 113; *Burchard-d'Hulst*, 1956, p. 56; [*Cat. Exb.*] *Drawings and Oil Sketches by P.P. Rubens from American Collections*, Cambridge, Mass., 1956, pp. 17, 18; *Held*, I, p. 147.

This illustration for the *Breviarium Romanum* of 1614 has been taken over from the *Missale Romanum* of the previous year. However, some minor changes in the background have been made by the engraver after the changes indicated by Rubens on the retouched proof preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris (No. 22a; Fig. 84).

22a. THE ADORATION OF THE MAGI: RETOUCHE ENGRAVING (Fig. 84)

Brush and brown ink; 298 : 193 mm., margin; below on the right, signed in brown ink: *P.P. Rubens Pin.*

*Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Estampes*. Inv. No. C. 10487.

PROVENANCE: P.-J. Mariette (Paris, 1694-1774); purchased in 1775 from the latter's estate by Hugues-Adrien Joly, Keeper of the Cabinet des Estampes.

LITERATURE: *Rooses*, V, p. 67; *Bouchery-Van den Wijngaert*, p. 63; *Renger*, I, pp. 130, 131, fig. 3.

The brown ink which Rubens added to this print can be seen most clearly in the Virgin's face and drapery, the robes of the kneeling king, the fur and skirt worn by Melchior and the three heads and faces on the left side. Also the foliage in the valley is indicated in brown ink just to the left behind the column fragment. This is the proof for *The Adoration of the Magi* in the 1614 *Breviarium Romanum*. The 1613 *Missale Romanum* plate was used for the 1614 publication but with the changes by Rubens cited below and added by Theodore Galle to his original plate for the *Missale*. The Paris proof contains the first indications of the background alterations that occurred between the 1613 and 1614 engravings. In the proof Rubens has inked out the camel just above the feathered hat along the left margin and has replaced it with a tree trunk. He also added a tree trunk just to the left and behind the remaining camel and inked in indications of foliage along the slope of the hill in the center background. Rubens's brush creates a change in light and shadow patterns, for example, the chiaroscuro effects on the drapery of the kneeling king or the variety in shadow intensity on the face of Balthasar. This and the other Paris proofs make it clear that Rubens retouched the engravings but not the plates as proposed by Hymans.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Hymans*, pp. 49, 50.

23. THE RESURRECTION OF CHRIST: ILLUSTRATION FOR THE BREVIARIUM ROMANUM. Antwerp, 1614, p. 376 (Fig. 85)

Engraving; 301 : 200 mm.

COPIES: (1) Engraving in *Breviarium Romanum*, Antwerp, 1618, in-4°, *Pars Hiemalis*, p. 464; 171 : 121 mm.; (2) Engraving by M. Lasne, in reverse, in *Missale Romanum*, Antwerp, 1619, in-f°; measurements unknown; lit.: *Evers*, 1943, p. 197, fig. 172; (3) Engraving in *Breviarium Romanum*, Antwerp, 1636, in-4°, *Pars Hiemalis*, p. 504; 170 : 121 mm.; (4) Engraving in *Breviarium Romanum*, Antwerp, 1639, in-4°, *Pars Hiemalis*, p. 398; 157 : 103 mm.; in reverse and slightly changed; (5) Engraving in *Missale Ordinis Fratrum B. Mariae Virginis de Monte Carmelo*, Antwerp, 1665, in-f°, p. 274; 302 : 196 mm.

LITERATURE: *Hecquet*, p. 107; *Rooses*, *Rubens-Moretus*, 1882-83, II, p. 56; *Rooses*, *Rubens-Moretus*, 1884, p. 51; *Rooses*, v, pp. 60, 64, No. 1255; M. Rooses, in *Rubens-Bulletijn*, IV, 1896, p. 289, No. 1255; *Rooses*, *Vie*, p. 193; *Van den Wijngaert*, p. 57, No. 294 (6); *Bouchery-Van den Wijngaert*, pp. 37, 38, 62, fig. 37; *Evers*, 1943, pp. 41, 212, 213, fig. 165.

To the left of centre, Christ rises out of the sepulchre, carrying a palm in His left hand while drapery covers His entire right arm. Holy Light radiates from His body and just to His left the light illuminates the heads of seven angels in a cloud bank. In the foreground and off to the right background there are six Roman soldiers, two still asleep and four in a variety of poses emphasizing their surprise. A barking dog is placed in the right foreground.

On April 12, 1614, Theodore Galle was paid 65 guilders for cutting the plate after Rubens's drawing (Appendix III, p. 453 [17]). This plate was used again for the 1616, 1618 and 1623 *Missale Romanum* and the 1628 edition of the *Breviarium Romanum*.

23a. THE RESURRECTION OF CHRIST: DRAWING (Fig. 86)

Pen and brown ink and grey, white and brown washes; 298 : 190 mm.; indented for transfer.

London, Department of Prints and Drawings of the British Museum. Inv. No. 1895.9.15.1049.

PROVENANCE: J. Tonneman (Amsterdam), sale, Amsterdam (de Leth), 21 October 1754 *et seqq.*, Portefeuille N, lot 3; G. Hoet, Jr. (The Hague, died 1760), sale, The Hague (Franken and Thol), 25-28 August 1760, lot 244, bought by Foquet; P. Yver (Amsterdam); ? J. Goll van Franckenstein (Amsterdam, 1722-1785); J. Goll van Franckenstein, Jr. (Amsterdam, 1756-1821); Sir Thomas Lawrence (London, 1769-1830); S. Woodburn (London, 1786-1853), sale, London (Christie's), 4 June 1860 *et seqq.*, lot 926; J. Malcolm (Poltalloch, 1805-1893; Cat. 1869, No. 590); acquired by the British Museum in September 1895 from John Wingfield Malcolm.

LITERATURE: M. Rooses, in *Rubens-Bulletijn*, IV, 1896, pp. 289, 290; *Rooses, Vie*, p. 93, repr.; *Hind*, II, p. 17, No. 36; *Glück-Haberditzl*, p. 37, No. 69, pl. 69; *Van den Wijngaert*, p. 57; *Bouchery-Van den Wijngaert*, pp. 62, 122, fig. 38; *Burchard-d'Hulst*, 1963, I, p. 114; O. von Simson, *Rubens und der "Merkur" des Giambologna*, *Festschrift Ulrich Middeldorf*, Berlin, 1968, p. 436, fig. 4; K. Oberhuber, *Ein Holzschnitt Jörg Breus des Jüngeren und ein Entwurf Raffaels*, *Wiener Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte*, XXV, 1972, p. 197, fig. 120.

As suggested by Konrad Oberhuber, the starting point for Rubens's composition was very likely Jörg Breu the Younger's woodcut of the *Resurrection of Christ*. However, the German's Gothic style was obviously changed by

Rubens. The latter's Christ rises out of the tomb pure and clean. His posture and soaring movement have been recently connected with Giovanni da Bologna's *Mercury*<sup>1</sup> while Christ's torso brings to mind antique sculpture in the modelling of the musculature.<sup>2</sup> This type is also found in Rubens's paintings from this time such as Christ in the *Doubting Thomas*, Royal Museum, Antwerp,<sup>3</sup> *The Lamentation*, Royal Museum, Antwerp,<sup>4</sup> *The Raising of the Cross*, Antwerp Cathedral<sup>5</sup> and *The Resurrection of Christ*, Antwerp Cathedral.<sup>6</sup> The positions and costumes of the foreground soldiers in Rubens's *Resurrection* recall those on antique sarcophagi of the Antonine period. These second-century A.D. sarcophagi had already experienced a strong revival in the sixteenth century,<sup>7</sup> and Rubens made drawings after them as well as after sixteenth-century Italian battle scenes.<sup>8</sup> Although he does not quote any of these studies in his *Resurrection*, the torsion, postures, costumes and spirit of the antique are present. The soldier sleeping on his shield in the lower-right foreground is a type found continuously in battle scenes beginning with Roman sarcophagi. However, in this case, Rubens appears to see this antique motif through the eyes of Titian and his 1542-44 *Resurrection of Christ*, Palazzo Ducale, Urbino.<sup>9</sup> Rubens also repeats several details from his earlier works. The barking dog is present in *The Raising of the Cross*, Antwerp Cathedral, and the Roman soldier rushing into the scene from the left wearing a plumed helmet is found in the 1610-12 *Resurrection*, Antwerp Cathedral.

This drawing was taken over in its entirety for the *Breviarium Romanum* engraved by Theodore Galle. Stylistically the sheet is very similar to Rubens's other preserved studies for the *Breviarium Romanum*.<sup>10</sup> Sometime between March 1613 and July 1616 Jan Moretus II credited Rubens 132 guilders for the complete set of drawings for the *Breviarium Romanum* (not including the two sheets used in the 1613 *Missale Romanum* (Appendix III, p. 447 [I])). Rubens finished the drawing sometime prior to March 10, 1614 (Appendix I, p. 399 [87]).

<sup>1</sup> O. von Simson, *op. cit.*, p. 436, fig. 1.

<sup>2</sup> See Rubens's drawings of the *Laocoön*, Kupferstichkabinett, Dresden (*Burchard-d'Hulst*, 1963, I, pp. 31-33, No. 15; II, pl. 15), or the *Belvedere Torso*, Rubenshuis, Antwerp (*Burchard-d'Hulst*, 1956, No. 11).

<sup>3</sup> *K.d.K.*, p. 84.

<sup>4</sup> *K.d.K.*, p. 77.

<sup>5</sup> *K.d.K.*, p. 36.

- <sup>6</sup> *Bouchery-Van den Wijngaert*, pp. 34, 35, fig. 18.  
<sup>7</sup> See Giulio Romano's *Battle of Constantine*, Sala di Constantino, Vatican, illustrated in F. Hartt, *Giulio Romano*, II, New Haven, 1958, fig. 58.  
<sup>8</sup> See Rubens's drawing after Giulio Romano's *Battle of Constantine*, illustrated in *Lugt, Louvre, Ecole flamande, II*, 1949, No. 1083, pl. XLIX.  
<sup>9</sup> *Tietze, Titian*, fig. 156.  
<sup>10</sup> See Nos. 18a, 21a, 26a, 28a; Figs. 72, 81, 90, 95.

24. THE ASCENSION OF CHRIST: ILLUSTRATION FOR THE BREVIARIUM ROMANUM.  
 Antwerp, 1614, p. 436 (Fig. 87)

Engraving; 301 : 196 mm.

COPIES: (1) Engraving in *Breviarium Romanum*, Antwerp, 1618, in-4°, *Pars Hiemalis*, p. 536; 170 : 118 mm., margin; (2) Engraving in *Breviarium Romanum*, Antwerp, 1636, in-4°, *Pars Hiemalis*, p. 578; 167 : 117 mm., margin; (3) Engraving in *Breviarium Romanum*, Antwerp, 1639, in-4°, *Pars Hiemalis*, p. 460; 156 : 103 mm., margin; (4) Engraving in *Missale Ordinis Fratrum B. Mariae Virginis de Monte Carmelo*, Antwerp, 1665, in-f°, p. 298; 301 : 195 mm.; (5) Woodcut by C. Jegher, 1627, in *Missale S. Monasteriensis Ecclesiae...*, Antwerp, 1632, in-f°, p. 312; 275 : 196 mm.; lit.: *Bouchery-Van den Wijngaert*, pp. 68, 69.

LITERATURE: *Rooses, Rubens-Moretus*, 1882-83, II, pp. 55, 56; *Rooses, Rubens-Moretus*, 1884, pp. 50, 51; *Dutuit*, VI, p. 231, No. 7; *Rooses*, V, pp. 60, 65, No. 1255; *Van den Wijngaert*, p. 57, No. 7; *Bouchery-Van den Wijngaert*, pp. 61, 63, 64; *Evers*, 1943, p. 214.

This illustration for the *Breviarium Romanum* of 1614 has been taken over from the *Missale* of 1613. However, there are several changes in the plate, which suggest that, as in the case of *The Adoration of the Magi* (Nos. 8, 22; Figs. 51, 83) Rubens has slightly adapted his former composition, possibly also by means of a retouched engraving. The Apostle in the right background no longer has his arm raised and partly covered, as in the 1613 *Missale* illustration. In the 1614 plate the nail wounds are added to Christ's hands and feet.

Galle's plate with these corrections was re-used in the 1616, 1618 and 1623 editions of the *Missale* and in the 1628 edition of the *Breviarium Romanum* of the Plantin Press.



25. PENTECOST: ILLUSTRATION FOR THE BREVIARIUM ROMANUM. Antwerp, 1614, p. 466 (Fig. 88)

Engraving; 303 : 203 mm.

COPIES: (1) Engraving in *Breviarium Romanum*, Antwerp, 1618, in-4°, *Pars Hiemalis*, p. 242; 170 : 118 mm., margin, with slight changes; lit.: *Bouchery-Van den Wijngaert*, p. 63; (2) Engraving in *Breviarium Romanum*, Antwerp, 1636, in-4°, *Pars Hiemalis*, p. 620; 168 : 117 mm., margin; (3) Engraving in *Breviarium Romanum*, Antwerp, 1639, in-4°, *Pars Hiemalis*, p. 490; 156 : 104 mm., margin; (4) Engraving in *Missale Ordinis Fratrum B. Mariae Virginis de Monte Carmelo*, Antwerp, 1665, in-f°, p. 308; 303 : 196 mm.; (5) Engraving, published by F. Huberti; lit.: *V.S.*, p. 60, No. 441; *Rooses*, v, pp. 329, 353; (6) Woodcut by C. Jegher, ca. 1627, in *Missale S. Monasteriensis Ecclesiae...*, Antwerp, 1632, in-f°, p. 322; lit.: *Rooses*, v, p. 66; *Bouchery-Van den Wijngaert*, p. 68, fig. 42.

LITERATURE: *Hecquet*, p. 108; *Rooses*, v, pp. 60, 61, 64, 68, 353, No. 1256; *Van den Wijngaert*, p. 57, No. 294 (8); *Bouchery-Van den Wijngaert*, p. 62; *Evers*, 1943, pp. 41, 215, 216, fig. 171; *Burchard-d'Hulff*, 1963, I, p. 217.

The Virgin, with a halo, is seated in the center of the scene at the top of a step and is surrounded by the Apostles. She looks up to the right at the Holy Spirit while her hands hover above her lap and her fingers appear to be enumerating a point of discussion. In the right foreground an Apostle raises his hand above his head to shade his eyes from the powerful descending light and the glow around the dove. Another Apostle kneels in the left foreground with arms outstretched. The remaining figures are grouped around and behind the Virgin. Flames as well as light rays descend upon the figures while dark clouds highlighted by the Holy Light float above the group. A door pierces the wall on the left side, and is crowned, as is the right wall, by a heavy cornice. The back wall is opened by two-arched windows flanking a niche with a conch shell and a garland.

As Evers points out,<sup>1</sup> this compares most favourably with Rubens's ca. 1605 *Circumcision*, Sant' Ambrogio, Genoa.<sup>2</sup> The walls are similar in the way in which they recede into depth on either side and are capped by large cornices. However, in the painting the back wall is opened and the vault concealed. Actually, Rubens's attitude toward space has changed. In the later work he produces a clearly defined space and not the overcrowded unmarked space of

the 1606 scene. His image is also very different from P. Van der Borcht's design for the ca. 1572 *Missale Romanum*, Marten de Vos's of 1606, 1610 and 1613 or the later works of 1619 by Michel Lasne and the one of 1629 for the Cologne *Missale*.<sup>3</sup> Rubens's architectural setting, which clearly defines the area in which the event takes place, is similar to that in Titian's ca. 1560 *Descent of the Holy Spirit*, Santa Maria della Salute, Venice.<sup>4</sup> As in the Titian, the spectator concentrates on the reactions of the figures to the miracle. Gestures and accessories are kept to a minimum. This is a decided change from Rubens's forerunners P. Van der Borcht and Marten de Vos, where the gesticulating and book-carrying Apostles distract our attention from the story.<sup>5</sup>

Rubens used the same Apostle types as in *The Last Supper* (No. 26; Fig. 89) but changed their positions and gestures to fit the subject depicted. He repeated this theme from Acts 2: 1-4, in a drawing of ca. 1626, British Museum, London<sup>6</sup> which was engraved in 1627 by Paulus Pontius.<sup>7</sup> This drawing, however, was based upon Rubens's painting of this subject now in the Alte Pinakothek, Munich,<sup>8</sup> but commissioned in 1619 by the Count Palatine Wolfgang-Wilhelm von Neuburg for the Jesuit Church at Neuburg.<sup>9</sup> The Munich painting and the London drawing, although using Apostles similar to the ones in the book illustration, are completely different in composition from the *Breviarium Romanum*.

On April 12, 1614, Theodore Galle was paid 65 guilders for cutting the plate for the *Breviarium Romanum* (Appendix III, p. 455 [17]).

Theodore Galle's engraving was used again in the 1616, 1618 and 1623 Plantin Press publications of the *Missale Romanum*. It was also included in the 1628 *Breviarium Romanum*.

The gestures and facial expressions of several of the figures in Galle's print might be compared with those in a painting of the same subject attributed to Johann Rottenhammer in the Staatliche Gemäldegalerie at Kassel.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Evers, 1943, p. 215.

<sup>2</sup> K.d.K., p. 21.

<sup>3</sup> Evers, 1943, figs. 169, 170, 178, 179.

<sup>4</sup> Tietze, Titian, fig. 237.

<sup>5</sup> Evers, 1943, p. 215.

<sup>6</sup> Burchard-d'Hulst, 1963, I, pp. 216, 217, No. 139; II, pl. 139.

<sup>7</sup> V.S., p. 60, No. 438.

<sup>8</sup> K.d.K., p. 199.

<sup>9</sup> Burchard-d'Hulst, 1963, I, p. 216.

<sup>10</sup> Cat. 1958, No. 608, repr.

25a. PENTECOST: DRAWING

Technique unknown; approximately 303 : 203 mm.

*Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.*

PROVENANCE: Blackwood, sale, London (?), 1748-49, lot 61, sold to Gordon; H. Tersmitten (Utrecht), sale, Amsterdam (de Bary & Yver), 23 September 1754, lot 431; Sir Thomas Lawrence (London, 1769-1830).

LITERATURE: *Rooses*, v, p. 61.

For the credit received by Rubens see Appendix III, p. 447 [1].

26. THE LAST SUPPER: ILLUSTRATION FOR THE BREVIARIUM ROMANUM. Antwerp, 1614, p. 492 (Fig. 89).

Engraving; 303 : 210 mm.

COPIES: (1) Engraving in *Breviarium Romanum*, Antwerp, 1618, in-4°, *Pars Aestiva*, p. 148; 167 : 117 mm., margin; (2) Engraving by M. Lasne, in reverse, in *Missale Romanum*, Antwerp, 1619, in-f°, p. 274; 254 : 164 mm.; lit.: *Evers*, 1943, p. 197, fig. 190; (3) Engraving in *Breviarium Romanum*, Antwerp, 1636, in-4°, *Pars Aestiva*, p. 148; 171 : 123 mm.; (4) Engraving in *Breviarium Romanum*, Antwerp, 1639, in-4°, *Pars Aestiva*, p. 516; 156 : 105 mm.; (5) Engraving in *Missale Ordinis Fratrum B. Mariae Virginis de Monte Carmelo*, Antwerp, 1665, in-f°, p. 324; 302 : 196 mm.

LITERATURE: *Hecquet*, p. 106, No. 2; *Rooses, Rubens-Moretus*, 1882-83, II, p. 56; *Rooses, Rubens-Moretus*, 1884, p. 51; *Rooses*, v, pp. 61, 64, No. 1257; *Van den Wijngaert*, p. 57, No. 294 (9); *Boubery-Van den Wijngaert*, pp. 62, 63; *Evers*, 1943, pp. 41, 216, 217, fig. 183; *Martin, Ceiling Paintings*, p. 81; J. Müller Hofstede, *Two unpublished Drawings by Rubens, Master Drawings*, XII, 1974, pp. 133-135, fig. 1.

In this *Last Supper* or *The Institution of the Eucharist*,<sup>1</sup> Christ is seated on the right side of the table and is blessing the bread. Judas is placed in the center foreground on a separate chair with his back to the spectator. His head is in profile, and he stares intently at the Saviour. This, as Müller Hofstede has pointed out, was found often in earlier Netherlandish art, but never, until the Rubens composition, had Judas been given such a dominating central position.<sup>2</sup> His isolation and the importance of the moment are stressed by the two Apostles seated on Judas's left who point at him and appear to speak about his behaviour.

The other Apostles are grouped around the rectangular table which is raised up on a platform. In the lower-right foreground a dog eats a bone. The building is decorated with classical motifs and the window, with two arches, opens up onto a moonlit sky. Two sets of oil lamps hang from the ceiling as does a decorative curtain.

Rubens departs from the traditional way of presenting this scene with Christ seated at the center of the table<sup>3</sup> as, for example, with Leonardo da Vinci and Raphael. He seats Christ at one end of the table as in Tintoretto's *Last Supper*, Scuola di San Rocco, Venice, of 1576-81<sup>4</sup> and his ca. 1580 painting in Santo Stefano, Venice.<sup>5</sup> Although Rubens uses the Tintoretto idea of placing Christ at one end of the table, there is no other connection between the two artists. Still another remembrance of Venice might very well be the architectural setting with its double-arched opening. Titian, in his *Last Supper*, Palazzo Ducale, Urbino,<sup>6</sup> uses such a combination along with a large single arch. Titian also includes a dog in the foreground. Along with these North-Italian compositional similarities, one also finds, as recently pointed out by Müller Hofstede,<sup>7</sup> close connections with Rubens's teacher, Otto van Veen. The latter, in his ca. 1594 *Last Supper* made for the Cathedral in Antwerp,<sup>8</sup> presents the theme in a spacious architectural setting as a night scene illuminated by two lamps.

Rubens's figures closely interact with each other and form separate but connected groups as in the compositions by Leonardo and Raphael.<sup>9</sup> However, Rubens does not borrow his figures directly from either of the Italian masters. His Apostles are a continuation of the types painted in the ca. 1612 series of *Apostles*, Prado Museum, Madrid, and also those found in his drawing of the *Studies for a Last Supper*, Devonshire Collection, Chatsworth.<sup>10</sup> Judas has much the same profile and expression as the figure seated on the chair in the right foreground of the Chatsworth drawing. The fourth figure from the left in the engraving, with one hand placed on the other and gazing intently upward, is similar to the third seated figure on the right in the Chatsworth study. St. John in the print is akin to the youthful figure with long flowing hair and hands on his chest in the top and bottom groups just to the right of center in the drawing. These similarities help to date the Chatsworth sheet from about the same time as Rubens's design for *The Last Supper*—that is 1614. A. Monballieu has dated the former in the year 1611 and identified it as a preparatory sketch for a painting commissioned by the city authorities of St. Winoksbergen but never executed.<sup>11</sup>

Rubens's composition is, as pointed out by J.R. Martin,<sup>12</sup> closely related to the *Last Supper* he executed in 1620 for the Church of the Jesuits in Antwerp and preserved in Rubens's modello, Seattle Art Museum, Samuel H. Kress Collection, Seattle, Washington. The oil sketch also contains a large curtain hanging from the ceiling in the upper-right corner. Christ, in profile, is on the right side of the table while Judas, also in profile, sits in front of the table and leans toward the Saviour. Still other heads are grouped in a variety of poses also recalling those in the *Breviarium* design. These aforementioned heads also appear in Rubens's 1630-32 *Institution of the Eucharist*, Brera Museum, Milan,<sup>13</sup> and in the modello in the Hermitage, Leningrad.<sup>14</sup>

On May 15, 1614, Theodore Galle was paid 65 guilders for cutting the plate (Appendix III, p. 456 [20]). The plate was re-used for the 1616, 1618 and 1623 editions of the *Missale Romanum*.

<sup>1</sup> Mark 14 : 22 or Luke 22 : 19.

<sup>2</sup> J. Müller Hofstede, *op. cit.*, p. 134.

<sup>3</sup> Evers, 1943, p. 216.

<sup>4</sup> Tietze, *Tintoretto*, fig. 208.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibidem*, fig. 178.

<sup>6</sup> Tietze, *Titian*, fig. 154.

<sup>7</sup> J. Müller Hofstede, *op. cit.*, pp. 133, 134.

<sup>8</sup> Illustrated in *idem*.

<sup>9</sup> See engraving by Zoan Andrea (?) after Leonardo or Marcantonio Raimondi's after Raphael (for the latter see H. Delaborde, *Marc-Antoine Raimondi*, Paris, n.d., pp. 100, 101, No. 17, repr.).

<sup>10</sup> Burchard-d'Hulst, 1963, I, No. 34; II, fig. 34.

<sup>11</sup> A. Monballieu, *P. P. Rubens en het "Nachtmaal" voor St.-Winoxbergen (1611), een niet uitgevoerd schilderij van de meester*, *Jaarboek, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Antwerpen*, 1965, pp. 183-205.

<sup>12</sup> Martin, *Ceiling Paintings*, p. 81.

<sup>13</sup> *K.d.K.*, p. 203.

<sup>14</sup> Illustrated in L. Van Puyvelde, *The Sketches of Rubens*, London, 1947, No. 78, fig. 78.

## 26a. THE LAST SUPPER: DRAWING (Fig. 90)

Pen and brown ink and brown wash, heightened with white; 303 : 197 mm.; indented for transfer.

*Private collection.*

PROVENANCE: G. Huquier (Orléans-Paris, 1695-1772), sale, Amsterdam (Yver), 14 September 1761 *et seqq.*, lot 554; Gerardus Schroder, sale, Amsterdam, 20 February 1764 *et seqq.*, lot 210, bought by Yver; Prince de Rubempré (Brussels), sale, Paris (Prault), 1-6 July 1765, lot 253, sold to Basan; Tournier, sale, Paris (F.C. Joullain & Sons), 14 April 1773 *et seqq.*, lot 191; J. Goll van Franckenstein, Jr. (Amsterdam, 1756-1821); E.J. Reynolds (St. Petersburg-Switzerland, 1876-ca. 1932); art dealer C.G. Boerner, Düsseldorf, 1970.

EXHIBITED: *Hundert Zeichnungen*, C.G. Boerner, Düsseldorf, 1969, No. 80, repr.

LITERATURE: J. Müller Hofstede, *Two unpublished Drawings by Rubens, Master Drawings*, XII, 1974, pp. 133-135, pl. 5.

The composition is the same as the engraving, in reverse, in the 1614 *Breviarium Romanum* (No. 26; Fig. 89) except that Christ's halo is not indicated in the drawing.

The careful rendering of the forms, especially when working out the areas of shade for the engraver, is similar to the drawings for *The Adoration of the Magi* (No. 8a; Fig. 52) and *The Nativity* (No. 21a; Fig. 81). As in the aforementioned drawings, Rubens, in his *Last Supper*, takes the engraver into consideration by reversing the gestures. What will be right-handed in the engraving is left-handed in the drawing.<sup>1</sup> Because of the stylistic affinities with *The Adoration of the Magi* (Nos. 8, 22; Figs. 51, 83) and *The Nativity* (No. 21; Fig. 80) and the fact that all of the drawings for the *Breviarium* were finished by March 10, 1614 (Appendix I, p. 399 [87]), one can suggest a date late in 1613 for *The Last Supper*. Between March 1613 and July 1616 Rubens received a credit from Jan Moretus II for the complete set of drawings for the *Breviarium Romanum*. This payment does not include the two designs used in the 1613 *Missale Romanum* (Appendix III, p. 447 [1]).

<sup>1</sup> See e.g. the gesture of Christ blessing.

## 26b. THE LAST SUPPER: RETOUCHE ENGRAVING (Fig. 91)

Brush and brown ink; 297 : 196 mm., margin; signed below on the right in brown ink: P.P. Rubens f.

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Estampes. Inv. No. C. 10494.

PROVENANCE: P.-J. Mariette (Paris, 1694-1774); purchased in 1775 from the latter's estate by Hugues-Adrien Joly, Keeper of the Cabinet des Estampes.

LITERATURE: *Rooses*, v, p. 67; *Bouchery-Van den Wijngaert*, p. 63.

The entire engraving is lightly touched up, very likely by Rubens, with brown ink. The brushed-in ink is most evident in the center foreground in front of the stool, the dog, the draperies of the two foreground figures with their backs to the viewer, the curtains hanging from the ceiling and in Christ's hair.

27. THE ASSUMPTION OF THE VIRGIN: ILLUSTRATION FOR THE BREVIARIUM ROMANUM. Antwerp, 1614, p. 882 (Fig. 92)

Engraving; 304 : 203 mm.

COPIES: (1) Engraving in *Breviarium Romanum*, Antwerp, 1618, in-4°, *Pars Aesiva*, p. 512; 166 : 117 mm., slightly changed; (2) Engraving in *Breviarium Romanum*, Antwerp, 1636, in-4°, *Pars Aesiva*, p. 584; 166 : 120 mm.; (3) Engraving in *Breviarium Romanum*, Antwerp, 1639, in-4°, *Pars Aesiva*, p. 944; 155 : 104 mm., margin; (4) Engraving in *Missale Ordinis Fratrum B. Mariae Virginis de Monte Carmelo*, Antwerp, 1665, in-f°, p. 524; 301 : 196 mm.; (5) Woodcut by C. Jegher, 1631; lit.: *Rooses, Rubens-Moretus*, 1882-83, II, p. 57; *Rooses, Rubens-Moretus*, 1884, p. 52; *Rooses*, v, p. 66; *Bouchery-Van den Wijngaert*, p. 69.

LITERATURE: *Rooses, Rubens-Moretus*, 1882-83, II, p. 56; *Rooses, Rubens-Moretus*, 1884, p. 51; *Rooses*, v, pp. 61, 64, No. 1258; *Van den Wijngaert*, p. 57, No. 294 (10); *Bouchery-Van den Wijngaert*, p. 62; *Evers*, 1943, pp. 41, 217, 218, fig. 186; S. Tschudi Madsen, *Some recently-discovered Drawings by Rubens*, *The Burlington Magazine*, xcv, 1953, p. 304; *Burchard-d'Hulst*, 1956, p. 62; *Held*, I, p. 111; J. R. Judson, *Dirck Barentsen "Die ... des grooten Titiaen's Boesem heeft ghenoten"*, *Bulletin Koninklijke Musea voor Schone Kunsten*, XI, 1962, p. 93; *Burchard-d'Hulst*, 1963, I, p. 44.

The Virgin, seated on clouds with her right leg forward and left leg back, is carried to Heaven by flying angels. Her head is surrounded by a brilliant glow and her hands, with palms showing, are raised in front of her body. Below, the twelve Apostles are gathered around the empty tomb and the shroud containing roses and lilies as described in the *Golden Legend*.<sup>1</sup> Rubens also includes the three Maries: one in profile just to the right of the foreground figure on the left with both arms raised, one kneeling at the tomb and touching

the flowers and one just behind and to the right of the latter wearing a piece of drapery over her head.<sup>2</sup>

The angels flying about in the clouds assume positions similar to those first found in Rubens's sketch of *God the Father with Angels*, Collection Count A. Seilern, London, made after Pordenone's 1519–20 fresco in the Malchiostro Chapel, S. Niccolò, Treviso.<sup>3</sup> Actually, Rubens further elaborated upon Pordenone's angels, and the *Breviarium Romanum* illustration marks the beginning of a type of flying angels that will appear again in Rubens's many representations of *The Assumption of the Virgin*.<sup>4</sup> The Apostles in the *Breviarium* are also the starting point for the representation of such figures in the later scenes of this subject cited above. Rubens's first idea for such an expressive grouping of figures around a sepulchre is found on the back of a sheet in the National Museum, Oslo.<sup>5</sup> However, only the man with raised arms on the left of the engraving bears any resemblance to the figures in the Oslo drawing. The impassioned Apostles in the engraving continue the type that we have also found in other illustrations for the *Breviarium Romanum*<sup>6</sup> and ultimately go back to the series of *Apostles* in the Prado Museum, Madrid.<sup>7</sup>

The lower and upper zones of the *Assumption* are still separated in the *Breviarium*, and the parts are connected by the upward glances and gestures of the Apostles as in Titian's *Assumption*, Santa Maria dei Frari, Venice.<sup>8</sup> However, beginning with the Vienna painting and the modello in Buckingham Palace, both zones are merged through the extension of the clouds into the area around the tomb as one also finds earlier in Annibale Carracci's 1592 *Assumption*, Pinacoteca, Bologna.<sup>9</sup> Rubens' *Breviarium* composition is static compared to the dramatic diagonal upward movement of the Virgin in the later sketches and paintings. The book illustration is classically constructed with its clearly defined zones and placement of the Virgin on clouds in a suspended position in the upper foreground plane. In this way it is similar in conception to the 1610–12 *Resurrection of Christ*, Antwerp Cathedral.<sup>10</sup>

Rubens's Titianesque format, except for the omission of God the Father, is a complete departure from the type generally used to illustrate the subject in earlier book illustrations. Pieter van der Borcht's ca. 1572 illustration or those by Marten de Vos of 1606, 1610 and 1613<sup>11</sup> depict *The Coronation of the Virgin* either by angels or by Christ and God the Father. Rubens, on the other hand, turns the *Assumption* into an adoration.<sup>12</sup>



On April 12, 1614, Theodore Galle was paid 65 guilders for cutting the plate after Rubens's design for the *Breviarium* (Appendix III, p. 455 [17]). Theodore Galle's plate was also used for the 1616, 1618 and 1623 *Missale Romanum*, published by the Plantin Press, and the 1628 edition of the *Breviarium Romanum*.

<sup>1</sup> Timmers, p. 448, No. 1017.

<sup>2</sup> For the iconography, see J.R. Judson, *op. cit.*, pp. 92-94.

<sup>3</sup> Burchard-d'Hulst, 1963, I, p. 44.

<sup>4</sup> See paintings in Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, ca. 1611-14; Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts, Brussels, 1615-16; Church of the Holy Cross, Augsburg, 1619-20; Kunstmuseum, Düsseldorf, ca. 1620; Church of Our Lady, Antwerp, 1626-27; Collection Liechtenstein, Vaduz, ca. 1636; and the oil sketches in the Kunsthalle, Hamburg; Collection Count Seilern, London; Collection of Her Majesty the Queen, Buckingham Palace, London; Mauritshuis, The Hague (for details concerning the earlier representation of this theme in Rubens's œuvre see F. Baudouin, *Een jeugdwerk van Rubens, "Adam en Eva", en de relatie Van Veen en Rubens, Antwerpen*, XIV, 1968, pp. 11-13, 19).

<sup>5</sup> Illustrated in *Held*, I, pp. 110, 111, No. 40; II, pl. 44.

<sup>6</sup> See Nos. 24-26, Figs. 87-89.

<sup>7</sup> *Vlieghe, Saints*, I, pp. 39-48, Nos. 7-18, Figs. 18, 22, 26, 30, 34, 38, 42, 46, 50, 54, 58, 62.

<sup>8</sup> Tietze, *Titian*, fig. 35.

<sup>9</sup> D. Posner, *Annibale Carracci*, II, London-New York, 1971, pp. 29, 30, No. 69, pl. 69.

<sup>10</sup> *K.d.K.*, p. 49.

<sup>11</sup> Evers, 1943, figs. 184, 185.

<sup>12</sup> Evers, 1943, p. 217.

## 27a. THE ASSUMPTION OF THE VIRGIN: DRAWING

Technique unknown; appr. 304 : 203 mm.

*Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.*

PROVENANCE: H. Tersmitten (Utrecht), sale, Amsterdam (De Bary & Yver), 23 September 1754 *et seqq.*, lot 434.

Rubens received a credit sometime between 1613 and 1616 for the complete set of drawings for the *Breviarium Romanum* (Appendix III, p. 447 [1]). This payment also included two drawings of *The Crucifixion* which were not included in the 1614 *Breviarium*. One of them, *Christ Dead on the Cross*, was used in the 1616 and 1618 editions of the *Missale Romanum* (No. 34; Fig. 116).

27b. THE ASSUMPTION OF THE VIRGIN: RETOUCHE ENGRAVING (Fig. 93)

Brush and brown ink and body colour, now turned blue; 304 : 197 mm.

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Estampes. Inv. No. C. 10500.

PROVENANCE: P.-J. Mariette (Paris, 1694-1774); purchased in 1775 from the latter's estate by Hugues-Adrien Joly, Keeper of the Cabinet des Estampes.

LITERATURE: *Rooses*, v, p. 67; *Boucbery-Van den Wijngaert*, pp. 63, 114, 115.

The following areas were retouched by Rubens with brown ink: the lower part of the Virgin's costume, the clouds to the right, the dark spots beneath the clouds, the hands, sleeves and drapery of the Apostles in the left foreground with arms raised, the hair and clothes of the Apostle in the middle-left foreground, the figure in shadow with his hand raised in the center behind the kneeling Mary, the latter and the Apostle on the right leaning over the tomb. The following areas were reworked with body colour but are now blue because of oxidation: the clouds and angels in the upper left and below the Virgin, the shoulder area of the Apostle's cloak in the left foreground, the back of the man in the middle foreground left of center, part of the drapery and head of the young Apostle (John?) behind the kneeling Mary whose head is also highlighted with body colour (also heads and faces of several Apostles in the background).

28. ALL SAINTS: ILLUSTRATION FOR THE BREVIARIUM ROMANUM. Antwerp, 1614, p. 958 (Fig. 94)

Engraving; 304 : 204 mm.

COPIES: (1) Engraving in *Breviarium Romanum*, Antwerp, 1618, in-4°, *Pars Aestiva*, p. 604, slightly changed; 170 : 119 mm.; (2) Engraving by M. Lasne, in reverse, in *Missale Romanum*, Antwerp, 1619, in-f°, p. 490; 255 : 168 mm.; (3) Engraving in *Breviarium Romanum*, Antwerp, 1636, in-4°, *Pars Aestivalis*, p. 706; 171 : 120 mm.; (4) Engraving in *Breviarium Romanum*, Antwerp, 1639, in-4°, *Pars Aestivalis*, p. 1029; 157 : 105 mm.; (5) Engraving in *Missale Ordinis Fratrum B. Mariae Virginis de Monte Carmelo*, Antwerp, 1665, in-f°, p. 574; 301 : 195 mm.; (6) Engraving by J. Galle, in reverse; lit.: *V.S.*, p. 68, No. 36; (7) Engraving published by G. Hendrick; lit.: *V.S.*, p. 69, No. 37; *Rooses*, v, p. 353.

LITERATURE: *Hecquet*, p. 108; *Rooses, Rubens-Moretus*, 1882-83, II, p. 56; *Rooses, Rubens-Moretus*, 1884, p. 51; *Rooses*, v, pp. 61, 64, No. 1259; *Glück-Haberditzl*, p. 37; C. Sterling, [Cat. Exb.] *Rubens et son temps*, Paris, 1936, p. 110; G.W. Knuttel, *De Nederlandse Schilderkunst van Van Eyck tot Van Gogh*, 2nd ed., II, Amsterdam, 1950, p. 299, note 2; *Van den Wijngaert*, p. 57, No. 294 (11); J. Held, *Achelous' Banquet*, *The Art Quarterly*, IV, 1941, p. 131; *Bouchery-Van den Wijngaert*, pp. 62, 63, 153, fig. 39; *Evers*, 1943, pp. 41, 218, 219; *Lugt, Louvre, Ecole flamande*, II, 1949, p. 12; *Haverkamp Begemann*, 1953, pp. 43, 44; *Held*, I, pp. 26, 98; *d'Hulst*, 1968, pp. 90, 91; *Vlieghe, Saints*, I, p. 28.

Christ and God the Father are seated above on a cloud bank. The Saviour is to the left and the Father to the right, and each rests one foot on a globe. Between and above them, the Holy Ghost gives off powerful rays of light. The Virgin, beneath and to the left of Christ, stands with hands together in prayer and looks up toward the seated figures. A group of Apostles are seated and standing below and to the left of the Virgin. Peter, Paul and John the Baptist can be identified by their attributes, the keys, the sword and the skins. The Apostles are connected with the right side, containing female saints, by banks of clouds with small babies (symbolic of the Innocents) and farther back indistinct forms. In the lower zone a community of saints and monks worship the Trinity above. St. Sebastian, with his arrows of martyrdom, is in the left foreground and behind him St. George and an unidentifiable warrior saint, perhaps William of Aquitaine. In the center foreground St. Lawrence leans on his grill of martyrdom and looks at a martyr saint (St. Stephen?) who holds a palm and gazes up toward the vision. St. Gregory stands in the right foreground and behind him two more saints and a Franciscan monk. In the distance there are palm-carrying monks of the Franciscan and Dominican orders, the two in the foreground very likely being Dominic and Francis.

Individual figures in this scene continue types that Rubens has used earlier. St. Sebastian repeats, but in reverse, the pose assumed by the young boy seated in front of the tree in Rubens's 1604-05 drawing for *The Baptism of Christ*, Paris, Cabinet des Dessins du Musée du Louvre,<sup>1</sup> and with slight changes in the *St. Sebastian*, Galleria Corsini, Rome, and *The Raising of Lazarus*, Galleria Sabauda, Turin.<sup>2</sup> This young boy is based upon a lost drawing by Rubens of a *Sculpture of a Nude Man without Arms*, known to us from a copy in the Print Room, Statens Museum for Kunst, Copenhagen.<sup>3</sup> This type was also used in Rubens's *Achelous's Banquet*, New York, Metropolitan Museum of

Art<sup>4</sup> and rather remotely for *Psyche*, Collection of Her Majesty the Queen of England, Windsor Castle.<sup>5</sup> The Church Fathers in the bottom right recall similar figures in Rubens's 1606–8 *Madonna Adored by Saints*, Grenoble Museum<sup>6</sup> and *Saints Nereus and Achilleus* on the panels in Santa Maria in Vallicella, Rome.<sup>7</sup>

The composition seems to have been inspired by Venice and especially Titian's 1554 *Triumph of the Trinity*, Prado, Madrid,<sup>8</sup> which Rubens could have seen on his first trip to Spain in 1603 or from the 1566 engraving by Cornelis Cort (Fig. 98).<sup>9</sup> However, Rubens changed the Titian format and inserted an intermediary zone of clouds and figures that move across the center of the scene connecting the sides. Titian's composition is empty in the center thereby establishing a continuous circular movement. Rubens divides his scene into three zones by his insertion of clouds and figures that connect across the middle. In this way, he is more akin to the structure found in Tintoretto's 1581–84 *Venice as Queen of the Sea*, Palazzo Ducale, Venice.<sup>10</sup> Rubens returns to Titian's idea of a continuous circular flow of bodies with an opening in the middle in the ca. 1615–16 *Great Last Judgment*, Alte Pinakothek, Munich.<sup>11</sup>

On May 15, 1614 Theodore Galle was paid 65 guilders for cutting the plate for the *Breviarium Romanum* (Appendix III, p. 456 [20]). This engraving was also used for the 1616, 1618 and 1623 Plantin editions of the *Missale* and for the 1628 reprint of the *Breviarium*.

<sup>1</sup> K. Zoege von Manteuffel, in *Kunstchronik*, 1930, p. 129; *Lugt, Louvre, Ecole flamande*, II, 1949, p. 12, No. 1009, pl. XIV.

<sup>2</sup> P.P. Rubens, *Des Meisters Gemälde*, ed. by A. Rosenberg (*Klassiker der Kunst*, v), Stuttgart-Leipzig, 1906, p. 457.

<sup>3</sup> Rubens Cantoort, No. III/6; *Burchard-d'Hulst*, 1963, I, p. 54.

<sup>4</sup> J. Held, *Achelous' Banquet*, *The Art Quarterly*, IV, 1941, p. 131, fig. 1.

<sup>5</sup> Inv. No. 6412; *Burchard-d'Hulst*, 1963, I, p. 54.

<sup>6</sup> *K.d.K.*, p. 23.

<sup>7</sup> *K.d.K.*, p. 25.

<sup>8</sup> *Bouchery-Van den Wijngaert*, p. 153.

<sup>9</sup> *d'Hulst*, 1968, p. 90.

<sup>10</sup> *Tietze, Tintoretto*, fig. 229.

<sup>11</sup> *K.d.K.*, p. 118.

28a. ALL SAINTS: DRAWING (Fig. 95)

Pen and ink and brown wash; 295 : 200 mm.; traced for transfer.

Vienna, Albertina. Inv. No. 8213.

PROVENANCE: ? G. Uilenbroek, Amsterdam; G. Huquier (Orléans-Paris, 1695-1772), sale, Amsterdam (Yver), 14 September 1761 *et seqq.*, lot 553; Count Moriz von Fries (Vienna, 1777-1826).

EXHIBITED: *Meisterzeichnungen der Albertina*, Albertina, Vienna, 1970, No. 68.

LITERATURE: *Rooses*, v, p. 61; L. Burchard, *Skizzen des jungen Rubens, Sitzungs-Berichte der Kunstgeschichtlichen Gesellschaft Berlin*, Oct. 1926-May 1927, p. 3, No. 23; *Glück-Haberditzl*, p. 37, No. 70, pl. 70; K. Zoege von Manteuffel, in *Kunstchronik*, 1930, p. 129; C. Sterling, [*Cat. Exh.*] *Rubens et son temps*, Paris, 1936, p. 110; *Van den Wijngaert*, p. 57; G.W. Knuttel, *De Nederlandse Schilderkunst van Van Eyck tot Van Gogh*, 2nd ed., Amsterdam, 1950, p. 299, note 2; J. Held, *Achelous' Banquet*, *The Art Quarterly*, IV, 1941, p. 131; *Bouchery-Van den Wijngaert*, pp. 62, 122, 153, fig. 40; *Evers*, 1943, p. 219; *Lugt, Louvre, Ecole flamande*, II, 1949, p. 12; *Haverkamp Begemann*, 1953, pp. 43, 44; *Burchard-d'Hulst*, 1956, p. 56; *Held*, I, pp. 26, 98; *Burchard-d'Hulst*, 1963, I, pp. 54, 114; *d'Hulst*, 1968, p. 91; *Vlieghe, Saints*, I, p. 28.

Rubens's drawing is the study for Theodore Galle's engraving. Although the compositions are almost identical, there are obvious differences in the use of light and shadow. For example, in the drawing St. Sebastian's body and face contain fewer areas of shadow than in the engraving. In the drawing, St. George's face is almost entirely bathed in light while in the print it is half in shadow. The face of the figure to St. George's left in the Galle is almost completely in shadow while in Rubens's sheet the upper half is in bright light. Similar differences in lighting are evident in other figures in the lower and upper zones of the drawing and engraving. These differences were corrected by Rubens in the proof (No. 28b; Fig. 96).

The Albertina design is not only closely related to the Theodore Galle engraving but also bears a strong resemblance to an oil sketch of the same subject in the Boymans-van Beuningen Museum, Rotterdam (Fig. 97).<sup>1</sup> However, because there are major changes between the oil sketch and the Galle engraving, it is most unlikely that the latter worked directly from the

modello.<sup>2</sup> It is not impossible that Rubens executed the oil sketch before the Albertina drawing and without having the book illustration in mind. The oil sketch might very well have been an original design for an earlier altarpiece that was never executed<sup>3</sup> and then used later as the starting point for the Albertina drawing. The oil sketch is much more cramped than the drawing and brings to mind Rubens's late Italian compositions such as the 1605 *Circumcision*, S. Ambrogio, Genoa, or the *Virgin Surrounded by Angels*, Santa Maria in Vallicella, Rome. The loose brush strokes and the highlighting of the figures in the modello recall Rubens's sketches of ca. 1609–10.<sup>4</sup> Stylistically the Rotterdam modello could date from ca. 1610<sup>5</sup> while the Albertina drawing could have been done as early as 1612–13 but no later than March 10, 1614 (Appendix I, p. 399 [87]). Along with the obvious stylistic differences between the oil sketch, the drawing and the Galle engraving, the size of the sketch (58 : 38 cm.) also argues against its use as the study for the engraving. In the few preserved cases where Rubens makes an oil sketch as a study for a book illustration,<sup>6</sup> the sketches approximate the size of the engraving. It is noted in the Plantin accounts of 1610–1618 that Rubens was paid for this drawing along with others for the *Breviarium Romanum* (Appendix III, p. 447 [1]).

<sup>1</sup> Inv. No. 1738; *Vlieghe, Saints*, I, pp. 27, 28, No. 1, Fig. 1.

<sup>2</sup> *Vlieghe, Saints*, I, p. 28. However, *Van den Wijngaert*, p. 57 and *Evers*, 1943, p. 219 believe that the sketch was the study for the print.

<sup>3</sup> L. Burchard, *Skizzen des jungen Rubens, Sitzungs-Berichte des kunstgeschichtlichen Gesellschaft Berlin*, Oct. 1926–Mai 1927, p. 3.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *Adoration of the Magi*, Museum van Oudheden, Groningen, or *The Taking of Samson*, The Art Institute of Chicago (illustrated in *Haverkamp Begemann*, 1953, Nos. 4, 5, pls. 6, 7).

<sup>5</sup> *Vlieghe, Saints*, I, p. 28, suggests 1613.

<sup>6</sup> Nos. 58a, 60a, 62a, 72a, 81a.

## 28b. ALL SAINTS: RETOUCHE ENGRAVING (Fig. 96)

Brush, brown ink and white body colour now turned blue; 297 : 196 mm., margin.

*Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Estampes*. Inv. No. C. 10506.

PROVENANCE: P.J. Mariette (Paris, 1694–1774); purchased in 1775 from the latter's estate by Hugues-Adrien Joly, Keeper of the Cabinet des Estampes.

LITERATURE: *Rooses*, v, p. 67; *Bouchery-Van den Wijngaert*, p. 63.

Rubens has used brown ink to create shadows on St. Sebastian's leg and chest. He lightly applied body colour, originally white but now oxidized, here and there in the clouds and on the people in the middle zone and below.

29. ILLUSTRATION FOR PH. RUBENS, S. ASTERII AMASEAE HOMILIAE. Antwerp, 1615, p. 131 (Fig. 100).

Engraving; 209 : 133 mm.; below on the right: *Corn. Gallaeus Sculptit.*

COPY EXAMINED: Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum, No. A 978.

EXHIBITED: *Paris*, 1954, No. 362.

LITERATURE: *Hecquet*, p. 78, No. 4; *Basan*, p. 146, No. 58; *V.S.*, p. 170, No. 143; P. Génard, P.P. Rubens. *Aanteekeningen over den grooten Meeſter en zijn Bloedverwanten*, Antwerp, 1877, pp. 392, note 2, 450, 451; *Rooses, Rubens-Moretus*, 1882-83, I, pp. 217, 218; II, pp. 52, 53; *Rooses, Rubens-Moretus*, 1884, pp. 47, 48; *Dutuit*, VI, p. 193, No. 58; *Rooses*, IV, p. 247, note 1; V, pp. 116, 117, No. 1302, pl. 375; *Van den Wijngaert*, p. 48, No. 215; *Bouchery-Van den Wijngaert*, pp. 79, 96, 136, fig. 49; *Goris-Held*, p. 28; *Held*, I, p. 165; *Held*, 1960, p. 258; *Hollſtein*, VII, p. 70, No. 187 (as *Cornelis Galle the Younger*).

This portrait is the only illustration in this book in-4°, published by the Plantin Press in 1615. The work comprises three parts: the orations of St. Asterius, Bishop of Amaseia, published for the first time in Greek and Latin by Philip Rubens (pp. 1-75); then a selection of poems, orations and letters by Philip Rubens himself, including several unpublished at the time of his death on August 28, 1611 (pp. 76-128); finally an "In Memoriam" for the scholar by some of his friends, which also contains his biography, written by Jan Brant (pp. 129-142), and several elegies. These all express the sadness of his friends at the loss of Philip Rubens, whose erudition, modesty, gentle character and simplicity are praised. His portrait was placed at the beginning of this last section, immediately before his biography.

The bust of Philip Rubens (1574-1611), brother of the artist, distinguished classical scholar, writer and citizen of Antwerp, is placed on a cylindrical pedestal within a niche. His head is enframed by a pecten shell with its lip just above the sitter's head. This shell motif, set inside of a niche, goes back to classical art and had always been closely associated with death and im-

mortality. Furthermore the shell, like other emblems of the sea, is very often found on Roman tombs and might be seen as the means used to transport the soul to the hereafter. <sup>1</sup> In Rubens's design the shell serves as a decorative frame for Philip's head and this, too, has a special significance. The shell was, since the early Renaissance, synonymous with the halo, and, of even greater importance in the case of a scholar, signified the fountainhead of inspired wisdom. <sup>2</sup> Rubens's portrait, in the shape of an antique bust, rests on a cylindrical pedestal filled with symbols related to Death. On the pedestal is an inscription PIIS MANIBVS PHILIPPI RVBENI SACR. (Dedicated to the pious remembrance of Philip Rubens). The cherubim supporting the garland had been frequently used on antique funerary monuments and continuously since the fifteenth century. The garlands refer to death, and in antiquity there was a special type of tomb called the garland sarcophagus where the idea of death and the rebirth of nature is stressed or the victory of life over death. <sup>3</sup> J. Held <sup>4</sup> suggests that the garland refers to the sweet fruits of paradise. Death is also referred to by the inclusion of the inverted torch, a symbol which again comes from Antiquity. <sup>5</sup> The doves, emblematic of the soul, <sup>6</sup> peace, <sup>7</sup> simplicity and gentleness, <sup>8</sup> are placed on the torches. A serpent wraps itself around the torches while a lizard crawls along the serpent's back. These reptiles signify death <sup>9</sup> and are found frequently together on Roman tombs of the Rhineland. <sup>10</sup> The serpent not only refers to death but also to the renewal of life because it sheds its skin and grows a new one each year. <sup>11</sup>

The iconography of this image clearly indicates the high regard Rubens and his friends had for Philip. Philip's wisdom and saintly character are stressed as is the notion of a new life in the after world (Paradise). The iconographic message is reinforced by the portrayal of Philip with a warm, introspective expression very similar to the *Portrait of Philip Rubens* in the Institute of Arts in Detroit (Fig. 99) <sup>12</sup> and the one in the *Group Portrait* in the Pitti Gallery, Florence. <sup>13</sup> The Detroit portrait has been dated ca. 1608-1611 and could be identical with the one which Rubens painted for his brother's tomb in the Abbey of St. Michael in Antwerp; this portrait disappeared from there during the French Revolution. <sup>14</sup> On the other hand, it has also been suggested that the portrait could have been painted after Philip's death and that it was used again in the Pitti *Group Portrait*. <sup>15</sup> It is also interesting to note that in Galle's engraving the bust is propped up and placed in a niche with a pecten shell, exactly as the bust of Seneca in the *Group Portrait*. The very same portrait



type had been used several years earlier in the upper section of Rubens's *Design for a Tomb* of ca. 1609 in the Rijksprentenkabinet at Amsterdam.<sup>16</sup> This design certainly contains the same ideas as those illustrated in the 1615 engraving.

Sometime between January 1 and March 16, 1615, Theodore Galle was paid 33 guilders for the cutting of the engraving by Cornelis Galle and for the copper plate (Appendix III, p. 458 [28]). A proof, preserved in the Rijksprentenkabinet (Fig. 101),<sup>17</sup> contains an inscription added by a later hand in ink: *Piis manibus Philippi Rubeni*, obviously copied from the engraving.

It is significant that this book by Philip Rubens as well as his *Electorum Libri II* (Nos. 1–5), also published by the Plantin Press, was offered to the public at an extremely high price, no less than 30 guilders (Appendix II, p. 433 [7]). The documents also inform us that sometime between May 25 and October 3, 1615, Moretus had seven hundred and fifty portraits of Philip printed at a cost of 16 stuivers per hundred or 6 guilders (Appendix III, p. 459 [29]). From this and the fact that the same document states that seven hundred and fifty titles with the printer's mark were also printed, it is certain that the edition for his book was seven hundred and fifty copies.

- <sup>1</sup> For details, see W.S. Heckscher, *Rembrandt's Anatomy of Dr. Tulp*, New York, 1958, pp. 118, 119, 176, note 228.
- <sup>2</sup> W.S. Heckscher, *op. cit.*, p. 118.
- <sup>3</sup> K. Lehmann-Hartleben & E.C. Olsen, *Dionysiac Sarcophagi in Baltimore*, Baltimore, 1942, pp. 51, 52; E. Panofsky, *Tomb Sculpture*, New York, 1964, p. 34.
- <sup>4</sup> *Held*, 1960, pp. 247, 248.
- <sup>5</sup> E. Panofsky, *op. cit.*, p. 31. See also Frans Floris's painting at the Central Picture Galleries, New York, where a putto holds a torch with the flame end toward the ground (reproduced and discussed by H.W. Janson, *The Putto with the Death's Head*, *The Art Bulletin*, XIX, 1937, p. 445, fig. 29; C. Van de Velde, *Frans Floris (1519/20–1570)*, *Leven en Werk*, Brussels, 1975, I, pp. 318–320, No. 181; II, fig. 94) and the many examples found in Cornelis Floris's tomb designs (R. Hedicke, *Cornelis Floris und die Florisdekoration*, Berlin, 1913, pls. XIV, 1; XVI, 4; XVII, 2, 3; XIX, 1; XXII; XXIII, 1; XXVIII, 1. See also the title-page for V. Ampliss, *Christofori Thuani Tumulus* (Paris, 1583), where putti also hold the inverted torch, symbolic of death (illustrated in *Mortimer, Italian*, II, p. 650, No. 531).
- <sup>6</sup> W.S. Heckscher, *The Anadyomene in the Mediaeval Tradition*, *Nederlands Kunst-historisch Jaarboek*, VII, 1956, p. 21.
- <sup>7</sup> *de Tervarent*, I, col. 104.
- <sup>8</sup> *Bouchery-Van den Wijngaert*, p. 136. In the dedication of his biography of Philip Rubens to the city authorities of Antwerp, Jan Brant speaks of the gentle character and the simplicity of the deceased's soul and life: "qui Philippum Rubenium ... propter

suavissimos mores animae vitaeque candorem ... dilexistis" (Ph. Rubens, *S. Asterii Amaseae Homiliae ...*, Antwerp, 1615, p. \*3<sup>v</sup>).

<sup>9</sup> *de Tervarent*, II, col. 234.

<sup>10</sup> K. Lehmann-Hartleben & E.C. Olsen, *op. cit.*, p. 30, note 61.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 30, note 60.

<sup>12</sup> *Goris-Held*, p. 28, No. 14, Pl. 2.

<sup>13</sup> *K.d.K.*, p. 45.

<sup>14</sup> *Detroit Institute of Arts. Catalogue of Paintings in the Permanent Collection*, Detroit, 1930, No. 193.

<sup>15</sup> *Goris-Held*, loc. cit.

<sup>16</sup> For details concerning this drawing, see *Held*, I, pp. 163–165, Cat. No. A 171, fig. 36. For a later adaptation of Rubens's design, see the funeral monument for Charles Alexandre, Duke of Croy (died 1624) in the Church of Notre-Dame-de-la-Chapelle in Brussels (E. Boeckx, *Notre-Dame-de-la-Chapelle à Bruxelles*, Brussels, 1928, pp. 270, 271, fig. 32).

<sup>17</sup> Box 136, No. 598; 205 : 131 mm., margin.

29a. PORTRAIT OF PHILIP RUBENS: DRAWING OR OIL SKETCH

Technique and measurements unknown.

*Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.*

The document citing the payment for Cornelis Galle's copper plate (Appendix III, p. 458 [28]) states that it was made after Rubens's design.

30-32. ILLUSTRATIONS FOR I. LIPSIUS, L. ANNABI SENECAE ... OPERA ... OMNIA.  
Antwerp, 1615

COPY EXAMINED: Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum, No. R 53.5.

This is the second edition in-folio of Seneca's complete writings with a scholarly commentary by Justus Lipsius found in the footnotes. It was published by B. Moretus in 1615. The first edition, likewise in-folio, appeared in 1605 and a second was printed in the Spring of 1614 for which "Ferdinand", *i.e.* Ferdinand Arsenius, received an advance payment on April 12, 1614, of 2 guilders 15 stuivers for recutting the letters of the title-page (Appendix III, p. 455 [16]). On May 15, 1614, Theodore Galle was paid 9 guilders 11 stuivers for printing 1,275 sheets of the round portrait of Seneca, 3 guilders 15 stuivers for 196 sheets of the portraits of Seneca and Lipsius and 1 guilder 17 1/2 stuivers for 197 sheets of the title-page (Appendix III, p. 456 [19]). However, except for the

frontispiece, these illustrations must have been deemed unsatisfactory and Rubens was asked to make new designs for the portraits of Lipsius and Seneca and to add an illustration of "Seneca in the bath". A letter from Moretus to François Lucas at St. Omer, dated August 4, 1614, informs us that the book has been finished except for the two portraits of Seneca which were still at the engraver's and which Rubens had designed after antique prototypes (Appendix I, p. 407 [102]). They were completed sometime during the second half of that year, judging from the accounts of Moretus which state that between January 1 and March 16, 1615, Cornelis Galle had made the engraving of Lipsius's portrait after Rubens (Appendix III, p. 458 [27]). This same document informs us that the title has been corrected, that the head has been taken out of the pedestal, that another one was cut and that minor corrections were made on the rest of the plate (Appendix III, p. 458 [26]). Theodore Galle replaced the profiled and beardless Seneca in the 1605 frontispiece (Fig. 102) with one that is bearded and presented like an antique bust (Fig. 103). The oil lamp in the 1605 portrait of Epictetus is no longer held in his right hand but is now behind his head. Pallas Athene formerly held an owl in her outstretched hand, but the owl has been burnished out and replaced at the bottom right beside the figure. Further proof that Rubens made the designs for the portrait of Lipsius and the Seneca illustrations can be found in a letter dated March 5, 1615 from Moretus to Hubert Audejans in Bruges (Appendix I, p. 365 [5]). The book itself was finished sometime between October 3 and December 30, 1615, as noted in a payment for the title-page, the Seneca in the bath and the portraits of Lipsius and Seneca. This document further states that Galle printed 1,300 sheets of each at a cost of 20 stuivers per hundred, totalling 52 guilders (Appendix III, p. 459 [30]). The book, printed on common paper, was sold for 8 guilders and on "fin median" paper for 9 guilders 10 stuivers (Appendix II, p. 433 [5]). Rubens received a credit from Moretus for these drawings (Appendix III, p. 447 [1]). All three of the plates were used again for the Plantin edition of 1632 which was part of Lipsius's *Opera Omnia*.<sup>1</sup>

It has been suggested that the new design for Seneca's head in the bottom-left corner was made by Rubens (Fig. 103).<sup>2</sup> This does not appear plausible because there is no convincing connection with Rubens's work. The heads of Seneca and Epictetus were copied and placed in a similar position at the bottom of the frontispiece in a 1628 edition of *Seneca* published in Amsterdam.

<sup>1</sup> See below, p. 299, under Nos. 73-74.

<sup>2</sup> *V.S.*, p. 203, No. 64; *Rooses, Rubens-Moretus*, 1882-83, II, p. 59; *Bouchery-Van den Wijngaert*, p. 78.

30. PORTRAIT OF JUSTUS LIPSIUS: ILLUSTRATION FOR I. LIPSIUS, L. ANNAEI SENECAE ... OPERA ... OMNIA. Antwerp, 1615 (Fig. 106)

Engraving; 290 : 187 mm., margin; below on the right: *Corn. Galle sculp.*

EXHIBITED: *Paris*, 1954, No. 363.

LITERATURE: *Hecquet*, p. 85, No. 43; *Basan*, pp. 148, 149, No. 67; *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, IX, p. 250, No. 31; *V.S.*, pp. 183, 184, No. 255; *Rooses, Titels*, No. 24; *Dutuit*, VI, p. 196, No. 67; *Rooses, Rubens-Moretus*, 1882-83, II, pp. 59-61; *Rooses, Rubens-Moretus*, 1884, pp. 54-56; *Rooses*, V, p. 120, No. 1305; *Hind*, II, p. 28; *Glück-Haberditzl*, p. 38; M. Sabbe, *De Moretussen en hun Kring*, Antwerp, 1928, repr. on p. 19; A.M. Berryer, *Essai d'une Iconographie de Juste Lipse, Annales de la Société royale d'Archéologie de Bruxelles*, XLIII, 1939-40, pp. 28, 29, No. 40, fig. 18; *Van den Wijngaert*, p. 51, No. 243bis (1); *Bouchery-Van den Wijngaert*, pp. 23, 24, 78, 133, 134, fig. 45; *Benesch, Book Illustration*, pp. 9, 10; *Held*, I, p. 148; *Held*, 1974, p. 252; *Renger*, I, p. 131.

This three-quarter profile portrait of the famous Latinist Justus Lipsius (1547-1606), placed opposite the frontispiece, was executed by Rubens after Lipsius's death. This seems to be the case with all of the extant painted portraits of the scholar<sup>1</sup> which were probably made after a lost portrait by Abraham Janssens, preserved in an engraving of 1605 by Pieter de Jode (Fig. 104). Rubens most likely worked directly from the painted portrait by Janssens<sup>2</sup> and not from the engraving.<sup>3</sup>

We learn more of the purpose of the Lipsius portrait in Moretus's Preface. After having related in detail how Rubens has provided two portraits of Seneca for the book, one of the dying philosopher in his tub (No. 31; Fig. 108) and one of his bust (No. 32; Fig. 111),<sup>4</sup> Moretus expresses his wish that the reader should also find strength and pleasure in the portrait of Lipsius. The publisher goes on to say that Rubens has made it with equal truthfulness and artistry, not only according to his own judgment, but also in agreement with many of Lipsius's admirers. He has decorated it with very appropriate accessories, that is Prudence and Science. Moretus states further that Rubens agreed with him that it was not fitting to do so much work on the portrait of the philosopher

(Seneca) and to neglect that of the most eloquent interpreter of his wisdom (Lipsius). Moretus finally invites the reader to be moved by the agreeable contemplation of Lipsius's serious face, to penetrate into the immortal monuments of his divine genius and to enjoy the full comprehension of the ancient doctrine and excellent wisdom. <sup>5</sup>

Departing from the usual type of framing devices used for the Lipsius portraits in earlier editions of the latter's writings, Rubens dispenses with allegorical figures and sixteenth-century strap work as enframing decorations. He places Lipsius's image in an oval frame consisting of a wreath bounded on either side by overflowing cornucopiae. The cornucopia on the left is secured to the wreath by a ribbon containing the following inscriptions that refer to Lipsius's most important published works: POLITICA. CONSTANTIA. PHILOSOPHIA. STOICA. MILITIA ROMANA. EPISTOLAE. <sup>6</sup> On the right side, the horn of plenty is tied to the wreath by a twisting and climbing snake. This imagery is explained in Balthasar Moretus's Preface for this book where he writes that the left side, with its references to Lipsius's publications, symbolizes Doctrine and the right side, containing the snake, Prudence. Mercury's winged hat, flanked by two torches in the top center of the wreath, probably alludes to Lipsius's eloquence and reason. All of these attributes were obviously associated with him. The burning torch, the overflowing cornucopia and the snake are also attributes of Ceres and generally associated with one of the Four Elements, Earth. All of these symbols refer to death, the spirit of the earth and its relationship with the underworld and ultimately to resurrection. <sup>7</sup> The sun, behind clouds, is placed above Mercury's helmet. The reason for this is explained below in the cartouche in the two lines by Henricus d'Oultremannus, a historian from Valenciennes, whose poetry was much admired by Lipsius. These lines compare Lipsius's portrait with Timanthes's veil <sup>8</sup> and further develop the aforementioned story by telling us that the sun's brilliance, too, can only be seen safely through a dense cloud. <sup>9</sup> On the plinth above, one finds Lipsius's motto, MORIBVS ANTIQVIS, which is part of a very famous and often used verse taken from Ennius's *Annales*, the earliest glorification of Rome and its history. <sup>10</sup> The entire line, which, among other places, was used in St. Augustine's *The City of God against the Pagans*, Book II, XXI, reads as follows: "Moribus antiquis res stat Romana virisque" (The ancient ways maintain the Roman state, Its ancient heroes, too". <sup>11</sup> Lipsius's maxim is flanked by what appear to be the obverse and reverse of a Roman coin. On the reverse

there is a standing soldier holding a spear and a sword with the inscription VIRTUS, on the obverse a helmeted head and the inscription ROMA. *Virtus* is a variation on the type found in Rubens's red chalk drawing of *Virtue and Honour*, Plantin-Moretus Museum, Antwerp.<sup>12</sup> Above *Virtus* and *Roma*, on either side of the top of the plinth, there are two burning antique oil lamps that honour the dead and serve as eternal lights.<sup>13</sup>

The essential emblematic vocabulary used by Rubens to enrich the decorative and allegorical character of his frame appears to be an elaboration of an emblem in Alciati illustrating *Virtuti Fortuna Comes* (Fortune the companion of virtue). This device, very likely Alciati's own, contains Mercury's wand entwined by serpents, flanked by overflowing cornucopias, whose bases curve and connect with the wand, which is crowned with Mercury's winged helmet.<sup>14</sup> It is possible that Rubens, with obvious changes, expanded the Alciati device to include the *Portrait of Lipsius*. The text accompanying Alciati's emblem can also be applied to Lipsius:

"With serpents twain entwined, a wand with wings  
Between Amalthea's horns doth upright stand,  
So symbolizing men of powerful minds,  
And skill'd to say, how plenty crown the land".<sup>15</sup>

Sometime between January and March 16, 1615, Theodore Galle was paid 54 guilders for the copper plate containing the portrait of Lipsius cut by Cornelis Galle after Rubens's design (Appendix III, p. 458 [27]). The original copper plate is in the Plantin-Moretus Museum, Antwerp.<sup>16</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See *Justus Lipsius Surrounded by his Pupils*, Palazzo Pitti, Florence (Fig. 105), as well as the half-length portrait in the Plantin-Moretus Museum, Antwerp (*Bouchery-Van den Wijngaert*, fig. 14).

<sup>2</sup> As stressed by *Bouchery-Van den Wijngaert* (pp. 23, 24) and *Held* (I, p. 148).

<sup>3</sup> This was argued by *Rooses* (v, p. 120) and A.M. Berryer (*op. cit.*, pp. 28, 29).

<sup>4</sup> See below, p. 166, under No. 32, note 1.

<sup>5</sup> The Latin text reads as follows: "At LIPSIANA etiam imagine, SENECAE Operum titulo praefixâ, te firmari & oblectari desidero : quam Rubenius non minus ex fide quam eleganter, nec suo unius sed plurium LIPSI cultorum iudicio, formavit, aptissimoque Prudentiae & Doctrinae parergo insigniuit, neque enim decere mecum aestimabat, vt multa veteris Sapientis imagini opera impenderetur, eloquentissimi Sapientiae Interpretis effigie neglectâ. Tu itaque gravissimi vultus suavissimo recreatus aspectu, ad immortalia diuini ingenij monumenta penitus perspicienda excitare, & in iis omnis antiquioris Doctrinae & melioris Sapientiae imaginem lubens amplectere, atque iterum vale." (J. Lipsius, *op. cit.*, not paginated; *Bouchery-Van den Wijngaert*, p. 133, note 8).

<sup>6</sup> The full titles are as follows: *Politicorum sive Civilis Doctrinae Libri sex*, 1588 (writings

by Aristotle, Tacitus and Cicero); *De Constantia Libri duo*, 1584 (general introduction to Stoic philosophy and earliest systematic comparison and evaluation of Stoic and Christian doctrines); *Manuductio ad Stoicam Philosophiam Libri III*, 1604 (writings on Stoic moral doctrine); *De Militia Romana Libri V*, 1595 (treatise on Roman warfare); *Epistolae* (appeared in 1591 and is the first of several publications of Lipsius's Letters). For details concerning Lipsius see J.L. Saunders, *Justus Lipsius. The Philosophy of Renaissance Stoicism*, New York, 1955, pp. 21-32, 46, 54 and *passim*.

- <sup>7</sup> For the symbolism of the torch and snake see K. Lehmann-Hartleben & E.C. Olsen, *Dionysiac Sarcophagi in Baltimore*, Baltimore, 1942, pp. 28, 29, 33, 34.
- <sup>8</sup> Timanthes was a Greek painter who was depressed because he felt that he could not portray Agamemnon's true emotions at the sacrifice of Iphigenia. Consequently he placed a veil over Agamemnon's head.
- <sup>9</sup> See *Held*, I, p. 148, for documentation and translation.
- <sup>10</sup> M. Hadas, *A History of Latin Literature*, New York, 1952, p. 9.
- <sup>11</sup> *Saint Augustine, The City of God against the Pagans*, translated by G. E. McCracken, Cambridge-London, 1957, pp. 222, 223. For further details on Ennius see *The Annals of Quintus Ennius*, ed. by Ethel Mary Stuart, Cambridge, 1925, pp. 73, 216, Fr. 46.
- <sup>12</sup> *Held*, I, p. 147, No. 138; II, pl. 148.
- <sup>13</sup> See *Ewiges Licht (Christlich)*, *Reallexikon zur Deutschen Kunstgeschichte*, VI, 64/65-66/67, Stuttgart, 1970, cols. 600-617.
- <sup>14</sup> This device is found first in the 1534 Paris edition of Alciati; in 1531 (Augsburg) it had appeared without the cornucopiae and winged helmet (see H. Green, *Andrea Alciati and his Book of Emblems*, New York, n.d., pp. 3, 4).
- <sup>15</sup> Translation from H. Green, *op. cit.*, p. 3.
- <sup>16</sup> Inv. No. KP 72 D; 294 : 194 mm.

### 30a. PORTRAIT OF JUSTUS LIPSIUS: DRAWING (Fig. 107)

Black chalk reinforced with black ink in the portrait and brown ink and wash in the frame; corrected triangular insert on right side of frame; 232 : 185 mm.; traced for transfer; below in the centre: *IVSTVS LIPSIVS* and on coins to the left and to the right: *ROMA* and *VIRTVS*.

London, Department of Prints and Drawings of the British Museum. Inv. No. 1891.5.11.31.

PROVENANCE: ? Bernard Hagelis (Amsterdam), sale, Amsterdam, 8 March 1762, lot 309; purchased by the British Museum in 1891.

EXHIBITED: *550 Jaar Universiteit Leuven*, Stedelijk Museum, Louvain, 1976, No. 318.

LITERATURE: *Rooses, Rubens-Moretus*, 1882-83, I, p. 281; II, pp. 59, 60; *Rooses, Rubens-Moretus*, 1884, pp. 24, 55, 56; M. Rooses, *Les dessins du British Museum, Rubens-Bulletijn*, IV, 1896, p. 290, No. 1305; *Hind*, II, p. 28, No. 90; *Glück-*

*Haberditzl*, p. 38, No. 80, pl. 80; *Van den Wijngaert*, p. 51; *Bouchery-Van den Wijngaert*, pp. 23, 24, 78, 133, 134, fig. 46; *Benesch, Book Illustration*, pp. 9, 10; *Held*, I, p. 148, No. 141; II, pl. 152; *Held*, 1960, p. 259; *Renger*, I, pp. 131-133, fig. 4.

This drawing is the design, in reverse, for Justus Lipsius's portrait in *L. ANNAEI SENECAE ... OPERA ... OMNIA*, published in 1615 by the Plantin Press in Antwerp. For a discussion of the iconography see No. 30. There are several differences between the drawing and the engraving. D'Oultremannus's text and the cartouche upon which it is written are not found in the original design, nor is the ribbon containing the inscriptions that allude to Lipsius's most important publications. The engraver has also replaced Lipsius's name on the plinth with his motto.

The portrait is discussed in Moretus' introduction to Lipsius's edition of Seneca<sup>1</sup> and mentioned in a letter from Balthasar Moretus to Hubertus Audejans in Bruges written on March 5, 1615. He writes that the Seneca edition by the late Lipsius has finally appeared and is adorned with two portraits of the philosopher and one of the learned editor. They are by Peter Paul Rubens and drawn with the greatest of care (Appendix I, p. 365 [5]).

The attribution of parts of this sheet to Rubens has been questioned. Rooses believed that only the framework was by the master.<sup>2</sup> Because of the weakness of the chalk areas in the portrait, Burchard and Held<sup>3</sup> quite rightly suggested that the chalk was added by another hand but that the parts drawn in ink were by Rubens. It is not impossible that the frame and its decorations are by another hand as they are much flatter and more pedestrian.

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 158, under No. 30, note 5.

<sup>2</sup> M. Rooses, in *Rubens-Bulletijn*, *loc. cit.*

<sup>3</sup> L. Burchard in his notes concerning this portrait and *Held*, I, p. 148, No. 141.

31. THE DEATH OF SENECA: ILLUSTRATION FOR I. LIPSIUS, L. ANNAEI SENECAE ... OPERA ... OMNIA. Antwerp, 1615 (Fig. 108)

Engraving; 336 : 196 mm.; below on the right : *Corn. Galle sculp.*

LITERATURE: *Basan*, p. 110, No. 20; *V.S.*, p. 140, No. 40; *Dutuit*, VI, p. 160, No. 20; *Rooses, Rubens-Moretus*, 1882-83, II, p. 60; *Rooses, Rubens-Moretus*, 1884, p. 55; *Rooses*, IV, pp. 27, 28; V, p. 121, No. 1306; M. Rooses, in *Rubens-Bulletijn*, V, 1910, p. 201; *Van den Wijngaert*, pp. 51, 52, No. 243bis (2); *Bouchery-Van den Wijngaert*,



pp. 26, 78, 134, 135, fig. 47; *Fubini-Held*, p. 140, note 22; J. Müller Hofstede, *Zur Kopfstudie im Werk von Rubens*, *Wallraf-Richartz Jahrbuch*, XXX, 1968, p. 250, note 58; *Hollstein*, VII, p. 59, No. 279.

Rubens places the standing and dying Seneca in a tub decorated by a lion's head with a ring in its mouth. The image is enframed by a niche that is smooth surfaced in the lower zone but with rusticated blocks in the arch.

In his Preface to the reader, Balthasar Moretus explains that in order to add to the splendour of this new edition of Seneca, he has attentively looked for a truthful likeness of the philosopher. Justus Lipsius, himself, had afterwards disapproved of the portrait which had appeared in the previous edition and which had been based on a portrait sent to him from Rome years ago, painted by somebody more interested in elegance than in veracity. Moretus goes on to say that while he was trying to satisfy the wish of the deceased (Lipsius had died in 1606), Rubens, the Apelles of our time, came conveniently to his help. Among the antique treasures which he has brought to Antwerp from Rome, he did not forget a likeness of Seneca. Because of his affection for Lipsius and for Seneca himself, he even liberally provided two portraits. The first of these shows a statue made of Lucullean marble which once could be seen in Rome in the house of the Duke of Altemps. It was then presented to Cardinal Borghese in whose admirable collection of antiquities it can be viewed. It is truly a rendering of someone who, in the bath, has already breathed his last breath and dies in the middle of speaking his golden words and giving his advice. The image gives a lively, vivid, fiery impression. You see his hands and fingers so stretched forth that you, in the light of Tacitus, clearly recall the man who dictated to the summoned scribes the precepts of wisdom and firmness. Not even the torments of approaching death, cleverly suggested in his face by the artist, prevented the philosopher from uttering these. His face is anything but beautifully formed. It makes a vague African impression with his open mouth, his swollen lips, his distended nostrils, so that you very easily can [ascertain] that the man was born in Cordoba of Cordoban parents. But also look at his body with a little more attention. Through the long illness, through much study and, as Tacitus maintains, through little nourishment, it is emaciated; it is established that he has hardened himself by heavy exertions such as work in the field and digging in vineyards. His meager skin, through the drying up of life's sap, has become wrinkled and loose and through work tough

and callous, and his veins and muscles which work had made to swell and protrude, are repeated by the sculptor cleverly and carefully. But Rubens did not wish to lack, either in artistic zeal or in the realism of his model, and therefore he covered with a cloth only that part of the body which, for the sake of modesty, may not be seen with decency. <sup>1</sup>

As Moretus indicates, Rubens used a sculpture in the collection of the Cardinal Scipione Borghese, Rome, as his model. It is generally agreed that this was the statue of *The African Fisherman*, now in the Louvre, Paris (Fig. 110). Seneca's body, in the book illustration, is certainly modelled after the Louvre sculpture, but the head appears to be very different. <sup>2</sup>

Sometime between May 15 and December 15, 1614, Theodore Galle was paid 103 guilders for the two copper plates cut by Cornelis Galle of Seneca in the bath and the large portrait of Seneca (Appendix III, p. 457 [24]). In another edition, <sup>3</sup> also signed below on the right "Corn. Galle sculp.", the highlights are filled in with cross-hatchings to the left of the basin and behind Seneca's legs. There are other small changes.

The copper plate is in the Plantin-Moretus Museum, Antwerp <sup>4</sup> and was used again in the 1632 edition and reworked for the 1652 edition.

<sup>1</sup> "QUO maius nouae ANNAEI SENECAE editioni ornamentum accederet, de verâ Philosophi imagine sedulò mihi inquirendum duxi. Quam enim sapientissimus eius Interpres, IVSTVS LIPSIVS, olim ex Vrbe, eleganti magis quàm fidâ amici manu pictam acceperat, atque in priori editione apponi iusserat, haud vndique perfectam postmodum apprehendit. Defuncti igitur iudicio meritò lubenter satisfacere conantem, opportunè Petrus-Paullus Rubenius, aevi nostri Apelles, adiuuit. qui cùm huberrimum rei antiquariae thesaurum Româ Antuerpnam attulerit, nec eximij Philosophi imaginem, prae aliis veteris aevi deliciis, neglexit : atque aded pro suo in LIPSIVM, atque ipsum SENECAM, affectu, duplicem eam liberaliter suppeditauit.

Prior ex Luculléo marmore fabrefacta, quondam Romae in aedibus ducis AB AEL-TEMPS visebatur : deinceps Ill<sup>mo</sup> Cardinali BORGESIO oblata, inter eius admiranda Antiquitatis monumenta cernitur. Vera est effigies (vt LIPSIANIS eam vocibus describam) in balneo animam iam exhalantis, & in verbis monitisque aureis deficientis. viuidum, acre, igneum aliquid refert. Manus digitosque ita exporrectos vides, vt Sapientiae & Constantiae praecepta aduocatis Scriptoribus dictantem, haud obscure cum Tacito agnoscas : à quibus nec vicinae mortis cruciatus, satis peritè in ipso vultu ab artifice adumbrati, Sapientem prohibebant. Facies parum formosa, nescio quid Africanum prae se ferat, buccâ hianti, turgentibus labris, naribus distentis; ut hominem Cordubae (in Baeticae prouinciae coloniâ, quae Africae proximè adiacet) & parentibus Cordubensis natum, minimè requiras. Sed & corpus, longâ valetudine, multo studio, & ex Taciti sententiâ, paruo victu tenuatum, paulò attentius considera : quod cùm exercitiis durioribus, cultu agri & fossione vinearum, firmasse ipsum constet; cutis exhausto succo laxatae maciem, & laboribus induratae firmitatem, venis musculisque, quos labor maximè attollit, exstantibus, ingeniosè & diligenter statuarius effinxit. At

verò nec artis suae industriam Rubenius, nec archetypi veritatem desiderari voluit : tantum eam corporis partem, quae decenter aspici haud potest, habità honestatis ratione, velo obduxit." (J. Lipsius, *op. cit.*, not paginated; partly reprinted in *Boubery-Van den Wijngaert*, p. 135).

- <sup>2</sup> See under No. 31a, for possible source for head.
- <sup>3</sup> 337 : 200 mm., margin; Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, box 136.
- <sup>4</sup> Inv. No. KP 91D; 345 : 203 mm.

### 31a. THE DEATH OF SENECA: DRAWING OR OIL SKETCH

Technique and measurements unknown.

*Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.*

COPY: Drawing (Fig. 109), New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, No. 1, 234 B; pen and brown ink, brown wash and black chalk, heightened with white; 339 : 198 mm.; traced for transfer on the back; for references, see No. 31b.

In the Pierpont Morgan sheet, the anatomy is very poorly drawn and lacks the sense of three-dimensionality that one associates with Rubens. This is especially evident in the head and torso. There are also extremely awkward passages such as the rendering of the limbs. The arm on the right is heavy and long with carefully worked out details while the one on the left is shorter and clumsily foreshortened. Seneca's left shoulder has been reduced in the drawing as well as both sides of the torso and the left side of the tub below. Because of the overall weak quality of this sheet and because it has been traced for transfer, this is probably the engraver's drawing for the plate made after a lost Rubens design. Cornelis Galle followed his design very closely when cutting the plate for the book illustration except that in the drawing the head seems broader, Seneca's left pupil looks directly at the viewer and there are no teeth visible in the lion's mouth.

Balthasar Moretus informs us in his introduction to Lipsius's Seneca that Rubens's model was the black marble sculpture of the so-called *Seneca* in Cardinal Scipione Borghese's collection in Rome, which is now in the Louvre, Paris, and rightly called *The African Fisherman* (Fig. 110).<sup>1</sup> From what we know today, Rubens seems to have executed more than one study after this famous statue. Three in the Hermitage, Leningrad, are copies, two being frontal views and one of the back.<sup>2</sup> A fourth sheet by Rubens, showing a side view from the left, is in an album of drawings brought together by Padre Resta

late in the seventeenth century and now in the Ambrosiana Library, Milan.<sup>3</sup> There are five more drawn copies made in Rubens's studio after the aforementioned sheets and now in the Print Room of the Statens Museum for Kunst, Copenhagen.<sup>4</sup>

The Pierpont Morgan design very closely repeats the torso and placement of the arms in the Milan study which was made directly after the antique model. However, there is one change. The artist has covered, for decency's sake, following Moretus, part of the body with a "veil". The head has been changed and might be seen as a combination of the crude fisherman's and the so-called bust of Seneca which Rubens owned and used as a model for the *Bust of Seneca* [No. 32; Fig. 111] in the same book.

Sometime between 1610 and 1616 Rubens was paid by Jan Moretus for executing the drawings for this book (Appendix III, p. 447 [1]).

<sup>1</sup> Inv. No. 1354.

<sup>2</sup> Glück-Haberätzl, p. 31, No. 26; V. H. Miesel, *Rubens' Study Drawings after Ancient Sculpture*, *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, LXI, 1963, pp. 314, 315, figs. 1, 2, who believes that only one of the frontal views in Leningrad, No. 644, is by Rubens; *Fubini-Held*, p. 134, pl. 6; J. Kuznetsov, *Drawings in the Museums of the U.S.S.R. (Russ.)*, Leningrad-Moscow, 1965, p. 14, No. 3.

<sup>3</sup> For details see *Fubini-Held*, pp. 125, 134 and *passim*, pl. 6.

<sup>4</sup> For documentation see V. H. Miesel, *op. cit.*, pp. 315, 316, figs. 3-5, and *Fubini-Held*, p. 134, fig. 7.

### 31b. THE DEATH OF SENECA: DRAWING (Fig. 109)

Pen and brown ink, brown wash and black chalk, heightened with white; 339 : 198 mm.; traced for transfer on the back.

*New York, Pierpont Morgan Library*. No. I, 234 B.

PROVENANCE: C. Fairfax Murray (London, 1849-1919).

LITERATURE: *Rooses, Rubens-Moretus*, 1882-83, I, p. 281; *Rooses, Rubens-Moretus*, 1884, p. 24; *Goris-Held*, p. 56, No. A 100; *Fubini-Held*, p. 134.

This drawing has generally been believed, also by L. Burchard, to be Rubens's original design for the engraving by Galle. For the argument against this view, see No. 31a.

32. THE BUST OF SENECA: ILLUSTRATION FOR I. LIPSIUS, L. ANNAEI SENECAE  
... OPERA ... OMNIA. Antwerp, 1615 (Fig. 111)

Engraving; 307 : 189 mm., margin.

COPY: Drawing, Besançon, Musée des Beaux-Arts, No. 83; pen and brown ink and brown wash; 201 : 133 mm.

LITERATURE: *Basan*, p. 110, No. \*21; *V.S.*, p. 140, No. 41; *Hymans*, p. 53; *Rooses, Rubens-Moretus*, 1882-83, I, p. 281; II, pp. 59, 60; *Rooses, Rubens-Moretus*, 1884, pp. 25, 55; *Dutuit*, VI, p. 160, No. 21; *Rooses*, V, pp. 14, 15, 121, 122, No. 1307; *Hind*, II, p. 23; *Van den Wijngaert*, p. 52, No. 243 bis (3); *Bouchery-Van den Wijngaert*, pp. 25, 26, 78, 79, 135, 136, fig. 48; *Evers*, 1943, p. 327; *Goris-Held*, p. 43, No. 111, pl. 101; M. Jaffé, in *The Burlington Magazine*, 10, 1957, p. 432; J. Müller Hofstede, *Zur Kopfstudie im Werk von Rubens, Wallraf-Richartz Jahrbuch*, XXX, 1968, p. 250, notes 57, 58; W. Prinz, *The Four Philosophers by Rubens and the Pseudo-Seneca in Seventeenth-Century Painting, The Art Bulletin*, LV, 1973, pp. 412, 417, fig. 7; *Renger*, II, p. 170, note 11.

Rubens places the bust of the so-called Seneca in three-quarter profile within a niche. The arch contains rusticated blocks.

The third paragraph of Moretus's Preface informs us that Rubens has drawn this portrait of Seneca, the second of the two likenesses of the philosopher which he provided for his friend, after a marble model that he had brought back from Rome. This marble was in Rubens's "glorious" museum and clearly is the same image as the portrait of Seneca which was part of the collection of the Cardinal Farnese and published, but not accurately enough, by Fulvius Ursinus in his *Illustrium Imagines (Portraits of Famous Men)* and with a commentary by Faber Bambergensis. Moretus further states that both portraits, the one in the Farnese collection and the one owned by Rubens, concur, down to the smallest details, with coins inscribed with Seneca's name. Moretus goes on to say that the uncut, long hair of the bust is somewhat different from that found on the head of the dying Seneca described earlier. However, it gives an excellent image of the leader of the Stoic school, a man of sharp intelligence and strong spirit, nearly spent by nightly vigilance and study. This likeness of his face, therefore, stimulates the reading of the famous writings of this most learned mind.<sup>1</sup>

The marble head was still in Rubens's collection in 1620 as it is mentioned in a letter of January 17, 1620, from Peiresc to Gevartius.<sup>2</sup> Where Rubens's head of the pseudo-Seneca is today is impossible to say;<sup>3</sup> the portrait is closest to the one in the Archeological Museum of the University at Zürich (Fig. 113).<sup>4</sup> Rubens copied this head ca. 1611 in the painting of *Justus Lipsius surrounded by his Pupils*, Palazzo Pitti, Florence.<sup>5</sup> Jan Brueghel used Rubens's antique head of the so-called *Seneca* in the painting of *Sight*, Prado Museum, Madrid.

In a letter dated August 4, 1614, Balthasar Moretus wrote to François Lucas in St. Omer that to illustrate this new edition only two images of Seneca remained to be engraved and that Rubens had designed these from antique prototypes (Appendix I, p. 406 [102]). Sometime between May 15 and December 15, 1614, Theodore Galle was paid 103 guilders for the copper plates cut by Cornelis Galle of Seneca in the bath and the large portrait of Seneca (Appendix III, p. 457 [24]). The copper plate is in the Plantin-Moretus Museum, Antwerp,<sup>6</sup> and was used again in the 1632 edition of Lipsius's *Seneca* and reworked for the 1652 publication.

<sup>1</sup> "Alteram quam spectas effigiem, é prototypo marmoreo idem Rubenius expressit : quod Româ allatum, in elegantissimo Muséo suo asseruat; planè idem cum eiusdem Philosophi simulacro apud Ill<sup>mum</sup> Cardinalem FARNESIVM exstante, & à Fulvio Ursino inter *Illustrium* Imagines, Fabri Bambergensis Commentario illustratas, non satis ad amussim edito. Praerogativam vtrumque hanc habet, quòd cum nummis, quibus ipsum SENECÆ nomen inscriptum, perquam exactè conveniat, Capillitio intonso & promisso, ab imagine priori nonnihil ista differt : sed virilis sectae principem, acerrimi ingenij maximique spiritus virum, vigiliis & lucubrationibus paenè confectum, egregiè repraesentat; ut vel ipsa vultus effigies ad praeclara sapientissimae mentis scripta vltro alliciat.

<sup>2</sup> *Rooses*, v, p. 14, note 1.

<sup>3</sup> The suggestion of F. Baudouin (*Rubens House; A summary guide*, Antwerp, 1971, p. 18) that perhaps the so-called bust of Seneca which the Rubenshuis acquired in 1952 (Fig. 112) is the one that Rubens originally owned is fully accepted by W. Prinz (*op. cit.*, pp. 412, 417, 428).

<sup>4</sup> Inv. No. 3583; this marble head has been successively in the Somzée collection, Brussels, in a Polish collection and in the collection of Prof. M. Roß, Baden (Switzerland). Sincere thanks go to Prof. H. Bloesch, Zürich, who provided information and photographs; see G. M. A. Richter, *The Portraits of the Greeks*, 1, London, 1965, p. 61, No. 30, figs. 198-200, and for a discussion of the Pseudo-Seneca see *ibid.*, pp. 58-66.

<sup>5</sup> *Rooses*, v, p. 115.

<sup>6</sup> Inv. No. KP 59 D; 316 : 197 mm.

**32a.** THE BUST OF SENECA: DRAWING OR OIL SKETCH

Technique and measurements unknown.

*Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.*

**33.** TITLE-PAGE FOR J. HEMELAERS, IMPERATORUM ROMANORUM NUMISMATA AUREA. Antwerp, 1615 (Fig. 114)

Engraving; 171 : 128 mm.

COPY EXAMINED: Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum, No. A 3488.

LITERATURE: *Basan*, pp. 177, 178, No. 28; *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p. 338, No. 1300; *V.S.*, p. 198, No. 32; C. Ruelens, *Les amis de Rubens, Rubens-Bulletijn*, II, 1883, pp. 40, 41; *Dutuit*, VI, p. 216, No. 28; *Rooses*, V, pp. 49, 50, No. 1243, pl. 356; *Rooses-Ruelens*, II, pp. 25-34; *Van den Wijngaert*, pp. 28, 29, No. 17; *Bouchery-Van den Wijngaert*, pp. 116, 117; *Evers*, 1943, pp. 43, 172, 173, fig. 72.

The IMPERATORVM ROMANORVM NUMISMATA AVREA A *Julio Caesare ad Heraculum* is a book in-4° and was published in Antwerp in 1615 by G. van Wolschaten and H. Aertsens. It begins with a title-page not designed by Rubens. This is followed by sixty-four plates, each containing engraved illustrations of twelve coins, then an unillustrated title-page immediately followed by Rubens's. After that there are ten folios which include the Preface and the Dedication of the book to Duke Alexander de Croy. Next we have two hundred and thirty-three pages of learned commentary on the coins by Jan Hemelaers, Canon of the Antwerp Cathedral. Hemelaers was very likely commissioned by Charles de Croy to work on this before 1600 while the former was still studying with Justus Lipsius in Louvain. After 1600, Hemelaers went to Rome for six years and around 1610 he was a member of the same scholarly group that Rubens frequented in Antwerp.<sup>1</sup> The coins in the book all came from the collection of Charles de Croy, except for thirty-five pieces, owned, according to the Preface, by Nicolaas Rockox.

In his frontispiece Rubens places the goddess of money or the mint, *Moneta*—described as such in a letter of January 3, 1611, from Nicolaas Rockox to Jacob de Bie (Appendix I, p. 429 [157])—in front of a rusticated niche, perhaps alluding to the mint which was, in ancient days, in Juno's temple.<sup>2</sup>

Moneta stands to the left of a wreath-enclosed oval containing the title of the book. In her right hand she holds a set of scales and in the other she supports an overflowing cornucopia. Just beneath the scales in the bottom left, a hammer and a pair of pincers, referring to the activities of the mint, rest against a stone block while to the right of the oval column fragments fill the space below, above and to the side. A wall with sprouting foliage is to the right of the niche and behind the column fragments.

The idea of placing a large figure before or within a rusticated niche might well have come from Hubert Goltzius's *Thesaurus Rei Antiquariae Huberimus*, Antwerp, 1579, p. 219 (Fig. 115), where an elongated and mannered personification of Fertility stands in a rusticated niche and holds a cornucopia upside down with coins pouring from it.<sup>3</sup> However, Rubens's figure, although posed with a similar curve to the body as in the 1579 publication, is not mannered but based upon a type found on antique coins. In antiquity Moneta is often seen in a similar frontal position with a pronounced hip-shot pose, head in profile, holding scales and a horn of plenty.<sup>4</sup> Rubens has taken his basic idea from Roman coins and translated it into a piece of monumental antique sculpture like the so-called *Niobid*, now in the National Museum, Naples, but in Rome in the Villa Madama during the 16th and 17th centuries and later in the Borghese collection.<sup>5</sup> Rubens used the same type of personification many years later in 1635 in his oil sketch for the *Front Face of the Triumphal Arch of the Mint*, Antwerp, Museum.<sup>6</sup> However, Moneta, placed above the arch opening, is seated and Rubens includes the caduceus as an attribute of Mercury, the god of Commerce.

There is some question as to the engraver. In a letter of February 26, 1611 (Appendix I, p. 430 [160]), Rockox asks De Bie to decide whether he or Cornelis Galle should cut the plate. Jacob de Bie (Antwerp 1581 – France, ca. 1650) was an engraver, art dealer and a specialist in numismatics who worked in Antwerp, Arnhem and Paris.<sup>7</sup> Because he was an engraver and very much involved with the publication of this book, it seems most likely that he would have cut the plate for the frontispiece which sets the tone for the book.

The same frontispiece was used for the 1627 edition except for a small change in the book title.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> C. Ruelens, *op. cit.*, p. 41.

<sup>2</sup> H. Mattingly, *Roman Coins from the Earliest Times to the Fall of the Western Empire*, London, 1960, p. 11, note 1.



- <sup>3</sup> This type is found again on the back of the triumphal arch erected in honour of the entry of the Cardinal-Infant Ferdinand into Antwerp on April 17, 1635. Rubens's oil sketch for this arch is in the Hermitage, Leningrad (for documentation see *Martin, Pompa*, pp. 156–158, No. 40a, fig. 74). This decorative scheme was later published in a large commemorative volume in 1642 with an explanatory text by Caspar Gevartius under the supervision of Theodore van Thulden and illustrated with engravings after Rubens's sketches (see below, No. 81).
- <sup>4</sup> See for example pl. 35<sup>v</sup> in Hemelaers's 1615 *Imperatorum Romanorum Numismata Aurea*, where one finds a female holding the same attributes as on the frontispiece, but her posture is different. See also the billon "medallion" made during the reign of Probus (176–282) or a coin from the time of Diocletian (269–305); for illustrations see H. Mattingly, *op. cit.*, pls. XXIX, 6; LXIV, 4. In fact, the Diocletian type containing three personifications of Moneta is found on page 157 of the 1642 *Pompa Introitus*.
- <sup>5</sup> For Marten van Heemskerck's drawing of this sculpture see C. Hülsen and H. Egger, *Die römischen Skizzenbücher von Martin van Heemskerck im Königlichen Kupferstichkabinett zu Berlin*, I, Berlin, 1913, pl. 35.
- <sup>6</sup> *Martin, Pompa*, pp. 193–197, No. 50a, Fig. 101.
- <sup>7</sup> For Rubens's business dealings with De Bie see below, p. 335, under Nos. 82–83.
- <sup>8</sup> 172 : 129 mm.; *Hecquet*, pp. 98, 99, No. 26; C. Ruelens, *op. cit.*, pp. 41, 42; *Rooses*, V, p. 50; *Van den Wijngaert*, p. 29, No. 17bis.

**33a.** TITLE-PAGE FOR J. HEMELAERS, IMPERATORUM ROMANORUM NUMISMATA:  
DRAWING

Technique and measurements unknown.

*Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.*

The correspondence between Nicolaas Rockox and Jacob de Bie dating from January 3 and 22, February 11 and 26, 1611 (Appendix I, pp. 429, 430 [157–160]), makes it clear that Rubens drew the frontispiece in that period. This date is further substantiated by stylistic affinities between the figure in the title-page and Rubens's work from around that time. His Moneta assumes the same pose as Honour in the ca. 1612 drawing of *Virtue and Honour*, Antwerp, Museum Plantin-Moretus, which is also based upon antique coins.<sup>1</sup> Further similarities with Rubens's work around 1611 can be seen in the St. Martina on the right wing of the *Resurrection* triptych in the Church of Our Lady, Antwerp,<sup>2</sup> the St. Catherine on the outside of the right wing of *The Raising of the Cross* in the same church<sup>3</sup> or the *Statue of Ceres* in the Hermitage, Leningrad.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Held*, I, p. 147, No. 138; II, pl. 148.

<sup>2</sup> *Bouchery-Van den Wijngaert*, fig. 18.

<sup>3</sup> J.R. Martin, *Rubens: The Antwerp Altarpieces. The Raising of the Cross and The Descent from the Cross*, New York, 1969, fig. 10.

<sup>4</sup> *K.d.K.*, p. 83.

34. CHRIST DEAD ON THE CROSS: ILLUSTRATION FOR THE MISSALE ROMANUM.  
Antwerp, 1616, p. 268 (Fig. 116)

Engraving; 297 : 196 mm.; margin.

COPY EXAMINED: Amsterdam, University Library, No. 1100 A 4.

COPIES: (1) Engraving by C. Galle; lit.: *V.S.*, p. 47, No. 319; (2) Engraving in *Missale Ordinis Fratrum B. Mariae Virginis de Monte Carmelo*, Antwerp, 1665, in-f<sup>o</sup>, p. 256; 297 : 194 mm.

LITERATURE: *Hecquet*, p. 107; *Rooses, Rubens-Moretus*, 1882-83, I, p. 281; II, p. 55; *Rooses, Rubens-Moretus*, 1884, pp. 24, 50; *Rooses*, v, pp. 62, 64, No. 1261; *Van den Wijngaert*, p. 57, No. 294 (13); *Bouchery-Van den Wijngaert*, p. 63; *Evers*, 1943, pp. 211, 212, fig. 153.

Christ, with His head falling down to His right, is nailed to the Cross. An angel flies in on the left and holds a cup which collects the blood flowing from the Saviour's side. The angel is balanced on the right by the movement of the sun and moon which overlap. The Virgin, with hands clasped, looking up toward Christ and clothed with heavy drapery, stands on the ground to the left of the Cross while St. John the Evangelist, with hands raised to his face, mourns on the right. Mary Magdalene, with her back to the spectator and head in profile looking up at Christ, kneels at the foot of the Cross. Two soldiers on horseback are just behind the Cross and to the left while walking figures and the Holy City are visible in the landscape on the right.

The composition is symmetrical and does not break with tradition.<sup>1</sup> The Virgin is a type which Rubens used again in his sketch of ca. 1627-28 formerly in the Collection E. Bührle, Zürich, for the painting in the Chapel of the Holy Cross, Church of St. Michael, Ghent.<sup>2</sup> He repeated the St. John type in the weeping man on the verso of his ca. 1618-19 drawing of *Monks, Cardinals and a Woman*, Stedelijk Prentenkabinet, Antwerp,<sup>3</sup> and in the 1620 *Christ on the Cross* ("Le Coup de Lance"), Royal Museum, Antwerp.<sup>4</sup> Mary Magdalene's bold position, with her back fully turned to the viewer, is very different from Rubens's Flemish forerunners where she is seen from the side.<sup>5</sup>

Rubens had first used this in 1611–12 in the sketch for *The Descent from the Cross*, Courtauld Institute of Art, Lee Collection, London.<sup>6</sup> The idealized rendering of Christ's torso, especially the musculature, appears to be a distant remembrance of the *Laocoön* which Rubens had studied and often drew.<sup>7</sup>

The *Christ Dead on the Cross* was made expressly for the 1616 *Missale Romanum* published in-folio by the Plantin Press.<sup>8</sup> This illustration was certainly not executed for the 1613 *Missale* in which Marten de Vos's 1606 design was used. Nor could it have been made for the 1614 *Breviarium Romanum* and then discarded because this subject had never been given a full-page illustration in a Plantin *Breviarium*. One can conclude, therefore, that this design was made specifically for Moretus's 1616 *Missale Romanum*. This publication also repeated the ten themes present in the 1613 *Missale* but now all of them were designed by Rubens. Two of the illustrations had appeared first in the 1613 *Missale*, *The Adoration of the Magi* (No. 8; Fig. 51) and *The Ascension of Christ* (No. 9; Fig. 53); they had already been re-used, after retouching by Rubens (Nos 22, 24; Figs. 83, 87) in the 1614 *Breviarium*. Seven engravings were taken over in the 1616 *Missale* from the 1614 *Breviarium*: *The Annunciation* (No. 20; Fig. 79), *The Resurrection of Christ* (No. 23; Fig. 85), *Pentecost* (No. 25; Fig. 88), *The Last Supper* (No. 26; Fig. 89), *The Assumption of the Virgin* (No. 27; Fig. 92) and *All Saints* (No. 28; Fig. 94). The one new Rubens illustration for the 1616 *Missale* was *Christ Dead on the Cross*. The ten borders of the 1613 *Missale*, including the two by Rubens (Nos. 6, 7; Figs. 47, 49), were also used in the 1616 edition. Between December 30, 1615, and June 28, 1616, Moretus paid Theodore Galle 352 guilders for printing 1,600 copies of each of the ten plates, the ten borders and the title-page (Appendix III, p. 460 [32]). Some of the plates used earlier had to be reworked by the engraver: *The Resurrection of Christ* (Appendix III, p. 460 [31]), *The Adoration of the Magi* and *The Assumption of the Virgin* (Appendix III, p. 460 [32]). Moretus sold the 1616 *Missale* to the public for seven guilders printed on ordinary paper and illustrated with the ten vignettes and the engraved title-page. When fully illustrated (21 engravings) and printed on ordinary paper, it cost eleven guilders, while 12 guilders 10 stuivers was the price of a completely illustrated volume printed on "larger" (better) paper (Appendix II, p. 434 [8]).<sup>9</sup> The same full-page Rubens designs were used again by the Plantin Press for their 1618 *Missale Romanum*. Theodore Galle's copper plate is preserved in the Plantin-Moretus Museum, Antwerp.<sup>10</sup>

- <sup>1</sup> Cf. the illustrations by Pieter van der Borcht and Marten de Vos for the missals published by the Plantin Press in 1572, 1606 and 1613 (*Evers*, 1943, figs. 151, 152).
- <sup>2</sup> M. Jaffé, in *The Burlington Magazine*, xcvii, 1955, p. 405, fig. 41; [*Cat. Exb.*] *Weltkunst aus Privatbesitz*, Cologne, 1968, No. F 33, fig. 19; panel, 51; 38 cm. The sketch has recently been acquired for the Rockoxhuis, Antwerp.
- <sup>3</sup> Cat. No. 195; *Burchard-d'Hulst*, 1963, I, p. 195, No. 123; II, pl. 123v.
- <sup>4</sup> *K.d.K.*, p. 216.
- <sup>5</sup> Cf. *Evers*, 1943, figs. 151, 152.
- <sup>6</sup> Illustrated in *Haverkamp Begemann*, 1953, No. 10, pl. 14.
- <sup>7</sup> For example the sheet in the Kupferstichkabinett, Dresden, illustrated in *Burchard-d'Hulst*, 1963, I, pp. 31, 32, No. 15; II, pl. 15.
- <sup>8</sup> For a misleading discussion of the use of this illustration in the 1614 *Breviarium Romanum* see *Rooses*, *Rubens-Moretus*, 1882-83, II, p. 55, and for its inclusion in a non-existent 1614 *Missale Romanum*, said to have been published by the Plantin Press, see *Rooses*, v, pp. 62, 63, No. 1261; *Van den Wijngaert*, p. 57, No. 294 (13); *Bouchery-Van den Wijngaert*, p. 63; *Evers*, 1943, pp. 211, 212, fig. 153.
- <sup>9</sup> For a discussion of the types of paper used see *Voet*, II, chapter 2 and, for the use of larger paper, especially p. 37.
- <sup>10</sup> Inv. KP 147 D; 306 : 202 mm.

34a. CHRIST DEAD ON THE CROSS: DRAWING

*Technique and measurements unknown; presumably lost.*

Rubens was paid for this design at the same time that he was compensated for the drawings he had made for the 1614 *Breviarium*, that is sometime between 1610 and 1618 (Appendix III, p. 447 [1]).

35. CHRIST CRUCIFIED WITH THE TWO THIEVES: DRAWING (Fig. 117)

Pen and brown ink and brown wash with slight traces of black chalk underneath; 290 : 195 mm.

*London, Department of Prints and Drawings of the British Museum. Inv. No. 1895.9.1050.*

PROVENANCE: Blackwood, sale, London (?), 1748/49, lot 60; Sir Thomas Lawrence (London, 1769-1830); G. Leembruggen Jzn. (Hillegom, 1801-1865); John Malcolm (Poltalloch, Argyleshire, Scotland, and London, 1805-1893); purchased by the British Museum in 1895 from John Wingfield Malcolm.

LITERATURE: *Rooses*, v, p. 64; *Hind*, II, p. 45, No. 120; *Glück-Haberditzl*, p. 32, No. 39, pl. 39; *Evers*, 1943, p. 212; *Burchard-d'Hulst*, 1963, I, pp. 113-115, No. 68; II, pl. 68.

Christ, crucified, is in profile to the left of center with Mary Magdalene kneeling at the foot of the Cross and looking up at Him. The Bad Thief is also shown in profile and placed along the left margin. The Good Thief is to the right in a frontal view and beneath him are the Virgin, St. John and a third weeping figure, Mary Cleophas, cut off by the right margin.

The Virgin and St. John bring to mind similar figures on the left wing of *The Raising of the Cross* in the Antwerp Cathedral.<sup>1</sup> The weeping Mary Cleophas recalls a similar mourner in the right background of Rubens's copy after Caravaggio's *Entombment* now in the National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa.<sup>2</sup> Mary Magdalene's position at the foot of the Cross with one arm upraised and the other delicately touching Christ's foot is a variation on the Magdalene in the modello for *The Descent from the Cross*, Courtauld Institute of Art, Lee Collection, London,<sup>3</sup> or the altarpiece in the Church of Our Lady, Antwerp.<sup>4</sup>

Although Rubens's design for *The Crucifixion with the Two Thieves* is listed among the payments for drawings executed for the 1614 *Breviarium Romanum* (Appendix III, p. 447 [1]),<sup>5</sup> it is impossible that the sheet was originally meant for that publication.<sup>6</sup> On a number of occasions Moretus's accounts list payments which include designs that were executed and published on different dates. Furthermore, this theme was not usually illustrated in earlier editions of the *Breviarium* but only in the *Missale Romanum*. It is most likely that *The Crucifixion with the Two Thieves* was considered for the 1616 *Missale* and in the end *The Christ Dead on the Cross* (No. 34; Fig. 116) was chosen because it was more traditional for such a publication.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Burchard-d'Hulst, 1963, I, p. 114.

<sup>2</sup> K.d.K., p. 81, left.

<sup>3</sup> Illustrated in Haverkamp Begemann, 1953, p. 41, No. 10, pl. 14.

<sup>4</sup> K.d.K., p. 52.

<sup>5</sup> *The Christ Dead on the Cross* is also listed.

<sup>6</sup> Evers, 1943, p. 212, suggested that it was a discarded design for the *Breviarium* of 1614.

<sup>7</sup> For earlier examples from the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries see Evers, 1943, figs. 151, 152.

36. TITLE-PAGE FOR C. VAN DER STEEN, COMMENTARIA IN PENTATEUCHUM MOSIS. Antwerp, 1616 (Fig. 118)

Engraving; 324 : 199 mm.

COPY EXAMINED: Washington, D.C., Library of Congress, No. BS 1225, L 35.

LITERATURE: *Hecquet*, p. 97, No. 10; *Basan*, p. 172, No. 11; *V.S.*, p. 195, No. 12; *Rooses*, v, p. 89 (as *not conceived by Rubens*); M. Jaffé, *Two Rubens Drawings Rediscovered*, *The Art Quarterly*, xvi, 1953, pp. 132, 135; [*Cat. Exh.*] *Drawings & Oil Sketches by P.P. Rubens from American Collections*, Cambridge, Mass., 1956, pp. 19, 20, No. 15; *Held*, 1960, p. 264; B. Fredlund, *Architektur i Rubens' Måleri. Form och funktion*, Göteborg, 1974, pp. 21, 191, fig. 45.

The publication contains a learned commentary on the first five books of the Old Testament, the *Pentateuch* of Moses, by Father Cornelis van der Steen (Bocholt, 1566 – Rome, 1637), a Jesuit and Professor of Holy Scriptures and Hebrew at the University of Louvain, and later, from ca. 1617 onwards, in Rome.

Folios 2-7<sup>v</sup> of the *Commentaria in Pentateuchum Mosis* contain the dedication to the Very Venerable and Illustrious Hendrik Frans van der Burch, Archbishop and Prelate of Cambrai, Prince of the Holy Roman Empire. Folio 8 includes privileges and permissions to publish. The earliest privilege was granted by the Emperor on September 7, 1613, in Regensburg. The King of France bestowed one on October 10, 1615, in Bordeaux while the Archduke Albert and his wife, Isabella, gave theirs through Steenhuyse on May 25, 1615, in Brussels. Three permissions were signed by the following men: Mutius Vitellescus, General of the Jesuit Order in Rome, on January 9, 1616; Carolus Scribani, Provincial of the Jesuit Order for the Belgian province, dated August 23, 1616, in Antwerp; Egbertus Spitholdius, licentiate in Theology, Canon and Priest of the Cathedral of Antwerp and censor of books in Antwerp. These approbations are followed by 1,062 pages of text. The first twenty-four pages are divided into three parts and serve as a Preface and eulogy to the sacred text. The main body of the text, pp. 25-1,062, concerns itself with observations on the Pentateuch. The author explains that the Pentateuch is the chronicle of the world from the Creation to the death of Moses, and that it is composed of five Books: Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, and Deuteronomy. The reader is then informed that Moses is the author, but that the annotations are by another, perhaps Joshua. Pages 26-31 lists forty-two preliminary rules on how to correctly understand the five Books. On page 32, there is a table with the dates of the most important events of world history prior to the birth of Christ. Pages 33-231 are concerned with remarks about the

Book of Genesis. Van der Steen deals with each chapter and annotates the text. Pages 322-323 present an historical summary and chronology of the entire creation, and on pages 324-325 we have a doxology praising God as the Creator, based on the book of Genesis. Pages 326-609 are a commentary on Exodus and close with a short hymn on page 610 praising God as the Saviour, founded on the book of Exodus and also a brief summary of this book. Pages 611-771 contain a commentary on Leviticus and on page 772 there is a doxology to the Holy Father, stating how He must be held in honour, as written in Leviticus. The book of Numbers is discussed on pages 773-939, and this closes with a two page, 940-941, song praising God as the Leader and Lord as stated in the Book of Numbers. There is also a short summary of the book. Deuteronomy is commented upon on pages 941-1,062 and on pages 1,063-1,064, there is a hymn to God as the giver of law and also concerning his commandments. These commentaries, doxologies and summaries are followed by two more chapters. One summarizes the commandments which God gave to Moses as collected from the Pentateuch (pp. 1,065-1,075) and a second discusses the weights and measures of the Hebrews, Greeks, Romans and Spaniards. This volume concludes with three indexes.

In the title-page, Moses is enthroned on a pedestal containing the title and address of the book. The stone just beneath the throne is inscribed *Dedit illi legem vitae et disciplinae* (To him he has given the law of life and discipline). In his right hand Moses holds two tablets, inscribed with quotations from the Ten Commandments: *Ego sum Dominus tuus, Deus aemulator etc.* (I am the Lord thy God, the jealous God, etc.) <sup>1</sup> and *Honora patrem &c. Non occides, non moechaberis &c.* (Honour thy father etc. Thou shalt not kill. Thou shalt not commit adultery). <sup>2</sup> The pediment and architrave with their antique motifs enframe Moses. Just above his head, Holy Light emanates and is encircled by four heads as described by Ezechiel. <sup>3</sup> There it is written that the "four had the face of a man, and the face of a lion, on the right side: and they four had the face of an ox on the left side, they four also had the face of an eagle". These symbols form a modified circle, in the center of which one finds the Hebrew word for YAHWEH. The engraver has included vowel points to warn the reader against pronouncing the word JHVH (modern YAHWEH), but instead to read it as Lord because Jews do not pronounce but only read the Holy Tetragrammaton. Above the pediment on the right and left sides, there are winged angels. The architrave is supported on either side by two Corinthian columns,

each decorated with two hanging medallions. These four medallions and the cartouche below depict scenes from the five Books of Moses. The illustrations begin in the upper left with the Lord dividing "the light from the darkness" and other works of creation as described in Genesis.<sup>4</sup> The figure of the Lord recalls Raphael's in the Loggie.<sup>5</sup> In the upper right is *The Passage Through the Red Sea* as described in Exodus.<sup>6</sup> The scene in the lower left illustrates *The High Priest Sacrificing a Fowl* from Leviticus,<sup>7</sup> and that in the lower right *The Ark of the Covenant Covered by a Tent* as described in Numbers.<sup>8</sup> Deuteronomy is represented in the cartouche by *Moses Preaching to the People of Israel on the Plain*.<sup>9</sup> There is a counter-proof in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris of the 1616 title-page (Fig. 120).<sup>10</sup> A second edition of the *Commentaria* appeared two years later (Fig. 121), but by this time Van Meurs had become Balthasar Moretus's partner in the Plantin Press.<sup>11</sup> This is the reason why only Nutius's name appears on the address of the 1618 frontispiece. Nutius published a third edition in 1623, a fourth in 1630,<sup>12</sup> and still another appeared in 1648, but on this occasion it was printed by the Van Meurs family.

<sup>1</sup> Exodus 20 : 5.

<sup>2</sup> Exodus 20 : 12 - 14.

<sup>3</sup> Ezechiel 1 : 4 - 10.

<sup>4</sup> Genesis 1 : 1 - 25.

<sup>5</sup> M. Jaffé, *op. cit.*, p. 135.

<sup>6</sup> Exodus 14 : 21 - 28.

<sup>7</sup> Leviticus 1 : 14 - 17.

<sup>8</sup> Numbers 4 : 4 - 6.

<sup>9</sup> Deuteronomy 1 : 1 - 3.

<sup>10</sup> Inv. No. C 49795; 321 : 199 mm., margin.

<sup>11</sup> Jan van Meurs joined the Plantin Press in April 1618 when Balthasar Moretus's brother Jan died. Van Meurs remained with the publishing house until 1629 (*Bouchery-Van den Wijngaert*, p. 59; *Voet*, I, pp. 209, 210). For Rubens's grisaille design for Van Meurs's printer's mark see No. 60a; Fig. 206.

<sup>12</sup> M. Jaffé, *op. cit.*, pp. 134, 136, note 10, fig. 3.

36a. TITLE-PAGE FOR C. VAN DER STEEN, COMMENTARIA IN PENTATEUCHUM MOSIS: DRAWING (Fig. 119)

Pen and brown ink and brown wash over black chalk, on prepared paper; 315 : 201 mm.; indented for transfer. Medallions on right are inserted into paper bordered by laurel wreaths. Additions made to plinth in lower-left corner.



*Private collection.*

PROVENANCE: Sir Peter Lely (Utrecht, 1618–London, 1680).

EXHIBITED: *Cambridge-New York*, 1956, No. 15.

LITERATURE: M. Jaffé, *Two Rubens Drawings Rediscovered*, *The Art Quarterly*, xvi, 1953, pp. 131–136, fig. 8; *Held*, 1960, p. 264, fig. 8; *Held*, 1974, pp. 252, 259, note 15.

The general arrangement for the composition with the architecture composed of Corinthian columns on either side supporting an architrave, entablature and pediment with praying angels above can be found in earlier book illustrations like the one of 1586 published in Rome (Fig. 122). While praying and kneeling figures perched above on fragmented pieces of architecture are also found often on architectural structures not using columns but niches.<sup>1</sup> Rubens had used the angel with crossed arms and profiled head staring intently at a fixed point a few years earlier in the upper-left corner of his illustration for *The Assumption of the Virgin* in the 1614 *Breviarium Romanum* (No. 27; Fig. 92). Held has rightly pointed out the similarity between the two angels in Rubens's 1616 title-page and those executed by Bernini around 1626–28 for the *Altar* in S. Agostino, Rome.<sup>2</sup> A close variation on these angels and on the figure of Moses is found earlier in the frontispiece of Cornelis Cornelisz. van der Steen's 1614 *Commentaria in D. Pauli Epistolas* (Fig. 125).<sup>3</sup>

Burchard, who had only seen a photograph of this drawing, did not accept it or the composition for the title-page as by Rubens. Although the perspective behind Moses's head is incorrect and causes the architecture to press down on his head, the strong and powerful rendering of this Old Testament leader is clearly by Rubens. The rendering of the hair, face and beard is close to the delicate and expressive lines used to define the same features in the kneeling King in the ca. 1613 drawing of *The Adoration of the Magi*, Pierpont Morgan Library, New York (No. 8a; Fig. 52), made for the 1613 *Missale Romanum*. Still another stylistic connection between the designs for the latter publication and the *Commentaria* is evident in the four medallions and the cartouche. Here the scenes are drawn with emphatic and continuous pen lines, physiognomies are roughly indicated with dots for the eyes and quick scribbles suggest the noses, mouths and hands. This style is very similar to that of Rubens's border decoration in the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York (No. 7a; Fig. 50) made

for the 1613 *Missale Romanum*. The egg and dart motif on both sides of the pediment in the *Commentaria* is very summarily treated as it is above Mercury in the drawing in the British Museum for Aguilon's *Opticorum libri sex* (No. 10a; Fig. 56). Because of these stylistic connections with drawings executed around 1613, one might suggest that Rubens's design for the *Commentaria* was done a year or two prior to the actual publication of the book, say ca. 1614-15.

Some slight changes were made by the engraver. In the drawing there are more birds to the left of Moses's head in the cartouche. There are five layers of stone (abacus) above the capitals and between the architrave in the drawing and four in the engraving. In the drawing, Moses's staff was meant to touch the edge of the pediment while in the engraving there is space between them. The Hebrew letters are different in the drawing and without vowel marks.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For example the title-pages for *Le Psautier de Jesus*, Paris, 1600 (Fig. 123) and for the *Breviarium Monasticum* of 1613 (Fig. 124).

<sup>2</sup> *Held*, 1960, pp. 263, 264, figs. 8, 9.

<sup>3</sup> A second edition appeared in 1621 and another in 1627, but the latter has a newly cut frontispiece that repeats, with slight changes, those of 1614 and 1621.

<sup>4</sup> See above, p. 175, for importance of vowel marks.

37. TITLE-PAGE FOR G. BOSIO, CRUX TRIUMPHANS ET GLORIOSA. Antwerp, 1617 (Fig. 126)

Engraving; 328 : 210 mm.; below on the left: *Pet. Paul Rubenius invenit*; below on the right: *Corn. Galleus sculpsit*.

COPY EXAMINED: Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum, No. A 777.

EXHIBITED: *Paris*, 1954, No. 367; *Bologna*, 1965, No. 278.

LITERATURE: *Hecquet*, p. 97, No. 11; *Basan*, p. 173, No. 16; *Smith*, *Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p. 336, No. 1286; *V.S.*, p. 196, No. 18; *Rooses*, *Titels*, No. 5; *Rooses*, *Rubens-Moretus*, 1882-83, II, p. 61; *Rooses*, *Rubens-Moretus*, 1884, p. 56; *Dutuit*, VI, pp. 213, 214, No. 16; *Rooses*, IV, p. 120; V, p. 55, No. 1248; *Van den Wijngaert*, p. 48, No. 223; *Bouchery-Van den Wijngaert*, pp. 79, 123, 129, 136, 153, fig. 51; *Evers*, 1943, pp. 47, 174, fig. 77; *Held*, 1960, pp. 259, 262, 263.

Early in his life the author, Giacomo Bosio (Chivasso, 1544 - Rome, 1627) became a member of the Order of the Knights of Malta and, beginning in

1574, was their representative in the Vatican. In 1581 he was involved in a homicide and disappeared for some years from the Papal court. He later joined the staff of Cardinal Petrocchini. His most famous publication is the history of the Order of Malta, the "Historia della Religione et Ill<sup>ma</sup> Militia di S. Giovanni Gerosolimitano" (Rome, 1594-1602).<sup>1</sup> His *Cruce Triumphans et Gloriosa* is divided into six Books starting with eight unnumbered folios, then six hundred and eighty-nine numbered pages followed by twenty-six unnumbered folios containing two indexes, rights and permissions for publication and ending with a sixteenth-century Plantin Press device. There are numerous woodcuts interspersed throughout the publication. The first Book describes the names and forms of the Cross, the shape of Christ's Cross and the type of wood used. This Book also discusses where and when the Crucifixion occurred and speaks of kings and famous people who were crucified. The question of why Christ chose to be crucified is also considered as well as legends of the Cross, of the instruments of the Passion and of the story of Judas and the thirty pieces of silver. Book Two describes the forms of the Cross which God made in heaven and on earth that prefigure Christ's death and why Christ decided to sacrifice Himself on the Cross. Book Three contains explanations of passages relating to the forms of the Cross as found in the Old and New Testaments and the writings of the Church Fathers. Book Four includes prophecies of the Crucifixion by Prophets and Sibyls. The following Book tells us that, although God had chosen the people of Israel, he did not leave the pagans to their fate. Bosio suggests that perhaps God allowed so many signs and forms of the Cross to appear in Egyptian hieroglyphics in order that the pagans could raise their spirit by observing the mysteries that God brought about by means of the Holy Cross. Book Six tells us that, after the Passion and Resurrection of Christ, the indignities, abusive words and insults before the Cross were miraculously changed into honour, glory, triumph and the highest veneration.

Rubens places Christ in the top center, standing on a pedestal that takes the form of an antique funerary altar,<sup>2</sup> which suggests the idea of Christ's sacrifice. He supports the Cross in His left hand and points to it with His right. His wounds are visible on His side, feet and hands. However, Rubens's *Christ Triumphant* is an idealized Man of Sorrows coming from Italian sources<sup>3</sup> and not the suffering and ravaged type generally associated with Northern Art. Faith, holding a chalice in her right hand and a cross in her left, is seated on

the pedestal to the left. Beneath her feet and on the bottom platform, there is a large globe surmounted by a cross symbolic of Christianity's conquest of the World.<sup>4</sup> On the right is the personification of Divine Love, holding her attributes, the flame in her left hand and a crucifix in the right.<sup>5</sup> The papal tiara and St. Peter's keys are underneath her feet and refer to the worldly power of the Papacy.<sup>6</sup> The pedestal is bordered on the top by the egg and dart ornament and along the sides by volutes, which culminate in a fantastic animal's foot. A splendid garland of fruit with serpents on either side hangs from the top of the volutes and enframes the bottom section of the title. This garland refers to the sweet fruits of Paradise and the serpents symbolize death and resurrection.<sup>7</sup> Beneath the garland is the address, bordered at the sides by cherubim and at the top by a cross. This and two other types of crosses that also appear in this image are discussed by Bosio in Book I, chapter 2, p. 6. The cross at the top of the address is called the *Crux immissa* and takes the form of a plus (+). The *Crux commissa* is shaped like the letter "T" (tau in Greek), and we find it in the upper right just above the personification of *Divine Love*. The *Crux decussata* looks like the Roman numeral ten (X) and is found combined with the letter "P" in the upper left. The latter is explained in Book VI, chapter 13, pp. 625-627, as the sign of the Cross that appeared to Emperor Constantine before the battle against Maxentius at the Milvian Bridge. Page 627 states that in Eusebius's *Life of Constantine*, Book I, chapter 25, the sign that appeared to the Emperor and caused his conversion to Christianity is described as the letter "P" interlaced with the letter "X" and above this sign the words IN HOC SIGNO VINCES (By this you will conquer). The use of the letter "T" is further discussed in Bosio, Book I, chapter 4, pp. 9, 10. There the story from Ezekiel 10, is cited where six men entered Jerusalem to kill the inhabitants and only those with the letter "T" on their foreheads were saved.

Rubens's design is conceived in terms of monumental tomb sculpture with a dominating figure in the center towering over personifications below and to the sides. He must have been thinking of ensembles like Michelangelo's tombs in the Medici Chapel, San Lorenzo, Florence, Giovanni da Bologna's *Altar of Liberty*, Duomo, Lucca, or Leoni's *Medici Monument*, Duomo, Milan. However, Rubens's figures are no longer constrained by the architecture or strong contours, but move out and directly engage the spectator as in the case of Christ or sit precariously on the sides of the pedestal and reach back

into depth and out into space as do the female personifications. The movement and flesh and blood quality of the figures is typically seventeenth-century and bears a strong similarity in spirit to what Bernini will do a number of years later.<sup>8</sup> Although no specific tomb sculpture can be cited as Rubens's model, the monumental figure of Christ does come from a very famous and often copied prototype, Michelangelo's *Christ* in Santa Maria sopra Minerva, Rome.<sup>9</sup> Rubens takes over the antique pose of Michelangelo's Christ,<sup>10</sup> who turns His body to one side and His head to the other. Rubens's Saviour also cradles the Cross in one arm and His fingers grip the wood in a similar way. This was not the first time that the Fleming used this Michelangelo sculpture as a model. Around 1615 this type appears in Rubens's *St. Augustine between Christ and the Virgin*, Academia de San Fernando, Madrid,<sup>11</sup> later, around 1618, in the painting of *Christ and the Four Penitent Sinners*, Alte Pinakothek, Munich<sup>12</sup> and in an engraving by Egbert van Panderen after a composition by Rubens representing *The Intercession of the Virgin*.<sup>13</sup> A more distantly related type is also evident in Rubens's ca. 1610–12 composition of *Christ as Salvator Mundi*, preserved in a copy of the lost original in the National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa.<sup>14</sup> The latter is really based on Michiel Coxie's design of this subject engraved by Cornelis Cort.<sup>15</sup>

Bosio began negotiating by mail from Milan with Moretus for a new Latin edition of his previously published Italian text<sup>16</sup> as early as October 25, 1614 (Appendix I, p. 368 [11]). Moretus wrote to Bosio in Rome on March 6, 1615, informing him that he has finally received the book along with the illustrations which he will have improved in Antwerp. Furthermore, Moretus added that the illustration for the title needed a larger format (Appendix I, p. 369 [12]). Some nine months later, on December 21, 1615, the publisher wrote again to Bosio, informing him that he would start printing the *Triumphal Cross* the following month, that he had already purchased the necessary paper and that he would have a new frontispiece engraved because the one cut in Rome could not be adapted to the format of the new edition (Appendix I, p. 369 [13]). The book was printed shortly before May 22, 1617, as attested to in another letter from Moretus to the author (Appendix I, p. 369 [14]). In a letter of February 4, 1617, Moretus had informed Leonard Lessius that his *De Justitia et Jure* could not yet be printed because Bosio was urging that his book should be finished (Appendix I, pp. 404, 405 [96]). Moreover, between October 5, 1616, and May 29, 1617, Theodore Galle was paid 75 guilders for

the copper and the plate cut by Cornelis Galle after Rubens's design. In this same list of payments, we learn that 1,275 sheets of the title were run off at a cost of 20 stuivers the hundred or 12 guilders 15 stuivers in all (Appendix III, p. 461 [33, 34]). Moretus sold the book for 6 guilders 10 stuivers when printed on ordinary paper, for 7 guilders on "fin median" paper and for 7 guilders 10 stuivers on white paper (Appendix II, p. 434 [9]). There is a proof for this Galle engraving in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, where the contrasts between the light and shadow areas are stronger than in either the drawing or the engraving.<sup>17</sup> The plate is preserved in the Plantin-Moretus Museum, Antwerp.<sup>18</sup>

- 1 G. De Caro, in *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*, XIII, Rome, 1971, pp. 261–264.
- 2 For an earlier use of this type by Rubens, see above, No. 29, Fig. 100.
- 3 Cf. Giovanni Bellini, National Gallery, London (M. Davies, *National Gallery Catalogues. The earlier Italian Schools*, London, 1951, pp. 47, 48, No. 1233) and Michelangelo, *S. Maria sopra Minerva*, Rome (C. de Tolnay, *Michelangelo*, III, Princeton, 1948, pp. 89–95, figs. 68–70).
- 4 This juxtaposition of *Faith* and the globe is repeated, with some changes, in Rubens's sketch for *The Triumph of the Eucharist over Philosophy, Science, Poetry and Nature*, Royal Museum, Brussels (*d'Hulst*, 1968, No. 18, fig. 37).
- 5 For a discussion of this type and more specifically the meaning of the flame see R. Freydan, *The Evolution of the Caritas Figure in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries*, *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, XI, 1948, pp. 68, 73, 74, 78.
- 6 Cf. *Knipping*, II, p. 144, fig. 99.
- 7 Cf. a similar garland on the pedestal of the *Portrait of Philip Rubens* in the latter's *S. Asterii Amaseae Homiliae* of 1615 (No. 29; Fig. 100).
- 8 *Held*, 1960, pp. 262, 263.
- 9 For the copies by sculptors and engravers see C. de Tolnay, *op. cit.*, III, pp. 93, 94, 180.
- 10 C. de Tolnay, *op. cit.*, III, pp. 90, 179.
- 11 For documentation see *Vlieghe, Saints*, I, pp. 97, 98, No. 66, Fig. 117.
- 12 *K.d.K.*, p. 176; *Evers*, 1942, p. 143, fig. 70.
- 13 H. Thode, *Michelangelo. Kritische Untersuchungen über seine Werke*, II, Berlin, 1908, p. 269.
- 14 For documentation see *Vlieghe, Saints*, I, pp. 38, 39, No. 6, Fig. 14.
- 15 K. Arndt, *Studien zu Georg Petel*, *Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen*, IX, 1967, p. 198, figs. 15, 16.
- 16 *La triomfante e gloriosa croce trattato di Jacomo Bosio ...*, Rome, 1610, in-f<sup>o</sup>; see the copy in the Plantin-Moretus Museum, Antwerp, No. B 558.
- 17 Inv. No. Cc 31, f<sup>o</sup> 87; engraving, 325 : 211 mm., margin; *Dutuit*, VI, p. 214.
- 18 Inv. No. KP 162 D; 334 : 218 mm.

37a. TITLE-PAGE FOR G. BOSIO, CRUX TRIUMPHANS ET GLORIOSA: DRAWING OR OIL SKETCH

Technique and measurements unknown.

*Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.*

COPY: Drawing (Fig. 127) by Cornelis Galle (?), London, Victoria and Albert Museum, No. Dyce 544; pen and brown ink and brown wash; 315 : 205 mm., traced for transfer; for references, see No. 37b.

Because of the precise working out of the details and the awkward rendering of such forms as Christ's left hand, the anatomy of the allegorical figures, the details of the garland, the angel's heads and the architecture, the Victoria and Albert Museum drawing cannot be the original Rubens. Although the technique is different, these weaknesses are similar to those found in the working drawing in Dijon (Fig. 192) made for Hugo's *Obsidio Bredana* (No. 55; Fig. 190). One can suggest, therefore, that the Victoria and Albert Museum design very likely was drawn by the engraver, Cornelis Galle, or someone in his shop after the lost original by Rubens.<sup>1</sup> The only changes between the working drawing and the engraving can be seen in the greater contrasts between the light and dark areas in the print and a few minor corrections in the shadow patterns. Balthasar Moretus paid Rubens 20 guilders for his design at an unknown date between 1624 and 1640 (Appendix III, p. 000 [2]).

<sup>1</sup> For more details see text p. 28.

37b. TITLE-PAGE FOR G. BOSIO, CRUX TRIUMPHANS ET GLORIOSA: DRAWING (Fig. 127)

Pen and brown ink and brown wash; 315 : 205 mm.; traced for transfer.

*London, Victoria and Albert Museum. Inv. No. Dyce 544.*

PROVENANCE: H. Tersmitten, sale, Amsterdam (J. Vollbragt), 23 September 1754 *et seqq.*, lot 439; G. Huquier (Orleans-Paris, 1695-1772), sale, Amsterdam (Yver), 14 September 1761 *et seqq.*, lot 552; D. Muilman, sale, Amsterdam (Jan de Bosch Jeronimusz, Ploos van Amstel, de Winter), 29-30 March 1773, teekeningen konstboek H., lot 572 ("... Pen gewassen met Oostind. Inkt, hoog 12 1/2, breed 8 duim"), bought

by P. Yver; D. Marsbag & Mr. Cxxx, sale, Amsterdam (Ploos van Amstel, de Winter, Yver), 30 October 1775 *et seqq.*, lot 208; Rev. A. Dyce (London, 1798-1869); bequeathed to the Museum by A. Dyce in 1869.

LITERATURE: *Catalogue of the Paintings, Miniatures, Drawings, Engravings ... bequeathed by the Reverend Alexander Dyce*, London, 1874, No. 544; *Rooses*, v, p. 55, No. 1248; K.T. Parker, *Unpublished Drawings by Rubens in the Victoria and Albert Museum, Old Master Drawings*, iv, No. 14, September 1929, p. 20; *Held*, 1974, p. 252.

Although Burchard does not discuss the attribution of this sheet to Rubens, he seems to accept Parker's idea that Rubens executed it. For comments, see No. 37a.

38. TITLE-PAGE FOR L. LESSIUS, DE JUSTITIA ET JURE. Antwerp, 1617 (Fig. 128)

Engraving; 327 : 198 mm.; below on the left: *Pet. Paul. Rubenius invent.*; below on the right: *Cor. Galleus sculpsit.*

COPY EXAMINED: Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum, No. A 557.

EXHIBITED: *Paris*, 1954, No. 368; *Bologna*, 1965, No. 279.

LITERATURE: *Basan*, pp. 178, 179, No. 30; *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, II, pp. 338, 339, No. 1302; *Rooses, Titels*, under No. 11; *Rooses, Rubens-Moretus*, 1882-83, I, p. 282; II, pp. 61, 62; *Rooses, Rubens-Moretus*, 1884, pp. 25, 56, 57; *Rooses*, IV, p. 120; v, pp. 90, 91, 118, No. 1279, pl. 369; Ch. Van Sull, *Léonard Lessius (1554-1623)*, Paris-Brussels, 1930, p. 185; *Van den Wijngaert*, p. 50, No. 233; *Bouchery-Van den Wijngaert*, pp. 79, 123, 129, 137, fig. 52; *Evers*, 1943, pp. 47, 175; G. de Tervarent, *Les Enigmes de l'Art. L'Héritage Antique*, Paris, 1946, pp. 39-41; W. Deonna, *La Politique par P.P. Rubens, Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire*, xxxi, 1953, pp. 532-534; *Held*, 1960, pp. 263, 268, note 45.

The author of this book, Professor Leonard Lessius (Brecht, 1554 - Louvain 1623) or Leys, was born at Brecht near Antwerp and later became a member of the Jesuit Order. He taught philosophy at Douai and from 1585-1605 theology at the University of Louvain where he died.<sup>1</sup> The book contains eight hundred and eight in-folio pages of text, followed by forty-three unnumbered pages, including a dedication to Albert of Austria by Lessius, an index and the necessary permissions to print the book. Lessius writes a continuous commentary on Saint Thomas [Aquinas]. The text is concerned



with Justice and Right and the remaining cardinal virtues, following Saint Thomas's subdivisions. He juxtaposes the virtues and vices in each of four Books. In the first Book he discusses the first cardinal virtue, Prudence, and its opposites Imprudence, Negligence, Ignorance, etc. Book II is concerned with Justice and the Law and the virtues related to Justice as opposed to the vices. The third Book is concerned with Fortitude, which is considered to be the third cardinal virtue. The last volume deals with the fourth cardinal virtue, Temperance, and its four types: Sobriety, Abstinence, Chastity and Virginity. These are opposed to Gluttony, Drunkenness and Excess. Lessius further divides Temperance into other virtues such as Continenence, Clemency and Modesty as opposed to the vices of Fury, Cruelty and Pride.

Rubens's frontispiece is dominated by Astraea or Themis, the goddess of Justice, who is seated in the center above the oval-framed book title, holding one of her attributes, the caduceus, symbol of peace, in her right hand and a small bowl in the left. She was the last deity to leave the earth after the Golden Age and became the constellation Virgo. Rubens appears to follow this concept as found in Valeriano's description in presenting Justice. According to the latter's text, the Virgin, symbol of Justice, is placed on the arc of the zodiac between a lion and a set of scales which is precisely what we have here.<sup>2</sup> Although the upper section can be read independently of the middle and bottom parts, Rubens seems to have meant them to be seen as a whole. In the upper left, the Lion must not be interpreted solely in terms of the signs of the zodiac, the month of July, but also as Fortitude. Below on the left one finds a female figure holding a snake in her right hand and wearing a crown in the shape of a fortress. The crown refers to a city or country and the snake to Prudence and Sovereignty. She is really an image of Wise Government. This combined with the lion above suggests that fortitude is necessary for wise and just government. In the upper right, Rubens has included scales, symbol of Justice and the months of September and October. Beneath the scales stands a five-breasted female holding flowers in her left hand and supporting an upside-down cornucopia. Within the context of this book, which specifically deals with the Virtues, this many-breasted female could be the personification of Temperance. However, it is difficult to maintain this notion because Temperance usually is depicted performing other activities such as pouring water into a vase or cup or holding a bridle. Another explanation might be that she personifies the abundance of nature during peaceful and just

times. When scales and abundance are combined, they also connote fairness while the caduceus and the cornucopia in the same image refer to a blissful and happy public. Rubens has placed two chained figures seated back to back at the base of the ensemble. These prisoners, a variation on the bound prisoner type that Rubens must have known from antique sources<sup>3</sup> or earlier title-pages,<sup>4</sup> symbolize vice. The blindfolded man on the left with his left foot resting on a helmet, attribute of suspicion, and with arms lying about (referring to war), denotes blind and furious violence. The satyr on the right represents evil and, more specifically, savage passion. These vices are subdued by Justice. Next to the satyr, one finds a basket of fruit, a torch, a bow and a quiver filled with arrows. The fruit is connected with abundance and the torch with peace when resting against the weapons of war.

The layout of this frontispiece marks a radical change from the one used for the 1609 and 1612 editions of this book, also published by the Plantin Press. The earlier composition continues the monumental-tomb type with the *maniera* figures very much part of the structure. Rubens's main figures are before a landscape and a cloudy sky imparting a new sense of seventeenth-century illusionism into title-page designs. Rubens also begins to include more allegorical figures acting as a support for the main personification who sits like the Virgin in an *Assumption* or an enthroned Madonna and looks forward to Rubens's work of the 1620's. At that time, the forms become even more ample and the scenes more densely populated with symbolic personages.<sup>5</sup>

The frontispiece for the 1617 edition was designed by Rubens as stated in a letter of July 15, 1617, written by Balthasar Moretus to Leonard Lessius (Appendix I, p. 405 [98]). Two letters from Moretus to Lessius dated February 4 and May 13, 1617, inform us that the preparation of this edition started in the spring of that year (Appendix I, pp. 404, 405 [96, 97]). On October 12, 1617, Lessius wrote to Moretus that the new frontispiece pleased him and that it was full of elegance and ingeniousness (Appendix I, p. 405 [99]). Moretus ordered 1,500 copies of the title-page to be printed, for which he paid 5 guilders on October 6, 1617 (Appendix III, p. 461 [35]). The book was sold to the public for 6 guilders when printed on ordinary paper and for 7 guilders on white paper ("papier blanq fin voll<sup>m</sup> de Lyon"; Appendix II, p. 434 [10]). A proof (Fig. 129) for the title-page was made, an example of which can be found in the Rijksprentenkabinet, Amsterdam.<sup>6</sup>

The same plate was used again for the 1621 edition of the book. In 1626,

Cornelis Galle retouched the plate. He placed Justice's head in the clouds, which he darkened, and also made the shadows more pronounced in her drapery and in the clouds upon which she sits. Actually he added more shade to all of the details: faces, laurel around the oval frame, trees, draperies and anatomy of both humans and animals. Galle first made a proof with these changes <sup>7</sup> for which he was paid 40 guilders on September 26, 1626. <sup>8</sup> The text omits the decorative pattern between the title and the place of publication. The last line of the title adds *Cum Appendice de Monte Pietatis*. The 1626 Galle plate was used again, with further changes in the lighting, for the 1632 edition. <sup>9</sup> In this edition, a decorative design was inserted into the text of the title-page, which was also altered. The plate, without the text in the center, is preserved in the Plantin-Moretus Museum, Antwerp. <sup>10</sup>

- <sup>1</sup> For a complete biography of Lessius, see Ch. Van Sull, *op. cit.*
- <sup>2</sup> J.P. Valeriano, *Hieroglyphica*, Basle, 1575, p. 435 (first edition: Basle, 1556). A variation on this type is found in the frontispiece of what must have been a thesis entitled *Franciscus Schwabel a Schwabenfeldt Pragensis, Repetitio de Donationibus*, which has been wrongly called a Rubens design (*Rooses*, v, p. 118).
- <sup>3</sup> For the cross-legged pose of Temperance or Abundance see *The Alliance of Earth and Water*, Leningrad, Hermitage (*K.d.K.*, p. 109).
- <sup>4</sup> See also the figures on the title-page of Jacob de Bie's *Nomismata Imperatorum Romanorum* (No. 39; Fig. 130) and for a sarcophagus of the late 2nd century A.D. see *The Battle of the Greeks and Gauls*, reproduced in H. Stuart Jones, *op. cit.*, p. 74, No. 5, pl. 15. For an earlier title-page containing bound prisoners see the Plantin edition of 1597 of C. Baronius's *Annales Ecclesiastici*, II (Fig. 170).
- <sup>5</sup> Cf. *The Felicity of the Regency, Medici Cycle*, Louvre, Paris.
- <sup>6</sup> Rijksprentenkabinet, Amsterdam, Box 136; 323 : 204 mm.; *Dutuit*, VI, p. 217; G. de Tervarent, *Les Enigmes de l'Art III, L'Héritage Antique*, Paris, 1946, Pl. XXII, fig. 21.
- <sup>7</sup> 328 : 199 mm.; *Rooses, Titels*, No. 11, repr.; *Evers*, 1943, fig. 80.
- <sup>8</sup> "1626, Den 26 september. Cornelius verholpen den tytel van Lessius in-fol.... 40 gul." (*Rooses, Rubens-Moretus*, 1882-83, II, p. 62).
- <sup>9</sup> *Bouchery-Van den Wijngaert*, fig. 52.
- <sup>10</sup> Inv. No. KP 134 D; 328 : 200 mm.

**38a.** TITLE-PAGE FOR L. LESSIUS, DE JUSTITIA ET JURE: DRAWING OR OIL SKETCH

Technique and measurements unknown.

*Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.*

A letter from Balthasar Moretus to Leonard Lessius, dated July 15, 1617 (Appendix I, p. 405 [98]), informs us that Rubens made the design for this

title-page. Moreover, it was included among the frontispieces in-folio for which he received twenty guilders from Moretus (Appendix III, pp. 448, 449 [2]).

39. TITLE-PAGE FOR J. DE BIE, *NOMISMATA IMPERATORUM ROMANORUM*. Antwerp, 1617 (Fig. 130)

Engraving; 259 : 170 mm.; below on the right: *MAsinius spul*.

COPY EXAMINED: Brussels, Royal Library, No. V. 11864.

LITERATURE: *Basan*, pp. 182, 183, No. 41; *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p. 327, No. 1226; *V.S.*, pp. 200, 201, No. 49; *Hymans*, p. 96; C. Ruelens, *Les amis de Rubens, Rubens-Bulletijn* II, 1883, pp. 43, 44; *Dutuit*, VI, p. 220, No. 41; *Rooses*, V, pp. 76, 77, No. 1270; *Van den Wijngaert*, p. 67, No. 362; *Bouchery-Van den Wijngaert*, pp. 90-92; *Evers*, 1943, pp. 47, 119, 176, 178, fig. 82; *Held*, I, p. 114; *Held*, 1960, p. 268, note 45; *Burchard-d'Hulst*, 1963, I, pp. 157, 158, 210.

This publication is devoted to the coins of the Roman Emperors from Caesar to Valentinianus. The page immediately succeeding the frontispiece contains Jacob de Bie's Dedication of the book to Nicolaas Rockox. This is followed by sixty-eight plates each illustrating the obverse and reverse of twelve coins from the Duke de Croy Collection. Then comes a learned commentary on the coins written by Father Schotte in the form of a dialogue between him and Livinus Torrentius, Bishop of Antwerp, Abraham Ortelius and Nicolaas Rockox.

Rubens depicts Roma enthroned holding a globe in her left hand and supporting a sword in the other. She is crowned with a laurel wreath by a winged Victory who carries a palm in her left hand. This group is placed on a large pedestal with a cylindrical front containing the book title. The pedestal is decorated along its bottom border with a garland of laurel, and on either side volutes give an added decorative dimension. Beneath the pedestal one finds *The She-Wolf with Romulus and Remus* and two bound slaves. The pedestal is flanked by elaborate Roman trophies.

Since the French engraver Michel Lasne, who cut this frontispiece, was only permitted to work in Antwerp for two months sometime between September 1617 and September 1618,<sup>1</sup> he must have engraved it late in 1617, the date on the title-page. Lasne's plate was used again in 1620 for the publication by H. Verdussen of L. Nonnius's *Commentarius in Nomismata Imp. Iulii*.

*Augusti. et Tiberi.* This plate was also utilized for Volume II of a new edition of Goltzius's works published in 1644 but Lasne's signature has been burnished out in the lower-right corner and the address changed to read: ANTVERPIAE, IN OFFICINA PLANTINIANA BALTHASARIS MORETI. M.DC. XLIV. In 1708 the Verdussen publishing house again used the plate for Volume II of Goltzius's *De re nummaria Antiqua*. The plate is preserved in the Plantin-Moretus Museum, Antwerp.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> "Item, ontfangen van Michiel Lasne, plaetsnider, fransman, voir de vriheit omme alhier te moegen werken den tijt van twey maenden, ontfangen gul. 6 - 0" (P. Rombouts and T. van Lerijs, *De Liggeren en andere historische archieven der Antwerpsche Sint Lucasgilde*, 1, Antwerp, 1864, pp. 540, 541).

<sup>2</sup> Inv. No. KP 441 C; 263 : 172 mm. It has neither signature nor address.

**39a.** TITLE-PAGE FOR J. DE BIE, *NOMISMATA IMPERATORUM ROMANORUM*: DRAWING (Fig. 131)

Pen and brown ink and grey wash over a preliminary sketch in black chalk, heightened with white chalk; 313 : 205 mm.; indented for transfer.

*London, Department of Prints and Drawings of the British Museum.* Inv. No. 1900.8.24.137.

PROVENANCE: P.J. Mariette (Paris, 1694-1774); Paignon-Dijonval (Paris, 1708-1792); Vicomte Morel de Vindé (Paris, 1759-1842); Samuel Woodburn (London, 1786-1853); Sir Thomas Lawrence (London, 1769-1830); Henry Vaughan (1809-1899); bequeathed to the Museum by the latter on August 24, 1900.

EXHIBITED: *London*, 1835, No. 62.

LITERATURE: F. Basan, *Catalogue Raisonné des différents objets ... qui composent le Cabinet de feu M. Mariette*, Paris, 1775, lot 1011 (b); M. Bénard, *Cabinet de M. Paignon-Dijonval*, Paris, 1810, p. 66, No. 1342; *Hind*, II, p. 17, No. 37; *Glück-Haberditzl*, p. 42, No. 102, pl. 102; *Bouchery-Van den Wijngaert*, p. 91; *Burchard-d'Hulst*, 1956, p. 82; *Burchard-d'Hulst*, 1963, I, pp. 156-158, No. 94; II, pl. 94.

This sheet is Rubens's design, in reverse, for the title-page of Jacob de Bie's *Nomismata Imperatorum Romanorum*, published in Antwerp in 1617. For a discussion of the contents of this drawing see above, No. 39. There are a few small changes from the drawing to the engraving by Lasne: the engraving is

smaller, the volutes have been simplified, the plinth of the pedestal is bordered with a garland of laurel and the lower end of the quiver is visible behind the prisoner in the lower left.<sup>1</sup>

As has been pointed out,<sup>2</sup> the idea of representing *Roma Inthronata* in the company of trophies and prisoners on either side is based upon a marble ensemble that Rubens must have seen in the Giardino Cesi, Rome.<sup>3</sup> Rubens follows very closely the antique model for *Roma* which he had used in 1608 for Ph. Rubens, *Electorum Libri II* (No. 3; Fig. 43), except that here he replaces the original laurel wreath with a globe. However, the remainder of the antique group has been rearranged and the figure types altered. Rubens changed the captives from full-length figures standing on either side of *Roma* to bound barbarians seated in the right and left foreground. He also replaced the original square pedestal, removed the volutes from the front to the sides, and the trophies, originally square panels located on each side of the base of the throne, have become free-standing, recalling those often found on Roman coins of the Trajanic period.<sup>4</sup> As on the Roman coins and those illustrated in this book, Rubens places two bound captives next to the trophies.<sup>5</sup> He also replaced the relief of *The Province of Dacia Mourning* on the original Roman sculpture with *The She-Wolf with Romulus and Remus*. The latter group, like the *Roma*, is based upon a recognizable antique prototype, and follows closely his drawing in the Biblioteca Ambrosiana, Milan, made after *The She-Wolf with Romulus and Remus* on the large marble sculpture of *The River Tiber*, now in the Louvre, Paris, but in Rubens's time in the Cortile Belvedere, Vatican.<sup>6</sup> This drawing was also the model for his painting of the same subject in the Museo Capitolino, Rome,<sup>7</sup> for the oil sketch of *The Triumph of Rome*, Mauritshuis, The Hague,<sup>8</sup> and for the 1637 title-page of Justus Lipsius's *Opera Omnia* (No. 73; Fig. 246). The antique *River Tiber* group seems to have been popular in the late sixteenth century as it was incorporated into paintings by Vasari and Zucchi.<sup>9</sup>

Although the antique sources for *Roma* and *The She-Wolf with Romulus and Remus* are clear, the other figures and trophies cannot be identified with specific monuments. For example, it is difficult to see any connection between the bound captives in the bottom foreground of the frontispiece and the *Gemma Augustea*.<sup>10</sup> The figures on the frontispiece are characterized by a plasticity of form that one associates with sculpture and not the more elegant figures found on cameos. It is more likely that Rubens's barbarians are based upon

Roman Imperial sculpture of the type found on such monuments as the *Column of Trajan*, the *Arch of Constantine* or battle sarcophagi<sup>11</sup> and revived in sixteenth-century paintings and book illustrations. For example, the bound captives and their placement in the foreground on either side of the frontispiece are remarkably similar to what one finds in Jeronimo Ruscelli's *Le Imprese Illustri*, Venice, 1580 (Fig. 132). One can suggest, therefore, that both Rubens and the designer of the Venetian frontispiece must have had similar antique prototypes in mind, or that perhaps Rubens borrowed the foreground figures from the 1580 title-page. One might also propose sculpture as the ultimate source for the Victory with its stress upon rounded plastic form covered by a rich, varied and flowing drapery. Again a precise prototype is impossible to find at this point, but Rubens's Victory type can be found on Roman reliefs and on numerous coins which surely reflect Roman monumental sculpture.<sup>12</sup>

This type of image, with captives placed at the foot of the pedestal, goes back to the memorial statue of Henry IV started by Giovanni Bologna and finished by Pietro Tacca and set up on the Pont-Neuf in Paris in 1614.<sup>13</sup> However, the four prisoners were made by Francavilla and his pupil Bordoni and were not finished until 1618. Consequently one might suppose that Rubens knew the Giovanni Bologna design of 1604 or some of the drawings by Cigoli made during the first decade of the seventeenth century in which similar figures occur.<sup>14</sup> However, it is more likely that Rubens received the general idea for his frontispiece from a coin,<sup>15</sup> or from a more immediate source known to him like Francesco Salviati's decorations in the Palazzo Farnese representing *Pope Paul III Enthroned* and *Ranuccio Farnese Enthroned*. In both, one finds bound captives below and to the side of the main figures. Furthermore Rubens's barbarian in the lower right resembles Salviati's in the bottom left of the *Paul III* fresco although one cannot say that Rubens copied the Salviati for his frontispiece.<sup>16</sup>

It must also be pointed out that the general arrangement of the title-page can be found in several sixteenth-century title-pages (Figs. 133, 134).<sup>17</sup> However, one can conclude from all of this that Rubens used various antique<sup>18</sup> and later sources to create a highly original and coherent image. As pointed out by *Burchard-d'Hulst*,<sup>19</sup> motifs from this frontispiece were repeated and used in later compositions by the master. To the list of compositions which according to these authors are based in part upon this frontispiece, the following can be added: the bound slave in the 1621 *Portrait of Charles de*

Longueval, Count of Bucquoy, Hermitage, Leningrad,<sup>20</sup> the drawing of Cimon in the Printroom of the Hermitage,<sup>21</sup> possibly a study for, or copy after, the Roman Charity in the Rubenshuis,<sup>22</sup> and the prisoner on top at the right of the rear face of *The Arch of Ferdinand*, one of the decorations for the 1635 Entry of Cardinal-Infante Ferdinand into Antwerp, known through an etching by T. van Thulden and Rubens's oil sketch for it in the Hermitage, Leningrad.<sup>23</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Burchard-d'Hulst, 1963, I, p. 157.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 157, 158.

<sup>3</sup> C. Hülsen, *Römische Antikengärten des XVI. Jahrhunderts*, Heidelberg, 1917, p. 25, fig. 17; for further documentation see H. Stuart Jones, *A Catalogue of the Ancient Sculpture Preserved in the Municipal Collections of Rome. The Sculptures of the Palazzo dei Conservatori*, Oxford, 1926, pp. 15-18, Nos. 3, 5, 6, 6a, 7, pls. 6, 8.

<sup>4</sup> For examples see H. Mattingly, *Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum*, IV, London, 1936, pp. 668-670, Nos. 1648, 1653, 1659, pl. 88, Nos. 6, 9, 11.

<sup>5</sup> See J. De Bie, *Nomismata Imperatorum Romanorum*, Antwerp, 1617, pls. 4, 30, 47, 62.

<sup>6</sup> Fubini-Held, pp. 135, 136, fig. 10, pl. 7.

<sup>7</sup> *K.d.K.*, p. 180; Fubini-Held, p. 135.

<sup>8</sup> *d'Hulst*, 1968, p. 96, No. 14, fig. 7.

<sup>9</sup> Venturi, IX, 6, figs. 196, 216, 217.

<sup>10</sup> Burchard-d'Hulst, 1963, I, p. 158.

<sup>11</sup> For an example close to Rubens's captives see the figures on the lid and main frieze of the second century A.D. *Sarcophagus of the Battle of the Greeks and Gauls*, Capitoline Museum, Rome (H. Stuart Jones, *A Catalogue of the Ancient Sculptures Preserved in the Municipal Collections of Rome. The Sculpture of the Museo Capitolino*, Oxford, 1912, p. 74, No. 5, pl. 14).

<sup>12</sup> Cf. for example the *Crowning of the Victorious Emperor*, part of the Trajanic frieze, Arch of Constantine, Rome, where *Victory* wears a similar type of close-clinging drapery revealing the body underneath (P.G. Hamberg, *Studies in Roman Imperial Art*, Copenhagen, 1945, pl. 8). For illustrations of *Victory Crowning the Victor* or *Victory* alone see H. Mattingly, *op. cit.*, I, pl. 44; II, pls. 6, 16, 23, 57, 60, 75, 79, 80; III, pls. 11, 14, 20, 25; IV, pls. 18, 19, 38, 39, 63, 69, 99, 110; V, pl. 6 and *passim*.

<sup>13</sup> Burchard-d'Hulst, 1963, I, p. 158; E. Dhanens, *Jean Boulogne*, Brussels, 1956, p. 181.

<sup>14</sup> Such drawings, as pointed out by Prof. James Holderbaum, are preserved in the Louvre, Paris, the Uffizi, Florence and the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. For the complete documentation see [Cat. Exh.] *Dessins Florentins de la Collection de Filippo Baldinucci*, Paris, 1958, pp. 24, 25, No. 26.

<sup>15</sup> See the coin in H. Mattingly, *op. cit.*, III, pl. 22, No. 20, containing an enthroned figure above and below, two figures, one with his hands secured behind his back.

<sup>16</sup> For Salviati's frescoes, see A. Venturi, *op. cit.*, figs. 108, 109; for Rubens's drawing in the Musée Pincé, Angers, after the *Two Bound Prisoners* of Salviati, see Burchard-d'Hulst, 1963, I, pp. 155-156 No. 93; II, pl. 93.

<sup>17</sup> See text, p. 49.



<sup>18</sup> Many of the details in the title-page such as the figure of Victory, the trophies, the bound prisoners and the *She-Wolf with Romulus and Remus* are present in the coins illustrated in Jacob de Bie's book. However, none of the coins arranges the details in a manner similar to Rubens's composition.

<sup>19</sup> *Burchard-d'Hulst*, 1963, I, pp. 158, 159.

<sup>20</sup> *K.d.K.*, p. 152.

<sup>21</sup> *Glück-Haberditzl*, p. 60, No. 225, pl. 225.

<sup>22</sup> On loan from the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam; *K.d.K.*, p. 359.

<sup>23</sup> *Martin, Pompa*, pp. 153-158, Nos. 40, 40a, Figs. 73, 74.

**40-41.** TITLE-PAGE AND VIGNETTE FOR BIBLIA SACRA CUM GLOSSA ORDINARIA. Douai-Antwerp, 1617

COPY EXAMINED: Brussels, Royal Library, No. V.B. 224 C.

Jan van Keerbergen's publication of the complete Bible text in 1617 contains six volumes in-folio. The Dedication praises the important role played by the Benedictines in education and theology, and at the end refers to the long preparation of the work and the numerous difficulties which delayed its publication. In the four page *Lectori Catholico Salutem et Faelicitatem* we learn that these six volumes present the ideas of ancient theologians concerning the Bible, and that this has been done because many of their writings have never been published and consequently were not easily accessible for everyone. A survey is also given of the most distinguished authors consulted: the commentaries are by Nicolaus Lyranus and Paulus Burgensis and the rebuttals by Matthias Tornigus.<sup>1</sup> The ordinary commentaries (*Glossa Ordinaria*) are, in general, written by Walafridus Strabo (died 849), a Benedictine from Fulda, while the "glossae interlineares" are by another Benedictine, Anselmus Laudunensis (Anselm of Laon, died 1117). This is followed by a short biography of these writers. Nicholas of Lyra was a Franciscan who came from either England or Lier in Brabant and died in Paris in 1340. Paulus Burgensis, nicknamed "of Holy Mary", was a converted Jew and lived around 1430. He was first a rabbi and later became Bishop of Burgos. Matthaues Tornigus (of Dornick or Tournai) was a German monk who lived around 1440. On page one of the "Ad lectorem" by Leander de S. Martino and Gallemart, it is stated that the order and choice of the Books of the Bible conform to the decrees declared by the Council of Trent. This is followed by a series of introductory speculations on a variety of topics dealing with the meaning,

origin, composition, etc. of the Bible. After the aforementioned introduction, the Biblical texts begin and each contains a preface and marginal notes with explanations written by the authors.

<sup>1</sup> Misspelled in the title-page: Thoringus.

40. TITLE-PAGE FOR BIBLIA SACRA CUM GLOSSA ORDINARIA, I. Douai-Antwerp, 1617 (Fig. 136)

Engraving; 394 : 248 mm., margin; below on the left: *Pet. Paul Rubenius inuent;* below on the right: *Ioan. Collaert sculpsit.*

LITERATURE: *Hecquet*, p. 96, No. 7; *Basan*, p. 170, No. 6; *Smith*, *Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p. 334, No. 1276; *V.S.*, p. 194, No. 6; *Dutuit*, VI, p. 211, No. 6; *Rooses*, v, pp. 50, 51, No. 1244, pl. 357; *Knipping*, I, p. 48; *Van den Wijngaert*, p. 41, No. 149; *Evers*, 1943, pp. 47, 174, 175, fig. 78; *Timmers*, p. 740, No. 1712; *Held*, 1960, p. 259; *Hollstein*, IV, p. 216, No. 14.

The personification of Theology is placed on a pedestal above the title. She stands before a niche—the upper part of which forms a conch. The latter has a long history as the symbol of “the fountainhead of inspired wisdom”<sup>1</sup> which it is certainly intended to signify here. Above the niche is the Holy Spirit, an important attribute of Theology. St. Bonaventura, in the prologue of his *Brevilogium*, writes that Theology is based upon Faith as revealed by the Holy Spirit.<sup>2</sup> To the right and next to Theology’s left leg there is the wheel of the Scriptures, an attribute given to her by Ripa.<sup>3</sup> The base of the statue contains books, another attribute of Theology, and is flanked by two burning antique oil lamps symbolic of eternal life.<sup>4</sup> The torches that she holds in either hand present a problem. Timmers<sup>5</sup> suggests that Rubens misread Ripa’s passage on Theology. The latter always presents Theology with two faces (*faccie*) and not with two torches (*facciole*).<sup>6</sup> It is hard to believe this explanation given Rubens’s expertise in Italian. It seems more likely that the two torches signify the light of Reason and the light of Revelation. Theology is a science enlightened by Revelation and Reason. The torch of Revelation is held in Theology’s right hand and higher than that of Reason in her left hand. Beneath Theology and to the left, there is a caryatid flanking the title. This old woman is the personification of the Old Testament and is dressed, with slight changes, in the clothes of a High Priest (Aaron) as

described in Exodus.<sup>7</sup> This similarity to the High Priest is especially evident in the hem of the middle garment which is decorated with bells and the breastplate with twelve stones attached to the outer garment by gold chains. These twelve precious stones have long been associated, in Jewish literature, with the twelve signs of the zodiac and the twelve tribes of Israel. The stones are also connected with the twelve Apostles.<sup>8</sup> This elderly woman also carries a rod in her left hand which might refer to the words in Psalms 2: 9: "Thou shalt break them (the heathens) with a rod of iron; thou shalt dash them in pieces like a potter's vessel". At the base of the caryatid are the tablets of Moses to the right and to the left the High Priest's mitre (Aaron's)<sup>9</sup> resting on three books and in front of them a censer. The caryatid supports a large medallion enframed by three cherubim and containing a humanistic version of a cabalistic emblem. This emblem takes the shape of a Masonic star and each of its five points includes the title of one of the first five books of the Old Testament: GENESIS, EXODVS, LEVITICVS, NVMERI, DEVTERONOMIVM. The center of the image is inscribed with the Hebrew characters meaning Jehovah. The personification of the Old Testament has the creased face of an old woman while the New Testament caryatid on the opposite side is youthful and beautiful. Rubens, by juxtaposing old age and youth, makes a subtle reference to the customary image of Theology which often has two faces, youthful and old. This refers to Theology's eternal character as well as to the Old and New Testaments.<sup>10</sup> The beautiful young woman on the right wears Catholic liturgical garments and in her right hand she holds a crucifix and St. Peter's keys. Just beneath the keys are the papal tiara and crosier, a baptismal font, the chalice and the wafer. The last three details refer to the most important sacraments of the Church: Baptism and the Eucharist. The chalice rests on four books. With her left hand and head, this caryatid supports a large shield decorated with the monogram of Jesus and framed by the symbols of the Four Evangelists. A very elaborately decorated cartouche with two overflowing cornucopias, two billy-goat heads and cherubim placed over crossed trumpets (symbol of Fame) is placed in the lower portion of the image.

Rubens's frontispiece was used again for the 1634 edition of this work published by Jan van Meurs in Antwerp, but the title and address were altered.<sup>11</sup> The caryatids and their attributes were freely copied in the frontispiece for the *Brevis Explicatio Sensus Literalis totius S. Scripturae* by J.S. Menochius (Cologne, 1630; Fig. 137).

- 1 W.S. Heckscher, *Rembrandt's "Anatomy of Dr. Nicolaas Tulp", An Iconological Study*, New York, 1958, p. 118.
- 2 L.D. Ettlinger, *Pollaiuolo's Tomb of Pope Sixtus IV, Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, XVI, 1953, p. 264.
- 3 C. Ripa, *Iconologia*, Rome, 1603, p. 484.
- 4 Perhaps to be read as life governed by Theology.
- 5 *Timmers*, p. 740, No. 1712.
- 6 C. Ripa, *loc. cit.*
- 7 Exodus 28 : 4 - 29; 39 : 10 - 26.
- 8 *Timmers*, p. 838, No. 1981.
- 9 Exodus 28 : 37; 39 : 28.
- 10 *de Tervarent*, II, col. 408.
- 11 *V.S.*, p. 194, No. 6; *Rooses*, v, p. 51; *Van den Wijngaert*, p. 41, No. 149 bis.

40a. TITLE-PAGE FOR BIBLIA SACRA CUM GLOSSA ORDINARIA, I: DRAWING OR OIL SKETCH

Technique and measurements unknown.

*Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.*

41. PRINTER'S DEVICE FOR JAN VAN KBERBERGEN: VIGNETTE FOR BIBLIA SACRA CUM GLOSSA ORDINARIA, II-VI. Antwerp, 1617 (Fig. 139)

Engraving; 123 : 192 mm.; below on the left: *Pet. Paul Rubens inuent.*; below on the right: *Joan Collaert sculpsit.*

COPIES: (1) Engraving (Fig. 140); 122 : 185 mm.; lit.: *Basan*, p. 197, No. 76; *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p. 347, No. 1353; *V.S.*, p. 207, No. 89; *Dutuit*, VI, p. 228, No. 76; *Rooses*, v, p. 130; (2) Woodcut in *Sancti Patris Ephraem Syri ... Opera Omnia*, Antwerp, 1619; (3) Woodcut, 1623, the central portion; 111 : 185 mm., margin; loose sheet, cut from a book, in New York Public Library (42nd St. Branch, Coll. B.C. Landauer, XIV).

LITERATURE: *Hecquet*, p. 104, No. 65; *Basan*, p. 197, No. 75; *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p. 347, No. 1352; *V.S.*, p. 207, No. 88; *Dutuit*, VI, p. 228, No. 75; *Van Havre*, I, p. 237, No. 5, repr. on p. 243; *Rooses*, v, p. 130, No. 1313; *Van den Wijngaert*, p. 41, No. 155.

It is most likely that Van Keerbergen commissioned Rubens to design a new printer's mark for the 1617 edition of the *Biblia Sacra* for which Rubens had also invented the frontispiece (No. 40; Fig. 136). This supposition becomes all the more probable as one realizes that Van Keerbergen has used his old device as late as 1616 (Fig. 138).

Rubens created an elaborate cartouche, decorated in the lower left and right by overflowing horns of plenty and hanging garlands of fruit and flowers. The top is crowned by two extended wings. The interior is dominated by a youthful head gazing to the right. This head, emanating rays of light, is surrounded by the inscription FOVET ET ORNAT (He nourishes and beautifies) and is emblematic of the Sun. Both the head and the inscription refer to Apollo who is also the god of poetry. Clearly, the image of the sun was inspired by the name of Van Keerbergen's house, "In de gulden Sonne" (In the golden Sun). It is found in his printer's mark of 1612 (Fig. 142).<sup>1</sup> Just below in the center, there is a terrestrial globe encircled by a laurel wreath and surrounded by clouds which extend above to the right and to the left. The globe is a symbol traditionally associated with fame and the laurel with literary or artistic glory. These literary allusions and the use of the sun image were most appropriate for a printer of such importance as Van Keerbergen.

Rubens's design for Jan Collaert's engraving included details from earlier devices made for Van Keerbergen. For example, the earlier mark had contained the same head with rays of light, although very ugly, similar garlands of fruit and the same adage.<sup>2</sup>

The copies after Rubens's design mentioned above show some differences. The engraver of COPY (1) (Fig. 140) reversed the cartouche decoration and the laurel wreath knots, omitted the inscription, altered the details of the globe and changed the position of the head so that the eyes stare directly out at the spectator. In the woodcut for the 1619 *Sancti Patris Ephraem Syri... Opera Omnia* (Fig. 141), the artist reinserted Van Keerbergen's motto FOVET ET ORNAT and slightly changed the detailing of the globe. A loose sheet with this same woodcut is in the Teylers Museum, Haarlem.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Divi Thomae Aquinatis Summa Sacrae Theologiae*, Antwerp, 1612 (*Van Havre*, 1, p. 237, No. 2, repr. on p. 240).

<sup>2</sup> See also *Van Havre*, *loc. cit.*, Nos. 3 and 6.

<sup>3</sup> 101 : 135 mm., margin; *Rooses*, v, p. 130.

41a. PRINTER'S DEVICE FOR JAN VAN KEERBERGEN: DRAWING OR OIL SKETCH

Technique and measurements unknown.

*Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.*

42. TITLE-PAGE FOR H. ROSWEYDE, 'T VADERS BOECK. Antwerp, 1617 (Fig. 146)

Engraving; 320 : 200 mm.; below on the left: *Pet. Paul. Rubenius inuent.*; below on the right: *Ioan. Collaert sculp.*

COPY EXAMINED: Brussels, Royal Library, No. III 6035 C.

COPIES: (1) Woodcut by C. Van Sichem (Fig. 144), title-page for J. Van Gorcum, *'t Bosch der Eremyten ende Eremitinnen*, Antwerp, 1644, in-4°; (2) Engraving by G. Boghe, title-page for H. Rosweyde, *'t Vaders Boeck*, Bruges, 1699; 316 : 194 mm., margin; lit.: *Rooses*, v, p. 115; *Van den Wijngaert*, p. 30, No. 26.

LITERATURE: *Hecquet*, p. 102, No. 54; *Basan*, pp. 190, 191, No. 62; *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p. 344, No. 1336; *V.S.*, p. 204, No. 72; *Rooses, Rubens-Moretus*, 1882-83, II, pp. 143, 144; *Rooses, Rubens-Moretus*, 1884, p. 94; *Dutuit*, VI, p. 224, No. 62; *Rooses*, v, p. 115, No. 1296; *Hind*, II, p. 11; *Knipping*, II, p. 256, note 3; *Van den Wijngaert*, p. 41, No. 154; *Evers*, 1943, pp. 47, 176, 177; *Seilern*, p. 94; *Held*, 1960, p. 268, note 45; *Hollstein*, IV, p. 216, No. 1.

The frontispiece for Heribert Rosweyde's (Utrecht, 1569 - Antwerp, 1629) 1617 publication in-folio of *'t Vaders Boeck* was designed by Rubens and engraved by Jan Collaert. The work was dedicated in Antwerp on January 28, 1617, to Johanna de Bailliencourt, Abbess-Countess of Mesen near Ypres, Princess of Croisette, etc. A general seven-page Preface informs the reader of the contents of this publication which is composed of ten Books. They record the lives and maxims of the female and male hermit saints during the five-hundred year period beginning with Constantine the Great and ending with the Emperor Zeno. The Preface also includes discussions about the authors of the hermits' lives. The first Book, which is almost as long as the other nine put together, describes the lives of St. Paul of Thebes, the first hermit, of the monk Malchion and of the three Roman widows who became hermits: Fabiola, Paula and Marcella. St. Athanasius, Bishop of Alexandria, recorded the lives of St. Anthony Abbot, of Leontius, Bishop of Naples and Cyprus,

and of John of Alexandria. There are other biographies in this book by anonymous authors who depend on a tradition that is more than one thousand years old. Father Rosweyde critically discusses his sources and explains, for example, that Book Two has been considered to be the work of St. Jerome, but that the author, or at least the man who translated it from Greek into Latin, was Rubinus of Aquileia.

The hermit saints depicted on Rubens's title-page are discussed in Books One and Two. Book One, written by St. Jerome and others, begins with Jerome's life of the first hermit, St. Paul of Thebes. This is followed on page six by the history of St. Anthony of Egypt as related by St. Athanasius, Bishop of Alexandria. The biographies of the male hermits fill all three hundred and one pages of Book One and are followed by those of the female hermits in Book Two. The latter begins with the life of St. Eugenia, virgin and martyr, who is portrayed in the bottom left of the frontispiece. Eugenia was a young woman who had disguised herself as a monk in order to enter a monastery. She is represented here with a long robe which does not cover her breast. This probably alludes to the episode in her life when she was accused of having tried to seduce a woman and tore off her clothes to prove the falseness of the accusation. On the opposite side is St. Paula, a Roman widow, whose life is recorded by St. Jerome beginning on page three hundred and sixty-two. The lives of the two male hermits seated on the top of the Rubens design, St. John the Baptist and Elijah, are described in Book One, Chapters I and XII respectively. It is clear that the title-page represents the oldest and most important male and female hermits.

Elijah fed by the raven is on the upper left of the arch and St. John the Baptist on the opposite side. They had been closely associated with each other for a long time. In fact, John has been called the second Elijah.<sup>1</sup> Furthermore, Elijah was the first to live as a hermit in the wilderness, a practice continued by John the Baptist at a later date. Both men were ascetics and wore very much the same costumes of camel's hair. They were also prophets, and one must not forget that John the Baptist prophesied the coming of Christ. One might also add that according to legend, Elijah, whose cave was on top of Mt. Carmel, founded the Carmelite Order. Beneath Elijah, on the left, Rubens has placed St. Paul of Thebes, who is traditionally known as the first Christian hermit. St. Anthony of Egypt stands on the opposite side of the title, holding a crucifix and stamping on a serpent, symbol of the demons which he struggled

against in the desert. As Elijah and John the Baptist complement each other, so do Saints Paul and Anthony. When Paul was one hundred and thirteen years old and living a life of prayer and penitence in a desert cave, St. Anthony visited him and later buried St. Paul in a mantle which the former had received from St. Athanasius. The printer's address below is flanked by Saints Eugenia and Paula. These ladies dedicated themselves to a life of devotion. Eugenia was the daughter of Philippus, Governor of Alexandria. She converted her family to Christianity and her father later became a bishop. Paula was a Roman matron who followed St. Jerome to Palestine and in the year 386 founded a monastery and a convent in Bethlehem. The printer's address is crowned by a winged skull, symbol of Vanitas. The quick passage of time during all parts of the day is especially stressed by the inclusion of the bat wing, emblematic of night.

St. Eugenia has been compared with the *Study for St. Mary Magdalene*, London, British Museum, Print Room (Fig. 145),<sup>2</sup> which is also connected in attitude with Rubens's Magdalene in *Christ and the Four Penitents*, Alte Pinakothek, Munich.<sup>3</sup> Count Seilern has also suggested that the figure of St. Anthony closely resembles a drawing in his collection, a *Study for the Figure of a Franciscan Monk*.<sup>4</sup> In both cases, there might be a similarity in spirit, but the drawings were not used for the title-page.

There is a proof print for this title-page in the Rijksprentenkabinet, Amsterdam (Fig. 147),<sup>5</sup> which shows differences from the finished engraving in the light and shadow patterns. For example, in the proof the bricks in the upper left next to Elijah do not have shadows in the part facing the viewer nor does the area around the raven. In the proof there are no architectural fragments behind St. John the Baptist and the serpent beneath St. Anthony's foot is not finished in the head and tail. There is also a different shadow pattern along the edges of the stone on the right behind St. Anthony.

The first Latin edition of Rosweyde was published by the Plantin Press in 1615, and its frontispiece (Fig. 143) was designed and engraved by Theodore Galle.<sup>6</sup> The latter included the same saints except for St. Euphrosyna, whom Rubens replaced with St. Paula. However, Galle placed his hermits in a renaissance-architectural setting and not the heavy and fragmented niche-like structure of Rubens. The second Latin edition of Rosweyde's work appeared in 1628 (No. 57; Fig. 193) and was also printed by the Plantin house. It was adorned with still another frontispiece, either designed by Abraham van



Diepenbeeck and altered by Rubens or designed by the latter to replace the former's. The architecture in the 1617 edition of Rosweyde was the model for the type used in the title-page of W. Burton, *The Description of Leicestershire*, I, London, 1622.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Matthew 17 : 13; Luke 1 : 17.

<sup>2</sup> *Hind*, II, p. 11, No. 16.

<sup>3</sup> *K.d.K.*, p. 176.

<sup>4</sup> *Seilern*, I, p. 94, No. 58; II, pl. CXXII.

<sup>5</sup> Inv. No. BI 6102<sup>a</sup>; 316 : 195 mm.

<sup>6</sup> *Rooses*, V, pp. 113, 114.

<sup>7</sup> For an illustration see A.F. Johnson, *A catalogue of Engraved and Etched English Title-Pages*, Oxford, 1934, p. 11, No. 4, repr.

42a. TITLE-PAGE FOR H. ROSWEYDE, 'T VADERS BOECK: DRAWING OR OIL SKETCH

Technique and measurements unknown.

*Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.*

43. TITLE-PAGE FOR H. GOLTZIUS, GRAECIAE UNIVERSAE ASIAEQUE MINORIS ET INSULARUM NOMISMATA. Antwerp, 1618 (Fig. 148)

Engraving; 279 : 181 mm.; below on the left, beneath the lyre: *M. lasne Fecit.*

COPY EXAMINED: Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum, No. A 2029 III.

COPY: Engraving (Fig. 39) by C. Duysent, after the upper portion, in title-page of U. Emmius, *Graecorum Res Publicae*, Leiden, 1632.

LITERATURE: *Hecquet*, p. 99, No. 32; *Basan*, pp. 174, 175, No. 21; *Smith*, *Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p. 337, No. 1291; *V.S.*, p. 196, No. 24; P. Rombouts and T. van Lerijs, *De Liggeren en andere historische archieven der Antwerpsche Sint Lucasgilde*, I, Antwerp, 1864, p. 541; C. Ruelens, *Les amis de Rubens*, *Rubens-Bulletijn*, II, 1883, p. 116, note 1; *Rooses*, V, pp. 76, 77, No. 1271; *Van den Wijngaert*, p. 67, No. 363; *Boubery-Van den Wijngaert*, pp. 91, 92; *Evers*, 1943, pp. 49, 176; *Held*, 1960, p. 261; *Martin, Pompea*, p. 109, note 5.

The title-page of this in-folio publication is followed by eleven introductory folios, then thirty-two engraved plates by Hubert Goltzius illustrating the Greek coins discussed by L. Nonnius in the following three hundred and

twenty-six pages. Nonnius classifies the coins according to regions, cities, islands or the personages represented. The book ends with seven folios containing a geographic index. This publication is one of three volumes and is a continuation of Hubert Goltzius's *Sicilia et Magna Graecia* (Bruges, 1576). Goltzius (Venlo, 1526 - Bruges, 1583) was a famous humanist, painter, engraver, numismatist and poet. He worked in Antwerp from 1546-1558 and then traveled for two years in Germany, Switzerland, Italy and France. He returned to the Netherlands in 1560 and settled in Bruges for the remainder of his life. He was the first to study antique coins in a scholarly manner and may be called the first archeologist in the Netherlands.

Rubens has chosen the form of a Roman "sepulchral altar" for this frontispiece. This type made it possible for him to imaginatively use decorative motifs which refer to the content of the book and still to set off clearly the text of the title-page.<sup>1</sup> Although the shape of this frontispiece is based upon the ancient "sepulchral altar", the decorations are only partially dependent upon such monuments. The heads of the rams with garlands suspended from their horns<sup>2</sup> and enframing the inscription, the inclusion of the tripod on the side, the griffins below, the rosettes on either side of the top, the eagle with outspread wings on the top center, the pair of birds and the lyre are all found in various combinations on Roman sepulchral altars.<sup>3</sup> This frontispiece is also decorated with imagery found on the coins illustrated in the book itself. For example the profile portrait on the tomb is based upon the portrait of Alexander illustrated on pl. xxxi. The symbol of the Emperor, the eagle with wings spread out, is also found in the book (pls. v, viii, xiii) and often on the reverse of coins containing Emperor portraits. Owls (pls. x, xiii, xv), tridents with dolphins (pls. xiii, xvi), the club, lion's heads and skins (pl. iii, xxvi, xxix), the bow and arrows in a quiver (pls. vii, viii), the tripod (pls. vii, viii), the staff with a snake curled around it (pl. xi), the griffins (pl. xxv) and the lyre (pl. vi) all appear on the coins illustrated in this book. The coat-of-arms of the Archduke Albert of Austria, to whom Jacob de Bie has dedicated the book, is in the bottom center surrounded by a laurel wreath and supported by two griffins. Many of these decorative motifs also allude to specific gods and goddesses. The eagle holding the lightning arrows refers to Jupiter,<sup>4</sup> the owl to Minerva, the cooing pigeons to Venus, the club, lion's head and skin to Hercules, the bow and quiver filled with arrows to Diana, the trident and dolphin to Neptune, the lyre to Apollo, the caduceus to Mercury, the staff

and the wreath to Bacchus. The trumpet, on the other hand, is symbolic of Fame and not an attribute of a specific god or goddess.

The plate for this engraving was cut by the Frenchman Michel Lasne, who paid six guilders sometime between September 1617 and September 1618 to the Guild in Antwerp for permission to work there for two months. Lasne's copper plate was used again for the title-page of Ludovicus Nonnius's *Commentarius in Huberti Goltzi Graeciam, Insulas, et Asiam Minorem*, Antwerp, 1620<sup>5</sup> and for Balthasar Moretus's edition of 1644 but with the necessary changes in the address.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Held*, 1960, pp. 260, 261.

<sup>2</sup> For garlands and funerary monuments, see above, p. 152, under No. 29.

<sup>3</sup> For examples, see W. Altmann, *Die römische Grabaltäre der Kaiserzeit*, Berlin, 1905, figs. 21, 39, 43, 66, 97.

<sup>4</sup> Jupiter's eagle holding the arrows also refers to the Prince as the servant of divine vengeance (A. Henkel and A. Schöne, *Emblemata*, Stuttgart, 1967, col. 758).

<sup>5</sup> 277 : 177 mm.; *Basan*, p. 182, No. 39; *V.S.*, p. 200, No. 47.

<sup>6</sup> 280 : 181 mm.; *Van den Wijngaert*, p. 67, No. 363 bis; *Bouchery-Van den Wijngaert*, pp. 92, 149, 157, fig. 100; *Evers*, 1943, fig. 85.

43a. TITLE-PAGE FOR H. GOLTZIUS, GRAECIAE UNIVERSAE ASIAQUE MINORIS ET INSULARUM NOMISMATA: DRAWING OR OIL SKETCH

Technique and measurements unknown.

*Whereabouts unknown, presumably lost.*

44. TITLE-PAGE FOR P. RIBADINEIRA AND H. ROSWEYDE, GENERALE LEGENDE DER HEYLIGHEN. Antwerp, 1619 (Fig. 149)

Engraving; 316 : 206 mm., margin.

COPY EXAMINED: Antwerp, Ruusbroecgenootschap, No. 3060 A 31<sup>1-2</sup>.

COPY: Engraving by Ph. de Mallery (Fig. 151), title-page for *Fasti Mariani*, Antwerp, 1633.

LITERATURE: *Hecquet*, p. 98, No. 22; *Basan*, p. 174, No. 20; *Smith*, *Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p. 337, No. 1290; *V.S.*, p. 196, No. 23; *Dutuit*, VI, p. 214, No. 20; *Rooses*, V, p. 110, No. 1293; *Van den Wijngaert*, p. 41, No. 153; *Evers*, 1943, pp. 51, 177, 178, fig. 86; *Lugt*, *Louvre*, *Ecole flamande*, II, 1949, p. 56.

This title-page, very likely designed by Rubens and engraved by Jan Collaert, is found in Book One of the two-volume *Generale Legende der Heylighen*, compiled by Pedro de Ribadineira and Heribert Rosweyde and published by Hieronymus Verdussen. Ribadineira (Toledo, 1527 - Madrid, 1611) was a well-known Jesuit writer who taught rhetoric in the Jesuit College at Palermo as well as in other places in Italy and Sicily. He helped to establish the Jesuit Order in the Netherlands, France and Spain. His colleague, Heribert Rosweyde (Utrecht 1569 - Antwerp 1629), was Rector of the Jesuit College in Antwerp, a famous hagiographer and founder of the Bollandists. The book was dedicated to Johannes de Tollenaere, Squire of Kuurne, Mayor and Alderman of the City of Kortrijk (Courtrai). In the Dedication (f° 3<sup>r</sup>, 3<sup>v</sup>), which is dated June 20, 1619, Rosweyde writes that the aim of the *Generale Legende* is to show the uniform tradition of the Roman Catholic Church in which the Saints have been inspired by the Holy Scriptures and have transmitted these teachings to the following generations.<sup>1</sup> Then follows a Preface to the reader (f° 4-6<sup>v</sup>), in which Rosweyde explains that his book is mainly based on the *Bloeme der Heylighen* or *Flos Sanctorum* by Petrus Ribadineira and that it contains the lives of all the Saints recognized by the Roman Catholic Church. He emphasizes that it is an old tradition of this church to investigate the legends of the Saints and to describe them in martyrologies. These are used for the altar-services and also to move the Saints to pray for us. In the last chapter of his Foreword, Rosweyde violently attacks the heretics who have presented false martyrs and denied the principles of the Faith. Then comes the Table of Contents and finally the text of the book itself. The first volume contains the life of Christ (pp. 1-27), the life of the Virgin (pp. 29-46), the description of scenes connected with the five movable church-feasts (the Resurrection of Christ, the Ascension of Christ, Pentecost, the Feast of the Holy Trinity and the Feast of the Holy Sacrament) (pp. 47-84) and finally, the lives of the Saints whose feasts fall between January 1 and June 30 (pp. 87-192). Volume II continues with the second half of the year (pp. 793-1,482), the index and the ecclesiastical approvals dated January 1, 1618.

The artist has seated the Virgin on clouds in the top center of the composition with her hands crossed in front of her chest. To her right, in descending order, one can identify Saints Paul, Peter, Catherine, Barbara, Susanna (?) with the crown, Ignatius, Thomas Aquinas, Dominic and Francis of Assisi. Reading from the bottom left and ascending toward the Virgin, one finds

Saints Jerome, Ambrose, Gregory, George, Sebastian, Lawrence, Stephen, John the Baptist and John the Evangelist. There are three unidentified figures in the upper zone, two to the left of St. John the Baptist and one to the right of St. Peter. As L. Burchard has suggested, the image is an *All Saints* picture with the Virgin as the keystone. In the engraving of *All Saints* for the *Missale Romanum*, published by H. Verdussen in 1627, most of the Saints are borrowed from the title-page of the *Generale Legende der Heylighen* of 1619; the Virgin has, in the 1627 *Missale*, been replaced by a martyr Saint.<sup>2</sup>

Although there is no documentation to support the attribution of the design for this title-page to Rubens, the composition appears to be a further development of the *Tree of Jesse* type (No. 6; Fig. 47) found in the 1613 *Missale Romanum*. However, in the 1619 title-page the artist adds more figures and imparts to them a greater dramatic movement and sense of illusionism similar to what one finds in Rubens's paintings executed during the second decade of the seventeenth century. The 1619 composition, which rises up and down on either side in a revolving movement with an open space in the center and culminating in a single figure at the top, recalls Rubens's *Great Last Judgment*, ca. 1615-16, Alte Pinakothek, Munich.<sup>3</sup> H.G. Evers,<sup>4</sup> on the other hand, sees no affinity with the Munich painting but rather with *The Assumption of the Virgin*, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna,<sup>5</sup> and *The Miracles of St. Francis Xavier*, also in Vienna.<sup>6</sup> The three playful nude babes placed on a cloud in the bottom center and a fourth head appearing on the right, just above the address, bring to mind the playful children in *The Garland of Fruit*, Alte Pinakothek, Munich, and *The Little Jesus, St. John and Two Angels*, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, all dating from around 1615-16.<sup>7</sup>

The plate was used again for new editions of the *Generale Legende der Heylighen* in 1629, 1649, 1665 and 1686 (Fig. 152). In the engraving by Philip de Mallery for the *Faſti Mariani* of 1633 (Fig. 151) (see COPY), which was copied in the 1646 edition by Cnobbaert of this same book, the two figures to the right of St. John the Baptist, St. Stephen, the three nude babes, St. Ignatius's hat, the figure to the right of St. Peter and the heavy clouds in the upper left and right corners have been omitted.

<sup>1</sup> "Ick ſtelle dan V.E.E. dese Legende voor oogen, om claerlijck te sien d'eendrachticheyt van de H. Catholijcke Roomsche Kercke; daer de Heyligen beleeft hebben het ghene dat sy gheleert hebben; ende ons anders niet en hebben gheleert, dan het gene

dat uyt de H. Schrifture ghetrocken is" (P. Ribadineira and H. Rosweyde, *op. cit.*, f° 3).

<sup>2</sup> *Rooses*, v, pp. 105, 110.

<sup>3</sup> *K.d.K.*, p. 118.

<sup>4</sup> *Evers*, 1943, pp. 177, 178.

<sup>5</sup> *K.d.K.*, p. 206.

<sup>6</sup> *K.d.K.*, p. 205.

<sup>7</sup> *K.d.K.*, pp. 132, 103.

44a. TITLE-PAGE FOR P. RIBADINEIRA AND H. ROSWEYDE, GENERALE LEGENDE DER HEYLIGHEN: DRAWING OR OIL SKETCH

Technique and measurements unknown.

*Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.*

COPY: Drawing (Fig. 150), Paris, Cabinet des dessins du Musée du Louvre, Inv. No. 20.391; pen and brown ink and brush with brown wash, 325 : 211 mm.; lit.: *Rooses*, v, p. 110 (as *Rubens*); *Lugt, Louvre, Ecole flamande, II*, 1949, p. 56, No. 1240, pl. LXXIII.

The drawing in the Louvre has been considered as Rubens's original design by M. Rooses, but F. Lugt has rightly attributed it to the school of the artist.

45. TITLE-PAGE FOR THOMAS A IESU, DE CONTEMPLATIONE DIVINA. Antwerp, 1620 (Fig. 153)

Engraving; 158 : 98 mm.; margin.

COPY EXAMINED: Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum, No. A 1730.

LITERATURE: *Hecquet*, p. 99, No. 27; *Basan*, p. 173, No. 15; *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p. 336, No. 1285; *V.S.*, p. 195, No. 17; *Rooses, Rubens-Moretus*, 1882-83, I, p. 283; II, p. 63; *Rooses, Rubens-Moretus*, 1884, pp. 26, 58; *Dutuit*, VI, p. 213, No. 15; *Rooses*, IV, p. 120; V, pp. 122, 123, No. 1308; *Van den Wijngaert*, p. 59, No. 296; *Bouchery-Van den Wijngaert*, pp. 69, 70, 130, 137, fig. 54; *Evers*, 1943, pp. 53, 177, fig. 88.

This book in-octavo contains twelve folios followed by five hundred and forty-one pages of text and an index of seven sheets. The volume is divided

into six Books. Its author, Thomas a Jesu, was provincial of the Discalced Carmelite Order in the Southern Netherlands and Germany which commissioned the work. Book One discusses the nature, division, effect and properties of supernatural contemplation; the next Book considers the three stages or hierarchy of contemplation; Book Three describes stage one, in which the spirit ascends to the contemplation of invisible things and this first stage has, itself, three grades or steps; the fourth Book deals with stage two, which is the contemplation of heavenly matters, God and the Trinity; Book Five investigates the third stage of contemplation, which is the "Mystica Theologica" and is divided into three parts; Book Six concerns itself with the transcendental stage of contemplation.

The title is printed upon a large piece of drapery held in the upper-right and left corners by two flying angels. These angels might possibly refer to the discussion in the book about the community of angels following a citation from St. Augustine on page 220. Hebrew letters spelling out Jehovah's name appear in the sky above the drapery. In the bottom right, St. John of the Cross, standing above the inscription B. IOANNES A CRUCE., contemplates the brilliantly lighted Hebrew letters above. St. John of the Cross was a joint founder of the Order of the Discalced Carmelites but is not mentioned in this book. On the opposite side of the title-page St. Teresa of Avila also looks up at the sign of Jehova and stands above the words B. THERESA DE IESV. She was very much assisted by St. John in establishing houses for the Discalced Carmelites. This book really presents the teachings of St. Teresa in the form of a scholastic treatise. In the bottom center and to the sides of the drapery there is a landscape with trees, hills and distant mountains. Two snakes, personifications of Wisdom, curl themselves around the right and left sides of the address.

The first indication that work on this publication was nearing completion comes in a letter of January 16, 1620, from Moretus to Thomas a Jesu in Brussels. Here the publisher says that he hopes, God willing, to finish by the end of February (Appendix I, p. 000 [133]). He came within a few days of satisfying his hopes, as on February 29, 1620, Theodore Galle was paid 25 guilders for cutting the plate for the title-page (Appendix III, p. 000 [36]). Two weeks later, on March 14, 1620, the title had been printed and Galle received 12 guilders 8 stuivers for 1,550 copies of the title at a rate of 16 stuivers the hundred (Appendix III, p. 000 [38]). The book was offered for

sale at the price of 1 guilder, or 1 guilder and 5 stuivers if the buyer wanted a better quality of paper (Appendix II, p. 000 [11]). The copper plate is preserved in the Plantin-Moretus Museum.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Inv. No. KP 1211 B; 162 : 101 mm.

45a. TITLE-PAGE FOR THOMAS A IESU, DE CONTEMPLATIONE DIVINA: DRAWING OR OIL SKETCH

Technique and measurements unknown.

*Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.*

Moretus's accounts show that Rubens received a credit of 8 guilders for designing this title-page (Appendix III, pp. 448, 449 [2]).

46. TITLE-PAGE FOR A. TORNIELLO, ANNALES SACRI. Antwerp, 1620 (Fig. 154)

Engraving; 332 : 219 mm.

COPY EXAMINED: Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum, Nos. K 406 I-II.

COPY: Engraving, frame of portraits in C. Hazart, *Triomph der Pausen van Roomen*, Antwerp, 1678, in-f<sup>o</sup>.

LITERATURE: *Hecquet*, p. 96, No. 1; *Basan*, p. 169, No. 3; *Smith*, *Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p. 334, No. 1273; *V.S.*, p. 193, No. 3; *Rooses*, *Titels*, No. 2; *Rooses*, *Rubens-Moretus*, 1882-83, II, pp. 62, 63; *Rooses*, *Rubens-Moretus*, 1884, pp. 57, 58; *Dutuit*, VI, p. 210, No. 3; *Rooses*, V, pp. 123, 124, 354, No. 1309, pl. 377; *Van den Wijngaert*, p. 59, No. 297; *Knipping*, II, p. 141; *Bouchery-Van den Wijngaert*, pp. 69, 123, 137, 153, fig. 56; *Evers*, 1943, pp. 53, 178, fig. 89.

Rubens executed the design for the title-page of the two volumes in-folio of the *Annales Sacri*. The inscriptions on both title-pages are the same except that TOMVS I is replaced by TOMVS II. Volume I contains eight folios in the beginning, followed by 769 pages of texts including maps on pages 231, 456, 579, 618 and numerous copper engravings and woodcuts. The second volume starts with four folios, then 720 pages of text interspersed with numerous engravings and closes with 45 folios.

The author, Agostino Torniello (Barengo, 1543-Milan, 1622), entered the Order of the Barnabites in 1569 and became the head of the Order on three



separate occasions. He was friends with Cardinal Baronius, with St. Carlo Borromeo and with Vincenzo Gonzaga, the Duke of Mantua. His *Annales Sacri* give a year-by-year discussion of sacred history which covers 4,084 years and is divided into the following six periods:

1. From the creation of the world to the Flood: 1,656 years.
2. Until the promise of Abraham: 456 years.
3. Up to the exodus from Egypt: 431 years.
4. Until the building of Solomon's first temple: 479 years.
5. To the time of the destruction of Solomon's temple by the Chaldeans: 424 years.
6. From the destruction of the temple until Christ's death: 638 years.

Each section of the two volumes closes with a synoptical table in which sacred and important profane events are noted. This corrected edition of 1620 was the fourth printing of the work.

Rubens composed this title-page within an architectural framework. Moses, supporting the tablets, is to the left on a plinth inscribed *LEX* (The Law) while on the opposite side a prophet (perhaps Aaron) holding a scroll stands above the inscription *ET PROPHETAE* (And the Prophets). The top center contains the Holy Trinity, which rules the world, above two crossed trumpets, symbols of Glory and Fame. To the left of the Trinity, one finds the Flood and Noah's Ark and beneath it is inscribed *IUSTITIA* (Justice), all of which alludes to God's Justice. This notion of Justice is further stressed by the angel, a symbol of Justice, who carries a torch. On the right side above the Prophet, a small picture depicts the appearance of the rainbow to Noah, the sacrifice of Noah, and below, on the entablature, the inscription *ET PAX* (And Peace). This refers to the peace concluded between God and Man, and once again the meaning of the scene is reinforced by an angel above holding the olive branch—the well known emblem of Peace. In the bottom center, under the title, Christ presents the key to Peter, who kneels to the left. The Saviour turns to the right towards the Pharisees and says *Auferetur a vobis regnum* (You shall be deprived of your power). *GRATIA* (Mercy) is inscribed above the scene and below *ET VERITAS* (And Truth). Beneath Moses one reads *ECCLESIAE EXALTATIO* (Exaltation of the Church) and below the Prophet on the right *SYNAGOGAE INTERITVS* (The fall of the Synagogue). The inscriptions and imagery stress the idea of the victory of the New Dispensation, the Church, over the Old Dispensation, the Synagogue.

As early as November 22, 1615, Moretus wrote to Torriello that he had received a letter from Rome suggesting that he should publish the *Annales*, but that he preferred not to do so for fear of upsetting the German printer who had published the first edition (Appendix I, p. 420 [134]). Some nine months later, however, on August 5, 1616, Torriello was informed by Moretus that the latter would begin printing the book as soon as Bosio's *Triumphant Cross* was finished (Appendix I, p. 421 [135]), which in fact was completed in May 1617.<sup>1</sup> In the meantime, Moretus had sent another letter to Torriello in Milan, on October 27, 1616, to say that the illustrations in the earlier edition had not been engraved by a capable artist but that nevertheless some of them might be used. He announced that he would select those that could easily be improved and draw up a list of the engravings that would have to be recut. The title-page was surely part of the latter group (Appendix I, p. 421 [136]). Almost ten months later, on August 17, 1618, Moretus went even further and wrote that, with a few exceptions, all the illustrations had to be remade and adapted to the format of the new edition (Appendix I, p. 422 [137]). It apparently took a long time to complete this work, for it was not until March 30, 1620 that Theodore Galle was paid 75 guilders for cutting the plate and for the copper (Appendix III, p. 462 [37]). The payment for printing 1,275 sheets of the title and each illustration followed soon after, on April 14, 1620 (Appendix III, p. 462 [39]). Three versions were offered for sale by Moretus, a simple one for 14 guilders, one on better paper for 16 guilders and one on better and larger paper for 17 guilders (Appendix II, p. 435 [12]).

There is a proof print (Fig. 156) for this title-page in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, with the inscriptions written by Balthasar Moretus as they will appear on the finished frontispiece.<sup>2</sup> The writing, although done with a thicker pen, compares favourably with Moretus's instructions for the layout of the *Breviarium Romanum* (Fig. 76). The proof carefully follows Rubens's drawing (Fig. 155), however, the light patterns are more strongly contrasted in the engraving.

The copper plate (Fig. 157) is preserved in the Plantin-Moretus Museum, Antwerp.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See above, pp. 181, 182, under No. 37.

<sup>2</sup> Inv. No. Cc 31, f° 78, No. 93; 323 : 215 mm., margin; pen and brown ink; *Dutuit*, vi, p. 210; *Rooses*, v, p. 124; *Van den Wijngaert*, p. 59; *Bouchery-Van den Wijngaert*, p. 69.

<sup>3</sup> Inv. No. KP 168 D; 335 : 221 mm.

46a. TITLE-PAGE FOR A. TORNIELLO, ANNALES SACRI: DRAWING (Fig. 155)

Pen and brown ink, brown and grey wash over red chalk; 325 : 212 mm.; indented for transfer; below on the central image: *A. Diepenbeck*; below on the right: *Rubens*.

*London, Department of Prints and Drawings of the British Museum. Inv. No. 853 1.*

PROVENANCE: H. Tersmitten (Utrecht), sale, Amsterdam (de Bary & Yver), 23 September 1754 *et seqq.*, lot 440; G. Huquier (Orleans-Paris, 1695-1772), sale, Amsterdam (Yver), 14 September 1761 *et seqq.*, lot 2479; Maria van Vollenhoven-Feitama, sale, Amsterdam (Posthumus... Voorhoeve), 2 April 1794, *Konstboek A, Teekeningen*, lot 3; Sir Thomas Lawrence (London, 1769-1830); Sir Robert Peel (London, 1788-1850); purchased with the latter's collection by the National Gallery, London, in 1871; on loan to the British Museum since 1935.

LITERATURE: *Rooses, Rubens-Moretus*, 1882-83, I, p. 282; II, p. 63; *Rooses, Rubens-Moretus*, 1884, pp. 25, 58; *Rooses*, IV, p. 120; V, p. 124; *London, National Gallery Catalogue*, London, 1929, p. 321, No. 853 1; A.E. Popham, *Drawings by Rubens and Van Dyck from the National Gallery, The British Museum Quarterly*, X, 1935, p. 217; *Van den Wijngaert*, p. 59; *Bouchery-Van den Wijngaert*, pp. 69, note 3, 129, 153; *Held*, 1974, p. 252.

Although this drawing is indented for transfer, several small changes were made between the completed sheet and the final engraving. The inscriptions PAX and IVSTITIA in the upper left and right are above the images in the drawing and not underneath as in the engraving. There are no other inscriptions on the drawing. In the scene of *St. Peter receiving the Key*, the headdress of the two Pharisees in the left background of the drawing is different from what we find in the engraving. The scene in the center of the drawing, containing the monstrance adored by Saints Anthony of Padua and Francis, has been pasted in over the original sketch and is replaced in the engraving by the book title. The drawing style of this center scene is much more decorative than the scene below and is by another hand. There is no reason to believe that the signature "A. Diepenbeck" is not that of the artist who added the scene.

Balthasar Moretus's *Grootboek 1624-1655* lists a credit in Rubens's favour of 20 guilders for executing this drawing (Appendix III, pp. 448, 449 [2]).

47. TITLE-PAGE FOR GELRESCHÉ RECHTEN DES RUREMUNDTSCHEŒN QUARTIERS. Roermond, 1620 (Fig. 158)

Engraving; 298 : 180 mm.

COPY EXAMINED: Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum, No. B 829.

LITERATURE: *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p. 345, No. 1343; J.B. Sivr , *Gravure naar een onbekende teekening van Rubens, De Maasgouw*, April 10, 1879, pp. 58, 59; *Rooses*, V, p. 75, No. 1268; M. Rooses, in *Rubens-Bulletijn*, V, 1910, p. 328; *Van den Wijngaert*, p. 41, No. 150; *Evers*, 1943, pp. 53, 177, fig. 87; *Burchard-d'Hulst*, 1956, pp. 78, 79; *Held*, I, p. 41; *Held*, 1960, pp. 248, 258; *Martin, Pompa*, p. 130.

In 1619 the Council of Gelderland had conceived a plan for a book of "customs" and submitted it to the Archduke Albert and his wife Isabella. On September 19, 1619, they signed the document of confirmation and this appears at the beginning of the book, followed by the patent dated January 21, 1620, granted to Johan Hompes of Roermond by the nobility of Gelderland and the civic authorities of Roermond. Hompes, the publisher, had the book printed in Cologne. The publication, in-folio, contains six chapters which discuss the provincial and municipal rights of the citizens in the Dukedom of Gelderland. Chapter One concerns itself with Justice for the individual. This is followed by an examination of the various types or conditions of commodities, interest, easements or bondage. Chapter Three speaks of different means or manners in which ownership or inheritance of goods is vested. The book then considers agreements or transactions and contracts. Chapter Five examines the rights of the citizens. The publication closes with a study of abuses and crimes and the way in which they are prosecuted. The entire text is three hundred and ninety-nine pages in length and closes with three pages of errata.

Rubens has placed his figures before and within an architectural framework. The two main figures, Archduke Albert and Archduchess Isabella, are full length, placed to the left and right of a vaulted arch and stand on a decorated plinth. Albert is on the left and wears a crown, an ermine cape with the Order of the Golden Fleece and a long mantle. He holds a sword in his right hand and with the other a piece of drapery containing the book title. On the opposite side, Isabella looks out at the spectator and with her right hand grips the border of the drapery upon which is written the book title. Her headpiece

and large collar resemble those found in earlier portraits.<sup>1</sup> Just above the book title in the center, Rubens has included Albert's coat-of-arms.<sup>2</sup> This is topped by a knight on a rearing horse. He holds a lance in his right hand and, in the other, a shield decorated with the coat-of-arms of Gelderland. On either side of the knight, Rubens has placed an angel carrying a banner with the inscription *ARMIS ET LEGIBUS* (With Arms and Laws). Behind the horse's rear legs there is an arch, above which is inscribed *Vtroque clarescere pulchrum* (To excel by both means is beautiful). The Archduke and Archduchess stand on a plinth which is recessed in the center and contains a cartouche with the publisher's address enframed by an angel's head above and his wings at the sides. A garland of fruit beneath the wings connects the address with coats-of-arms on either side. The crowned device on the left is that of Gelderland and the one on the right that of Roermond.

Although Rubens's figures are more monumental in appearance, project more strongly out toward the spectator and the architecture is more massive, the general layout follows the type used for the title-page of the 1602 Plantin publication entitled *Descriptio Triumphi et Spectaculorum, Serenissimis Principibus Alberto et Isabellae* by H. d'Oultremannus (Fig. 162). In this 1602 book Albert and Isabella stand on either side of the title on a plinth before a projecting architectural member. Above are two knights on rearing horses. Rubens eliminates one of them and produces a more boldly foreshortened knight on a charger, perhaps having in mind the type crowning the title of the *Regole Militari* by Cavalier Melzo (Fig. 163). A further connection with earlier book illustrations can be suggested in the poses of the royal couple which are very similar to the dancing pair in Fabrizio Caroso's *Il Ballarino*, Venice, 1581 (Fig. 164). Albert and Isabella are also similar to Rubens's earlier portraits. This is especially noticeable when one compares the Archduchess with the 1606 *Portrait of the Marchesa Brigida Spinola Doria*, Samuel H. Kress Collection, National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., and the study for it in the Collection of Dr. E. Schilling, London.<sup>3</sup> Isabella's large collar and headpiece are also found in Rubens's lost ca. 1616 portrait of her, known from a painting attributed to De Crayer,<sup>4</sup> and in Rubens's studio portrait of the Infanta of ca. 1618–20 in the Prado, Madrid.<sup>5</sup>

In a letter dated July 18, 1620 (Appendix I, p. 401 [89]), Balthasar Moretus and Jan van Meurs gave a detailed account of the costs incurred in making the frontispiece. These added up to 103 guilders and 14 stuivers,

divided as follows: 2 guilders and 4 stuivers for the copper plate, 12 guilders for Rubens's drawing, 65 guilders to Hans Collaert for cutting the plate, 2 guilders for cutting the letters, 4 guilders and 10 stuivers for the paper, 10 guilders for the printing of the engraving and 8 guilders for the delivery of letters. The Council of Gelderland decided on July 24, 1620, that this sum could be reimbursed to Johan Hompes, and he received his money on October 2, 1620 (Appendix IV, pp. 495, 496 [2]).

In a proof print preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris (Fig. 161), the shadow patterns are not as extensively worked out as in the final version.<sup>6</sup> This is particularly evident in Isabella's skirt and the architecture. The copper plate is preserved in the Gemeentemuseum at Roermond.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For details see *Goris-Held*, p. 27, No. 7.

<sup>2</sup> For an earlier use of this device on a title-page see No. 42, Fig. 148.

<sup>3</sup> J. Müller Hofstede, *Bildnisse aus Rubens' Italienjahren, Jahrbuch der Staatlichen Kunstsammlungen in Baden-Württemberg*, II, 1965, pp. 94-96, 102, 110-113, figs. 51, 64.

<sup>4</sup> H. Vlieghe, *Gaspar de Crayer*, Brussels, 1972, I, pp. 262, 263, No. A 264; II, pl. 240.

<sup>5</sup> M. De Maeyer, *Albrecht en Isabella en de schilderkunst*, Brussels, 1955, p. 112, pl. XXV. For more discussion about this and the full-length types see G. Glück, *Rubens as Portrait Painter*, *The Burlington Magazine*, LXXVI, 1940, pp. 173-183.

<sup>6</sup> Inv. No. Cc 31, f° 58, No. 70; 298 : 180 mm., margin; *Basan*, p. 193, No. 68 bis; *V.S.*, p. 206, No. 81; *Dutuit*, VI, p. 226, No. 68.

<sup>7</sup> Inv. No. 1428; 303 : 187 mm.

47a. TITLE-PAGE FOR GELRESCHE RECHTEN DES RUREMUNDSCHEN QUARTIERS:  
DRAWING (Figs. 159, 160).

Pen and brown ink and brown wash; 213 : 186 mm.; traced for transfer; *verso*: black pencil, partially pressed through from front to back.

*Amsterdam*, Coll. Professor J.Q. van Regteren Altena.

PROVENANCE: J.D. Lempereur (Paris, 1701-1779), sale, Paris, 24 March 1773, lot 302; acquired by Professor van Regteren Altena in 1939.

EXHIBITIONS: *Antwerp*, 1956, No. 86; *Kabinet van Tekeningen*, Museum Boymans-van Beuningen, Rotterdam - Institut Néerlandais, Paris - Royal Library, Brussels, 1976-77, No. 108 (repr.).

LITERATURE: J.B. Sivré, *Gravure naar eene onbekende Teekening van Rubens*, *De Maasgouw*, April 10, 1879, p. 58; *Rooses*, v, p. 75; *Van den Wijngaert*, p. 41; J.G.

van Gelder, *Rubens in Holland in de Zeventiende Eeuw, Nederlandsch Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek*, III, 1950-51, pp. 136, 137, fig. 23; *Held*, I, p. 41; *Held*, 1960, p. 248; *Held*, 1974, p. 252.

Rubens was paid 12 guilders for this design by the Council of Gelderland.<sup>1</sup> The drawing (Fig. 159) is a fragment and is cut along the top edge. Consequently only two thirds of the original composition is preserved. As stated by Professor J.Q. van Regteren Altena, the sketch on the *verso* (Fig. 160) is not as precise and carefully drawn as the one on the *recto* and has all of the characteristics of a first "idea". Rubens then worked it out in detail on the *recto* and reversed the figures so that they would appear in the engraving as he had originally conceived them. He was thinking of the engraver Hans Collaert, not only when reversing the figures on the *recto*, but also, as Held points out,<sup>2</sup> when reinforcing the preliminary lines in lead pencil with pen and ink in order to present the engraver with clear directions.

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 214, under No. 47.

<sup>2</sup> *Held*, I, p. 41.

48. TITLE-PAGE FOR A. MASCARDI, SILVARUM LIBRI IV. Antwerp, 1622 (Fig. 165)

Engraving; 192 : 134 mm.; below on the left: *Pet. Paul. Rubenius pinxit*; below on the right: *Tb. Galleus incidit*.

COPY EXAMINED: Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum, No. A 322.

LITERATURE: *Hecquet*, p. 96, No. 4; *Basan*, pp. 180, 181, No. 36; *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p. 340, No. 1308; *V.S.*, p. 200, No. 43; *Rooses, Titels*, No. 15; *Rooses, Rubens-Moretus*, 1882-83, I, p. 283; II, pp. 63, 64; *Rooses, Rubens-Moretus*, 1884, pp. 26, 58, 59; *Dutuit*, VI, p. 219, No. 36; *Rooses*, IV, p. 120; V, p. 102, No. 1288; *Van den Wijngaert*, pp. 58, 59, No. 295; *Bouchery-Van den Wijngaert*, pp. 70, 130, 136, fig. 50; *Evers*, 1943, pp. 57, 179, fig. 90; *Held*, 1960, p. 261; *Hollstein*, VII, p. 88, No. 436.

As he had done in the 1618 frontispiece for Hubert Goltzius's book on ancient coins (No. 43; Fig. 148), Rubens used an antique type of Roman "sepulchral altar"<sup>1</sup> for the title of this book in-quarto. Agostino Mascardi (Sarzana, 1590-1640) studied in Rome where he entered the Jesuit Order but was expelled after ten years. He later served as a secretary for a number of Roman dignitaries,

including the Cardinal Alessandro d'Este to whom the *Silvae* are dedicated. As a professor of Rhetoric in Rome and Genoa, he became famous for his writings, eloquence and erudition. The title of Mascardi's publication was very likely inspired by the *Silvae* of Publius Papinius Statius (ca. 45-96 A.D.) which is a collection of topical poems (epigrams, letters, satires, poems for weddings, odes, funeral poems, etc.) partly based on Virgil. Mascardi's *Silvae* also contained poems concerned with a variety of themes, and his publication is divided into four Books. Book I, *De Rebus Heroicis* (On heroic events), consists of poems honouring victories in battle, the achieving of peace, various heroic figures from antiquity (Romulus, Hannibal, Clelia, Cleopatra, etc.) and modern history (Cardinals Alessandro d'Este, Maffeo Barberini, Aloysius Capponius, etc.). The second Book has no subtitle and includes three elegies on Queen Dido, three poems on the seasons, two on poverty and others on varied subjects. Book III, *De Rebus Tristibus* (On mournful events), has several poems concerning funerals. For example, there is an eclogue which contains a dialogue between two shepherds who discuss the death of Margaret of Austria. Still other poems are devoted to the funerals of famous contemporaries or are concerned with the fugacity of time. The volume closes with Book IV, *De Rebus Sacris* (On sacred matters), which presents a variety of poems dealing with religious themes.

The contents of the volume can be connected with the imagery of the title-page. In the top center, Rubens has placed Virgil's portrait in profile, surrounded by a laurel wreath and behind it a trumpet and a shepherd's flute. The connection between Virgil and Mascardi's poems is evident. Mascardi's first Book contains epic verse, written in dactylic hexameters. Virgil was the most famous writer of Latin poetry in that metre. Dido, about whom there are three elegies in Book II, is the heroine of the *Aeneid*. Moreover, the eclogue form of the first section of Book III is directly inspired by Virgil's youthful *Bucolica*. The laurel wreath certainly relates to the poet-laureate while the shepherd's flute and the heroic trumpet clearly refer to Virgil's subject matter and the contents of Mascardi's poems. Two geniuses stand to the right and the left of the title. The one on the left is the genius of epic poetry (see Book I), and the genius on the right symbolizes elegiac poetry (see Books II-IV). The genius of epic poetry plays a lyre, the attribute of poetry, and places one foot on a plumed helmet, next to which lies a sword, perhaps alluding to the ascendancy of poetry over war. A palm tree, symbol of victory,



is present behind this figure. This might be an allusion to several of the poems in Book I of which victory is the main theme. On the right the personification of elegiac poetry plays a double flute, the attribute of Euterpe, the muse of music and lyrical poetry, and stands to the left of two fallen torches. These torches are symbolic of mourning. On the bottom left and right, two masks flank a fantastic cartouche containing the image of Pegasus. These masks might very well refer to *Tragedy* on the right (see Books I, II and III, where most of the characters meet a tragic ending) and *Comedy* on the left. However, there is no comedy present in this volume. One might suggest, therefore, that the mask on the left symbolizes the *Heroic*, and perhaps even Dido. The masks may also be a clever play on, or allusion to the author's name, Mascardi. Pegasus is an obvious reference to Mount Helicon over which Apollo, the god of poetry and music, presided.

The earliest preserved document concerning this book discusses the financial arrangements made by Moretus with Carlo Cotta and Raphael Rauano. On September 8, 1621, Moretus received 300 guilders in advance from Cotta toward the purchase of 500 copies of Mascardi's book. Cotta also agreed to pay for the title-page. All the other expenses would be paid by Rauano after the book had been printed (Appendix III, pp. 481, 482 [100]). Apparently, Cotta and Rauano served as intermediaries, since in a letter of June 15, 1623, to Philippe Chifflet, Moretus mentions that Mascardi himself had bought 500 copies of his book (Appendix I, p. 370 [17]). This was exactly one half of the edition. Towards the end of 1621, the book was in the process of being printed, as stated in a letter from Moretus's associate Jan van Meurs to Antonio de Toro of December 27, 1621 (Appendix I, p. 422 [138]). The following day, as specified in a letter from Moretus to De Witte, the book was sent to Brussels "to be looked through" in order to obtain permission for publication (Appendix I, p. 428 [155]). On January 7, 1622, Galle received 8 guilders for printing 1,000 copies of the title-page (Appendix III, p. 463 [43]). Ferdinand Arsenius received 1 guilder 10 stuivers on February 19, 1622 for cutting the letters of the title-page (Appendix III, p. 482 [101]), and seven days later Theodore Galle was paid 32 guilders for cutting the plate after Rubens, for the copper and for remaking the drawing (Appendix III, p. 463 [40]). The book was offered for sale at 1 guilder 2 stuivers (Appendix II, p. 436 [13]). The plate is in the Plantin-Moretus Museum, Antwerp.<sup>1</sup> It contains a Spanish title and the date of 1663, since it was reused for two

editions of a book by Don Francisco de Borja, *Las Obras en Verso*, published by the Plantin Press in 1654 and 1663.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Inv. No. KP 105 C; 196 : 134 mm.

<sup>2</sup> *Basan*, p. 183, No. 44; *V.S.*, p. 201, No. 52; *Rooses*, v, p. 54; *Van den Wijngaert*, p. 59, No. 295 bis; *Bouchery-Van den Wijngaert*, p. 70.

48a. TITLE-PAGE FOR A. MASCARDI, SILVARUM LIBRI IV: DRAWING OR OIL SKETCH

Technique and measurements unknown.

*Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.*

Balthasar Moretus's debit and credit-book of 1624–1655 lists a debit in Rubens's favour of 12 guilders for this frontispiece design (Appendix III, pp. 448, 449 [2]). It was probably an oil sketch as the print reads "Pet. Paul Rubenius pinxit", and we know that Theodore Galle redrew the design (Appendix III, p. 463 [40]). Rubens received the same amount for his grisaille sketch for the title-page of Sarbievski's *Lycorum Libri IV*, 1632 (No. 62a; Fig. 213) which was also in-quarto and signed "pinxit".

49. TITLE-PAGE FOR D. MUDZAERT, DE KERCKBLYCKE HISTORIE. Antwerp, 1622 (Fig. 166)

Engraving; 328 : 207 mm.; below on the left: *Pet Paul. Rubens inu.*; below on the right: *Ioa. Collaert sculp.*

COPY EXAMINED: Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum, No. 2–42.

COPIES: (1) Drawing after the lower zone, Rotterdam, Museum Boymans-van Beuningen, Inv. No. Rubens School-15; pen and brown ink and brown wash, heightened with white chalk, 130 : 295 mm.; (2) Engraving (Fig. 171), frame of portraits in C. Hazart, *Triumph der Pausen van Roomen*, Antwerp, 1678, in-f°; lit.: *Rooses*, v, p. 354.

LITERATURE: *Basan*, p. 179, No. 31; *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p. 339, No. 1303; *V.S.*, p. 198, No. 35; *Dutuit*, VI, p. 217, No. 31; *Rooses*, v, pp. 107, 354, No. 1291, pl. 374; *Knipping*, I, p. 17; II, pp. 145, 171, 172, 178; *Van den Wijngaert*, p. 41, No. 152; *Evers*, 1943, pp. 57, 179, fig. 93; *Held*, 1960, pp. 263, 268, note 45; *Hollstein*, IV, p. 216, No. 15; *Held*, 1974, pp. 250–252.

The frontispiece for this book in-folio was designed by Rubens and engraved by Jan Collaert. The author, Dionysius Mudzaert (Tilburg ca. 1580–Antwerp, 1635) took his vows in the Norbertine Abbey of Tongerlo in 1603. He studied at the Universities of Louvain and Douai. From 1615-16 to 1626 he was priest at Kalmthout.<sup>1</sup> He was then charged to reorganize the Norbertine convent at Breda. The *Kerckelycke Historie* of 1622 is his most important publication and has long remained popular in the Southern Netherlands. It is divided into two parts. Part One is dedicated to God, the Virgin and the Abbot of the Convent of the Blessed Virgin in Tongerlo and contains 644 pages of text. The latter is a history from the birth of Christ until 800.<sup>2</sup> The second part, consisting of 743 pages, continues Mudzaert's history of the Church from the year 801 until 1622, the date of the publication. The second dedication informs us of the contents of the entire work. Mudzaert writes that "the careful reader observes how, from age to age, the concordance of the Faith exists in the Holy Catholic Roman Church; the Succession of the Popes, the rise and decline of heresies, the prosperity and tribulations of the Church, the steadfastness of the Catholics; the knavery of the schismatics, the tricks of the heretics, etc. In short, that he [the reader] sees and understands how the promise of Christ to his Church, to remain with her until the end of the world, is fulfilled in no other assembly than in our Catholic Church, which is and has remained from the Apostolic times until now. This is the strongest reason why histories and legends of the Church should and must be read".<sup>3</sup> In this same dedication Mudzaert tells the reader that his information comes from C. Baronius's *Annales Ecclesiastici* and that Mudzaert has supplemented Baronius with the Church history of the Netherlands.

Rubens's composition is dominated by the personification of the Catholic Church, who is seated on top of the pedestal with her attributes: the Cross, the papal tiara, the dove and the earthly globe with a phoenix.<sup>4</sup> The phoenix on the globe suggests the immortality of the Catholic Church.<sup>5</sup> A monumental woman stands below and to the left of the title and very likely represents History and not Truth as suggested by M. Rooses.<sup>6</sup> Because she rests her right foot on three volumes entitled LEX, PROPHETAE, GRATIA, she most probably is the personification of Religious History. This same figure supports a book on her raised right leg with her right hand while pointing with the other to the words VERITAS VINCIT (Truth wins). Above her, Rubens has placed a flying

angel carrying a flaming torch, perhaps alluding to the light spread by Religious History. On the opposite side, an old woman holds a cord with medals containing portraits of the popes while a little boy pulls one end of the cord and touches a medal. This elderly woman has the attributes of Eternity which are described by Ripa: old age in matronly dress, a veil over both shoulders, a snake biting its own tail, a terrestrial globe.<sup>7</sup> In the context of this frontispiece, she must be identified as *Successio papalis*, the uninterrupted succession of the popes, which is explicitly mentioned in the title of Mudzaert's book as one of its topics. The *Successio personarum* as it is also called was rejected by the Protestants but very much discussed and defended in the writings of militant Catholic historians.<sup>8</sup> The globe and the phoenix can also be explained in connection with the *Successio* which makes it clear that Rubens intended an allegory on the eternal succession of the popes. A similar iconography can be seen in one of the tapestries of *The Triumph of the Eucharist* series in the Convent of the Descalzas Reales in Madrid.<sup>9</sup> The *modello* for this tapestry is in the Fine Arts Gallery of San Diego, where it is called, not very correctly, *Allegory of Eternity*. The figure on the *modello* is less easily recognizable because the medallions are replaced by roses.<sup>10</sup> Rubens used this female type again in the frontispiece of the *Opera* of Liutprand (No. 78; Fig. 265).

The bottom of the image includes two bound prisoners, Error and Heresy, with their chains running through a ring held in the mouth of a lion. The latter's head might very well represent vigilance or watchfulness.<sup>11</sup> This lion might also be a subtle allusion to the name of the house, the Red Lion, where Verdussen printed his books. Error, on the left, is blindfolded and has donkey's ears which are symbolic of obtuseness. Heresy or Discord is accompanied by her usual attributes, snakes which grow out of her hair but also touch and encircle two books on the far right inscribed CENTVR and MAGDEB. These titles refer to the Centuriators of Magdeburg, the Lutheran authors of a Church history from its beginning until 1400 entitled *Historia Ecclesiae Christi*, Basle, 1559–1574. This reference is especially appropriate here as this anti-Catholic history stressed the idea that the pure Christianity of the New Testament had come more and more under the power of the "Papal Antichrist" until freed by Luther.

Jan Collaert's plate was re-used in 1624 for Mudzaert's *Generale Kerckelycke Historie*. Strangely enough, there are two different versions of this 1624 title-page in which the date is written once as M.DC.XXII, with two digits added

(Fig. 168), and once as M.DC.XXIV (Fig. 169). This same plate served a third time as a frontispiece for F. Labata's *Thesaurus Moralis*, Antwerp, 1652. Collaert's frontispiece was copied several times by an unknown engraver as a frame for portraits in Cornelius Hazart's *Triomph der Pausen van Roomen*, Antwerp, 1678 (Fig. 171). The allegorical figure on the right holding the medals was repeated and inscribed NOBILITAS in Pieter de Jode II's *Theatrum Pontificum*, Antwerp, 1651.<sup>12</sup>

Although the composition continues the type first created by Rubens for the title-page of the 1614 *Breviarium Romanum* (No. 18; Fig. 71), the personifications of the Catholic Church, Error and Heresy appear to be an adaptation of an arrangement found first in the 1590 title-page for the Roman publication of C. Baronius's *Annales Ecclesiastici*.<sup>13</sup> This frontispiece was copied in Antwerp, with minor changes, for Baronius's *Annales Ecclesiastici* published by the Plantin Press in 1597 (Fig. 170), 1598 and 1601 and by H. Aertsens in 1617. Because Baronius's book was well known in Antwerp and because the major part of Mudzaert's text was based upon Baronius's *Annales Ecclesiastici*, it is most likely that Rubens knew the book and had its title-page in mind when designing Mudzaert's.

- 1 For these and further details concerning the life of Mudzaert see W. van Spilbeeck in *Biographie Nationale*, xv, Brussels, 1899, cols. 337–340 and N.J. Weyns in *Nationaal Biografisch Woordenboek*, v, Brussels, 1972, cols. 621–627.
- 2 The 1624 edition, also published by Verdussen, adds the history from the creation of the world to the birth of Christ.
- 3 "... ende dat den Leser met aendachtigheyt uyt die, van Eeuwe tot Eeuwe bemercke d'eendragtigheid des geloofs in de H. Katholijcke R. Kerke; de Successie der Pausen, den op ende onderganch der Ketteryen, den voor- ende tegenspoet der Kercke, de volstandigheyt der Katholijcken; de boeverije der Scheurmackers, de listen der Ketteren, &c. In summa dat hy sie ende verstaet hoe dat de belofte CHRISTI aen syne Kercke, van by haer te blijven tot het eynde des wereldds, in geene andere Vergaderinge volbracht en is, dan inde Katholycke ende onse Kercke, die van der Apostelen tijden af tot noch toe geweest is ende volherdet : 't welc eene vande aldersterste redenen is, waerom de Kerckelijcke Historien ende Legendes der Heyligen dienen ende ghelesen moeten worden" (D. Mudzaert, *op. cit.*, f<sup>o</sup> a 4<sup>v</sup>).
- 4 For a discussion and variants on this type see *Knipping*, II, pp. 144, 145, fig. 99.
- 5 *Knipping*, II, p. 145; for a later example of this motif see Rubens's invention for Liutprand's 1640 *Opera* (No. 78; Fig. 265).
- 6 *Rooses*, v, p. 137.
- 7 C. Ripa, *Iconologia*, Rome, 1603, p. 141.
- 8 For details see *Knipping*, II, pp. 171, 172.
- 9 E. Tormo y Monzo, *En las Descalzas Reales*, III, Madrid, pp. 24, 60, 61, repr.

- <sup>10</sup> J.S. Held, *Rubens' Triumph of the Eucharist and the Modello in Louisville*, *Bulletin of the J.B. Speed Art Museum*, xxvi, 1968, p. 8, fig. 6.
- <sup>11</sup> Van Mander writes in his *Uytbeeldinghe der Figuren ...*, Amsterdam, 1616, f<sup>o</sup> 144 : "Met het hoofd van den Leeu wort beteyckent de wakentheydt en de hoede oft wacht ..." (With the head of the lion is meant vigilance, to be on guard or watchfulness). This goes back to the idea that the lion was said to sleep with his eyes open. See also A. Henkel and A. Schöne, *Emblemata*, Stuttgart, 1967, cols. 400, 401.
- <sup>12</sup> Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet, box 187.
- <sup>13</sup> The title-page is signed below on the left: *M.G.F.* 1588. See G.K. Nagler, *Die Monogrammistten*, IV, Munich, 1919, pp. 583-585, No. 1855, who suggests that the artist might be Mantuano Giovane.

49a. TITLE-PAGE FOR D. MUDZAERT, DE KERCKELYCKE HISTORIE: DRAWING (Fig. 167)

Pencil, pen and brown ink, brown wash, white body colour, on unprepared paper, relined throughout, very likely cut along the bottom; 245 : 211 mm.; traced for transfer.

*Haarlem, Teylers Museum. Inv. No. O, 25.*

PROVENANCE: J. Danser Nijman, sale, Amsterdam, 19 March 1798, lot P 55 (as *Anonymous*: "Een fraaije zinnebeeldige Tytel, op de Triumph der Roomsche Kerk; zeer uitvoerig met de pen en roet, op bruin papier geteckend, en met wit gehoogt"; bought by Hendriks for the Teyler Foundation).

EXHIBITED: *Drawings from the Teyler Museum, Haarlem*, Victoria and Albert Museum, London, 1970, No. 10 (repr.).

LITERATURE: *Roses*, v, p. 107; H.J. Scholten, *Musée Teyler à Haarlem. Catalogue Raisonné des Dessins ...*, Haarlem, 1904, pp. 68, 69, No. o, 25; *Knipping*, I, p. 17, note 5; II, p. 145, note 3; *Van den Wijngaert*, p. 41; J.Q. van Regteren Altena & P.W. Ward-Jackson, [*Cat. Exh.*] *Drawings from the Teyler Museum, Haarlem*, London, 1970, p. 18, No. 10, repr. (as *Attributed to Sir Peter Paul Rubens*); Held, 1974, pp. 250-252, pl. 27.

The Teyler drawing has very likely been cut along the bottom section. There is no doubt that it was used for the 1622 title-page as the drawing corresponds in size to the engraving. The shape of the men carrying the title was changed in the engraving as was the position of the torch below which does not touch the edge of the base in the drawing.

The sheet is conceived in a painterly manner which stresses broad areas of light and shadow. This oil-sketch like rendering was often used by Rubens for

his title-page designs. However, there is still some question that the drawing was executed by him. If it is authentic, it is the earliest preserved example of this type.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See No. 64a, Fig. 218 for a later example.

50. TITLE-PAGE FOR F. LONGO A CORIOLANO, SUMMA CONCILIORUM OMNIUM.  
Antwerp, 1623 (Fig. 172)

Engraving; 314 : 205 mm.

COPY EXAMINED: Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum, No. A 562.

COPY: Engraving, frame for portraits in C. Hazart, *Triumph der Pausen van Roomen*, I, Antwerp, 1678, in-f°; lit.: *Rooses*, v, p. 354; *Bouchery-Van den Wijngaert*, p. 80, note 1.

LITERATURE: *Hecquet*, p. 101, No. 50; *Basan*, p. 189, No. 58; *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p. 343, No. 1329; *Mariette*, v, p. 140; *V.S.*, pp. 203, 204, No. 67; *Rooses, Titels*, No. 21; *Rooses, Rubens-Moretus, 1882-83*, I, p. 282; II, p. 65; *Rooses, Rubens-Moretus, 1884*, pp. 25, 60; *Rooses*, IV, p. 120; v, pp. 94, 95, 354, No. 1283; *Van den Wijngaert*, p. 50, No. 235; *Bouchery-Van den Wijngaert*, pp. 79, 80, 123, 129, fig. 60; *Evers*, 1943, pp. 57, 179, fig. 94; *Held*, 1960, pp. 262, 263, 268, note 45.

This book discusses all of the Councils convoked by the Catholic Church beginning with the first Synod in Jerusalem held in 51 A.D. and concluding with the 1607 Council of Mechlin. The author, F. Longo a Coriolano (or a Corigliano) was an Italian Franciscan monk (1562-1625), known as a preacher in Rome and author of several theological books. His *Summa Conciliorum* gives a short history of each council, the text of the conclusions and a commentary. Quite naturally, the Council of Trent receives the greatest attention (pp. 914-1071). The *Summa* is preceded by ten addresses (pp. 1-122) and a commentary on the regulations of the Apostles (pp. 123-144) written in Greek by St. Clement of Rome, a pupil of St. Peter. The book is dedicated to Pope Gregory XV.

Rubens has enthroned a female personification of the Papacy on a pedestal in the top center. She holds the papal staff in her right hand and in her left the coat-of-arms of Pope Gregory XV. The Holy Spirit, emanating rays of light, hovers above the papal tiara while a flying angel on either side of the

Papacy holds one end of an open scroll containing the words VISVM EST SPIRITVI SANCTO ET NOBIS *Act. 15*. (For it seemed good to the Holy Ghost and to us; Acts 15 : 28). This quotation expresses the divine authority of the decisions of all the councils since the first one held in Jerusalem, which claimed that it had been inspired by the Holy Ghost. The same words are reprinted and discussed in the text on page 145 in connection with the first Council at Jerusalem, and they are also found in the *Praefatio ad Lectorem*. In the latter it is stated that when the Apostles gathered at the Council of Jerusalem, they wrote these words to the Churches to establish the authority of all future Councils.<sup>1</sup>

The personification of the Papacy is surrounded by a cardinal and bishops while beneath her and to the left St. Peter offers her the keys. St. Paul stands on the right of the pedestal resting on his sword and looking down toward Heresy, a seated, chained figure with bare breasts, snakes in her hair and holding the torch of destruction on top of several books. A monster placed to the right of Heresy takes the shape of a fallen idol like the one in the left background of the *Miracles of St. Francis Xavier*, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna.<sup>2</sup> This image in the bottom-right corner could refer to a passage on page two of the Dedication which states that whenever the storms of heresy raged against the Church, it was the task of the Popes to convene councils whereby the monsters of error might be slain. In the bottom-left corner Rubens has placed a seated and mournful figure with a mask on the back of her head. He has deliberately contrasted her young and sad face with the mask which takes the shape of an ugly old face and in this way presents us with a variation on the symbolic representation of Deceit (Fraud).<sup>3</sup> He has also included a second figure to the left of Deceit whose meaning is unclear.

Rubens continues a compositional type that he had first used in 1614 for the frontispiece of the *Breviarium Romanum* (No. 18; Fig. 71). Two monumental saints flanking the title and beneath them allegorical figures representing Heresy and Paganism secured by chains are found earlier in the title-page of Volume II of Caesar Baronius's *Annales Ecclesiastici*, published in Rome in 1590 but engraved in 1588. Stylistically, Rubens's saints are similar to the ca. 1615-20 oil sketch of *Saints Peter and Paul*, private collection, Brussels,<sup>4</sup> and to the ca. 1614-18 drawing containing *Two Studies for St. Andrew and a Study for an Ancient Priest* in the Print Room at Copenhagen.<sup>5</sup>

The documents concerning this publication begin with a letter from Moretus to Longo dated November 4, 1621. Here Moretus says that he has chosen



a larger size page corresponding to the Baronius book. He further states that he would appreciate it if the author would suggest some material to decorate the frontispiece and the image of the title (Appendix I, p. 406 [100]). By that time, the printing of the book must have started because on December 27, 1621, Jan van Meurs mentioned it in a letter to A. de Toro as being one of the publications on which the Plantin Press was working (Appendix I, p. 422 [138]). A few months later, on March 4, 1622, Moretus wrote to the author telling him that he had received the Dedication to the Holy Pope, the Preface and three indexes (Appendix I, p. 406 [101]). After another delay of some six months, we learn that on October 9, 1622, Theodore Galle received 75 guilders for the large title cut by this brother Cornelis (Appendix III, p. 463 [42]). Four days later, a payment of 4 guilders is recorded as being given to Ferdinand Arsenius for making the letters of the title (Appendix III, p. 482 [102]),<sup>6</sup> and on October 30, 1622, Theodore Galle received 15 guilders 5 stuivers for printing 1,525 sheets of the title at a cost of 20 stuivers per hundred (Appendix III, p. 464 [44]). The book was offered for sale with two different qualities of paper, for 8 and 10 guilders a copy respectively (Appendix II, p. 436 [14]). original copper plate is in the Plantin-Moretus Museum, Antwerp.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> "... ubi Apostoli in Jerosolymitano Concilio collecti, futurorum omnium legitimorum Conciliorum auctoritatem decernentes, ad Ecclesias rescribunt : Visum est Spiritui Sancto et nobis" (F. Longo a Coriolano, *op. cit.*, p. 145).

<sup>2</sup> *Vlieghe, Saints*, II, pp. 26-29, No. 104, Fig. 6.

<sup>3</sup> C. Ripa, *Iconologia*, Rome, 1603, pp. 174, 175.

<sup>4</sup> *Vlieghe, Saints*, I, pp. 65, 66, No. 49-50a, Fig. 91.

<sup>5</sup> *Held*, I, p. 109, No. 36; II, pl. 37 (as *Three Robed Men*); *Burchard-d'Hulst*, 1963, I, pp. 160, 161, No. 96; II, pl. 96.

<sup>6</sup> A proof print (Fig. 173) upon which the inscriptions have been added in brown ink by Balthasar Moretus is in the Cabinet des Estampes, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris (Inv. No. Cc 31, f° 81, No. 99; 309 : 205 mm., margin; *Dutuit*, VI, p. 223; *Rooses*, V, p. 95; *Bouchery-Van den Wijngaert*, p. 80). For other inscriptions by him see Figs. 75-77.

<sup>7</sup> Inv. No. KP 138 D; 320 : 211 mm.

50a. TITLE-PAGE FOR F. LONGO A CORIOLANO, SUMMA CONCILIORUM OMNIUM:  
DRAWING OR OIL SKETCH

Technique and measurements unknown.

*Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.*

PROVENANCE: A.F.E. Nogaret, sale, Paris (Langlier, Antoine, C.D. Thierry), 6 April 1807, lot 459 ("Cartouche d'une thèse, où l'on voit un pape et des évêques et dans le milieu un petit dessin de l'Albane"); Schneider, sale, Paris (Hôtel Drouot), 6-7 April 1876, lot 99 ("Triomphe de l'Eglise chrétienne sur l'Arianisme. Dessin à la plume et lavis. H. 0.33 m. : L. 0.205 m.").

LITERATURE: *Mariette*, v, p. 140.

Balthasar Moretus's credit accounts for 1624-1655 list a debit of 20 guilders in Rubens's favour for having executed the design for this title-page (Appendix III, pp. 448, 449 [2]). P.J. Mariette claims to have seen the original drawing, of which there is no trace today.

51-52. TITLE-PAGES FOR F. VAN HAER, *ANNALES DUCUM SEU PRINCIPUM BRABANTIAE TOTIUSQUE BELGII*, I-III. Antwerp, 1623.

COPY EXAMINED: Brussels, Royal Library, No. V.H. 27284 C.

This publication, in-folio, devoted to the history of Brabant from the year 615 to 1623 is divided into three Books, the first two of which are assembled in volume One while the third Book forms the second volume. The author, Franciscus van Haer or Verhaer (Haraeus) (Utrecht, ca. 1550 - Louvain 1632) studied theology in Louvain and Douai, where he later taught Rhetoric. After travelling throughout Europe, he settled in 'sHertogenbosch where he became Canon of the Church of St. John's. From 1609 until 1617, he was Rector of the Convent of the White Nuns in Antwerp. Two years later he was named Canon of St. Aubin in Namur and in 1621 Canon of St. Jacques in Louvain. He died in 1632 and was buried in Louvain's Cathedral of St. Peter's.<sup>1</sup>

Book One of this publication contains 416 pages and covers the period from 615 until 1430. The material is divided into 37 chapters, that is one chapter for each Duke of Brabant. Book Two runs from pages 417 to 707 and comprises seven chapters dealing with the history of Belgium from Philip the Good through the reign of the Archdukes Albert and Isabella which ended with Albert's death in 1621. There are a number of folios at the beginning of Volume One which include permissions to publish granted in 1617 and the Dedication to the Infanta Isabella Clara Eugenia. The volume closes with

several indexes. There are forty-three engraved portraits of the Dukes of Brabant and Princes of the Netherlands dispersed throughout. The Dedication to the Infanta Isabella testifies to a great wish for peace.

Volume Two begins with four folios, then 678 pages of text and an index. Van Haer concentrates on the years of the uprising in the Spanish Netherlands beginning in 1560 and ending with the Truce of 1609. He also includes a short sketch of famous events in Europe.<sup>2</sup>

The earliest known comments about this publication are to be found in a letter from Jan van Meurs to the bookseller Antonio de Toro in Madrid, dated December 27, 1621 (Appendix I, p. 422 [138]). It is mentioned there in a list of books being printed by the Plantin Press. A few months later, however, on April 2, 1622, Moretus informed the author that the printing of his *Annales* had been interrupted for five months due to the scarcity of paper which, because of the severe winter, could not be supplied from Lorraine. Together with this letter, Moretus sent the proofs that had been completed since October, and he urged Van Haer to think quickly about the Dedication and Introduction (Appendix I, p. 399 [86]). Three days later, Theodore Galle was paid 75 guilders for the copper and the title cut after Rubens by Cornelis Galle (Appendix III, p. 463 [41]). The book was still not finished by January 7, 1623, when Moretus sent a letter to J. Hondius saying that he hoped to complete the work by the end of February (Appendix I, p. 402 [90]). On February 14, 1623, Ferdinand Arsenius was paid 49 guilders for reworking the letters of the inscriptions on the portraits of the Dukes (Appendix III, p. 464 [46]). On March 18, 1623, he received 6 stuivers for making the letters for both title-pages (Appendix III, p. 482 [103]). On April 2, 1623, Arsenius cut the letters in the globe on the title-page of Volume One as well as those for *Labor* and *Constantia* in the printer's mark (Appendix III, p. 464 [47]). Lucas Vorsterman received his payment for engraving the title-page of Volume Two on April 10, 1623 (Appendix III, p. 464 [45]). The publication was finally completed sometime prior to May 27, 1623, as we learn in a letter from Moretus to Van der Heyden (Appendix I, p. 400 [88]). This letter also mentions some interesting details such as the fact that Van Haer was hesitant about writing these volumes because he felt that he lacked the necessary historical knowledge. Moretus encouraged the author by giving him financial aid and providing him with the necessary books. The letter goes on to say that Moretus carefully checked the manuscript to be certain that this delicate subject matter was impartially treated

and that neither side would, within reason, be offended. The book was priced at 16 guilders a copy (Appendix II, p. 436 [15]).

- <sup>1</sup> B.A. Vermaseren, *De Katholieke Nederlandsche Geschiedschrijving in de XVIe en XVIIe Eeuw over den Opstand*, Maastricht, 1941, pp. 223–246; *Biographie Nationale*, XXIX, Suppl. 1, Brussels, 1957, cols. 648–651.
- <sup>2</sup> For a discussion of the sources and the importance of the *Annales* see B.A. Vermaseren, *op. cit.*, pp. 236–243.

51. TITLE-PAGE FOR F. VAN HAER, ANNALES DUCUM SEU PRINCIPUM BRABANTIAE TOTIUSQUE BELGII, I-II. Antwerp, 1623 (Fig. 174)

Engraving; 285 : 175 mm., margin.

COPIES: (1) Engraving, title-page for A. Carnero, *Historia de las Guerras Civiles...*, Brussels, 1625; lit.: *V.S.*, p. 197, No. 28; *Rooses*, v, p. 84; *Bouchery-Van den Wijngaert*, p. 79, note 3; (2)? Engraving, title-page for J. Caramuel Lobkowitz, *Basis Monarchica...* (book not identified); lit.: *Rooses*, v, p. 84; *Bouchery-Van den Wijngaert*, p. 79, note 3; (3) Engraving, frame decoration in P. de Sandoval, *Historia de la Vida y Hechos del emperador Carlos V*, Antwerp, 1641; lit.: *Rooses*, v, p. 84; *Van den Wijngaert*, p. 38, No. 121 bis; *Bouchery-Van den Wijngaert*, p. 79, note 3.

EXHIBITED: *Paris*, 1954, No. 369; *Bologna*, 1965, No. 280 (repr.).

LITERATURE: *Hecquet*, p. 98, No. 19; *Smith*, *Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p. 337, No. 1292; *V.S.*, p. 197, No. 25; *Rooses*, *Titels*, No. 7; *Rooses*, *Rubens-Moretus*, 1882–83, II, p. 64; *Rooses*, *Rubens-Moretus*, 1884, p. 59; *Dutuit*, VI, p. 215, No. 22; *Rooses*, IV, pp. 83, 84, No. 1276, pl. 367; *Hind*, II, p. 18; *Van den Wijngaert*, p. 48, No. 231; *Bouchery-Van den Wijngaert*, pp. 79, 123, 137, fig. 57; *Evers*, 1943, pp. 57, 179, 180, fig. 91; *Benesch*, *Book Illustration*, p. 12; *Held*, I, p. 150; *Held*, 1960, pp. 255, 259, 262, 263; *Thuillier-Foucart*, p. 92, under No. 22.

The title-page is dominated by the personification of History, who sits in the top center supporting a book with her left hand while in the other she holds a lighted torch, whose bottom rests upon a globe.<sup>1</sup> To her right, two putti hold a large scroll without any text while on the right a putto blows the trumpet of Fame and another holds a snake which bites its own tail and forms a circle, one of the traditional symbols of Eternity. Beneath this group to the left of center, Rubens places a soldier dressed in antique armour symbolizing War. A maiden, Peace, stands on the opposite side wearing a crown of olive leaves

and holding a caduceus in her left hand and in the other an inverted torch whose flames consume a helmet. These three attributes are symbols of Peace.<sup>2</sup> The motif of a woman (the personification of Peace) holding a torch which burns weapons of war is Italian in origin; it can be found, for example, in Francesco Salviati's *Allegory of Peace*, Palazzo Vecchio, Florence, and is also mentioned in Ripa.<sup>3</sup> In the bottom left, flanking the address, Rubens has placed an antique-type river god holding an overflowing cornucopia in his left hand, and on the other side is a woman wearing a turreted crown and seated next to a lion. These figures, except the lion, recall Abraham Janssens's *Scaldis and Antwerpia*, now in the Royal Museum, Antwerp (Fig. 177), but originally part of the decoration commissioned for the States Chamber in Antwerp's Town Hall, to which Rubens also contributed. As in the Janssens painting, Rubens's river god must also symbolize the river Scheldt and navigation, which impart riches to the female personification, in Rubens's case *Belgica*, whose identity is further clarified by the lion, symbol of the Southern Netherlands.<sup>4</sup> There is a precedent for this type of composition with personifications of War and Peace flanking the title and river gods below in the in-4° title-page for P. Giustiniano, *Delle Guerre di Fiandra Libri VI* (Fig. 178). However, Rubens has changed this old-fashioned *maniera* composition into a robust seventeenth-century Baroque arrangement, replacing Pallas Athene with a monumental Mars or War and freeing Peace and the river gods below from the inner confines of the architecture. The river god on the left bears a slight resemblance to Rubens's drawing of the same subject in the Print Room of the Boston Museum of Fine Arts.<sup>5</sup> However, the Boston figure is in a somewhat different position. His left arm encircles the overturned jug and his right seems to hold an oar.

A proof print of the engraving (Fig. 176) is in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.<sup>6</sup> In this proof, Cornelis Galle has extended the strong chiaroscuro effects in the figures flanking the address in the drawing to the entire engraving. He has also elaborated upon the clouds in the uppermost section of the proof. The globe, however, remains unmarked as in the working drawing. The original copper plate is in the Plantin-Moretus Museum, Antwerp.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Rubens uses a close variation on this type of figure in his ca. 1626 sketch of *Charity* Mead Art Gallery, Amherst, Mass., which was made for the tapestry series of the *Triumph of the Eucharist*. The figure of History, according to Held (I, p. 150), ultimately finds its source in Correggio's *Virgin and St. George*, Dresden.

- 2 Rubens repeats this female holding the torch which destroys armour in his *Conclusion of Peace*, painted for the Medici Cycle, Louvre, Paris (*Held*, I, p. 150).
- 3 For documentation see *Knipping*, I, p. 33 and for an illustration of the Salviati fresco see H. Voss, *Die Malerei der Spätrenaissance in Rom und Florenz*, I, Berlin, 1920, p. 240, fig. 80.
- 4 For a later representation of this combination of the lion and a woman wearing a crown in the shape of a citadel and symbolizing the Southern Netherlands see the etching in the *Pompa Introitus Ferdinandi*, repr. opp. p. 11, designed by Rubens and etched by T. Van Thulden (see *Martin, Pompa*, pp. 46-49, No. 2, fig. 6). However, in the Pompa print the citadel is described as being half ruined, and the turrets are symbolic of Peace and are to be rebuilt in time of peace.
- 5 Inv. No. 20.813; black chalk, squared; 414 : 240 mm.
- 6 Inv. No. Cc 31, f° 75, No. 87; 286 : 173 mm., margin; *V.S.*, p. 197, under No. 25; *Dutuit*, VI, p. 215.
- 7 Inv. No. KP 19 D; 297 : 182 mm.

51a. TITLE-PAGE FOR F. VAN HAER, ANNALES DUCUM SEU PRINCIPUM BRABANTIAE TOTIUSQUE BELGII, I-II: DRAWING OR OIL SKETCH

Technique and measurements unknown.

*Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.*

COPY: Drawing (Fig. 175) by Cornelis Galle (?), London, Department of Prints and Drawings of the British Museum, Inv. No. 1895.9.15.1058; pen and brown ink and brown wash; 288 : 175 mm.; indented for transfer; for references see No. 51b.

The drawing in the British Museum has been accepted in the literature as by Rubens, but it appears to be a copy by Cornelis Galle, or a member of his workshop, after the lost original by Rubens. It belongs to a group of working drawings (Nos. 61b, 68b, 69a; Figs. 209, 228, 235) that appear to have been drawn as if they were cut out of a plane surface in a manner similar to the way in which an engraver works with the burin on a plate. The figures are flatter than those conceived by Rubens, and this is especially noticeable when one compares the sheet with the master's design in Windsor Castle (No. 52a; Fig. 180) for Volume III of this publication. The latter is rendered like an oil sketch with the pigments creating round forms that move freely back and forth in space. The personification of History, on the other hand, is flat and the drapery lacks the deep crevices found in Rubens's *Roma* made for the 1617 *Nomismata Imperatorum Romanorum*, also in the British Museum (No. 39a; Fig. 131). In the *Annales* drawing in the British Museum the artist takes great care

over the lesser details which are rendered with precise pen lines that show almost no variety in size, change of direction or shape, which is unlike Rubens even when working for an engraver. This is very clear when one compares the carefully drawn egg and dart motif on the pedestal with the barely indicated decorative forms suggested by Rubens in his design for the 1617 *Nomismata Imperatorum Romanum* (No. 39a; Fig. 131). In this way the British Museum sheet is close to the style of the working drawing for the 1617 *Crux Triumphans* (No. 37b; Fig. 127) in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, and other such drawings made after lost Rubens designs a number of years later.

The London drawing is also characterized by a number of awkward and misunderstood renderings of the anatomy such as History's right arm and hands, the arms of the angels above and the left arm of *Belgica*.

In the engraving Galle added the details to the globe and the clouds behind the putto holding the scroll.

Balthasar Moretus's credit accounts dating from 1624-1655 list a debit of 20 guilders owed to Rubens for this design (Appendix III, pp. 448, 449 [2]).

51b. TITLE-PAGE FOR F. VAN HAER, ANNALES DUCUM SEU PRINCIPUM BRABANTIAE TOTIUSQUE BELGII, I-II: DRAWING (Fig. 175)

Pen and brown ink and brown wash; 288 : 175 mm.; indented for transfer.

London, Department of Prints and Drawings of the British Museum. Inv. No. 1895.9.15.1058.

PROVENANCE: Sir Thomas Lawrence (London, 1769-1830); Sir J.C. Robinson (London, 1824-1913); J. Malcolm (Poltalloch, Argyleshire, Scotland, and London, 1805-1893); sold with the latter's collection by his son, John Wingfield Malcolm, to the British Museum in 1895.

LITERATURE: *Rooses, Rubens-Moretus*, 1882-83, I, p. 282; *Rooses, Rubens-Moretus*, 1884, p. 25; *Rooses*, IV, p. 120; V, p. 84; M. Rooses, in *Rubens-Bulletijn*, IV, 1896, p. 290, No. 1276; *Hind*, II, p. 18, No. 38; *Glück-Haberditzl*, p. 50, No. 155, pl. 155; *Van den Wijngaert*, p. 49; *Bouchery-Van den Wijngaert*, pp. 79, 129, fig. 58; *Held*, I, p. 150, No. 146; II, pl. 156; *Renger*, I, p. 140.

Burchard accepts the attribution of this drawing to Rubens. For further discussion concerning its authenticity see No. 51a.

52. TITLE-PAGE FOR F. VAN HAER, ANNALES DUCUM SEU PRINCIPUM BRABANTIAE TOTIUSQUE BELGII, III. Antwerp, 1623 (Fig. 179)

Engraving; 295 : 179 mm.

EXHIBITED: *Paris*, 1954, No. 370; *Bologna*, 1965, No. 281.

LITERATURE: *Hecquet*, p. 98, No. 19; *Basan*, p. 175, No. 22; *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p. 337, No. 1293; *Rooses, Titels*, No. 8; *Rooses, Rubens-Moretus, 1882-83*, I, p. 282; II, pp. 64, 65, 147; *Rooses, Rubens-Moretus, 1884*, pp. 25, 59, 60, 98; *Dutuit*, VI, p. 215, No. 22; *Rooses*, III, p. 314; V, pp. 84, 85, No. 1277, pl. 368; *Hymans, Vorsterman*, p. 133, No. 113; *Knipping*, II, p. 177; *Van den Wijngaert*, p. 104, No. 748; *Bouchery-Van den Wijngaert*, pp. 72, 123, 125, 137, 153, fig. 59; L. Van Puyvelde, *The Flemish Drawings at Windsor Castle*, London, 1942, p. 47; *Evers*, 1943, pp. 59, 180, fig. 95; *Burchard--d'Hulst*, 1956, p. 84, under No. 94; *Held*, I, p. 150.

COPY: Engraving, frame decoration in P. de Sandoval, *Historia de la Vida y Hechos del emperador Carlos V*, Antwerp, 1681; lit.: *Rooses*, V, p. 85; *Van den Wijngaert*, p. 38, No. 121 bis; *Bouchery-Van den Wijngaert*, p. 79, note 3.

Book Three (= Volume Two) of Van Haer's history of the Southern Netherlands deals with the rebellious movements during the reign of Philip II and the Archdukes Albert and Isabella. Rubens's frontispiece represents the façade of Janus's temple, which is closed in time of peace and open in war. The traditional two-headed image of Janus is placed in a niche above the lintel of the door, which is being forced open by two figures on either side. In the left foreground a blindfolded man pulls on the door with his left hand and holds a torch in the other. He is the personification of Blind Fury and will appear again as the central figure, but this time holding a sword, in the oil sketch of the *Temple of Janus*, Hermitage, Leningrad (Fig. 182), for the decoration commemorating the entry into Antwerp of the Cardinal-Infante Ferdinand in 1635.<sup>1</sup> This scene was later etched by Van Thulden for the publication of the *Pompa Introitus*, where the image is explained by C. Gevartius.<sup>2</sup> The figure in the right foreground of the frontispiece who strains to open the temple doors and has snakes in her hair represents Discord, and she, too, is present in the *Pompa Introitus*, *Temple of Janus*.<sup>3</sup> Gevartius explicitly discusses her attributes and her source in the *Aeneid*.<sup>4</sup> In the title-page, Rubens includes a figure carrying a torch behind Blind Fury and another carrying an axe behind



Discord. These background personages must be an illusion to fire, death and destruction which accompany war. In the bottom center there is a seven-headed hydra, symbol of Heresy and Iconoclasm, who destroys the objects of worship, the instruments and the works of art.<sup>5</sup>

On February 10, 1623, Lucas Vorsterman was paid 75 guilders for the copper and the cutting of the new title (Appendix III, p. 464 [45]). A proof print is preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris (Fig. 181).<sup>6</sup> The copper plate belongs to the Plantin-Moretus Museum.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For documentation, see *Martin, Pompa*, pp. 162–175, Nos. 44, 45, Figs. 82, 83, 86 and 87. Rubens used the same type earlier with slight differences in *The Conclusion of Peace*, one of the canvases of the Medici cycle in the Louvre, Paris (*K.d.K.*, p. 261), and later in *The Triumph of the Eucharist over Hatred, Ignorance and Blindness* in the Prado, Madrid (*K.d.K.*, p. 293).

<sup>2</sup> C. Gevartius, *Pompa Introitus*, Antwerp, 1642, pp. 118, 119; see below, No. 81.

<sup>3</sup> See illustrations on pp. 117a and b.

<sup>4</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 119. Rubens used the same type in *The Hero Crowned by Victory*, Munich (*K.d.K.*, p. 56), and for still another example see *The Conclusion of Peace*, Medici Cycle, Louvre, Paris (*K.d.K.*, p. 261).

<sup>5</sup> *Knipping*, II, p. 117. The motif has been copied with slight changes by Cornelis Duysent for the title-page of the works of C. Sallustius Crispus, published in Leiden by Elzevier in 1634.

<sup>6</sup> Inv. No. Cc 31, f<sup>o</sup> 86, No. 108; 291 : 176 mm., margin.

<sup>7</sup> Inv. No. KP 427 C; 286 : 175 mm.

**52a.** TITLE-PAGE FOR F. VAN HAER, ANNALES DUCUM SEU PRINCIPUM BRABANTIAE TOTIUSQUE BELGII, III: DRAWING (Fig. 180)

Black chalk, reinforced with pen and brown ink, grey and brown wash, heightened with white oil paint on paper tinted with brown oil; 290 : 180 mm.; traced for transfer; mark of King George III (*L.*, 1200 or 1201).

*Windsor Castle, Collection of Her Majesty the Queen.* Inv. No. 6413.

PROVENANCE: J. Uilenbroek, sale, Amsterdam, 23 October 1941, lot B 4 ("Daar de Tweedragt en de Nyd den Tempel van Janus openen, door denzelven [=Rubens] is mede tot een Titul gesneden; 9 : 0); H. Tersmitten (Utrecht), sale, Amsterdam, 23 September 1754, lot 437; G. Hoet, Jr. (The Hague, d. 1760), sale, The Hague, 25 August 1760, lot 462 (sold to Fouquet for 18 guilders); King George III (1760–1820).

EXHIBITED: *Antwerp*, 1956, No. 94.

LITERATURE: *Rooes, Rubens-Moretus, 1882-83*, I, p. 282; *Rooes, Rubens-Moretus, 1884*, p. 25; *Rooes*, IV, p. 120; V, p. 85; L. Van Puyvelde, *The Flemish Drawings at Windsor Castle*, London, 1942, p. 47, No. 282, repr.; *Burchard-d'Hulst, 1956*, pp. 83, 84, No. 94; *Held*, I, p. 150.

Although Vorsterman has carefully followed Rubens's design, the engraver has slightly altered the architecture by replacing the pilasters on either side of the Temple with columns. There are also changes in the light and shadow patterns throughout the engraving which have reduced somewhat the painterly quality of Rubens's original design. In the drawing, Rubens has altered the position of the axe's blade held in the air by the man on the left. Just to the right of the handle, there is an outline of a blade which is placed parallel to the picture plane and is smaller than the one in the engraved title-page.

Balthasar Moretus's credit-account book of 1624-1655 lists a debit owed to Rubens of 20 guilders for this design (Appendix III, pp. 448, 449 [2]).

53. TITLE-PAGE FOR C. BARONIUS, H. SPONDANUS AND H. ROSWEYDE, *GENERALE KERCKELYCKE HISTORIE*, Antwerp, 1623 (Fig. 183)

Engraving; 333 : 236 mm.; below on the right: *P.P. Rubens inu. L. Vofstern. sculp.*

COPY EXAMINED: Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum, No. A 3803.

LITERATURE: *Hecquet*, p. 98, No. 21; *Basan*, p. 174, No. 19; *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p. 343, No. 1332; *V.S.*, p. 196, No. 22; *Dutuit*, VI, p. 214, No. 19; *Rooes*, V, pp. 112, 113, No. 1295; *Hymans, Vorsterman*, pp. 133, 134, No. 114; *Rooes-Ruelens*, II, p. 203; *Knipping*, I, pp. 185, 234; II, pp. 61, 167; *Van den Wijngaert*, p. 104, No. 747; *Evers*, 1943, pp. 59, 180, 181, fig. 96; A. Mayer, *Das Bild der Kirche, Hauptmotive der Ecclesia im Wandel der abendländischen Kunst*, Regensburg, 1962, pp. 60, 61; H. Hager, *Carlo Fontana's Project for a Church, Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, XXXVI, 1973, pp. 332, 333, note 84.

The Preface by Rosweyde informs us of the contents of this publication. Part One is a translation into Dutch of the amplified summary made by Henricus Spondanus of Cardinal Baronius's Church History which consists of twelve volumes each covering one hundred years. Rosweyde (Utrecht, 1569 - Antwerp, 1629), Rector of the Jesuit College in Antwerp,<sup>1</sup> has compared Spondanus's translation with Baronius's original Latin text and has once again made additions. This section contains 1,360 pages while Part Two, made up of 212

pages, is a "special Church History of the Netherlands" written by Rosweyde and entitled *KERCKELYCKE HISTORIE VAN NEDER-LANDT*. The complete work is dedicated to the High Dignitaries of the "Casselrye" (Dominion) of Kortrijk (Courtrai). Rosweyde summarizes the points of this work in the Preface. They are ten in number and deal with seventeen centuries of church history. From them, one can clearly discern which is the true Church and the true Faith, and here one finds the four distinguishing marks taken from the Synod of Constantinople, where the Fathers drew up the Symbol of our Faith and which characterize the true Church as One, Holy, Catholic and Apostolic. These are also the four bonds with which Augustine confesses himself to be bound to the Roman Church after he left the Manichaean sect. Rosweyde was paid 600 guilders for his text by the City of Antwerp (Appendix IV, p. 496 [3]).

The title of the book is printed on a large cloth supported at the top right and left by a trumpet-blowing angel. Just above the drapery and in the top center, Rubens has placed the Lamb of God, symbol of Christ, carrying a Cross and banner. Directly beneath the Lamb, there is an open book with seven hanging seals. This must be a reference to the Apocalyptic Lamb, and to the book and seals which only the Lamb that was slain was worthy of opening.<sup>2</sup> Bright light emanates from the Lamb of God which is another allusion to Revelations<sup>3</sup> where it is written that "the glory of God did lighten it (the city), and the Lamb is the light thereof. And the nations of them which are saved shall walk in the light of it: and the kings of the earth do bring glory and honour to it." On the left of the title, Rubens has placed St. Peter holding his two keys while St. Paul stands on the right with his sword. Together, these two saints represent the Church. Peter symbolizes the Judeo-Christian Church and Paul the change from paganism to Christianity.<sup>4</sup> Paul was also the great missionary of the early Church, and, in fact, the bottom section of the engraving most likely refers to the regeneration of the Roman Catholic missionary zeal during the Counter-Reformation. It was through the work of the missionaries that the light of the Church was spread to Indians, blacks, Moors and non-believers in general.<sup>5</sup> This notion is graphically rendered by Rubens who places the personification of the Church in the bottom center just beneath the title. She supports a book with her right hand and holds a lighted torch in the other. Several angels fly about carrying torches and lamps, and an angel on the right lights its lamp from the Church's torch. Just below on the same side, another angel hands a lighted lamp to an Indian and above the latter a black

man raises his hands toward the Church. On the left side, a heretic covers his eyes while a figure in front of him, probably a Jew, looks up and raises his left arm toward her. This configuration, in the bottom third of the title-page, is obviously a reference to the light spread by the Church over the entire world by missionaries.<sup>6</sup> This was one of the important points (the fourth) discussed in the book.

A proof print of the engraving is in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris (Fig. 184).<sup>7</sup> The only change between the proof and the first state is the shadow patterning of the seals. In the proof, Vorsterman has shaded half of the seal while in the finished title-page, the seals are shaded throughout.

Rubens's personification of the Church was repeated, with slight changes, by Abraham van Diepenbeeck in his frontispiece designed for Cornelis Hazart's *Kerckelyke Historie vande Ghebeele Werelt* (Antwerp, 1667).

<sup>1</sup> For details see *Roozes-Ruelens*, I, p. 53.

<sup>2</sup> Revelations 5 : 1-10.

<sup>3</sup> Revelations 21 : 23-24.

<sup>4</sup> *Timmers*, p. 374, No. 785.

<sup>5</sup> *Knipping*, II, p. 167.

<sup>6</sup> For further reinforcement of this notion, see A. Mayer, *op. cit.*, pp. 60, 61, and H. Hager, *op. cit.*, p. 332, note 84, who read these four figures as allegories of the Four Continents.

<sup>7</sup> Inv. No. C 49260; 329 : 232 mm., margin; *Hymans, Vorsterman*, p. 134.

**53a. TITLE-PAGE FOR C. BARONIUS, H. SPONDANUS AND H. ROSWEYDE, GENERALE KERCKELYCKE HISTORIE: DRAWING OR OIL SKETCH**

Technique and measurements unknown.

*Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.*

**54. TITLE-PAGE FOR C. SCRIBANI, POLITICO-CHRISTIANUS. Antwerp, 1624 (Fig. 185)**

Engraving; 205 : 138 mm.; below on the left: *R. pinxit.*; below on the right: *Cor. Galle sculpsit.*

COPY EXAMINED: Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum, No. A 3828.

EXHIBITED: *Elewijt*, 1962, No. 153.

LITERATURE: *Hecquet*, p. 97, No. 8; *Basan*, p. 187, No. 54; *V.S.*, p. 203, No. 63; *Dutuit*, VI, p. 222, No. 54; *Rooses*, V, pp. 118, 119, No. 1304; *Rooses-Ruelens*, III, pp. 309-312, 321; *Van den Wijngaert*, p. 51, No. 242; *Evers*, 1943, pp. 61, 181, fig. 97; *Held*, 1960, pp. 262, 263, fig. 7; J. Kuznetsov, *Rubens Drawings in Museums of the U.S.S.R.* (Russ.), Leningrad, 1965, p. 26.

The author of this publication in-4°, Carolus Scribani, had been Rector of the Jesuit College in Antwerp from 1598 to 1613 and later became Provincial of the Jesuits and Rector of the Brussels College. He published a great number of books on a variety of religious and profane subjects, including a history of Antwerp.<sup>1</sup> The *Politico-Christianus* is meant to be a practical treatise based upon Catholic ethics and is concerned with the behaviour of those involved in politics. Consequently, Book One, *De Moribus subditorum Principis* (On the behaviour of the subjects of the Prince; pp. 1-392), is not addressed to all of the Sovereign's subjects but only to people such as courtiers, judges, army leaders and others who exercise political power.<sup>2</sup> Book One consists of 27 chapters that discuss the moral problems of these political leaders with special attention paid to their actions in marriage, in court, in the education of their children, in poverty, etc. Book two, *De Principe* (On the Prince; pp. 393-628), contains 46 chapters and concentrates upon the ruler or prince. It is really a handbook for the good Catholic ruler, and therefore it is not surprising that the *Politico-Christianus* was dedicated to King Philip IV of Spain, who is said to have admired this publication greatly.<sup>3</sup>

Rubens has designed a complicated and not easily decipherable allegory which reflects the contents of the book. There are no clues to its meaning in the Dedication to Philip IV nor in the Foreword addressed to the reader. The title is placed in an egg-shaped cartouche supporting a pedestal, upon which one finds a globe with a crown, a rudder and a scepter with a snake entwined around them. Two female personifications stand to either side of the cartouche. The woman to the left wears a crown with towers which is encircled by a halo, symbolic of divine inspiration. In her right hand she holds a scepter with an eye on top while with the other she supports the blade of the rudder. An eagle with thunderbolts is at her feet. The allegorical figure on the right wears a crown of poppies and corn and supports an overflowing cornucopia with her left hand. Below, her right foot is placed in shackles by a kneeling angel while above, to the left, an angel blows into her face. Rooses has identified the two personifications as Christian Politics and Abundance.<sup>4</sup> The

allegorical figure to the left is similar to one in the title-page for De Marselaer's *Legatus* (No. 84; Fig. 286), where she represents Politics or the Art of Good Government. Another woman with similar attributes is present in an oil sketch (Fig. 187), formerly collection A. Schloss, Paris,<sup>5</sup> and in the corresponding Rubens studio piece in the Blois Museum.<sup>6</sup> The two painted images and the title-page all contain a scepter, a snake, a globe with a rudder and a cornucopia. In the frontispiece, the personification on the left wears the turreted crown of Cybele and carries a scepter, which signifies the power of the Prince. The scepter, crowned with an eye, symbolizes the ruler's prudent justice.<sup>7</sup> The eagle holding the thunderbolts in its talons signifies the sovereign's power. Consequently, the allegorical figure on the left must be read as Government inspired by God and possessing the Christian virtues. In the center, above the title, a pedestal supports a rudder, a crown and a scepter which illustrate the idea of the firm power of a just and prudent<sup>8</sup> Christian government reigning through-out the world. The woman on the right refers to the notion that the sovereign's subjects enjoy great wealth because of his wise rule. This idea is implied by the overflowing cornucopia and the crown of corn and poppies.<sup>9</sup> The shackling of her foot suggests that she is bound by love to the just and Christian ruler. In conclusion, one might suggest that the title-page follows the division of the *Politico-Christianus* into two Books, the figure on the left referring to the Sovereign and the one on the right to his subjects.

The figures and their relation to the printed title continue a type found earlier in Rubens's 1617 design for Lessius's *De Justitia et Jure* (No. 38; Fig. 128). Held<sup>10</sup> has pointed out the close analogies between Rubens's personifications and those in Bernini's *Tomb of Pope Urban VIII* in St. Peter's, Rome (Fig. 12).

Cornelis Galle's plate was used again for the frontispiece of N. Turlot's *Trésor de la doctrine chrestienne*, Liege, 1631, and for the Latin edition of the same work published by Fr. Foppens in Brussels in 1668 entitled *Thesaurus Doctrinae Christianae*.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For an exhaustive biography and a discussion of all of Scribani's publications, see L. Brouwers S.J., *Carolus Scribani S.J. 1561-1629*, Antwerp, 1961.

<sup>2</sup> L. Brouwers, *op. cit.*, p. 424.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 447.

<sup>4</sup> *Roozes*, V, p. 119.

<sup>5</sup> Panel, 35 : 28 cm.; *Thuillier-Foucart*, p. 72, under No. 1.

- <sup>6</sup> *K.d.K.*, p. 266, right; *Thuillier-Foucart, loc. cit.*
- <sup>7</sup> A. Henkel and A. Schöne, *Emblemata*, Stuttgart, 1967, col. 1266. In the title-page designed by Erasmus Quellin for D. Saavedra's *Idea Principis Christiano-Politici* (Brussels, 1649; Fig. 188), one of the women symbolizing the ruler's virtues carries the same attribute. She stands between *Fides* (with a chalice and a cross) and *Prudentia* (with a snake); also present are *Liberalitas* (with an overturned cornucopia) and the four Cardinal Virtues.
- <sup>8</sup> The snake is a symbol of Prudence (*de Tervarent*, II, cols. 340-342).
- <sup>9</sup> Hieroglyphic symbol of the Earth according to Valeriano; for details see G. de Tervarent, *Les Enigmes de l'Art. L'Héritage Antique*, Paris, 1946, pp. 40, 41.
- <sup>10</sup> *Held*, 1960, pp. 262, 263, figs. 6, 7.
- <sup>11</sup> *V.S.*, p. 204, No. 69; the inscription on the plate was changed to read *P.P.R. pinxit*.

54a. TITLE-PAGE FOR C. SCRIBANI, POLITICO-CHRISTIANUS: DRAWING OR OIL SKETCH

Technique and measurements unknown.

*Whereabouts unknown, presumably lost.*

COPY: Drawing (Fig. 186), Leningrad, Print Room of the Hermitage, inv. No. 25626; pen and brown ink, brown wash and black chalk, heightened with white, 200 : 135 mm.; traced for transfer; prov.: P.J. Mariette (Paris, 1694-1774), sale, Paris, 15 November 1775 - 30 January 1776, lot 1009; P.K. Soechtelen (St. Petersburg); A.P. Tomilow (St. Petersburg); E.G. Schwarz (St. Petersburg); acquired from the Russian State Museum in 1929; exh.: *Rubens and his School in Drawings and Engravings in the Hermitage*, Print Room of the Hermitage, Leningrad, 1940, No. 26; *Rubens Drawings in Museums of the U.S.S.R.*, Hermitage, Leningrad - Pouchkine Museum, Moscow, 1965-66, No. 28 (repr.); *100 Målningar och teckningar från Eremitaget*, Konstmuseum, Göteborg, 1970, No. 88; *Hollandse en Vlaamse tekeningen uit de zeventiende eeuw*, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, Brussels - Museum Boymans-van Beuningen, Rotterdam - Institut Néerlandais, Paris, 1972-73, No. 83 (repr.); lit.: *Mariette*, v, p. 142; F. Basan, *Catalogue raisonné des différents objets de curiosités ... de feu M. Mariette*, Paris, 1775, No. 1009; *Rooses*, v, p. 119; *Rooses-Ruelens*, III, p. 311; M. Dobroklonsky, *The Graphic Heritage of Rubens* (Russ.), *Isskoustvo*, 1935, v, pp. 155-157; M. Dobroklonsky, *Drawings of Rubens* (Russ.), Moscow-Leningrad, 1940, No. 20, Pl. XXI; M. Dobroklonsky, *Seventeenth and Eighteenth-Century Drawings of the Flemish School in the Hermitage* (Russ.), Moscow, 1944, p. 138, No. 661; J. Kuznetsov, [*Cat. Exb.*] *Rubens Drawings in Museums of the U.S.S.R.*, Leningrad-Moscow, 1965, p. 26, No. 28, fig. 14; J. Kuznetsow & T.A. Tsesjkowskaja, [*Cat. Exb.*] *Hollandse en Vlaamse tekeningen uit de zeventiende eeuw*, Brussels, 1972, pp. 56-57, No. 83, repr. (always as *Rubens*); E. Haverkamp Begemann, *Dessins flamands et hollandais du dix-septième siècle*, *Collections de l'Ermitage, Leningrad et du Musée Pouchkine, Moscou, Master Drawings*, XI, 1973, p. 178 (as *after Rubens*).

Although the drawing in Leningrad was once in the collection of the famous connoisseur and collector P.J. Mariette as Rubens, one agrees with Haverkamp Begemann who writes that Rubens's hand can only be discerned in the margin where he has made a correction for the crown worn by the allegorical figure of Abundance. The pedestrian handling of the rest of the drawing, the awkward rendering of the anatomy, especially the arms and the hands, the rudder and the scepter cannot be associated with Rubens. Since it is traced for transfer, it must be the working drawing executed after Rubens's design by Cornelis Galle or by one of his assistants. Rubens wrote to Valavez on December 12, 1624, that he made this design. He promised his correspondent a copy of the book, which had been completed (Appendix I, p. 365 [4]), and sent it to him on January 10, 1625.<sup>1</sup> Apparently still earlier, in the course of 1624, Scribani himself had distributed a number of copies of his book to several friends and relations of his, including Pope Urban VIII, Philip IV, the Count-Duke of Olivares, etc.<sup>2</sup> Rubens's design was probably made in the first half of 1624.

<sup>1</sup> *Rooses-Ruelens*, III, p. 321.

<sup>2</sup> L. Brouwers S.J., *Brieven van Carolus Scribani S.J. (1561-1629)*, Antwerp, 1972, pp. 29-31, 54-56 and *passim*.

55. TITLE-PAGE FOR H. HUGO, *OBSIDIO BREDANA*. Antwerp, 1626 (Fig. 190)

Engraving; 293 : 187 mm.

COPY EXAMINED: Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum, No. R 53.4.

EXHIBITED: *Ellewijs*, 1962, No. 24.

COPY: Etching by Ph. Spruyt, the figures of Breda and Famine; lit.: *Rooses*, v, p. 87; *Bouchery-Van den Wijngaert*, p. 153.

LITERATURE: *Hecquet*, p. 100, No. 42; *Basan*, p. 183, No. 42; *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p. 340, No. 1314; *V.S.*, p. 201, No. 50; *Rooses, Titels*, No. 14; *Rooses, Rubens-Moretus, 1882-83*, I, p. 282; II, pp. 65-67; *Rooses, Rubens-Moretus, 1884*, pp. 25, 60-62; *Dutuit*, VI, p. 220, No. 42; *Rooses*, IV, p. 120; V, pp. 85-87, No. 1278; *Van den Wijngaert*, p. 50, No. 232; *Bouchery-Van den Wijngaert*, pp. 80, 123, 125, 138, 153, fig. 61; *Evers*, 1943, pp. 65, 182; *Held*, 1960, pp. 258, 268, No. 45.

This book in-folio, aside from the title-page, contains four folios, 125 pages of text describing the history of the siege and fall of Breda on June 2, 1625, and



closes with two folios containing permissions to publish and the Plantin device. There are also numerous woodcuts and engravings with maps and plans of the siege. The book was dedicated to the Infanta Isabella, widow of the Archduke Albert. The author, Herman Hugo, a Jesuit teacher and writer, served as General Ambrogio Spinola's Chaplain and was consequently well placed to write this account of the recent and important victory of the Infanta Isabella's army leader. Hugo was present at all of Spinola's campaigns and died in 1629 in the plague that swept through the Spanish army at Rheinberg.<sup>1</sup>

In the top center two flying putti crown the coat of arms of Spain with palms of victory, one of which is entwined with roses, the sign of grace. Above in the upper left and right corners two heads blow winds down toward the putti. They are most likely Boreas and Zephyr, the North and West winds, and perhaps allude to a moment during the siege when reinforcements for the beleaguered city were at the gates. Suddenly the wind changed and came up from the opposite direction, making it impossible to secure the ships and place their ladders against the walls.<sup>2</sup> Hercules, wearing a lion's skin and head, stands to the left of the oval frame containing the title. He is represented as the personification of Heroic Fortitude holding a spade, the attribute of Labour. This figure is a variation of the *Farnese Hercules* type which Rubens used so often.<sup>3</sup> On the right of the title is a female personification dressed in armour, holding a staff in her right hand while a snake curls around her left arm and a cock stands in front of her. This figure represents Minerva, goddess of Wisdom, one of whose attributes is the snake. The cock symbolizes Vigilance. The woman seated in the bottom center on the arms and flags of the defeated army and wearing a crenelated crown personifies the city of Breda. In front of her to the left is the coat-of-arms of Breda; on her right a woman holds her about the neck. This emaciated figure signifies Famine, which strangled the city into submission.<sup>4</sup> The pointed stakes protruding from the walls in the bottom part of the architecture must allude to those described and illustrated in the text as a strengthening element of the fortifications.<sup>5</sup>

In a letter dated December 18, 1625,<sup>6</sup> Balthasar Moretus informs Herman Hugo that Cornelis Galle had been chosen to engrave the title-page after Rubens's design, but that no decision had been made concerning its size. Moretus suggested a similar size as Van Haer's *Annales Ducum* (Appendix I, p. 402 [91]). A few weeks later, on December 31, 1625, Moretus again wrote to the author informing him that Rubens was still absent and complaining that

he had not seen the design and that it was time for Galle to start working if the book was to be completed by the beginning of February (Appendix I, p. 403 [92]). On January 7, 1626, no doubt in answer to the suggestion from Hugo that time could be gained by having the illustrations for the book etched instead of engraved, Moretus wrote to the author that at least the title-page deserved the majesty of the engraver's burin and that Galle was available to engrave Rubens's design (Appendix I, p. 403 [93]). However, the drawing and the copper plate were not sent to the engraver until January 21. Moreover, the drawing was a bit too large and had to be reduced in size (Appendix I, p. 404 [94]). Moretus's accounts do not list a payment to Galle for cutting the title-page, but he paid him 6 guilders for correcting the title and 4 guilders for the copper on February 4, 1626 (Appendix III, p. 465 [48]). On March 7, 1626, Ferdinand Arsenius received 2 guilders for engraving the inscriptions on the plate for the frontispiece (Appendix III, p. 483 [104]). A little less than three months later, on July 4, 1626, Moretus remitted 160 guilders to Theodore Galle for printing 1,000 copies of each of the sixteen large and small plates, including the title-page (Appendix III, p. 465 [50]). This publication was sold to the public for 3 guilders a copy (Appendix II, p. 437 [16]).

Cornelis Galle's plate is preserved in the Plantin-Moretus Museum, Antwerp.<sup>7</sup> It contains no title but an address with the date 1631.<sup>8</sup> The plate was used for the Spanish edition published by Plantin in 1627, entitled *Sitio de Breda a las Armas del Rey Don Phelipe IV*.<sup>9</sup> The English translation, *The Siege of Breda*, appeared in the same year.<sup>10</sup> Plantin's second Latin printing came out in 1628 and the Galle title-page was used again but was signed *Corn. Galleus sculpsit*.<sup>11</sup> Two years later, in 1631, the engraving adorned the French version printed by Plantin with the title *Le Siège de la Ville de Breda Conquise par les Armes Du Roy Philippe IV*.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See A. Roersch, *L'Humanisme en Brabant à l'époque de la Renaissance, Le livre ... en Brabant du XV<sup>e</sup> au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Gembloux, 1935, pp. 69–85.

<sup>2</sup> H. Hugo, *Obsidio Bredana*, *loc. cit.*, f<sup>o</sup> 4, p. 42.

<sup>3</sup> See e.g. the oil sketch of *Hercules*, Boymans-Van Beuningen Museum, Rotterdam and the drawing of *Hercules Victorious over Discord*, London, Department of Prints and Drawings of the British Museum.

<sup>4</sup> H. Hugo, *op. cit.*, pp. 4, 29, 54–56, 78.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 29, 52.

<sup>6</sup> Not December 16, as stated in *Rooses, Rubens-Moretus, 1882–83*, II, p. 66.

- <sup>7</sup> Inv. No. KP 46 D; 297 : 191 mm.; the central medallion has been cut away and the date in the address changed to 1631.
- <sup>8</sup> See *Evers*, 1943, fig. 98.
- <sup>9</sup> 293 : 187 mm.; *Basan*, p. 183, No. 42; *V.S.*, p. 201, No. 50; *Dutuit*, VI, p. 220; *Rooses*, V, p. 87; *Van den Wijngaert*, p. 50; *Bouchery-Van den Wijngaert*, p. 80.
- <sup>10</sup> Collection G.A. Kolkhorst, Oxford, sale, London (Sotheby's), 23-24 March, 1959, lot 303.
- <sup>11</sup> 290 : 183 mm., margin; *Dutuit*, VI, p. 220; *Rooses*, V, p. 87; *Van den Wijngaert*, p. 50; *Bouchery-Van den Wijngaert*, p. 80.
- <sup>12</sup> 290 : 183 mm., margin; signed below to the right of center, *Corn. Galleus sculpsit*; *Basan*, p. 183; *V.S.*, p. 201; *Dutuit*, VI, p. 220; *Rooses*, *Titels*, No. 17; *Rooses*, V, p. 87; *Van den Wijngaert*, p. 50; *Bouchery-Van den Wijngaert*, p. 80.

55a. TITLE-PAGE FOR H. HUGO, OBSIDIO BREDANA: DRAWING (Fig. 191)

Pen and brown ink and brown wash, heightened with body-colour; 310 : 196 mm.; below, to the left of center, in Rubens's handwriting: *Breda* and *Wapen*; below in the center, inscribed: *Rubbens F.*

*London, Department of Prints and Drawings of the British Museum.* Inv. No. 853 n.

PROVENANCE: P.J. Mariette (Paris, 1964-1774), sale, Paris, 15 November 1775 - 30 January 1776, lot 1776, bought by Paignon-Dijonval (Paris, 1708-1792); Vicomte Morel de Vindé (Paris, 1759-1842); Samuel Woodburn (London, 1786-1853); Sir Thomas Lawrence (London, 1769-1830); Sir Robert Peel (London, 1788-1850); purchased with the latter's collection by the National Gallery, London, in 1871; on loan to the British Museum since 1935.

COPY: Drawing (Fig. 192), Dijon, Musée des Beaux-Arts, Cat. 1883, No. 606; black chalk, reinforced with pen and brown ink, grey wash, heightened with body-colour; 310 : 210 mm.; indented for transfer; lit.: C. Ruelens, *Rapports sur un voyage en France (1881)*, *Rubens-Bulletijn*, I, 1882, p. 122; *Rooses*, *Rubens-Moretus*, 1882-83, II, p. 67; *Rooses*, *Rubens-Moretus*, 1884, p. 62; *Rooses*, V, p. 87; *Glück-Haberditzl*, p. 52; A.E. Popham, *Drawings by Rubens and Van Dyck from the National Gallery, The British Museum Quarterly*, X, 1935, No. 1, p. 17; *Van den Wijngaert*, p. 50; *Bouchery-Van den Wijngaert*, p. 80; *Renger*, I, p. 140, note 60.

EXHIBITED: *London*, 1835, No. 63.

LITERATURE: *Mariette*, V, p. 144; *Rooses*, *Rubens-Moretus*, 1882-83, II, pp. 66, 67; *Rooses*, *Rubens-Moretus*, 1884, pp. 61, 62; *Rooses*, IV, p. 120; V, pp. 86, 87; *Glück-Haberditzl*, p. 52, No. 166, pl. 166; *National Gallery Catalogue*, London, 1929, p. 321, No. 853n; A.E. Popham, *Drawings by Rubens and Van Dyck from the National Gallery*,

*The British Museum Quarterly*, x, 1935, No. 1, p. 17; *Van den Wijngaert*, p. 50, No. 232; *Bouchery-Van den Wijngaert*, pp. 80, 129, fig. 62; *Evers*, 1943, p. 65; *Held*, I, pp. 41, 151; *Held*, 1960, p. 258; [*Cat. Exb.*] *Rubens Diplomaat*, Elewijt, 1962, p. 114; *Held*, 1974, p. 251; *Renger*, I, p. 140.

Although the sheet is in the same direction as the engraved title-page, the magnificent spontaneity in the combination of lines and wash must be that of the master. Rubens quickly indicates shapes and forms and lets the engraver fill in the details, e.g. in the architecture. The designer carefully works out the light and shadow patterns of the main forms which the engraver will follow. This cannot be said for the drawing in Dijon (Fig. 192) which has sometimes been attributed to Rubens. It is laboriously worked, as can be seen, for example, in the architectural details which are brushed in with such vigour in the London drawing. Furthermore, the Dijon figures lack the suppleness and dramatic force of the London sheet. Because of the more precise drawing style of the Dijon work, because it is a mirror image of the printed title-page and because it is traced for transfer, it is quite plausible that this is the working drawing by the engraver. This is further substantiated by the fact that Galle's shop is known to have "remade" at least one drawing after a Rubens design for a title-page in the early 1620's.<sup>1</sup>

Rubens executed the London drawing in January 1626, and we know that it was finished by the 21st of that month.<sup>2</sup> Moretus's account books inform us that the artist received 20 guilders for it (Appendix III, pp. 448, 449 [2]).

<sup>1</sup> Appendix III, p. 381 [40]).

<sup>2</sup> See above, under No. 55.

56. PORTRAIT OF L. LESSIUS: ILLUSTRATION FOR L. LESSIUS, OPUSCULA.

Antwerp, 1626 (Fig. 189)

Engraving; 196 : 188 mm.; below on the right: *Corn. Galle sculpsit.*

COPY EXAMINED: Brussels, Royal Library, No. V.B. 1355 C.

COPIES: (1) Engraving by S. à Bolswert; lit.: *V.S.*, p. 183, No. 253; *Rooses*, v, p. 91; (2) Engraving by N. de Larmessin; lit.: J.F. Foppens, *Bibliotheca Belgica*, II, Brussels, 1739, p. 815, repr.

LITERATURE: *Hecquet*, p. 84, No. 36; *Basan*, p. 149, No. 68; *Smith*, *Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p. 311, No. 1153; *V.S.*, p. 183, No. 252; *Rooses*, *Titels*, No. 27; *Rooses*,

*Rubens-Moretus*, 1882–83, II, p. 68; *Rooses*, *Rubens-Moretus*, 1884, p. 63; *Dutuit*, VI, p. 196, No. 68; *Rooses*, IV, p. 120; V, p. 91, No. 1280; *Van den Wijngaert*, p. 48, No. 214bis; *Bouchery-Van den Wijngaert*, pp. 96, 130, fig. 53; *Evers*, 1943, p. 65; [*Cat. Exb.*] *Anvers, ville de Plantin et de Rubens*, Paris, 1954, p. 221.

This portrait of Leonard Lessius<sup>1</sup> was designed by Rubens and engraved by Cornelis Galle for the posthumous edition of his *Opuscula* published by Moretus. The work consists of a series of papers discussing theological and other questions such as Grace, Predestination, the Antichrist, a health treatise and other such subjects. The portrait is found on folio four in this book which consists of another 922 numbered pages, an index and an imperial Privilege for ten years which is dated Prague, September 1617.

Rubens's design was probably made from an existing portrait by an unknown artist,<sup>2</sup> as it must have been executed after Lessius's death in 1623. Rubens's credit of 12 guilders is listed in Balthasar Moretus's account book of 1624–1655 (Appendix III, pp. 448, 449 [2]). Moretus had written to Father Van Winghe on October 22, 1624, that he was considering publishing the book, but it did not appear until 1626 (Appendix I, p. 426 [151]). On August 26, 1626, Moretus paid Theodore Galle 75 guilders for Cornelis Galle's engraved portrait of Lessius (Appendix III, p. 465 [49]). Theodore Galle received 42 guilders and 12 1/2 stuivers on November 10, 1626, for printing 1,550 sheets each of the title, of the portrait of Lessius and of the name of Jesus (Appendix III, p. 466 [51]). The book was printed on two grades of paper and was sold for 6 1/2 guilders on the poorer grade and for 8 1/2 on better paper (Appendix II, p. 437 [17]).

In this portrait Lessius is seated at his desk looking straight out at the viewer. He holds up his pen in his right hand and rests the other hand on the table. Behind his back, there is a shelf full of books. This type of image reminds one of the traditional representations of St. Jerome. It was used again by Rubens in his ca. 1627 *Portrait of Ludovicus Nonnius* in the National Gallery, London,<sup>3</sup> and in his ca. 1628 portrait of Caspar Gevartius in the Royal Museum, Antwerp.<sup>4</sup>

Cornelis Galle's copper plate is preserved in the Plantin-Moretus Museum, Antwerp.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For details on L. Lessius, see above, p. 184, under No. 38.

<sup>2</sup> *Rooses*, v, p. 91.

<sup>3</sup> F. Baudouin, *Rubens en zijn eeuw*, Antwerp, 1972, pl. 37.

<sup>4</sup> *K.d.K.*, p. 304.

<sup>5</sup> Inv. No. KP 125 D; 296 : 190 mm.

56a. PORTRAIT OF LEONARDUS LESSIUS: DRAWING OR OIL SKETCH

Technique and measurements unknown.

*Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.*

See above under No. 56.

57. TITLE-PAGE FOR H. ROSWEYDE, *VITAE PATRUM*. Antwerp, 1628 (Fig. 193)

Engraving; 313 : 197 mm.

COPY EXAMINED: Brussels, Royal Library, No. V.B. 8244.

LITERATURE: *Hecquet*, p. 101, No. 51; *Basan*, pp. 191, 192, No. 65; *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, II, pp. 344, 345, No. 1339; *V.S.*, p. 205, No. 75; *Rooses, Titels*, No. 23; *Rooses, Rubens-Moretus, 1882-83*, II, p. 143; *Rooses, Rubens-Moretus, 1884*, pp. 93, 94; *Dutuit*, VI, p. 224, No. 65; *Rooses*, V, pp. 114, 115; *Knipping*, II, pp. 225, 226; *Van den Wijngaert*, pp. 50, 51, No. 238; *Bouchery-Van den Wijngaert*, pp. 80, 129, 139, 154, fig. 64; *Evers, 1943*, pp. 67, 182, 190, fig. 99; *Renger, I*, p. 141, note 62.

The first Latin edition of Rosweyde's *Vitae Patrum* was published by the Plantin Press in 1615. Its frontispiece (Fig. 143) had been designed and engraved by Theodore Galle. Two years later, Hieronymus Verdussen brought out a Dutch translation with a frontispiece engraved by Jan Collaert after a design by Rubens (No. 42; Fig. 146). The second edition in Latin was also published by Moretus, but it has a different title-page from the first edition. In the center above the title, where the 1617 design had a dark niche, the 1628 title-page shows Anthony and Paul seated in a grotto. Above them and outside of the grotto to the left and the right are Elijah fed by a raven and John the Baptist accompanied by a lamb. Beneath Elijah and flanking the title on the left, there is a seated angel with crossed arms, *Prayer*, and a woman covering her lips, *Silence*. Underneath John on the opposite side, there are two seated figures: *Meditation* with her eyes glancing down and below her *Self-Discipline* holding a whip. Below, on either side of the printer's address, are

two women saints. The lady dressed in the monk's robes, holding a book and resting on a mattress, must be Euphrosyna. She is surrounded by the same attributes in the 1615 frontispiece designed by Theodore Galle upon which her name is inscribed. The kneeling nude on the right, covered by her long hair, is more difficult to identify. However, because the other saints represented on this page are closely connected with each other and were included in the 1615 Theodore Galle title-page, it seems most likely that this unclothed figure is St. Eugenia.<sup>1</sup> It is also possible that she is St. Maria Aegyptiaca, who lived for years in the desert and is often represented without clothes but covered by long hair. Rosweyde also gives a detailed description of her life in this book.<sup>2</sup>

The idea of placing important figures or scenes from the book in a landscape encircling the title and address is not a Rubens invention. One often finds this type of title-page design beginning in the early sixteenth century but with obvious stylistic differences.<sup>3</sup> The placement of Saints Anthony and Paul in a dark grotto with two other religious figures reclining against either side is also present, prior to Rubens, in the title-page for H. Hugo's *Pia Desideria*, published by H. Aertsens in 1624 in Antwerp.

In Moretus's account-book of 1624-1655 a credit of 20 guilders in Rubens's favour is listed for the design of the title-page for the *Vitae Patrum* (Appendix III, pp. 448, 449 [2]). Moreover, a letter from Moretus to Antoon van Winghe dated December 8, 1627, implies that this frontispiece had been designed by Rubens (Appendix I, p. 427 [153]). It is therefore difficult to explain why Abraham van Diepenbeeck was paid a similar amount on September 12, 1627, "for drawing the new title of the *Vitæ Patrum*" (Appendix III, p. 483 [105]). Moretus purchased the copper plate on September 21, 1627 (Appendix III, p. 466 [52]), which was shortly thereafter engraved by Cornelis Galle as we know from the payment of 90 guilders to Theodore Galle on October 9 (Appendix III, p. 467 [53]). Ferdinand Arsenius received 4 guilders on October 5 for engraving the letters (Appendix III, p. 483 [106]) and 1,533 copies of the title-page were printed before October 16 (Appendix III, p. 467 [55]). The dates on the documents make it highly improbable that, as suggested in *Bouchery-Van den Wijngaert*,<sup>4</sup> Rubens corrected a design by Van Diepenbeeck for this frontispiece or that the former provided a new one to replace the latter's. It is more likely that Van Diepenbeeck made a design which followed Rubens's instructions as Quellin did so often in the 1630's. In Moretus's accounts, Quellin's manner of working with Rubens is also called drawing

("teeckenen"), and the former received similar payments (Appendix III, pp. 489, 490 [122, 123, 125, 128]; Appendix IV, pp. 505, 506 [10, 11]). However, at the time of these payments to Quellin, there were none made to Rubens.

There is a proof print in the Teylers Museum, Haarlem (Fig. 195),<sup>6</sup> which was made after the one retouched by Rubens (No. 57b; Fig. 194). The copper plate is preserved in the Plantin-Moretus Museum, Antwerp<sup>6</sup> (Fig. 196).

<sup>1</sup> *Rooses*, v, p. 114; *Bouchery-Van den Wijngaert*, p. 139.

<sup>2</sup> H. Rosweyde, *op. cit.*, pp. 381-392.

<sup>3</sup> See e.g. the title-pages for the following books: N. Perrot, *Cornucopiae*, Basle, 1521 (Fig. 197); *Biblia*, Antwerp (J. Steels), 1537; R. Dodoens, *Histoire des plantes*, Antwerp, 1560; N. de Nicolaij, *De Schipvaert ende Reysen gedaen int Landt van Turckyen*, Antwerp, 1576, etc.

<sup>4</sup> *Bouchery-Van den Wijngaert*, pp. 80, 81.

<sup>5</sup> 313 : 197 mm.

<sup>6</sup> Inv. No. KP 73 D; 315 : 200 mm.

**57a.** TITLE-PAGE FOR H. ROSWEYDE, VITAE PATRUM: DRAWING OR OIL SKETCH

Technique and measurements unknown.

*Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.*

For discussion, see under No. 57.

**57b.** TITLE-PAGE FOR H. ROSWEYDE, VITAE PATRUM: RETOUCHE ENGRAVING (Fig. 194)

Engraving, retouched with pen and brush, brown ink and white body-colour; 307 : 197 mm.; signed below on the left: *P.P. Rubenius fec.*

*Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Estampes.* Inv. No. C 10504.

PROVENANCE: P.J. Mariette (Paris, 1694-1774); purchased in 1775 from the latter's estate by Hugues-Adrien Joly, Keeper of the Cabinet des Estampes.

EXHIBITED: *Paris*, 1954, No. 376.

LITERATURE: *Dutuit*, vi, p. 224; *Renger*, I, p. 141, note 62.

Rubens has brushed in brown ink around Elijah as well as on the cloak covering his right shoulder and knee. Brown wash is also evident in the clouds



to the right of John the Baptist, in his hair, his hands and his legs. The personifications of the monastic virtues and the two women saints also have been touched up with brown wash in their faces, hair, hands, legs and outlines of their clothes. The same can be said for the cartouche below. White body colour, now turned blue, was used around the figures in the grotto, on the hanging drapery in the middle, in the cartouche below and on the left wing and clothes of the angel on the left.

58. TITLE-PAGE FOR B. CORDIER, CATENA SEXAGINTA QUINQUE GRAECORUM PATRUM IN S. LUCAM. Antwerp, 1628 (Fig. 199)

Engraving; 319 : 208 mm.

COPY EXAMINED: Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum, No. R 53.2.

EXHIBITED: *Paris*, 1954, No. 371; *Bologna*, 1965, No. 282.

LITERATURE: *Hecquet*, p. 97, No. 12; *Basan*, pp. 171, 172, No. 10; *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p. 335, No. 1280; *V.S.*, p. 194, No. 10; *Rooses, Titels*, No. 4; *Rooses, Rubens-Moretus*, 1882-83, I, p. 282; II, pp. 68, 69; *Rooses, Rubens-Moretus*, 1884, pp. 25, 63, 64; *Dutuit*, VI, p. 212, No. 10; *Rooses*, IV, p. 120; V, p. 69, No. 1264, pl. 363; *Van den Wijngaert*, p. 49, No. 225; *Bouchery-Van den Wijngaert*, pp. 81, 123, 129, 138, 153, fig. 63; *Evers*, 1943, pp. 182, 183; *Benesch, Book Illustration*, pp. 12, 13.

This in-folio book contains commentaries by the Greek Church Fathers on the Gospel according to St. Luke. It is made up of 12 introductory folios followed by 633 pages of text and ends with 43 folios, including the *Index Patrum huius Catenaë*, which lists the 65 Greek Church Fathers. Each chapter of St. Luke's Gospel is followed by a *Supplement* from one of the other Evangelists, by commentaries, by citations and by annotations by the Greek Church Fathers as well as a learned commentary by Father Cordier. The book is dedicated to Emperor Ferdinand II. The editor, Balthasar Cordier, was born in Antwerp in 1592 and entered the Jesuit Order in 1612. He was a teacher of theology and the Holy Scriptures at the University of Vienna and a specialist in the study of Hellenistic authors. He died in Rome in 1650.<sup>1</sup>

The title of the *Catena in S. Lucam* is inscribed upon an ox's skin which is held up on the left by an eagle, the attribute of St. John, and on the right by a

lion, the emblem of St. Mark. The ox's head is in the middle and directly beneath St. Luke who holds a scroll presumably containing his Gospel. Truth<sup>2</sup> places a chain with sixty-five medallions made of beautiful and precious stones around St. Luke's neck.<sup>3</sup> The Holy Spirit descends just above St. Luke's head to the left while an angel holding an open book, symbol of St. Matthew, stands in profile to the left of the dove and looks at St. Luke. Two Church Fathers dressed as hermit-monks flank the title below. St. Augustine is on the left and holds a book in his right hand and a burning heart pierced by an arrow in his left. This is an often used attribute for St. Augustine in seventeenth-century Flemish art.<sup>4</sup> The tradition of representing him as a hermit-monk goes back to the Middle Ages.<sup>5</sup> As early as ca. 1603, Rubens dressed St. Augustine the same way in the painting of *St. Augustine between Christ and the Virgin* in the Academia de San Fernando in Madrid.<sup>6</sup> Incidentally, the Augustinian Eremites had settled in Antwerp in 1608. They had a flourishing convent and college, and, precisely in 1628, when this book was published, Rubens completed his *Madonna Adored by Saints* (Fig. 19) for the main altar of their church.<sup>7</sup> On the right of the title, Rubens has placed a large figure covered with ample drapery and with three Greek crosses decorating the area around his neck. He holds a book in his left hand and points to an open page with the other. Rooses<sup>8</sup> identified this figure as St. Gregory of Nazianus, but in Rubens's representations of him in the Jesuit Ceiling<sup>9</sup> he looks different. The figure in the frontispiece bears a closer resemblance to St. Athanasius as Rubens depicted him in the painting of *The Death of St. Antony Abbot*, Castle Weissenstein, Pommersfelden.<sup>10</sup> There he wears a similar pallium. One might also add that the open book is an attribute of St. Athanasius. By placing St. Augustine on one side of the title and St. Athanasius on the other, Rubens has deliberately juxtaposed a Latin Church Father with a Greek one. Emperor Ferdinand II's coat-of-arms, with the crown and the double eagle, is in the bottom center of the title-page.

The idea of using a stretched-out animal skin for a title-page was not invented by Rubens. One finds it earlier in Aegidius Sadeler's frontispiece for *Vestigi delle Antichita di Roma*, Prague, 1606 (Fig. 201), where the title is printed on the skin of the Roman she-wolf.

As early as October 22, 1624, Moretus had written to Abbot Van Winghe (Appendix I, p. 426 [151]) of his intention to publish Cordier's work. However, it was not until three years had elapsed before this proposal was realized. On

November 15, 1627, Moretus wrote the same Abbot that the *Catena* was being printed (Appendix I, p. 426 [152]). All of the payments for the title-page date from the year 1628. On August 28, Ferdinand Arsenius was paid 3 guilders and 15 stuivers for cutting the letters of the title-page (Appendix III, p. 483 [107]) while on September 8, Theodore Galle received 80 guilders for Cornelis Galle's engraving of the frontispiece (Appendix III, p. 466 [54]). Rubens received a credit from Moretus of 20 guilders for making the design for the title-page (Appendix III, pp. 448, 449 [2]) and by October 27, 1628, Th. Galle had printed 1,525 copies of it for Moretus at a cost of 18 1/2 guilders (Appendix III, p. 467 [56]). Moretus published the book on two different qualities of paper. The volume on ordinary paper sold for 5 1/2 guilders and on better paper for 6 1/2 guilders a copy (Appendix II, p. 438 [19]). Moretus appears to have been overly optimistic about the demand for the book. This is evident in a letter to Cordier written two years later on February 22, 1630, when Moretus was preparing a similar publication by the same author on the *Gospel of St. John* (No. 59; Fig. 203). In this letter the publisher complained to the author that 1,000 copies of the *Catena in S. Lucam* were still unsold and consequently only 750 copies of the *St. John* would be printed (Appendix I, p. 383 [47]). Well into the eighteenth century, the *Catena* was of little value and in an auction of the books in the estate of the deceased widow of Hendrik Verdussen, the owner of the famous Antwerp publishing house, held from July 10–26, 1752, the book brought only six stuivers a volume. There were 53 copies in the lot, which sold for a total of 15 guilders and 18 stuivers.<sup>11</sup>

The copper plate is preserved in the Plantin-Moretus Museum, Antwerp.<sup>12</sup> It carries the signature *Cornelius Galleus sculpsit*, which was added at an unknown date after 1628.<sup>13</sup>

- <sup>1</sup> A. Poncelet, *Histoire de la Compagnie de Jésus dans les anciens Pays-Bas*, II, Brussels, 1927, p. 501.
- <sup>2</sup> Identified as such in a letter from Balthasar Moretus to Father Cordier, dated November 28, 1628 (Appendix I, p. 382 [44]).
- <sup>3</sup> In the Dedication to Ferdinand II, Cordier describes the chain as being adorned with beautiful spiritual gems and hung around St. Luke's neck by the Church Fathers ("... Catenam hanc, quam ipsi ... pulcherrimis gemmis spiritualibus distinctam, sancto LUCAE appenderunt ..."; B. Corderius, *op. cit.*, f<sup>o</sup> 2<sup>v</sup>).
- <sup>4</sup> *Knipping*, I, pp. 225, 226.
- <sup>5</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 224, 225.
- <sup>6</sup> *Vlieghe, Saints*, I, pp. 97, 98, No. 66, Fig. 117.
- <sup>7</sup> *K.d.K.*, p. 305.

<sup>8</sup> *Rooses*, v, p. 69.

<sup>9</sup> *Martin, Ceiling Paintings*, Fig. 134.

<sup>10</sup> *Vlieghe, Saints*, I, pp. 92-95, No. 64, Fig. 113.

<sup>11</sup> L. Le Clercq, *Les catalogues des Verdussen, imprimeurs-libraires et bibliophiles, De Gulden Passer*, x, 1932, p. 184.

<sup>12</sup> Inv. No. KP 139 D; 320 : 212 mm.

<sup>13</sup> *Rooses, Titels*, No. 4; *Evers*, 1943, fig. 100; *Seilern*, I, fig. 33.

58a. TITLE-PAGE FOR B. CORDIER, CATENA SEXAGINTA QUINQUE GRAECORUM PATRUM IN S. LUCAM: GRISAILLE SKETCH (Fig. 200)

Oil on paper, pasted upon canvas; 31 : 21.5 cm.

*London, Collection of Count A. Seilern.*

PROVENANCE: G. Uilenbroek, sale, Amsterdam (D.A. Beukelaar-Ph. van der Land), 23 October 1741, lot 3 ("De Titul van het Boek, Catena LXV Graecorum Patrum in St. Lucam, met de vier Evangelisten en de vier Oudvaders, in 't graauw met oly verf geschilderd door *Rubbens*, zeer goed, het is in 't koper gebragt. 16 : 5.0"); Tersmitten, sale, Amsterdam, 23 September 1754 *et seqq.*, lot 436; W. Ottley (London, 1771-1836), sale, London (T. Philipe), 6-12 July 1807, lot 517; J. Smith (London, 1830); Mrs. F.M. Noel, sale, London (Sotheby), 29 November 1944, lot 93; Gallery Matthiesen, London.

LITERATURE: *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p. 335, No. 1280; *Rooses, Titels*, under No. 4; *Rooses*, IV, p. 120; V, p. 69; *Bouchery-Van den Wijngaert*, p. 153; *Seilern*, I, p. 62, No. 33; II, pl. LXXIV; *Held*, 1974, pp. 252, 259, note 15; *Renger*, I, p. 141, note 62.

This is the earliest preserved grisaille design by Rubens made specifically for a title-page. The modello, in the same direction as the engraving, was closely followed by the engraver, who very likely made a working drawing, now lost, before cutting the plate.<sup>1</sup> However, Rubens himself made a change in the oil sketch. The angel in the upper left holding the open book has two faces, one frontal and the other in profile. The latter was used by Galle in the engraving. The lion in the upper right and the eagle on the opposite side also appear in two oil sketches for the Achilles series, *The Wrath of Achilles* and *The Death of Achilles*, preserved in the Museum Boymans-van Beuningen, Rotterdam.<sup>2</sup> The lion also compares convincingly with the one in the modello for *The Battle of Coutras*, Liechtenstein Collection, Vaduz.<sup>3</sup>

The design for the *Catena* is mentioned in a letter from Balthasar Moretus to

Father Cordier in Vienna written on November 28, 1628. From this note we learn that "Rubens thinks that in all the frontispieces which have already been printed, Truth, which he has represented naked, has been covered enough" (Appendix I, p. 382 [44]). Rubens received a credit of 20 guilders for designing this frontispiece (Appendix III, pp. 448, 449 [2]).

<sup>1</sup> For more details see above, pp. 28–30.

<sup>2</sup> E. Haverkamp Begemann, *The Achilles Series (Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard, x)*, Brussels-London-New York, 1975, pp. 120, 121, 139, 140, Nos. 5a, 8a, figs. 46, 74.

<sup>3</sup> *K.d.K.*, p. 319 left.

59. VIGNETTE FOR THE TITLE-PAGE OF B. CORDIER, CATENA PATRUM GRAECORUM IN S. IOANNEM. Antwerp, 1630 (Fig. 203)

Engraving; 95 : 176 mm.

COPY EXAMINED: Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum, No. A 774.

LITERATURE: *Hecquet*, p. 103, No. 60; *Basan*, pp. 195, 196, No. 70; *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p. 347, No. 1347; *V.S.*, p. 207, No. 83; *Rooses, Rubens-Moretus*, 1882–83, II, pp. 69, 70; *Rooses, Rubens-Moretus*, 1884, pp. 64, 65, repr.; *Rooses*, V, pp. 70, 71, No. 1265, repr. on p. 34; *Rooses-Ruelens*, V, pp. 258, 301, 305, 306; *Van den Wijngaert*, p. 49, No. 226; *Bouchery-Van den Wijngaert*, pp. 81, 141, fig. 80; *Evers*, 1943, pp. 73, 194, fig. 101; *Held*, 1960, p. 257; A. Heiman, *Die Hochzeit von Adam und Eva im Paradies, Wallraf-Richartz-Jahrbuch*, XXXVII, 1975, p. 34, fig. 33.

This vignette consisting of the coat-of-arms of Ferdinand III, who in 1630 was King of Hungary and Bohemia and Archduke of Austria, was designed by Rubens and engraved by Cornelis Galle. The book in-folio includes commentaries by twenty-one Church Fathers on the Gospel of St. John with the Greek texts accompanied by Latin translations. Cordier's volume begins with eight folios, followed by 475 pages of text and ends with fourteen folios of Index. The book is dedicated to Ferdinand III and the contents of the vignette refer to his forthcoming wedding to Princess Maria, daughter of King Philip III of Spain.<sup>1</sup> The shield with its two lions is encircled by the chain of the Order of the Golden Fleece. This, in turn, is enframed by a wreath of laurel, attribute of Virtue, on the left and a variety of flowers on the right. To the left and right of the wreath an eagle

and a peacock, emblematic of Jupiter and Juno, are joined together by the well-known symbol of wedlock, the yoke. Jupiter is the King of Gods, and his Queen, Juno, the goddess of matrimony and child-birth and the protector of the family. Each bird is perched on a wedding torch, from which hangs fruit specifically associated with marriage (quince, pomegranate). Above and behind the eagle and peacock, there is a rainbow with a shining star in the middle referring to the brilliance of the match. This vignette is really a paraphrase, without allegorical figures, of the upper portion of Rubens's *Entry into Lyons* from the Medici cycle.<sup>2</sup>

More information about this book can be found in the correspondence between Balthasar Moretus in Antwerp and Father Cordier in Vienna. In a letter from Moretus to Cordier dated June 16, 1629, we learn that the latter's manuscript was delivered that evening to the publisher by Father Heribertus Rosweyde (Appendix I, p. 382 [45]). Another letter from Moretus to Cordier, written on December 21, 1629, states that only the Preface and the title will be ready just before Ferdinand's wedding. Moretus goes on to say that it will not be possible to illustrate the title with a copper engraving designed by Rubens because he is in England on a diplomatic mission (Appendix I, pp. 382, 383 [46]). On February 22, 1630, Moretus wrote to Cordier that space on the title-page had been left open for an engraving of St. John the Evangelist, the Name of Jesus or the King's coat-of-arms (Appendix I, p. 383 [47]). Cordier accepted the third suggestion and sent him a design for the King's coat-of-arms and the Imperial Privilege for the book (Appendix I, pp. 383, 384 [48, 49]). Moretus must have found the design unsatisfactory. On July 5, 1630, he wrote Cordier that Rubens had returned to Antwerp<sup>3</sup> and had promised to illustrate the King's device and to add some decorative motifs (Appendix I, p. 384 [50]). Rubens's design was finished by August 2, 1630, when Moretus wrote to Cordier that it was ready to be engraved (Appendix I, p. 384 [51]). Cornelis Galle cut the plate sometime prior to August 14, 1630, when Theodore Galle was paid 28 guilders for his brother's work (Appendix III, p. 467 [57]). On August 29, 1630, Moretus announced to Cordier that the book was ready (Appendix I, pp. 384, 385 [52]). Moretus printed 800 copies (Appendix III, p. 468 [62]) and each volume was sold for 6 1/2 guilders (Appendix II, p. 439 [20]).

There is a proof print for the vignette in the Cabinet des Estampes, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris (Fig. 202), without Ferdinand III's coat-of-arms.<sup>4</sup>

- <sup>1</sup> Rubens painted a portrait of Maria in 1628–29 when he was in Madrid. The picture was exhibited in *London, 1950*, No. 34, when it was owned by Julius Singer.
- <sup>2</sup> *K.d.K.*, p. 249; see also *Thuillier-Foucart*, pp. 79, 80, pl. 15, for a detailed discussion of many of the symbols found in the *Medici Cycle* which are also present in this vignette.
- <sup>3</sup> In fact, he had already returned to Antwerp shortly before April 6, 1630 (*Evers, 1943*, p. 72).
- <sup>4</sup> Inv. No. Cc 31, f° 97, No. 133; 89 : 69 mm., margin.

59a. VIGNETTE FOR B. CORDIER, CATENA PATRUM GRAECORUM IN S. IOANNEM:  
DRAWING OR OIL SKETCH

Technique and measurements unknown.

*Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.*

As noted above,<sup>1</sup> Rubens's lost work was executed sometime between July 5 and August 2, 1630. It may have been the drawing that was in the collection of M. Paignon Dijonval, Paris, in 1810 and was described as "Un mascaron ou cartouche composé de deux aigles soutenant une couronne, et tenant des flambeaux dans leur serres; d. à la pierre noire lavé de bistre; 1.7 po. sur 3 po."<sup>2</sup> However, the Paignon Dijonval drawing could also have been a working drawing made by the engraver, or a member of his shop, after a lost Rubens oil sketch. It is obvious from the above description and the proof print in Paris that Rubens's design did not contain Ferdinand's coat-of-arms.

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 254, under No. 59.

<sup>2</sup> M. Bénard, *Cabinet de M. Paignon Dijonval*, Paris, 1810, p. 66, No. 1345.

60. VIGNETTE FOR D. VAN MAUDEN, SPECULUM AUREUM VITAE MORALIS.  
Antwerp, 1631 (Fig. 204)

Engraving; 94 : 134 mm., margin.

COPY EXAMINED: Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum, No. A. 1858<sup>2</sup>.

As far as one knows, Rubens's design for Jan van Meurs's printer's device was first used for the *Speculum Aureum Vitae Moralís, seu Tobias ad vivum delineatus, explicatus, et per selectiora moralia illustratus* by David van Mauden. The allegorical images in the device have no connection with the text which

is devoted to the *Book of Tobit* in the *Old Testament, Apocrypha*. The author, David van Mauden (Antwerp, 1575 – Brussels, 1641) explains and makes lengthy comments on the *Book of Tobit* and stresses its moral precepts. He studied law and theology at the University of Louvain. In 1609 he was appointed priest of the Parish of Notre-Dame-de-la-Chapelle in Brussels. Thirteen years later, in 1622, he became the Dean of the Collegiate Church in Breda but could not assume this position until the fall of the city to Spinola's army in 1625. Van Mauden stayed in Breda until 1637 when the city was retaken by the Dutch. <sup>1</sup> The Dedication to the Infanta Isabella is dated Brussels, March 10, 1631. The book also contains a Foreword, two complimentary letters about the author written by two theologians, the *Approbatio* given by the Censor of the Antwerp Chapter and the Privilege which is dated Brussels, June 15, 1630. There is a twenty-page table of contents followed by 895 pages of text and three indexes.

Although the Van Meurs device does not appear, as far as one knows, in any publication prior to the 1631 *Speculum Aureum*, it is most likely that Rubens did not execute the grisaille sketch specifically for the latter publication. This becomes clear when one realizes that the size of the modello is considerably larger than the Van Mauden vignette, which is smaller than the Van Meurs devices in publications such as M. Bonacina's *Opera Omnia* of 1632 (Fig. 205) <sup>2</sup> and G. Becanus's *Serenissimi Principis Ferdinandi... Introitus in Flandriae Metropolim Gandavum* of 1636. <sup>3</sup> Van Meurs's device was also engraved in a reduced size by Alexander Voet and copied by the woodcut artist Christopher Jegher. Because it is most improbable that all of these copies were made after the title-page in Van Mauden's *Speculum Aureum*, they have been listed under the entry for the grisaille sketch (No. 60a).

In the center of the engraving a hen sits on her eggs, enframed by a palm branch on either side which can be read as a symbol of success in the world of literature. Minerva's head flanks the frame on the left: she is customarily associated with Wisdom as is her attribute the owl who is perched on the frame just above the goddess's head. The owl also refers to Night and in this image the bird certainly alludes to both Wisdom and Night. Mercury's head is on the right of the frame and is an emblem of Eloquence and Reason. Mercury's attribute, the cock, is above and to the left on the frame and in this trade-mark must be associated with Day. The frame is surmounted by a burning antique lamp which suggests the idea of the light which is dispersed by the press. The



bottom center of the frame contains a trumpet, attribute of Fame, and Mercury's caduceus, symbolic of Commerce and Eloquence. A scroll decorates the top of the composition and contains Van Meurs's motto NOCTV INCVBANDO DIVQUE (Brooding by day as well as by night), which is clearly suggested in the image. This motto is an emblematic interpretation of the name of Van Meurs's house "De Vette Hinne" (the Fat Hen) in the Cammerstraat.

Van Meurs used his device as a vignette in numerous publications. The sizes varied and the technique was either woodcut or engraving.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> J.B. Krüger, *Kerkelijke Geschiedenis van het Bisdom van Breda*, III, Bergen-op-Zoom, s.d., p. 247; P. Bergmans, in *Biographie Nationale*, XIV, Brussels, 1897, cols. 87, 88; *Nieuw Nederlandsch Biografisch Woordenboek*, VI, Leiden, 1924, pp. 1007, 1008; E. Boeckx, *Notre-Dame-de-la-Chapelle à Bruxelles*, Brussels, 1928, pp. 85-87.

<sup>2</sup> See below, No. 60a, COPIES (2).

<sup>3</sup> Wrongly stated by *Rooses*, V, p. 130, to be the first book with the Van Meurs printer's device. See also I. von Roeder-Baumbach, *Versieringen bij Blijde Inkomsten gebruikt in de Zuidelijke Nederlanden gedurende de 16de en 17de eeuw*, Antwerp, 1943, p. 20, No. 22.

<sup>4</sup> See below, under No. 60a, COPIES (2)-(4). For other publications containing a Jegher copy of the Van Meurs trade-mark see *Van Havre*, II, pp. 33, 34, Nos. 1, 2, 4-6, repr. on pp. 35, 37-39. The Van Meurs device was also used on the pedestal supporting Van Dyck's *Self Portrait* on the frontispiece of his *Iconography* (M. Mauquoy-Hendrickx, *L'Iconographie d'Antoine van Dyck*, I, Brussels, 1956, pp. 54, 55). Cornelis Galle made a fantastic copy of his original engraving which included *Hercules* and *Constantia* flanking the trade-mark which he made elliptical (192 : 256 mm., margin, Brussels, Royal Library; *Rooses*, V, p. 131). Van Meurs's device was modified by Jacob van Meurs, son of Jan, for the *Acta Sanctorum* published by the former in 1658 (*Van Havre*, II, p. 43, No. 7, repr.).

**60a.** PRINTER'S DEVICE FOR JAN VAN MEURS: GRISAILLE SKETCH (Fig. 206)

Oil on panel; 19 : 20.5 cm.

*Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum.* Inv. No. 59.

PROVENANCE: Has always been in the collection of the Plantin Press.

EXHIBITED: *Antwerp*, 1946, No. 16 (repr.); *Helsinki*, 1952-53, No. 22; *Rotterdam*, 1953-54, No. 58 (repr.); *Paris*, 1954, No. 405.

COPIES: (1) Drawing (Fig. 207) by C. Galle (?), Leningrad, Hermitage, Cat. 1955, No. 663; pen and brown ink over preliminary drawing in black chalk, 130 : 150 mm.; indented for transfer; exh.: *Rubens and his School in Drawings and Engraving in the*

*Hermitage*, Hermitage, Leningrad, 1940, No. 27; *Rubens Drawings in Museums of the U.S.S.R.*, Hermitage, Leningrad – Pouchkine Museum, Moscow, 1965–66, No. 27 (repr.); *Zeichnungen der Hermitage zu Leningrad. Werke des XV. bis XIX. Jahrhunderts*, National-Galerie, Berlin, 1975, p. 55, No. 45; lit.: M. Rooses, in *Rubens-Bulletijn*, v, 1910, p. 202; *Van den Wijngaert*, p. 52; *Bouchery-Van den Wijngaert*, p. 42, note 3; M. Dobroklonsky, [Cat.] *Seventeenth and Eighteenth-Century Drawings of the Flemish School in the School in the Hermitage* (Russ.), Leningrad, 1955, p. 139, No. 663; J. Kuznetsov, *Drawings by Rubens* (Russ.), Moscow, 1974, No. 98, repr.; (2) Engraving (Fig. 205) by C. Galle, in M. Bonacina, *Opera Omnia*, Antwerp, 1632; 130 : 167 mm.; below on the left: *Pet. Paul Rubens pinxit*, below on the right: *Corn. Galle sculpsit*; lit.: *Hecquet*, p. 104, No. 64; *Basan*, p. 196, No. 73; *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p. 347, No. 1350; *V.S.*, p. 207, No. 86; *Rooses, Rubens-Moretus*, 1882–83, I, p. 291; *Rooses, Rubens-Moretus*, 1884, p. 34; *Van Havre*, II, p. 34, No. 3, repr. on p. 36; *Dutuit*, VI, p. 228, No. 73; *Rooses*, v, pp. 130, 131, No. 1314; F. Donnet, *Histoire d'un livre*, Antwerp, 1896, pp. 43, 44; *Rosenberg, Rubensstecher*, p. 164; *Van den Wijngaert*, p. 52, No. 245; *Bouchery-Van den Wijngaert*, pp. 42, 115, 117, 118, 152, fig. 108; *Haverkamp Begeman*, 1953, p. 74; M. Mauquoy-Hendrickx, *L'Iconographie d'Antoine Van Dyck*, I, Brussels, 1956, pp. 54, 55; *Held*, I, p. 41; *d'Hulst*, 1968, p. 98; (3) Engraving by Alexander Voet; 71 : 92 mm., margin; below on the left: *Pet. Paul Rubens pinxit*, below on the right: *Alex. Voet sculp.*; lit.: *V.S.*, p. 207, No. 87; *Dutuit*, VI, p. 228, No. 74; *Van den Wijngaert*, p. 52, under No. 245; (4) Woodcut by C. Jegher, in C. Peregrino, *Principes Hollandiae et Zelandiae*, Antwerp, 1632; lit.: *Van Havre*, II, pp. 33, 34, No. 1, repr. on p. 35.

LITERATURE: M. Rooses, in *Rubens-Bulletijn*, I, 1882, pp. 283, 291; *Rooses*, IV, p. 121; v, p. 130; M. Rooses and M. Sabbe, *Catalogus van het Museum Plantin-Moretus*, Antwerp, 1927, pp. 15, 16, No. 10; *Van den Wijngaert*, p. 52; *Bouchery-Van den Wijngaert*, p. 32, 33, 41, 42, 115, 117, 118, 152, fig. 109; *Held*, I, p. 41; *d'Hulst*, 1968, p. 98, No. 17, pl. 32.

Rubens's grisaille sketch for Jan van Meurs's printer's device is, like two other Rubens modelli connected with books (Nos. 58a, 81a; Figs. 200, 274), in the same direction as the print. This strongly suggests that a working drawing was executed by the engraver, or a member of his shop, which was then traced onto the plate. The sheet in Leningrad must have served just such a purpose because it reverses Rubens's design, it is traced for transfer and it corresponds in size with several of the vignettes in Van Meurs's publications.<sup>1</sup> Furthermore, this sheet is executed in a flat and unimaginative linear technique and is too pedantic to be by Rubens.<sup>2</sup> Stylistically it is closest to several other working drawings cited in Nos. 61a-b, 68a-b and 69a (Figs. 209, 228 and 235).

Beginning with Rooses,<sup>3</sup> it has always been suggested that this grisaille is the painting mentioned in Moretus's account book of 1624–1655 for which Rubens received a credit of 50 guilders: "Pour compte de la peinture de Jean van Meurs cinquante fl...50.-".<sup>4</sup> As a result, it has further been assumed that Rubens made this oil sketch before the partnership between Moretus and Van Meurs was dissolved in 1629. However, the identification of Van Meurs's device with the painting referred to in the above document is highly questionable. As first suggested by L. Burchard, the price of 50 guilders for such a small panel would have been too high. Of the five oil sketches known to have been executed by Rubens for Antwerp publishers (Nos. 58a, 60a, 62a, 72a, 81a; Figs. 200, 206, 213, 245, 274), we know the price of two. He was paid 20 guilders for the grisaille painted for Cordier's *Catena ... in S. Lucam*, 1628 (No. 58a; Fig. 200) and 12 guilders for the one executed for Sarbievski's 1632 *Lyriconum libri IV* (No. 62a; Fig. 213). The modello for Cordier's *Catena* is larger than those made for Van Meurs and Sarbievski. All of these sketches are entirely by Rubens and not studio works retouched by the master, which were considerably cheaper. Furthermore, it was unnecessary for Van Meurs to have a printer's mark while he was associated with Moretus. Consequently, we can date the oil sketch between the time Van Meurs left Moretus in 1629 and the first known use of the device in a Van Meurs publication, i.e. 1631. Moreover, Rubens was abroad from August 1628 until April 1630 on diplomatic missions to Spain and England. This helps to date the Van Meurs oil sketch from the latter half of 1630 or 1631. As a further argument in favour of this date, it can be added that David van Mauden's 1630 *Discursus Morales in Decem Decalogi Praecepta*, published by Van Meurs, does not have his device. The title-page, depicting *Moses receiving the Tablets from the Lord and displaying them to the Israelites*, was designed by Nicolaas van der Horst and engraved by Cornelis Galle.

<sup>1</sup> In comparing the sizes of the vignettes and the grisaille sketch, one must keep in mind that the sketch has larger borders than the engravings. The Leningrad drawing is the same size as the title-vignette of M. Bonacina's *Opera Omnia* (Fig. 205) (see above, COPIES (2)). It is possible that the working drawing for this vignette was executed earlier than the smaller one, now lost, made for Van Mauden's *Speculum Aureum*, either because the vignette in the latter was originally meant to be larger, or because the book for which Galle prepared the engraving was either published later than originally planned (in that case it could have been Bonacina's book) or never. From other examples, we know that for various reasons the publication of a book could be delayed considerably.

<sup>2</sup> See M. Dobroklonsky, [*Cat. Exh.*] *Rubens and his School in Drawings and Engravings in the Hermitage* (Russ.), Leningrad, 1940, No. 27, who was the first to question the attribution to Rubens. The drawing has been tentatively ascribed to Cornelis Galle by *Van den Wijngaert*, p. 52.

<sup>3</sup> *Rooses, Rubens-Moretus, 1882-83*, I, p. 291.

<sup>4</sup> *Rooses, Rubens-Moretus, 1882-83*, I, p. 283; *Rooses, Rubens-Moretus, 1884*, p. 26; *Rooses*, IV, p. 121; V, p. 130; *Bouchery-Van den Wijngaert*, p. 117.

61. TITLE-PAGE FOR L. BLOSIUS, OPERA. Antwerp, 1632 (Fig. 208)

Engraving; 317 : 217 mm.

COPY EXAMINED: Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum, No. R 52.13.

EXHIBITED: *Paris, 1954*, No. 372; *Bologna, 1965*, No. 283.

LITERATURE: *Hecquet*, p. 102, No. 59; *Basan*, p. 170, No. 7; *V.S.*, p. 194, No. 7; *Rooses, Titels*, No. 3; *Rooses, Rubens-Moretus, 1882-83*, II, pp. 70-72; *Rooses, Rubens-Moretus, 1884*, pp. 65-67; *Dutuit*, VI, p. 211, No. 7; *Rooses*, IV, p. 120; V, pp. 52, 53, No. 1246; *Hind*, II, p. 18; *Van den Wijngaert*, p. 48, No. 221; *Bouchery-Van den Wijngaert*, pp. 81, 123, 139, fig. 65; *Evers, 1943*, pp. 75, 184-187, fig. 104; *Held*, I, pp. 152, 153; *Renger*, I, p. 140.

This publication is a compilation of the writings of the Abbot Loys de Blois (Ludovicus Blossius, 1506-1565) brought together with commentaries by a later successor, Antonius van Winghe, and the monks of the Benedictine Abbey of Liessies near Avesnes in Northern France. Blossius had played an important role in the reorganization of the Abbey.<sup>1</sup> The title-page of the book is immediately followed by a full-page Dedication of Blossius's work to Christ and the Virgin Mary (p. v). The latter includes several statements which help to explain Rubens's design for the title-page.<sup>2</sup> Pages VI-X contain sanctions for the publication by the Theological Academy of Cologne dated October 20, 1631, by the University of Ingolstadt dated October 28, 1631, and by the Theological Faculty at Douai dated July 24, 1628. On pages XI, XII there are three Privileges for the publisher given by the Emperor in Vienna on January 31, 1631, by the King of Spain in Brussels on March 29, 1632 and by the King of France in St.-Germain on July 17, 1631. The Preface follows on pp. XIII-XXXII and is dated October 5, 1631. It discusses the contents of Blossius's writings and characterizes them as being, in the main, "ascetic" and concerned

with the spiritual. The last ten sections of the book are described as “polemical” and contain a defense of the true faith against the heretics. On page XXXIIII appears the *Approbatio* for the publication granted by the Censor of the Chapter of the Antwerp Cathedral given on January 31, 1631. This is followed by a short address to the Benedictine Fathers (pp. XXXV, XXXVI), a detailed biography of Blossius, a eulogy of his writings (pp. XXXVII-CII), a text of 820 pages and three indexes.

The title-page portrays Father Blossius kneeling on a column fragment in the bottom left and presenting his book to the Virgin and Christ above, which is Rubens’s visual translation of the Dedication. The latter also explains the meaning of the four women supporting the book on the title-page as the four monastic virtues: the one in the upper right represents the pious contemplation of Mystical Theology, the woman kneeling in the lower right with the sheep in front personifies the kind and soft character, the kneeling female in the bottom left with her head lowered symbolizes the submissive humility of the soul and the lady in the upper left signifies the moderate mortification of the body.<sup>3</sup> Several coats-of-arms lie at the author’s feet, and the one closest to him is his family’s.

The Dedication also informs us that the attributes carried by the cheering angels above refer to the titles of various sections in the book as well as to its contents;<sup>4</sup> however, several remain hypothetical. For example, the seven angels, one of whom plays the violin, are usually symbolic of paradise and could refer to the title of Section I, *Paradisus Animae Fidelis* (The Paradise of the Faithful Soul).<sup>5</sup> The angel just above Blossius’s head carries the chapel mentioned in the title of Section III, *Sacellum Animae Fidelis* (Chapel of the Faithful Soul). Still higher up on the left, an angel holds a right angle in one hand and what appears to be a plumb line in the other. These instruments refer to Section V which is entitled *Brevis Regula & Exercitia Quotidiana Tyronis Spiritualis* (Short Rule and Daily Exercises of the Spiritual Novice). To the latter angel’s right, another carries a torch, which alludes to the second part of Section X, *Facula illuminandis & ab errore reuocandis haereticis* (The Torch to Enlighten the Heretics and to Deliver them from their Errors). The topmost angel displays attributes in either hand which suggest the titles of two of the four parts of Section VIII. The laurel wreath refers to the chapter called *Corona Spiritualis* (The Spiritual Wreath), and the necklace, to the heading *Monile Spiritualis* (The Spiritual Necklace).<sup>6</sup> The other two parts

of Section VIII, *Speculum spirituale* (The Spiritual Mirror) and *Scriniolum spirituale* (The Spiritual Shrine), are represented by the angel in the center holding a mirror and the one to the right carrying a shrine. The latter also holds a very obscure attribute in his right hand. *Boucbery-Van den Wijngaert* suggest that it is a key, but this is very unlikely because no key is mentioned in Blosius's writings. In the British Museum drawing (No. 61b; Fig. 209), only the shrine is depicted while in the proof print in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris (Fig. 210), the angel carries a pearl in his right hand. The pearl is very likely a reference to Section VII, *Margaritum Spirituale* (The Spiritual Pearl). The pearl in the proof print might have been thought to be too large and therefore replaced by a smaller one which was fastened to a stick by a string.

Abbot Van Winghe not only edited the book but also paid for it. On June 12, 1631, Moretus received 102 guilders and 14 stuivers which was the final payment from Van Winghe on a bill totalling 1,800 guilders (Appendix III, p. 485 [110]). For this sum, he would receive 1,200 guilders worth of copies of Blosius's *Opera* and 600 guilders worth of other books. By August 12, 1631, Cornelis Galle had engraved Rubens's design because on that date Theodore Galle was paid 95 guilders for his brother's plate and the copper (Appendix III, p. 467 [58]). Van Winghe was not pleased with the engraving and complained to Moretus that Galle had mistakenly placed the Virgin to the right of Christ. On September 11, 1631 (Appendix I, pp. 427, 428 [154]), Moretus replied that this was not the engraver's mistake but Rubens's. However, the latter did not consider it to be an error because the Holy Scriptures inform us that the Mother of God was placed to Christ's right. Ferdinand Arsenius received payments from Moretus for cutting the letters of the title, for correcting it and for changing some words (Appendix III, pp. 485, 486 [111, 112]). The book was finally finished in the Spring of 1632.<sup>7</sup> Shortly before April 3, 1632, 1,530 copies of the title-page were printed at a cost of 15 guilders and 6 stuivers (Appendix III, p. 468 [63]). On an unspecified date, Rubens received a credit of 20 guilders for the design (Appendix III, pp. 448, 449 [2]). The book was offered to the public at three different prices: 8 1/2, 10 1/2 or 11 guilders (Appendix II, p. 439 [21]).

A proof print (Fig. 210), which is slightly different from the working drawing in the British Museum (No. 61b; Fig. 209) and from the title-page (Fig. 208) as finally printed, is in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.<sup>8</sup> The copper plate is preserved in the Plantin-Moretus Museum, Antwerp.<sup>9</sup>

- <sup>1</sup> J. Peter, *L'abbaye de Liessies en Hainaut, depuis ses origines jusqu'après la réforme de Louis de Blois, 764-1566*, Lille, 1912, pp. 284-338.
- <sup>2</sup> "D.O.M. HOMINI-DEO VIRGINIS FILIO VIRGINI HOMINIS-DEI MATRI VOLV MEN LVCVBRA-TIONVM SVARVM DICTATVM, DITATVM, DOTATVM, DONATVM A QVADRIGA VIRTVTVM DEVOTA MYSTICAE THEOLOGIAE CONTEMPLATIONE BENEVOLA MORVM MANSVETVDI-NE SVBMISSA ANIMI HVMLITATE DISCRETA CORPORIS MORTIFICATIONE GLORIAE DEI ANIMARVM BONO PIETATI INSTRVENDAE FIDEI ADSTRVENDAE SVAVIS ET AMABILIS BONAE VOLVNTATIS AVCTOR FAVORQVE LVDOVICVS BLOSIVS ABBAS LAETIENSIS AP-PLAUDENTIBVS ET ALLVDENTIBVS AD LIBRORVM TITVLOS ET INSIGNIA SANCTIS AN- GELIS ΔΟΞΟΛΟΓΙΚΩΣ ΚΑΙ ΕΝΔΟΛΟΓΙΚΩΣ OFFERT, DICAT, CONSECRAT" (L. Blosius, *op. cit.*, p. v).
- <sup>3</sup> See note 2; this was already noticed in *Rooses, Rubens-Moretus*, 1882-83, II, p. 71.
- <sup>4</sup> See note 2.
- <sup>5</sup> The explanation given by *Bouchery-Van den Wijngaert* (p. 139) and *Held (loc. cit.)* that the violin alludes to the title of Section II, *Psychagogia sive Animaee Recreatio* (Leading or Recreation of the Soul), is less convincing.
- <sup>6</sup> This necklace was added as an afterthought because it is lacking in the British Museum drawing (No. 61b; Fig. 209).
- <sup>7</sup> See letters from Moretus applying for Privileges dated March 23, 1632 (Appendix I, p. 419 [131]) and April 1, 1632 (Appendix I, p. 404 [95]).
- <sup>8</sup> Inv. No. Cc 31 f° 80; 301 : 211 mm.; *Rooses*, v, p. 53; *Bouchery-Van den Wijngaert*, p. 81.
- <sup>9</sup> Inv. No. KP 71 D; 324 : 220 mm.; *Rooses*, v, p. 53; *Van den Wijngaert*, p. 84; *Bouchery-Van den Wijngaert*, p. 81; [*Cat. Exb.*] *Anvers, ville de Plantin et de Rubens*, Paris, 1954, p. 229; [*Cat. Exb.*] *Plantin-Rubens*, Bologna, 1965, p. 158.

61a. TITLE-PAGE FOR L. BLOSIUS, OPERA: DRAWING OR OIL SKETCH

Technique and measurements unknown.

*Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.*

COPY: Drawing (Fig. 209), by Cornelis Galle (?), London, Department of Prints and Drawings of the British Museum, Inv. No. 1895.9.15.1042; pen and brown ink and brown wash, heightened with white chalk, traces of preliminary black chalk drawing, 308 : 211 mm.; traced for transfer; for references see No. 61b.

The drawing in the British Museum has long been accepted as an original by Rubens. However, there are many weaknesses that suggest, as in the case of Nos. 51b, 68b, 69a (Figs. 175, 228, 235), an engraver's hand. The lines of the pen repeat themselves and lack the changes in shape and form that one finds in Rubens. This is especially evident in the arms of the women on the right which are also badly drawn from an anatomical point of view. The same can be said for all of the hands and fingers. The angels in the upper right, especially the top two, and the sheep below are poorly rendered. The weakness

of the sheep is obvious. Even more clear is the comparison of the head with the round and solid one in Rubens's drawing for De Bie's 1617 *Nomismata Imperatorum Romanorum* (No. 39; Fig. 130) or with the lively drawing of the She-Wolf in the same design. Other figures such as Christ, the two kneeling women on the left and Blossius are flat and lack the sense of underlying anatomy associated with Rubens's drawing style. The details are clearly separated and do not merge although the artist does use a mixture of wash and white highlights in an attempt to create a painterly impression. This suggests the possibility that Cornelis Galle, or one of his assistants, worked from a lost Rubens oil sketch. This notion becomes even more plausible when one reads a letter dated September 11, 1631, from Moretus to A. van Winghe in Liessies. Here the former writes "sed certâ ratione et iudicio sic pinxisse" (he has painted this with good reason and judgement; Appendix I, pp. 427, 428 [154]). Although one cannot always be certain that "pinxisse" means to have painted, one can suggest that Rubens might have made an oil sketch for this title-page especially when one also considers the poor quality of the British Museum drawing.

Moretus's account book dating from 1624–1655 contains a credit in Rubens's favour of 20 guilders for having designed this frontispiece (Appendix III, pp. 448, 449 [2]).

Galle has slightly altered the design in the print. In the drawing the topmost angel holds a wreath while in the print Galle includes the angel's other hand holding a necklace. In the drawing the angel next to the Virgin carries a closed, flat-topped box or reliquary and his other hand is not represented. In the drawing, Father Blossius is clean-shaven while in the engraving he is bearded.<sup>1</sup> The coats-of-arms lying on the ground are not filled in, but they are in the title-page. All of these changes can be found in Galle's proof (Fig. 210).<sup>2</sup>

The diagonal arrangement of the figures and the book from the bottom right to the upper left culminating in Christ and the Virgin is a variation on Rubens's 1621–25 *Henry IV Receiving the Portrait of Maria de' Medici* (Fig. 211).<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Blossius is also represented with a short beard and a moustache in an engraving by the same Cornelis Galle, published in 1630 by his brother Theodore (*Sancti Fondatores Religiosorum Ordinum in Ecclesia Laetiensis Monasterii Ordinis S. Benedicti*, Antwerp, 1630, pl. 39).

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 263, note 8.

<sup>3</sup> Evers, 1943, p. 184.



**61b.** TITLE-PAGE FOR L. BLOSIUS, OPERA: DRAWING (Fig. 209)

Pen and brown ink and brown wash, heightened with white chalk, traces of preliminary black chalk drawing; 308 : 211 mm.; traced for transfer.

London, Department of Prints and Drawings of the British Museum. Inv. No. 1895.9.15.1042.

PROVENANCE: P.J. Mariette (Paris, 1694-1774), sale, Paris (Basan), 15 November 1775-30 January 1776, lot 1011; Hendrik van Maarseveen, sale, Amsterdam (Banel), 28 October 1793, tekeningen Kunstboek L, lot 1, bought by Yver; Sir Thomas Lawrence (London, 1769-1830); J. Malcolm (Poltalloch, 1805-1893; cat. 1869, No. 583); acquired by the British Museum in September 1895 from John Wingfield Malcolm.

EXHIBITED: London, 1835, No. 61; *Le Cabinet d'un Grand Amateur P.J. Mariette, 1694-1774*, Musée du Louvre, Paris, 1967, No. 198.

LITERATURE: *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p. 327, No. 1225; *Rooses, Rubens-Moretus, 1882-83*, I, p. 282; II, pp. 70-72; *Rooses, Rubens-Moretus, 1884*, pp. 25, 65-67; *Rooses*, IV, p. 120; V, pp. 52, 53; M. Rooses, in *Rubens-Bulletijn*, IV, 1896, pp. 288, 289, No. 1246; *Rooses-Ruelens*, V, p. 431; *Hind*, II, p. 18, No. 39; *Glück-Haberditzl*, p. 54, No. 183, pl. 183; *Van den Wijngaert*, p. 48; *Bouchery-Van den Wijngaert*, pp. 81, 129, 139, fig. 66; *Evers, 1943*, p. 184; *Held*, I, pp. 152, 153, No. 151; II, pl. 158; *Held, 1974*, p. 252; *Renger*, I, pp. 140, 141, 144, fig. 9.

This drawing is generally accepted, also by Burchard, as being by Rubens. For comments, see No. 61a.

**62.** TITLE-PAGE FOR M.C. SARBIEVSKI, LYRICORUM LIBRI IV.

Antwerp, 1632 (Fig. 212)

Engraving; 196 : 134 mm.; below on the left: *Pet. Paul. Rubens pinxit*; below on the right: *Corn. Galle sculpsit*.

COPY EXAMINED: Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum, No. A 828.

EXHIBITED: *Antwerp, 1946*, No. 15<sup>II</sup> (repr.).

LITERATURE: *Hecquet*, p. 100, No. 39; *Basan*, pp. 186, 187, No. 53; *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p. 342, No. 1324; *V.S.*, p. 203, No. 62; *Rooses, Rubens-Moretus, 1882-83*, I, p. 283; II, p. 72; *Rooses, Rubens-Moretus, 1884*, pp. 26, 67; *Dutuit*, VI, p. 222, No.

53; *Roozes*, v, pp. 117, 118, No. 1303, pl. 376; M. Roozes and M. Sabbe, *Catalogus van het Museum Plantin-Moretus*, Antwerp, 1927, pp. 16, 17; M. Morelowski, *Rysunek Rubensa* (Russ.), *Arkady*, 1937, pp. 125–128, repr.; *Van den Wijngaert*, p. 51, No. 241; *Bouchery-Van den Wijngaert*, pp. 81, 115, 139, 140, fig. 67; *Evers*, 1943, pp. 77, 187; *Haverkamp Begemann*, 1953, p. 91; [*Cat. Exh.*] *Anvers, ville de Plantin et de Rubens*, Paris, 1954, pp. 221, 250; *Held*, I, p. 41; *d'Hulst*, 1968, p. 106.

Mathias Casimir Sarbievski (Sarbievius) (Sarbievski, 1593 – Warsaw, 1640) was born in Poland from a family of Italian origin. At the age of seventeen he entered the monastery of Vilna. He finished his studies in Rome and lived there for a number of years. Afterwards he became Professor of Rhetoric, Philosophy and Theology at Vilna and Almoner of King Vladislav of Poland. Famous for his lyric poetry in Latin, he was nicknamed “the Polish Horace”.<sup>1</sup> This publication by Moretus contains four books of *Lyrical*, lyric poems resembling Horace’s *Odes*, a book of *Epodes* and a book of *Epigrams* in the style of Martial. The poems are devoted mostly to specific personages or related to actual events such as funerals, historical incidents, battles, etc. The volume was dedicated to Pope Urban VIII, which explains the presence of the arms of the Barberini family and the papal tiara and keys in the title-page. There are also single poems dedicated to the Pope.<sup>2</sup> Several of the *Odes* help to explain the contents of Rubens’s frontispiece. In the left foreground, Apollo, the God of Poetry, places his lyre upon an antique altar beneath which is the well of Hippocrene. The last *Ode* of the first book<sup>3</sup> refers to the well which Pegasus created on Mount Helicon when he struck the earth with his hoof. This same *Ode* speaks of the greatest of all Greek lyric poets, Pindar, who was closely connected with Apollo. It is probable, therefore, that Pindar is represented by the baby lying in the cradle in the right foreground. This identification is made certain when we realize that bees are flying close to the baby’s face. In ancient legend they dropped honey upon the infant and in this way fed him.<sup>4</sup> It is very likely that Erato, the muse of lyric poetry, stands behind the cradle and points to Pope Urban VIII’s coat-of-arms containing the three bees and above the keys of St. Peter and the Papal tiara. Just behind Apollo on the left there is a palm tree traditionally associated with success in arts and letters and on the opposite side a laurel tree, the attribute of Apollo and also signifying success in literature and art. A heavily fruit-laden wreath hangs between the trees and perhaps alludes to the state of abundance and earthly paradise under the reign of Urban VIII as described in the very first *Ode*.<sup>5</sup> In the background the two high

land masses must refer to the twin peaks of Mount Helicon <sup>6</sup> where Pegasus created the Hippocrene well. <sup>7</sup>

Sometime between September 2 and 6, 1632 (Appendix I, pp. 419, 420 [132]), Moretus wrote to Steenhuyse in Brussels that he had finished printing Sarbievski's book but had forgotten to obtain the Privilege. Consequently, he was sending the title of the book and applying for the Privilege. On October 8, 1632, Moretus paid Theodore Galle 44 guilders for the engraving cut by Cornelis Galle (Appendix III, p. 468 [60]). Fifteen days later, Theodore Galle received 8 guilders and 5 1/2 stuivers for printing 1,035 sheets of the title (Appendix III, p. 469 [64]). Rubens, at an unknown date, was given a credit of 12 guilders by Moretus for making the design (Appendix III, pp. 448, 449 [2]). The book was sold for 1 guilder and 12 stuivers a copy (Appendix II, p. 440 [22]). The plate was re-used, without any changes in the inscriptions, for Stephanus Simonini's 1637 *Silvae Urbanianae*, published by Balthasar Moretus. <sup>8</sup> The copper plate with the title and the address of the 1637 publication is in the Plantin-Moretus Museum, Antwerp. <sup>9</sup> A modified variation of the upper half of Rubens's design, without the figures, was used by Moretus in 1634 for an edition in-24° of Sarbievski's poems.

<sup>1</sup> *De Backer-Sommervogel*, III, p. 561.

<sup>2</sup> Book I, Nos. 1, 3, 5, 10, 21, 22; Book III, No. 15.

<sup>3</sup> Book I, No. 22, vs. 49.

<sup>4</sup> See e.g. Philostratus, *Imagines*, Book II, 13 (translation by A. Fairbanks, London, 1931, pp. 179, 180).

<sup>5</sup> *Ode*, I, 1.

<sup>6</sup> Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, II, 221.

<sup>7</sup> See P.W. Lehmann and K. Lehmann, *Samothracian Reflections*, Princeton, 1973, pp. 135, 139, 140, 142.

<sup>8</sup> 196 : 136 mm.; lit. : *Basan*, pp. 188, 189, No. 57; *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p. 343, No. 1328; *V.S.*, p. 203, No. 66; *Rooses, Titels*, No. 20; *Dutuit*, VI, p. 223, No. 57; *Rosenberg, Rubensstecher*, p. 9, repr.; *Rooses*, V, p. 118; M. Rooses and M. Sabbe, *Catalogus van het Museum Plantin-Moretus*, Antwerp, 1927, p. 17; *Van den Wijngaert*, p. 51, No. 241bis; *Bouchery-Van den Wijngaert*, p. 81; *Evers*, 1943, fig. 106; *Haverkamp Begemann*, 1953, p. 91; *d'Hulst*, 1968, p. 106.

<sup>9</sup> Inv. No. KP 103 C; 197 : 135 mm.

62a. TITLE-PAGE FOR M.C. SARBIEVSKI, LYRICORUM LIBRI IV: GRISAILLE SKETCH (Fig. 213)

Panel; 18.7 : 14.4 cm.

*Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum. Inv. No. 58.*

PROVENANCE: Has always been in the collection of the Plantin-Moretus publishing house.

EXHIBITED: *Antwerp, 1946, No. 15 (repr.); Rotterdam, 1953-54, No. 82; Paris, 1954, No. 411.*

LITERATURE: *Rooses, Rubens-Moretus, 1882-83, II, pp. 72, 73, 146; Rooses, Rubens-Moretus, 1884, pp. 67, 68, 97; Rooses, IV, p. 120; V, p. 118; M. Rooses and M. Sabbe, Catalogus van het Museum Plantin-Moretus, Antwerp, 1927, pp. 16, 17, No. 13; M. Morelowski, Rysunek Rubensa (Russ.), Arkady, 1937, pp. 125-128, repr.; Van den Wijngaert, p. 51; Bouchery-Van den Wijngaert, pp. 81, 115, 130, figs. 68; Held, I, p. 41; E. Haverkamp Begemann, Purpose and Style: Oil Sketches of Rubens, Jan Brueghel, Rembrandt, in Stil und Überlieferung in der Kunst des Abendlandes, III, Berlin, 1967, p. 107, pl. 16, No. 1; d'Hulst, 1968, pp. 105, 106, No. 31, fig. 39; Held, 1974, p. 252.*

Moretus's account book from the years 1624-1655 contains a credit of 12 guilders in Rubens's favour for making this design (Appendix III, pp. 448, 449 [2]). The type of baby and his placement in the crib is similar to the little Erichthonius in Rubens's ca. 1616 *Daughters of Cecrops*, Vaduz, Prince of Liechtenstein Collection,<sup>1</sup> and the ca. 1633 rendering of this theme in the Allen Memorial Art Museum, Oberlin, Ohio.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Peter Paul Rubens aus den Sammlungen des Fürsten von Liechtenstein*, Vaduz, 1974, pp. 10, 11, No. 12, fig. xvi.

<sup>2</sup> See L. Burchard, *Rubens' Daughters of Cecrops*, *Allen Memorial Art Museum Bulletin*, XI, 1953-54, pp. 4-26. For the ca. 1616 drawing of the baby discovered by L. Burchard in the National Gallery, Oslo, see S. Tschudi Madsen, *Some recently-discovered Drawings by Rubens*, *The Burlington Magazine*, xcv, 1953, p. 305, fig. 21.

63. TITLE-PAGE FOR B. BAUHUIS AND B. CABILLIAU, EPIGRAMMATA, C. MALAPERT, POEMATA. Antwerp, 1634 (Fig. 215)

Engraving; 100 : 48 mm., margin.

COPY EXAMINED: Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum, No. A 518.

EXHIBITED: *Antwerp, 1946, No. 14<sup>I</sup>.*

LITERATURE: *Rooses, Rubens-Moretus, 1882-83, II, pp. 74-76; Rooses, Rubens-Moretus, 1884, pp. 69-71; Rooses, V, pp. 47, 48, No. 1241; M. Rooses, in Rubens-*

*Bulletijn*, IV, 1896, p. 291; *Rooses-Ruelens*, II, pp. 112–116; *Van den Wijngaert*, p. 73, No. 434; *Bouchery-Van den Wijngaert*, pp. 73, 140, 141, 155, fig. 73; *Evers*, 1943, pp. 79, 188, fig. 110; [*Cat. Exb.*] *Anvers, ville de Plantin et de Rubens*, Paris, 1954, p. 232; *Burchard-d'Hulst*, 1956, pp. 109, 110; *Held*, I, pp. 39, 154; [*Cat. Exb.*] *Plantin-Rubens*, Bologna, 1965, pp. 159, 160; F. Baudouin and R.-A. d'Hulst, [*Cat. Exb.*] *Rubens en zijn tijd*, Antwerp, 1971, p. 91; *Renger*, I, p. 143.

This publication in-24° includes 262 pages of epigrams and poems and one folio containing permission for publication, granted in the year 1615. Bernard Bauhuis contributed five books of epigrams on a variety of subjects, mostly Christian but some antique. Baldwin Cabilliau composed a book containing epigrams of only a few verses in the style of Martial dealing with people (especially antique writers like Horace, Virgil, etc.) and subjects such as countries, books, etc. The poems of Charles Malapert make up the third part of this publication and include one tragedy, two books "about the Winds", nine elegies on the Passion of Christ and a book of Miscellanea. The three authors all belonged to the Jesuit Order. Bernard Bauhuis or Bauhusius (Antwerp, 1575 – Antwerp, 1619) had entered the Order at the age of sixteen and became a famous preacher in the Netherlands. The Plantin Press had published two earlier editions of his *Epigrams* in 1616 and 1620, and also printed them along with those by Jacob Bidermann and Baldwin Cabilliau in 1620 and 1623.<sup>1</sup> As early as August 1, 1617, Bauhuis, in a letter to Moretus, expressed his desire to have a frontispiece by Rubens decorate his book, but Moretus did not comply with this wish.<sup>2</sup> Baldwin Cabilliau or Cabillavus (Ypres, 1568 – Antwerp, 1652) joined the Jesuits in 1592, and during the greater part of his life served as a missionary. Charles Malapert (Mons, 1582 – Vittoria, 1630) was famous as a teacher of philosophy and mathematics, and his *Poemata* had also been published earlier by Plantin in 1616.

There is no connection between the contents of the poems and the imagery of the title-page. Rubens, however, has explained the meaning of his design in an inscription on his drawing for the frontispiece, preserved in the Plantin-Moretus Museum, Antwerp (No. 63a; Fig. 214). He writes that he has joined together in the form of a Hermathene, the Muse, or Poetry, with Minerva, or Virtue. In the engraving Minerva, or Virtue, is on the left and the Muse, or Poetry, on the right. Both are crowned by a vertically placed laurel wreath, which radiates beams of light. Behind, and on the sides, one finds Minerva's shield and the Muse's lyre.

The engraver of this plate is not known from the documents. There is a payment of 2 guilders and 8 stuivers recorded to Charles de Mallery on December 10, 1633, for engraving the text on the title-page (Appendix III, p. 486 [114]). This has led some to believe that de Mallery executed the engraving, but it has also been attributed to Cornelis Galle. Held, on the other hand, states that the document in question would rather speak against the attribution of the print to de Mallery.<sup>3</sup> There appears, however, to be a striking similarity in style between this engraving and the one executed by de Mallery for the title-page of Jacob Bidermann's *Heroum Epistolae* (No. 67; Fig. 225) which was also published in 1634.

This publication appears to have been very much in demand as attested to by two letters, exchanged by Bauhuis and Moretus in July-August 1617 (Appendix I, pp. 366, 367 [7, 8]). This also explains why such a large edition was printed. On January 14, 1634, the Plantin Press paid 30 guilders for the printing of 4,000 copies of the title-page at a cost of 15 stuivers the hundred (Appendix III, p. 472 [78]). The book was sold to the public for 8 stuivers a copy (Appendix II, p. 440 [23]).

<sup>1</sup> *De Backer-Sommervogel*, cols. 463, 991, 992. There is a correspondence between Moretus and Bauhuis concerning the second edition of the latter's *Epigrams*, where the author tried in vain to persuade his publisher that his book needed a frontispiece designed by Rubens (Appendix I, pp. 366-368 [7-10]).

<sup>2</sup> Appendix I, pp. 366, 367 [8]. On October 12, 1617, Bauhuis wrote to Moretus telling him that he had worked out the frontispiece imagery which should contain the Parnass, the Muses, Mnemosyne, Apollo, which are "all sacred things" (Appendix I, p. 367 [9]).

<sup>3</sup> *Held*, I, p. 154.

63a. TITLE-PAGE FOR B. BAUHUIS AND B. CABILLIAU, EPIGRAMMATA, C. MALAPERT, POEMATA: DRAWING (Fig. 214)

Pen and brown ink; 120 : 170 mm.; partly traced for transfer in the socle below.

*Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum. Inv. No. 389.*

PROVENANCE: Has always been in the collection of the Plantin-Moretus publishing house.

EXHIBITED: *Antwerp*, 1946, No. 14 (repr.); *Paris*, 1954, No. 379; *Antwerp*, 1956, No. 134; *Bologna*, 1965, No. 287 (repr.); *Antwerp*, 1971, No. 68.

LITERATURE: *Rooses, Rubens-Moretus, 1882-83*, I, p. 283; II, pp. 74, 75; *Rooses, Rubens-Moretus, 1884*, pp. 26, 69-71; *Rooses*, IV, p. 120; V, pp. 47, 48; *Glück-Haberditz*, p. 59, No. 217, pl. 217; *Van den Wijngaert*, p. 73; *Bouchery-Van den Wijngaert*, pp. 73, 119, 130, 140, 141, 155, fig. 74; *Evers, 1943*, p. 188; *Van den Wijngaert, Inventaris Tekeningen*, No. 34; *Held*, I, p. 154, No. 153; II, pl. 159; *Held, 1974*, p. 252; *Renger*, I, p. 143.

In the upper section of the sheet Rubens has written an explanation of the image. It reads as follows: *Habes hic Musam siue Poesim cum Minerua seu Virtute forma Hermatenis coniunctam nam musam pro Mercurio apposui quod pluribus exemplis licet, nescio an tibi meum commentum placebit ego certe mihi hoc inuento valde placeo ne dicam gratulor* (You have here the Muse or Poetry with Minerva or Virtue joined in the shape of a Hermathene. I have placed there the Muse instead of Mercury which is permissible on the basis of several examples.<sup>1</sup> I do not know if you will like my idea. I, myself, am quite pleased with it and almost compliment myself for it). Along the upper-left margin Rubens also wrote: *nota quod Musa habeat Pennam in capite qua differt ab Apolline* (Notice that the Muse has a feather on her head by which she is distinguished from Apollo).<sup>2</sup> The design for the title-page is framed by a single pen line along all four sides. Outside, to the right of this frame, Rubens repeated the head of Minerva.

Balthasar Moretus paid Rubens 5 guilders for this drawing (Appendix III, pp. 448, 449 [2]), which was presumably executed in 1633.

<sup>1</sup> For an antique example see the marble from Pompeii reproduced in J. Overbeck, *Pompeji in seinen Gebäuden, Alterthümern und Kunstwerken*, Leipzig, 1884, p. 557, fig. 291.

<sup>2</sup> Translations from *Held*, I, p. 154.

64-65. TITLE-PAGE AND VIGNETTE FOR B. CORDIER, OPERA S. DIONYSII AREOPAGITAE, I-II. Antwerp, 1634

COPY EXAMINED: Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum, No. R 63.2.

Rubens designed the title-page of Volume I for Balthasar Cordier's Latin translation of the works of Dionysius the Areopagite and the vignette for the frontispiece of Volume II. The first volume contains three works by St. Dionysius the Areopagite: *I. Caelestis Hierarchia* (The Celestial Hierarchy) (pp. 1-228); *II. Ecclesiastica Hierarchia* (The Ecclesiastical Hierarchy) (pp.

229-436); III. *Divina Nomina* (The Divine Names) (pp. 437-893), in the original Greek and in a Latin translation by Balthasar Cordier.<sup>1</sup> This text is preceded by a Dedication to the Prince-Cardinal Franciscus von Dietrichstein (pp. v-x), a Preface to the reader (pp. xi, xii), the imperial and royal Privileges and the Authorization by the Provincial of the Austrian Jesuit Order (pp. xiii, xiv), a table of contents (pp. xlv-xlvj) and a number of commentaries on Dionysius by Cordier, by St. Maximus and by George Pachymeres (both in Greek and with a translation by Cordier) (pp. xv-xliij; xlvij-lij). The second volume has a Dedication (pp. iii-viii), a table of contents (pp. ix, x), comments by Cordier on St. Dionysius's works (pp. xj-xxiv) and then the text of his *Mystica Theologia* (Mystic Theology) (pp. 1-60) and of his *Epistolae*, containing ten letters (pp. 61-184). The book closes with several biographies of Dionysius (pp. 185-490), a list of variants in the text of the *Caelestis Hierarchia* (pp. 491-504), an Onomasticon (pp. 505-530) and Indexes (not paginated).

We first hear about the book in a letter from Moretus to Cordier in Vienna, dated January 24, 1631 (Appendix I, p. 386 [54]), in which the former announces that he is sending the title and the Preface of the St. Dionysius. This, however, cannot refer to Rubens's design, which was made at a later date, but rather to printed pages. Another such proof page was sent to Cordier on May 23, 1631 (Appendix I, p. 386 [56]). From Moretus's letter to Cordier of April 30, 1631 (Appendix I, p. 386 [55]), it would appear that there were plans to include a portrait of Saint Dionysius in the publication, and that it would be taken from the engraved portrait by Léonard Gautier (Fig. 216) which had been used in Father Peter Lansselius's 1615 edition of the complete writings of St. Dionysius.<sup>2</sup> Gautier represented the Saint in full length, standing beneath a portico, behind which is a landscape with a cloister. There is certainly no connection between this image with different facial features and Rubens's although in both the Saint has a long beard and a more or less similar hair-style. Therefore the copy of Gautier's portrait of Saint Dionysius, mentioned by Moretus, probably refers not to Rubens's design but to an earlier project that was discarded.<sup>3</sup>

The printing of the book was postponed for a considerable length of time. Although the engraving for the title-page was executed before December 18, 1632,<sup>4</sup> the *Opera S. Dionysii Areopagitae* were not published until 1634. In a letter from Balthasar Moretus to Benedictus van Haefthen dated January 26, 1633, the former writes that because of the paper shortage caused by the war



in Lorraine, he was forced to cease printing several books including Cordier's *Opera S. Dionysii* (Appendix I, p. 396 [78]). However, on December 16, 1633, Moretus wrote Van Haefthen that the book would appear at the start of the New Year (Appendix I, p. 396 [79]). The final payment for printing 1,300 copies of the title-page of Volume II was made on January 21, 1634 (Appendix III, p. 472 [79]), and shortly afterwards the two volumes must have been made available to the public at a price of 20 guilders (Appendix II, p. 440 [24]).

- 1 For further details about Balthasar Cordier, see above, p. 249, under No. 58.
- 2 P. Lansselius, *Sancti Dionysii Areopagitae Opera Omnia quae extant*, Paris, 1615, opposite the title-page.
- 3 Moretus's remark to Cordier about the absurdity of the Greek characters in which the Saint's name was indicated in the engraving (Appendix I, p. 386 [55]) has no connection with Rubens's design. Originally, a much closer copy of Gautier's portrait was intended.
- 4 See below, under No. 64.

**64. TITLE-PAGE FOR B. CORDIER, OPERA S. DIONYSII AREOPAGITAE, I.**  
Antwerp, 1634 (Fig. 217)

Engraving; 306 : 204 mm., margin; below on the left: *Pet. Paul. Rubenus pinxit*, below on the right: *Corn. Galleus sculpsit*.

COPY: Engraving, frame of portraits in C. Hazart, *Triumph der Pausen van Roomen*, Antwerp, 1678; lit.: *Rooses*, v, p. 354.

LITERATURE: *Hecquet*, p. 100, No. 43; *Basan*, pp. 183, 184, No. 45; *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p. 341, No. 1316; *V.S.*, p. 201, No. 53; *Rooses, Titels*, No. 16; *Rooses, Rubens-Moretus, 1882-83*, I, p. 282; II, pp. 73, 74; *Rooses, Rubens-Moretus, 1884*, pp. 25, 68, 69; *Dutuit*, VI, p. 220, No. 45; *Rooses*, v, pp. 74, 354, No. 1266, pl. 364; K.T. Parker, *Catalogue of the Collection of Drawings in the Ashmolean Museum*, Oxford, 1938, pp. 86, 87, No. 202, pl. XLIII; *Van den Wijngaert*, p. 49, No. 227; *Bouchery-Van den Wijngaert*, pp. 81, 115, 123, 141, fig. 77; *Evers*, 1943, pp. 77, 187, fig. 107; *Renger*, I, p. 142.

Rubens has divided his design for the title-page into three zones. He sits Saint Dionysius on a bishop's throne, below in the center, flanked by Saint Peter on the left and Saint Paul on the right. Saint Dionysius supports, with his left hand, the tablet containing the book title, at which he points with his right. All three Saints are clad in heavy mantles. Saint Dionysius's shoulders are

covered by the omophorion with Greek crosses, sign of his dignity. Above, in the second zone, are personifications of the three theological virtues: on the left Charity, holding two children, in the center Faith, identified by the cross and the chalice, and to the right Hope, with her attributes the anchor and the lotus blossom. The topmost zone is dominated by a triangle radiating rays of light, symbolic of the Trinity. These rays touch the head of Saint Dionysius to indicate the divine source of his writings. Seraphim and cherubim surround the triangle.

The two uppermost zones refer to the contents of the first of the three works by Saint Dionysius published in Volume One of the *Opera*, his well-known *Caelestis Hierarchia*. Its first chapter deals with the divine enlightenment (*Divina illustratio*) while several other chapters are devoted to the nine orders of angels and to the heavenly virtues. The three saints in the foreground belong to the early history of Christianity. The connection between Saint Dionysius and Saint Paul is obvious since the former was converted, and was said to have been baptized and consecrated as bishop by the latter. The Dedication of Cordier's publication especially mentions this relationship: Saint Dionysius is said to have worshipped the Mother of God with such extraordinary devotion that he would have put her into the place of the supreme God if Saint Paul had not taught him that there is but one God.<sup>1</sup> In his same Dedication, Cordier states that Saint Peter had sent Saint Dionysius as an envoy to Gaul<sup>2</sup> which explains his presence on the title-page at Dionysius's side and the gesture of his left hand. In fact, Cordier was misled here by the confusion between Dionysius the Areopagite, who lived in the 1st century A.D. and Dionysius of Paris, who came as a missionary to Gaul around the middle of the 3rd century A.D.<sup>3</sup> Several years earlier, Rubens had represented Saints Peter and Paul beneath a portico. This probably was a reference to the vision of St. Dionysius described in the *Golden Legend* where it is said that St. Dionysius had seen them entering the gates of a city together.<sup>4</sup>

On December 18, 1632, Theodore Galle was paid 100 guilders by Balthasar Moretus for the engraving cut by Cornelis Galle (Appendix III, p. 468 [61]). Almost ten months later, on November 10, 1633, a payment of 13 guilders was made for the printing of 1,300 copies of this engraving (Appendix III, p. 472 [77]). The copper plate is preserved in the Plantin-Moretus Museum, Antwerp.<sup>5</sup> There is a proof print in the Teylers Museum, Haarlem (Fig. 219)<sup>6</sup> and one in the Kupferstichkabinett, Dresden (Fig. 220).<sup>7</sup> In the latter there is

an inked-in correction, which extended the bottom edge of the tablet. Whether or not this change was added by Rubens is difficult to judge; it was not carried out by Cornelis Galle in the published title-page.

- <sup>1</sup> "Ille enim Divae Dei Genitrici tam peculiari religione semper fuisse fertur addictus, ut nisi audisset a Paulo Deum unum esse, poene hanc Numinis loco fuisset habiturus" (B. Cordier, *op. cit.*, I, p. vii).
- <sup>2</sup> "His omnibus ... accedit, quod quemadmodum DIONYSIUM D. Petrus legavit in Gallias" (*Ibidem*, I, p. viii).
- <sup>3</sup> L. Réau, *Iconographie de l'art chrétien*, III, I, Paris, 1958, pp. 373-375.
- <sup>4</sup> *Vliegbe, Saints*, I, p. 67.
- <sup>5</sup> Inv. No. KP 137 D; 314 : 212 mm.; *Rooses*, V, p. 74; *Van den Wijngaert*, p. 49; *Bouchery-Van den Wijngaert*, p. 81.
- <sup>6</sup> 305 : 204 mm.
- <sup>7</sup> 310 : 207 mm.; *Dutuit*, VI, p. 220.

64a. TITLE-PAGE FOR B. CORDIER, OPERA S. DIONYSII AREOPAGITAE, I: DRAWING (Fig. 218)

Brush drawing in grey and brownish pigment, heightened with body-colour, over black chalk; paper is treated with oil; 308 : 206 mm.; traced for transfer.

*Oxford, Ashmolean Museum. Cat. No. 202.*

PROVENANCE: Valerius de Röver, 1739 (Inventory v, No. [8], "1 fraaije Tijtel van Rubbens, Moses zittende, daar nevens St. pieter en paulus... staande geloof, hoop en liefde in de wolken... 7:-"; Ms. Amsterdam, University Library; first noted by J.G. van Gelder); presented to the Ashmolean Museum by the family of the late Bishop and Mrs. Creighton in 1937.

LITERATURE: *Rooses, Rubens-Moretus*, 1882-83, I, p. 282; II, pp. 73, 74; *Rooses, Rubens-Moretus*, 1884, pp. 25, 68, 69; *Rooses*, IV, p. 120; V, p. 74; K.T. Parker, *Catalogue of the Collection of Drawings in the Ashmolean Museum*, Oxford, 1938, pp. 86, 87, No. 202, pl. XLIII; *Van den Wijngaert*, p. 49; *Bouchery-Van den Wijngaert*, pp. 81, 115, 123, 129, fig. 78; R. Wittkower, *Gian Lorenzo Bernini*, London, 1966, p. 11; *Held*, 1974, p. 252; *Renger*, I, p. 142.

Rubens's design was very closely followed by the engraver except that in the place of the address Rubens originally drew the obverse and reverse of a coin containing the head of Minerva and her attribute, the owl. This coin is a reproduction of the tetradrachme type common to Athens and later taken over

by Rome.<sup>1</sup> Rubens must have deliberately used this kind of coin as a subtle reference to Dionysius's home city, Athens, and also as an allusion to wisdom and philosophy which are associated with Minerva and the owl as well as with the writings of Dionysius. Rubens enframed the coins with fantastic creatures each supporting a burning antique oil lamp like those found in his *Portrait of Justus Lipsius* designed for Lipsius's *L. Annaei Senecae Philosophi Opera Omnia* of 1615 (No. 30; Fig. 106). As in this portrait, these lamps very likely symbolize knowledge. There is also a minor change in the number of seraphim: in the drawing there are four to the right of the sign of the Trinity and above Charity while in the engraving Cornelis Galle has added a fifth.

Balthasar Moretus's accounts show a debit to Rubens for this design of 20 guilders (Appendix III, pp. 448, 449 [2]). Though the engraved title-page is dated 1634, we know that Rubens completed his design several years earlier because the payment for C. Galle's engraving was made on December 18, 1632.<sup>2</sup>

Parker has pointed out that the drawing may not be entirely by Rubens, but that it was executed under his direction. However, the Saints in the bottom zone display all of the stylistic characteristics associated with Rubens. He appears to have conceived this drawing as he would have a grisaille sketch.<sup>3</sup> Nevertheless, after Rubens had drawn the design, it is more than likely that the engraver worked up the minor details with pen and ink. This is most evident in the lines used to accentuate the beards, eyes, eyebrows and noses of the Saints, and the details of the heads of the allegorical figures on the second level as well as the seraphim and cherubim above. Several of the heads on either side of the rays of light were not touched and give an idea of how free and painterly the sketch must have been originally.

<sup>1</sup> B.V. Head, *Historia numorum*, Oxford, 1911, p. 378.

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 274, under No. 64.

<sup>3</sup> See the one in the Count Seilern collection, London (No. 58a; Fig. 200), for the 1628 title-page executed for Cordier's *Catena Sexaginta Quinque Graecorum Patrum in S. Lucam* (No. 58; Fig. 199).

65. VIGNETTE FOR B. CORDIER, OPERA S. DIONYSII AREOPAGITAE, II. Antwerp, 1634 (Fig. 221)

Engraving; 92 : 59 mm.

LITERATURE: *Rooses, Rubens-Moretus*, 1882-83, I, p. 282; II, pp. 73, 74; *Rooses*,

*Rubens-Moretus*, 1884, pp. 25, 68, 69; *Rooses*, IV, p. 120; V, p. 74, No. 1267; *Van den Wijngaert*, pp. 49, 73, No. 436; *Bouchery-Van den Wijngaert*, pp. 73, 81, 130, 141, fig. 79; *Evers*, 1943, pp. 79, 194, fig. 108.

The vignette, containing the coat-of-arms of Prince-Cardinal Franciscus von Dietrichstein, held by two angels, was engraved by Charles de Mallery, who received 30 guilders for this job on December 10, 1633 (Appendix III, p. 487 [115]). On January 21, 1634, a payment of 10 guilders and 8 stuivers was made by Moretus for the printing of 1,300 sheets of the vignette (Appendix III, p. 472 [79]).

65a. VIGNETTE FOR B. CORDIER, OPERA S. DIONYSII AREOPAGITAE, II: DRAWING OR OIL SKETCH

Technique and measurements unknown.

*Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.*

Balthasar Moretus's accounts list a sum of 12 guilders owed to Rubens for the design of this half-page vignette (Appendix III, pp. 448, 449 [2]).

66. TITLE-PAGE FOR F. TRISTAN, LA PEINTURE DE LA SERENISSIME PRINCESSE ISABELLE CLAIRE EUGENIE. Antwerp, 1634 (Fig. 222)

Engraving; 193 : 137 mm.; below on the right, on the pedestal: *Pet. Paul. Rubens pinxit Corn. Galle sculpsit.*

COPY EXAMINED: Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum, No. A 381.

EXHIBITED: *Elewijt*, 1962, No. 136.

COPY: Engraving in F. Triſtan, *Vers héroïques*, Paris, 1648, in-4°, opposite p. 65; lit.: *Rooses*, V, p. 354.

LITERATURE: *Hecquet*, p. 80, No. 10; *Basan*, pp. 138, 139, No. 35; *Smith*, *Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p. 315, No. 1179; *V.S.*, p. 177, No. 205; *Rooses*, *Rubens-Moretus*, 1882-83, I, p. 283; II, pp. 76, 77; *Rooses*, *Rubens-Moretus*, 1884, pp. 26, 71-73; *Dutuit*, VI, p. 184, No. 35; *Rooses*, IV, p. 120; V, pp. 124-126, 354, No. 1310, pl. 378; *Van den Wijngaert*, p. 52, No. 244; *Bouchery-Van den Wijngaert*, pp. 81, 96, 119, 120, 130, 142, 143, fig. 86; *Evers*, 1943, pp. 81, 188, fig. 111; *Held*, 1960, p. 261; *Hollſtein*, VII, p. 68, No. 172 (as *Cornelis Galle the Younger*).

This book in-4° was written by one of the most talented French poets of his time, François l'Hermite, sieur du Solier, also known as Tristan L'Hermite (Château du Solier, 1601 – Paris, 1655). Tristan was a member of an old and noble French family. After an adventurous youth, he joined the household of Gaston, Duke of Orléans, the younger brother of King Louis XIII. The poet went into exile with the Duke, and they arrived at the Court of the Infanta Isabella in Brussels on January 28, 1632. Tristan remained there for two years and during this time composed an ode in honour of Isabella. However, she died on December 1, 1633, before its publication. The author added a poem on her death and both the poem and the ode were published as a posthumous eulogy.

The publication begins with a Dedication to the Princess on thirteen unnumbered pages.<sup>1</sup> This is followed by a sonnet dedicated to her (p. 6), an epigram entitled *L'Auteur à l'Envie* (p. 7) and a sonnet by Philippe Chifflet about Tristan's *La Peinture* (p. 8). The Ode (pp. 9-46) consists of 38 strophes of twelve verses each.<sup>2</sup> Tristan gives a poetic description, coloured with allegoric images, of Isabella's birth and youth, of her initiation into politics by Philip II, of her marriage with Albert, of her great piety, of her Christian virtues, of her wise rule over the Netherlands, of her military successes, etc. The poem is followed by a permission to publish by Seger van Hontsum, Canon of Our Lady's Church, dated Antwerp, November 16, 1633,<sup>3</sup> and a Privilege for six years. The second part of the book is more specifically concerned with Isabella's death. It is dedicated to Don Francisco de Moncada, Marquis of Aytona, the Spanish army commander and diplomat and contains a series of poems by Tristan under the title *La Peinture du Trespas de Son Altesse Sérénissime* (pp. 49-71). The approval by the aforementioned Van Hontsum (p. 71) is dated January 9, 1634.

The title-page is dominated by the portrait of the Infanta Isabella which is placed within a circular frame decorated with the signs of the zodiac. The exterior of the frame is embellished by a cornucopia on either side supported by a naked genius. The horn of plenty on the left is filled with laurel and palm branches, the imperial crown, the orb and the scepter. The one on the right contains lilies, laurel, palm branches and a scepter. The putto on the left carries a caduceus while the helmeted one on the right holds bolts of lightning. A string of coins is entwined around the cornucopiae. All is placed on a round altar of salvation upon which is inscribed the book's title and which

is flanked on either side by a snake. Below, in the foreground, a dove is perched upon a rudder which rests upon a globe. The meanings of these symbols are explained in a letter from Moretus to Philippe Chifflet in Brussels dated January 29, 1634 (Appendix I, p. 371 [19]). This letter makes it abundantly clear that the ideas expressed in this image are Rubens's. The sign of the zodiac above Isabella's head, is the one under which the Princess was born, *Virgo*.<sup>4</sup> The Moretus letter states that the "Evening Star" above her head refers to her country of origin, Spain, and the string of coins to the succession of her ancestors.<sup>5</sup> The Emperor's crown, the laurel branches, the scepter and the imperial globe in the cornucopia on the left<sup>6</sup> signify that she is a descendant of the emperors of the House of Austria. The lilies on the opposite side relate to her blood connections with the House of Valois in France. The genii symbolize Peace and War, and the cylinder in the center is to be read as the Altar of Welfare (*Ara Salutis*), as so often when represented on Roman coins.<sup>7</sup> The dove of widowhood is seated on a rudder which rests on a globe, and this informs us that the welfare of the Netherlands was dependent upon Isabella's rule.

In his design, Rubens has portrayed the Infanta in the habit of the Poor Clares, which she began wearing after the death of her husband, the Archduke Albert, on July 13, 1621. She appears in the same costume in an oil sketch formerly in the collection of O. Wertheimer, Paris (Fig. 224). This is probably, as suggested by Haverkamp Begemann,<sup>8</sup> the portrait which Rubens painted on July 10, 1625. We know that Breda was recaptured by the Spanish on June 6, 1625, and that on the way back from her visit to that city Isabella stopped in Antwerp and allowed Rubens to paint her portrait. His oil sketch was the model for several large portraits and to these can be added Galle's engraved title-page. Furthermore, the frontispiece is signed *Pet. Paul Rubens pinxit* which suggests, but not conclusively, that the design was made after a Rubens oil sketch.

Cornelis Galle most likely completed the engraving for this title-page towards the end of the year 1633 because on January 2, 1634, Moretus paid 38 guilders for Galle's cutting of the plate, reducing its size and the cost of the copper (Appendix III, p. 471 [74]). Eleven days later, on January 13, Paulus Adriaenssen received 2 guilders and 8 stuivers from Moretus for cutting the letters of the title (Appendix III, p. 487 [116]).<sup>9</sup> The payment for the printing of 750 copies of the title-page is dated January 28, 1634 (Appendix III, p. 473

[80]). A copy of the finished book was sent to Philippe Chifflet by Moretus on January 23, 1634 (Appendix I, pp. 370, 371 [18]). The book was sold for 12 stuivers a copy (Appendix II, p. 440 [25]).

- <sup>1</sup> This dedication was later reprinted in a collection of letters by Tristan L'Hermite (*Lettres meslées du Sieur de Tristan*, Paris, 1642, pp. 1-12; see also C. Grisé, *François Tristan L'Hermite, Lettres Meslées, Edition critique*, Geneva-Paris, 1972, pp. 7-11).
- <sup>2</sup> A few strophes were taken out and some others added in a new publication which now had forty-three strophes instead of the original thirty-eight. This new edition was entitled *Les Vers Héroïques du Sieur Tristan Lhermite*, Paris, 1648, pp. 65-86; see also C.M. Grisé, *François Tristan L'Hermite, Les Vers Héroïques, Edition critique*, Geneva, 1967, pp. 90-110).
- <sup>3</sup> Two weeks before Isabella's death, and consequently only applicable to Tristan's original ode.
- <sup>4</sup> In the proof (Fig. 223), Rijksprentenkabinet, Amsterdam, before the title was added (inv. No. OB 4301; engraving, 201 : 137 mm.; lit.: *Dutuit*, VI, p. 184; *Rooses*, V, p. 125; *Van den Wijngaert*, p. 52), the signs of the zodiac have not been filled in. Rubens apparently did not know the Infanta's birthday and Moretus had to ask Tristan to inquire about it from Philippe Chifflet or his brother Jean Jacques, the physician of the Brussels court (Appendix I, p. 371 [19]).
- <sup>5</sup> For a similar symbol, see the string with the portrait-medals of the popes in the title-page of Liutprand's *Opera* (No. 78; Fig. 265).
- <sup>6</sup> It should be observed that Moretus speaks of these attributes as being on the *right* side ("a dextra"). This means that what he gave to Chifflet was not a description of the engraving but of a preparatory drawing (or oil-sketch?) in reverse.
- <sup>7</sup> *Boubery-Van den Wijngaert*, p. 143.
- <sup>8</sup> *Haverkamp-Begemann*, 1953, No. 50, fig. 46.
- <sup>9</sup> He probably also added the signs of the zodiac which are missing in the proof (Fig. 223; see note 4).

66a. TITLE-PAGE FOR F. TRISTAN, LA PEINTURE DE LA SERENISSIME PRINCESSE ISABELLE CLAIRE EUGENIE: DRAWING OR OIL SKETCH.

Technique and measurements unknown.

*Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.*

Balthasar Moretus's account-book informs us that he owed 12 guilders to Rubens for the design of this frontispiece (Appendix III, pp. 448, 449 [2]).

67. TITLE-PAGE FOR J. BIDERMANN, HEROU M EPISTOLAE, EPIGRAMMATA ET HERODIAS. Antwerp, 1634 (Fig. 225)

Engraving; 90 : 49 mm., margin.



COPY EXAMINED: Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum, No. R 62.8.

EXHIBITED: *Antwerp*, 1946, No. 13<sup>1</sup>; *Paris*, 1954, No. 382.

LITERATURE: *Rooses, Rubens-Moretus*, 1882-83, II, p. 76; *Rooses, Rubens-Moretus*, 1884, p. 71; *Rooses*, v, p. 51, No. 1245; *Van den Wijngaert*, p. 73, No. 435; *Bouchery-Van den Wijngaert*, pp. 72, 73, 119, 141, fig. 75; *Evers*, 1943, pp. 81, 187, 188, fig. 113; *Burchard-d'Hulst*, 1956, p. 110; F. Baudouin and R.-A. d'Hulst, [*Cat. Exb.*] *Rubens en zijn tijd*, Antwerp, 1971, pp. 91, 92.

This publication in-24° by the German Jesuit Father Jacob Bidermann contains a series of poems entitled *Heroum Epistolae*, *Epigrammata* and *Herodias*. The three parts of this volume had already been published separately. The *Epigrammata* had appeared in 1620 in both Antwerp (Martinus Nutius) and Dillingen, the *Herodias* in Dillingen in 1622 and the *Heroum Epistolae* in Rome in 1633. <sup>1</sup> The author was born in Ehringen in 1578 and in 1596 became a member of the Jesuit Order. In 1606, he was named Professor of Rhetoric and Director of the College Theatre in Munich. In 1615 he went to Dillingen and sometime around 1624 settled in Rome where he served as a censor of books. He died in Rome in 1639. Bidermann was the most important writer of the "Jesuitendrama".

The permission for the publication of this volume was granted by G. Estrix, the Censor of the Church of Our Lady in Antwerp, and states that Bidermann's poems deserved to be reprinted because it is proper to study and imitate Ovid in chaste elegies, Martial in pious epigrams and Virgil in a Christian way in the *Herodias*. <sup>2</sup> The latter statement characterizes the contents of Bidermann's work. The *Heroum Epistolae* (pp. 7-104) are fictitious letters written by famous people such as St. Jerome, St. Augustine, the Prodigal Son, Charles V and Constantine the Great. This section is divided into three chapters: *De quatuor novissimis* (On the Four Last Things), *De privatis quorundam calamitatibus* (On some particular sufferings) (pp. 36-72), *De miscellaneis* (On various subjects) (pp. 73-104). The letters are written in the form of elegies and modelled after Ovid's *Heroides*. The three books of *Epigrams* (pp. 105-286) are, in the main, devoted to Christ, to the Saints, to miracles and to other religious subjects, and are written in the style of Martial. The *Herodias*, also made up of three books, form an epic in Virgil's style and describe in detail the Massacre of the Innocents.

The title-page consists of an altar front in the antique style, decorated with two angel heads above and resting on two lion's feet. Rubens has placed a lyre with a crown of ivy surrounded by beams of light on top of the altar. The lyre is flanked by a pitcher on the left and a dish on the right. The symbolic meanings of these various attributes are explained by Rubens in an inscription on his design, preserved in the Plantin-Moretus Museum, Antwerp (No. 67a; Fig. 226). He writes that the altar, the pitcher and the dish represent piety, religion and sacred things while the lyre and the crown of ivy symbolize poetry. The frontispiece design, therefore, summarizes the essentially religious content of Bidermann's writings. Rubens had already used this type of altar with a lyre resting upon it in his 1632 design for the title-page of Sarbievski's *Lyricorum Libri IV* (No. 62; Fig. 212).<sup>3</sup>

Moretus paid Charles de Mallery 3 guilders on January 25, 1634, which was the balance of the 6 guilders he was owed for engraving this frontispiece (Appendix III, p. 487 [117]). On February 22, Paulus Adriaenssen received 1 guilder and 4 stuivers for cutting the letters of the title (Appendix III, p. 487 [118]). On April 8, 1634, Johannes Galle was paid 30 guilders for printing 4,000 title-pages (Appendix III, p. 473 [82]). The book was sold for 10 stuivers a copy (Appendix II, p. 441 [26]).

<sup>1</sup> *De Backer-Sommervogel*, 1, cols. 621-624.

<sup>2</sup> "Poëmata R.P. Iacobi Bidermani è Societate IESU, iam antè in Italia & Germania approbata & excusa, typis Plantinianis recudi merentur : nam in Elegijs Ovidium, sed castum; in Epigrammatis Martialem, sed pium; in Herodiade Virgilium, sed Christianum, agnoscere atque imitari licet. Ita testor" (J. Bidermann, *op. cit.*, p. 402).

<sup>3</sup> *Evers*, 1943, p. 187.

67a. TITLE-PAGE FOR J. BIDERMANN, HEROUM EPISTOLAE, EPIGRAMMATA ET HERODIAS: DRAWING (Fig. 226)

Pen and brown ink and brown wash; 177 : 107 mm.; traced for transfer; inscribed by Rubens below: *Ara, Patera et Simpulum Pietatem Religionem et Sacra indicant. Lira et Hederacea Corona Poesim.*

*Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum. Inv. No. 388.*

EXHIBITED: *Antwerp*, 1946, No. 13 (repr.); *Paris*, 1954, No. 381; *Antwerp*, 1956, No. 135; *Bologna*, 1965, No. 286; *Antwerp*, 1971, No. 69.

LITERATURE: *Rooses, Rubens-Moretus, 1882-83*, I, p. 283; II, p. 76; *Rooses, Rubens-Moretus, 1884*, pp. 26, 71; *Rooses*, IV, p. 120; V, p. 51; *Glück-Haberditzl*, p. 59, No. 216, pl. 216; *Van den Wijngaert*, p. 73; *Bouchery-Van den Wijngaert*, pp. 73, 119, 130, 141, fig. 76; *Van den Wijngaert, Inventaris Tekeningen*, No. 35; *Held, 1960, Held, 1974*, p. 252.

Rubens was given a credit of 5 guilders by Moretus for this design (Appendix III, pp. 448, 449 [2]). He probably executed it towards the end of 1633 as it was engraved by Charles de Mallery in January 1634.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 280, under No. 67.

68. TITLE-PAGE FOR M. BARBERINI, POEMATA. Antwerp, 1634 (Fig. 227)

Engraving; 197 : 141 mm.; below on the left: *Pet. Paul Rubens pinxit* and below on the right: *Corn. Galle sculpsit*.

COPY EXAMINED: Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum, No. R 58.10.

EXHIBITED: *Antwerp, 1946*, No. 12<sup>11</sup>; *Bologna, 1965*, No. 285.

LITERATURE: *Hecquet*, p. 102, No. 58; *Basan*, p. 180, No. 34; *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p. 289, No. 994; *V.S.*, p. 199, No. 41; *Rooses, Titels*, No. 13; *Rooses, Rubens-Moretus, 1882-83*, I, p. 283; II, p. 73, repr.; *Rooses, Rubens-Moretus, 1884*, pp. 26, 68, repr.; *Dutuit*, VI, p. 218, No. 34; *Rooses*, IV, p. 120; V, p. 97, No. 1285, pl. 371; *Glück-Haberditzl*, p. 59, No. 215, pl. 215; H. Brauer and R. Wittkower, *Die Zeichnungen des Gian Lorenzo Bernini*, Berlin, 1931, p. 151, note 4; *Van den Wijngaert*, p. 48, No. 220; *Bouchery-Van den Wijngaert*, pp. 81, 115, 123-125, 130, 140, fig. 71; *Evers, 1943*, pp. 81, 188, fig. 114; [*Cat. Exb.*] *Anvers, ville de Plantin et de Rubens*, Paris, 1954, p. 231; *Held, I*, p. 154; *Burchard-d'Hulst, 1963*, I, p. 322; F. Baudouin and R.-A. d'Hulst, [*Cat. Exb.*] *Rubens en zijn tijd*, Antwerp, 1971, p. 92; *Renger, I*, pp. 143, 144.

This volume in-4° is devoted to poems by Pope Urban VIII. Maffeo Barberini (Florence, 1568 - Rome, 1644), a Cardinal since 1606, had been elected Pope in 1623 and took the name of Urban VIII. He was a great patron of the arts and sciences and wrote a number of poems. The collection published by Moretus in 1634 contains 290 pages of poetry on various subjects inspired, in the main, by Christian or biblical themes. There are numerous paraphrases of psalms and hymns, odes about Saints and epigrams on subjects such as the City of Rome, Pope Clement VIII, the Greek language, etc.

The title-page illustrates the story of Samson, the lion and the bees in the Old Testament. <sup>1</sup> Samson has thrust down a lion and forced open its jaws. Bees fly out and around the lion's mouth and allude to the coat-of-arms of Pope Urban VIII's family. This allusion is especially evident in the dark bees flying just above Samson's left forearm in the form of a triangle and silhouetted against a light background. <sup>2</sup> Since Antiquity, it has been thought that bees were born out of the corpses of animals and consequently the soul can rise up to heaven from a dead body. <sup>3</sup> This ancient notion is mentioned in one of the poems where it is said that Samson has taken the honey from the mouth of a slain lion. <sup>4</sup> This means that the spirit can rise to heaven from a defeated body. These verses make up part of a poem written in the memory of the author's deceased brother, Antonio Barberini. <sup>5</sup> The foreground action takes place on the arch of a rusticated vault. A lyre, the attribute of Apollo and symbol of poetry, rests between Samson's right leg and the tree in the background. A second tree and a hill are in the right background.

The correspondence between Moretus and members of Pope Urban VIII's court clearly indicates that the publisher was very much concerned about the Pope's opinion of this edition of his poems. On two occasions, November 21, 1633 and January 9, 1634, Moretus wrote to Rome saying that he would postpone the publication of the Pope's poems until the latter sent him his reactions to the book and its details (Appendix I, pp. 369, 370 [15, 16]). On February 3, 1634, Jan Galle was paid 60 guilders for his uncle Cornelis's engraved plates for the title and the portrait of the Pope and for having provided the copper (Appendix III, p. 471 [75]). On March 14, 1634, Paulus Adriaenssen received 2 guilders and 13 stuivers for cutting the letters to be used on both the frontispiece and the portrait (Appendix III, p. 488 [119]). Johannes Galle received 16 guilders and 8 stuivers from the Plantin Press on April 29, 1634, for printing 1,025 sheets with the title-page on the *recto* and the *Portrait of Pope Urban VIII* on the *verso* (Appendix III, p. 473 [83]). The book was sold to the public for 2 guilders and 5 stuivers a copy (Appendix II, p. 441 [27]).

A proof print with the title, but without Rubens's and Galle's names inscribed below, is preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris (Fig. 229). <sup>6</sup> Because there is no indication that these inscriptions have been burnished out, this sheet must have been pulled immediately after the letters were cut for the title. The copper plate for the frontispiece is in the Plantin-Moretus Museum, Antwerp (Fig. 230). <sup>7</sup>

Cornelis Galle's engraved *Portrait of Pope Urban VIII* (Fig. 231)<sup>8</sup> presents a difficult problem. Although Rubens was paid for designing the title and the portrait (Appendix III, pp. 448, 449 [2]) and numerous authors have ascribed the portrait design to him,<sup>9</sup> it is impossible to accept the attribution. Of utmost importance in this problem is the fact that the portrait is a copy of Claude Mellan's 1631 engraving after Bernini's design<sup>10</sup> which was used in the 1631 edition of Maffeo Barberini's *Poemata* published by Andreas Brogiotto in Rome (Fig. 232). Galle repeats all of the details found in the Mellan engraving and most striking is the shadow on the right of Mellan's portrait which appears on the left in Galle's. However, the quality of the Galle is superior in the rich detailing and in the chiaroscuro effects. Mellan's *Portrait of Urban VIII* is also closely related to Ottavio Leoni's of 1625 (Fig. 233) which is flatter in execution. From all of this one can suggest that Galle based his engraving upon Mellan's 1631 print made after an original design by Bernini and not upon a design by Rubens. The latter would never have followed the Mellan engraving so closely. Furthermore, the only citation of a portrait of Urban VIII by Rubens, a letter of August 19, 1629, written by Claude-Barthélémy Morisot to Rubens, is a forgery.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Judges 14 : 5-9.

<sup>2</sup> See also the medallion in the bottom-center margin of the thesis page illustrating the *Dispute between Neptune and Pallas Athena* (No. 85; Fig. 291).

<sup>3</sup> See below, p. 359, under No. 85.

<sup>4</sup> "Ac veluti Samson dulces ex ore perempti Leonis accipit favos" (M. Barberini, *op. cit.*, p. 253, vs. 41-42).

<sup>5</sup> "Ad R.P. Antonium Barberinum, Fratrem Amantissimum. Ex debellato corpore mentem in Caelum rapi" (*Ibidem*, pp. 250-253).

<sup>6</sup> Inv. No. Cc 31, f° 32; 192 : 135 mm., margin.

<sup>7</sup> Inv. No. KP 199 C; 200 : 141 mm.

<sup>8</sup> Engraving; 197 : 137 mm.; above on the right : *Cor. Galle fe.*

<sup>9</sup> *Basan*, pp. 142, 143, No. 46; *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p. 309, No. 1133; *Rooses, Titels*, No. 25; *Rooses, Rubens-Moretus, 1882-83*, I, p. 283; II, p. 73; *Rooses, Rubens-Moretus, 1884*, pp. 26, 68; *Dutuit*, VI, p. 188, No. 46; *Rooses*, V, p. 97, No. 1286; *Van den Wijngaert*, p. 48, No. 220bis; *Bouchery-Van den Wijngaert*, p. 96, fig. 69.

<sup>10</sup> *Mariette*, III, pp. 337-339, 376.

<sup>11</sup> *Rooses-Ruelens*, IV, p. 345.

68a. TITLE-PAGE FOR M. BARBERINI, POEMATA: DRAWING OR OIL SKETCH

Technique and measurements unknown.

*Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.*

COPY: Drawing (Fig. 228), Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum, Inv. No. 390; pen and brown ink and black chalk; 179 : 138 mm.; traced for transfer; for references, see below, No. 68 b.

Balthasar Moretus paid 12 guilders to Rubens for the lost design in-quarto (Appendix III, pp. 448, 449 [2]). The composition bears some resemblance to Guido Reni's 1608-09 fresco of *Samson and the Lion* in the Vatican Museum,<sup>1</sup> but this resemblance might be fortuitous because Rubens could not have seen Reni's painting and no engravings after it are known.

Although the attribution to Rubens of the drawing in the Plantin-Moretus Museum (No. 68b; Fig. 228) has never been questioned in the literature, it has recently, beginning with Dr. Anne Marie Logan, been seriously doubted. Upon close examination it is difficult to decipher just what the details in the drawing mean. This is evident in the upper left where the bees fly above Samson's arm. In the drawing, it is impossible to determine what the artist meant to represent behind them. In the engraving it is clearly a rock formation. This lack of clarity in the drawing is also evident in the lion's head, legs and tail. Such indecisiveness is never present in Rubens's drawings for title-pages, and he always clearly works out the details although the style may be quick and fluid. Here the unimaginative repetition of the hatching and cross-hatching is foreign to Rubens. If one compares the heavy, laboriously sketched-in lines which create an extremely awkward Samson with those found in the figure of Hercules (Fig. 255) in the 1630 Rubens drawing for the silver plate engraved by Theodore Galle, the stylistic differences are immediately evident. Hercules is composed of a variety of quick, active and scratchy pen lines which build up the shapes before our eyes. The stiff and carefully worked-out lines of the Samson suggest that the artist is accustomed to meticulously cutting out his lines on a copper plate and not swiftly and deftly committing them to paper like Rubens. For these reasons, the Samson is most likely a copy after the original Rubens design, now lost, executed by the engraver, Cornelis Galle, or a member of his shop. Other drawings similar in their stiffness and lack of

verve, but with slight stylistic differences, also can be connected with engravings executed by Cornelis Galle after designs by Rubens (Nos. 54a, 55a, 60a; Figs. 186, 192, 207). They must represent an intermediate stage between the original Rubens drawings or oil sketches and the final Galle engraving.

<sup>1</sup> C. Gnudi and G.C. Cavalli, *Guido Reni*, Florence, 1955, pl. 19.

68b. TITLE-PAGE FOR M. BARBERINI, POEMATATA: DRAWING (Fig. 228)

Pen and brown ink and black chalk; 179 : 138 mm.; traced for transfer.

*Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum. Inv. No. 390.*

EXHIBITED: *Brussels*, 1938-39, No. 55 (repr.); *Rotterdam*, 1939, No. 52; *Antwerp*, 1946, No. 12; *Liège*, 1949, No. 97; *Brussels*, 1953, No. 52; *Paris*, 1954, No. 377; *Antwerp*, 1956, No. 136; *Bologna*, 1965, No. 284 (repr.); *Antwerp*, 1971, No. 70 (repr.).

LITERATURE: *Rooses, Rubens-Moretus*, 1882-83, II, p. 73, repr.; *Rooses, Rubens-Moretus*, 1884, p. 68, repr.; *Rooses*, IV, p. 120; V, p. 97; *Glück-Haberditzl*, p. 59, No. 215, pl. 215; H. Brauer and R. Wittkower, *Die Zeichnungen des Gian Lorenzo Bernini*, Berlin, 1931, p. 151, note 4; *Van den Wijngaert*, p. 48; *Bouchery-Van den Wijngaert*, pp. 81, 115, 123, 124, fig. 72; *Benesch, Book Illustration*, p. 13; *Van den Wijngaert, Inventaris Tekeningen*, No. 33; *Held*, I, pp. 154, 155, No. 154; II, pl. 161; *Burchard-d'Hulst*, 1963, I, pp. 321, 322, No. 200; II, pl. 200; *Held*, 1974, p. 252; *Renger*, I, pp. 143, 144; II, p. 177.

This drawing has been accepted by Burchard and all other authors until recently. For details see No. 68a.

69. TITLE-PAGE FOR S. PIETRASANTA, DE SYMBOLIS HEROICIS. Antwerp, 1634 (Fig. 234)

Engraving; 189 : 140 mm.; below on the left: *Pet. Paul. Rubens pinxit.*; below on the right: *Corn. Galle sculpsit.*

COPY EXAMINED: Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum, No. R 56.18.

LITERATURE: *Hecquet*, p. 97, No. 13; *Basan*, p. 189, No. 59; *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p. 343, No. 1330; *Mariette*, v, p. 142; *V.S.*, p. 204, No. 68; *Rooses*,

*Titels*, No. 22; *Rooses, Rubens-Moretus, 1882-83*, I, p. 283; II, pp. 78, 79; *Rooses, Rubens-Moretus, 1884*, pp. 26, 73, 74; *Dutuit*, VI, p. 223, No. 59; *Rooses*, IV, p. 120; V, p. 109, No. 1292; *Van den Wijngaert*, p. 51, No. 239; *Bouchery-Van den Wijngaert*, pp. 81, 130, 142, fig. 85; *Evers, 1943*, pp. 79, 187.

Silvester Pietrasanta or Petrasancta (Rome, 1590-1647) entered the Jesuit Order in 1608 and taught philosophy in Fermo. He later became Petrus Aloysius Caraffa's confessor and went to Germany with him when he became the Papal Nuncio there. Pietrasanta returned afterwards to Italy where he was appointed the Rector of the Jesuit College in Loreto. He died in Rome in 1647.<sup>1</sup> *De Symbolis Heroicis* is concerned with the devices of heroes. The author defines heroes as people who have distinguished themselves by *genus* (birth) or *virtus* (virtue).<sup>2</sup> The volume is dedicated to Pietrasanta's patron, Petrus Aloysius Caraffa whose portrait, engraved by Cornelis Galle after an anonymous design, is on page iv.<sup>3</sup> The Dedication is followed by a long eulogy of the Caraffa family (pp. xvii-lxxx) which is illustrated with several engraved coats-of-arms and with a tree illustrating the family's genealogy.

Pietrasanta's study is divided into nine Books, each of which deals with a special aspect of the devices and the ways in which they are expressed or illustrated. Book I (pp. 1-69) gives, by way of introduction (*Prooemium*), a number of examples of famous emblems used for the Virgin Mary, Saints, Popes, Cardinals, Noblemen, Learned men, women, etc. Book II (pp. 70-84) deals with inscriptions on antique coins (*De veterum numismatibus*) and Book III (pp. 85-122) with engraved rings (*De annulis et eorum notis*). Secret devices (*De notis clandestinis*) are discussed in Book IV (pp. 123-156) and emblems (*De Emblemate*) in Book V (pp. 157-164). Further subjects of study are the efficacy and nature of devices (Book VI, pp. 165-302, *De Vi et Natura Symboli Heroici*), their contents (Book VII, pp. 303-330, *De Figura Symboli Heroici*) and their inscriptions (Book VIII, pp. 331-393, *De Symboli Heroici Epigraphe*). The last part of the text examines symbolism in general (Book IX, pp. 394-470, *De Symbolis Generalibus*). The publication closes with a ten page summary (pp. 471-480, *Disputationum academicarum de Symbolis Heroicis Periocha*), a number of indexes and the Privileges. One of the indexes lists and describes all of the illustrations. The title-page is explained as follows: Talent is receiving material from Nature and from Art in order to write about the Heroic Devices.<sup>4</sup> Rubens has placed three personifications around an antique altar



which is supported by two sphinxes. Mercury stands to the left and holds a caduceus in his left hand and with the other gives a pen and brushes to a winged genius in the top center. On the right of the altar, a multi-breasted figure holds a laurel wreath in her right hand. She is an often used symbol of Nature and is found frequently in Rubens's œuvre.<sup>5</sup> The caduceus, symbolic of eloquence, and the laurel wreath, most often associated with literary fame, come together at the center of the altar. The composition visually illustrates the notion that ingenuity creates heroic devices through a skillful combination of nature's elements. Ingenuity literally depends upon nature and the means of expression is provided by Art. The sphinxes below might very well suggest the enigmatic character occasionally associated with devices. The composition is a variation on a type Rubens had used earlier<sup>6</sup> where the antique altar also occupies the center and is surrounded by symbolic figures and objects.

The book is illustrated with almost three hundred small engravings of the devices discussed by Pietrasanta and, in the main, engraved by Andries Pauwels. Between December 13, 1633 and June 23, 1634 (Appendix III, p. 488 [120]), Moretus paid 268 guilders and 1 stuiver for Pauwels's work. The latter's plates were corrected by Cornelis Galle as attested to by Moretus's payment of 33 guilders to Johannes Galle dated July 8, 1634 (Appendix III, p. 475 [86]). Three hundred copies of each plate were printed (Appendix III, p. 474 [85]). Rubens did not make any of these designs nor the one for Caraffa's portrait (Fig. 236). He was only responsible for the title-page, which was cut by Cornelis Galle. The latter's nephew, Johannes Galle, was paid 38 guilders by Moretus on August 12, 1633 for the plate and the copper (Appendix III, p. 471 [73]). The book was not published until about a year later because the printing expenses for the title-page and other illustrations were not paid for until July 8, 1634 (Appendix III, p. 474 [85]). Because the book had many illustrations, it sold for the high price of 9 guilders (Appendix II, p. 441 [28]). A proof print of the title-page, location unknown, is cited by Dutuit.<sup>6</sup>

The plate was used again in an edition of the book published in Amsterdam by Janssonius, Waesbergius and Hendrik Wetstenius in 1682 under the title *Symbola Heroica*. The copper plate, with the title and the address changed accordingly, is preserved in the Plantin-Moretus Museum.<sup>7</sup> Mercury and the winged genius were repeated in reverse two years later for the frontispiece of B. Cabilliau's *Epistolarum Heroum et Heroïdum Libri quatuor* (Antwerp, 1636).

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Appendix III  
p 469 [65]  
p 471 [73]

- <sup>1</sup> *De Backer-Sommervogel*, II, cols. 1915–1917; L. Koch, *Jesuiten-Lexicon*, Paderborn, 1934, pp. 1425, 1426.
- <sup>2</sup> S. Pietrasanta, *op. cit.*, p. v.
- <sup>3</sup> The payment of 34 guilders for this engraving and the copper plate is dated May 4, 1633 (Appendix III, p. 470 [71]).
- <sup>4</sup> "Titulus Libri; et in eo Ingenium hinc a Natura, hinc ab Arte materiam accipiens, ad scribenda Symbola Heroica" (S. Pietrasanta, *op. cit.*, unpaginated Index).
- <sup>5</sup> See e.g. *Nature Adorned by the Graces* in the Glasgow Art Gallery (H. Miles, *Dutch & Flemish & German Paintings in The Glasgow Art Gallery*, Glasgow, 1961, pp. 117–120, No. 609) and the sketch for *The Triumph of the Eucharist over Philosophy, Science, Poetry and Nature* in the Brussels Museum (*d'Hulst*, 1968, p. 99, No. 18, fig. 37).
- <sup>6</sup> *Dutuit*, VI, p. 223.
- <sup>7</sup> Inv. No. KP 141 C; 194 : 140 mm.; *Evers*, 1943, fig. 109.

69a. TITLE-PAGE FOR S. PIETRASANTA, DE SYMBOLIS HEROICIS: DRAWING OR OIL SKETCH

Technique and measurements unknown.

*Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.*

COPY: Drawing (Fig. 235), Fondation Custodia, Paris, Inv. No. 1971.T.2; pen and brown ink and brown wash over preliminary drawing in black chalk, heightened with white; 190 : 140 mm.; traced for transfer; prov.: P.J. Mariette (Paris, 1694–1774), sale, Paris, 15 November 1775–30 January 1776, lot 1009; ? Mlle de Chaumont, sale, Paris (Regnault), 18–19 March 1822, lot 98 (b); Count J.P. van Suchtelen (St. Petersburg, 1751–1836); E. Calando, sale, Paris, 11–12 December 1899, lot 243 (?); private collection, Paris; acquired by the Fondation Custodia in 1971; exh.: *Acquisitions récentes de toutes époques, Fondation Custodia, Collection Frits Lugt*, Institut Néerlandais, Paris, 1974, No. 67 (repr.); lit.: *Rooses*, v, p. 109, No. 1292; *Held*, 1974, p. 259, note 16.

According to Balthasar Moretus's credit-account book, Rubens was owed 12 guilders for executing the design for this frontispiece (Appendix III, pp. 448, 449 [2]). A drawing in the Fondation Custodia, Paris (Fig. 235), unknown to Burchard, is in reverse of the engraving. Although it was once owned by the great connoisseur and collector P.J. Mariette and attributed by him to Rubens, the weaknesses in the rendering of the anatomy, the thin and decorative character of the pen lines mixed with the wash, the very explicit rendering of the details throughout the drawing and the general similarity in style to the

drawing attributed to Cornelis Galle for the frontispiece of Cardinal Barberini's *Poemata* of the same year (No. 68b; Fig. 228), make it seem more likely that this Paris sheet is by the engraver of the plate, Cornelis Galle.

70. TITLE-PAGE FOR O. BOONAERTS, IN ECCLESIASTICUM COMMENTARIUS.  
Antwerp, 1634 (Fig. 237)

Engraving; 331 : 202 mm.; below on the left: *Pet. Paul. Rubens inuent.*; below on the right: *Corn. Galle sculpt.*

COPY EXAMINED: Brussels, Royal Library, No. V.B. 402.

LITERATURE: *Hecquet*, p. 100, No. 44; *Basan*, p. 170, No. 8; *Mariette*, v, p. 140; *V.S.*, p. 194, No. 8; *Dutuit*, vi, p. 211, No. 8; *Rooses*, v, p. 54, No. 1247; *Van den Wijngaert*, p. 48, No. 222; *Evers*, 1943, pp. 81, 186, 187, fig. 112; *Held*, I, p. 41; *Renger*, I, p. 142; B. Fredlund, *Arkitektur i Rubens måleri, Form och funktion*, Göteborg, 1974, pp. 21, 191, fig. 43.

Olivier Boonaerts's in-folio publication is devoted to the Bible book known as Ecclesiasticus or *The Wisdom of Sirach*. Boonaerts or Bonartius (Ypres, 1570–1655) was a Jesuit theologian and missionary. His commentary is dedicated to the city authorities of St. Winoksbergen who had won the favour of the Jesuit Order by allowing them to establish a College there in 1600.<sup>1</sup> The Dedication is followed by a Preface to the reader (pp. 1–4), by instructions for a better comprehension and use of the book (pp. 5–17) and by two prologues (pp. 18–20). The text (pp. 21–818) is divided into 51 chapters containing the complete Latin text and a commentary on each verse. The book concludes with four indexes, the approvals and privileges.

In the top center, Rubens has placed an allegorical figure seated on a throne surrounded by clouds. The figure is aided by two angels in presenting a large book to a monk kneeling on earth. Behind him there is a landscape and to his right a monumental architectural façade with Corinthian columns. In the foreground is an opening in the earth which contains a number of naked figures with raised arms who stare imploringly at the personification above. The meaning of the design is explained in the inscription on the left of the book: *Ego in altissimis habitavi, & Thronus meus in columnâ nubis &c. Ecclesiastici CAP. XXIV* (I dwell in the highest places and my throne is in a pillar on a cloud).<sup>2</sup> These words are spoken by Divine Wisdom (Dei Sapientia), and the

verse states that she is seated on clouds before a throne with the columns of Salomon which indicate that this occurs in heaven. The rays of light emanating from Divine Wisdom can be associated with the preceding verse where she says that she has created perpetual light in heaven and has covered the earth like a cloud.<sup>3</sup> The people below probably illustrate verse eight where Divine Wisdom says "I alone have compassed the circuit of heaven and have penetrated into the bottom of the deep ...".<sup>4</sup> The kneeling figure on the left, who receives the book from on high, is the author Jesus, son of Sirach.<sup>5</sup> The landscape contains animals and a large grotto-like cave out of which pours water in four clear streams. This must be an allusion to the Garden of Eden with its rivers as described in the twenty-fourth Chapter of Ecclesiasticus.<sup>6</sup> The monumental architecture on the right with its impressive Corinthian columns suggest the Temple and consequently Jerusalem where God established the reign of Wisdom.<sup>7</sup> From the above, it appears that the details of Rubens's design were taken directly from the twenty-fourth chapter of Ecclesiasticus where the Divine Virtue of Wisdom is mentioned.

The same type of fantastic-illusionistic architecture was used often by Rubens in his decorations of 1630-34 for the Banqueting Hall in Whitehall<sup>8</sup> and earlier in the ceiling decorations for the Jesuit Church in Antwerp.<sup>9</sup> The serpentine columns with Corinthian capitals that support the niche behind Divine Wisdom had appeared in his œuvre since the 1602 *St. Helena with the Cross of Christ*, Grasse.<sup>10</sup> One might also suggest that the struggling figures in the ground resemble those in Rubens's ca. 1633-35 *Saint Teresa Interceding for Bernardino de Mendoza*, Royal Museum, Antwerp (Fig. 240).<sup>11</sup>

A proof print of the title-page is preserved in the Rijksprentenkabinet, Amsterdam (Fig. 239).<sup>12</sup>

<sup>1</sup> O. Boonaerts, *op. cit.*, f° 3-6<sup>r</sup>. See C. De Croocq, *Histoire du Collège de Bergues-Saint-Winoc*, Lille, 1923 and A. Poncelet, *Histoire de la Compagnie de Jésus dans les anciens Pays-Bas*, I, Brussels, 1927, p. 508, note 1.

<sup>2</sup> Ecclesiasticus 24 : 7. The numbering of the verses of the Book is not uniform for all editions. We have adopted the numbering in Boonaerts's publication.

<sup>3</sup> "Ego feci in coelis ut oriretur lumen indeficiens, & sicut nebula texi omnem terram (Ecclesiasticus 24 : 8).

<sup>4</sup> "Gyrum coeli circuivi sola, & profundum abyssi penetravi, in fluctibus maris ambulavi" (Ecclesiasticus 24 : 8). They may also allude to vs. 45: "Penetrabo omnes inferiores partes terrae, & inspiciam omnes dormientes, & illuminabo omnes sperantes in Domino".

<sup>5</sup> O. Boonaerts, *op. cit.*, p. 2.

- <sup>6</sup> "Qui implet quasi Phison sapientiam, & sicut Tigris in diebus novorum. Qui adimplet quasi Euphrates sensum: qui multiplicat quasi Jordanis in tempore messis" (Ecclesiasticus 24 : 35-36).
- <sup>7</sup> "Et sic in Sion firmata sum, & in civitate sanctificata similiter requievi, & in Jerusalem potestas mea" (Ecclesiasticus 24 : 15).
- <sup>8</sup> See e.g. *Haverkamp Begemann*, 1953, No. 88, pl. 78.
- <sup>9</sup> *Martin, Ceiling Paintings*, Fig. 26.
- <sup>10</sup> *Vlieghe, Saints*, II, pp. 58-61, No. 110, Fig. 31.
- <sup>11</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 166-168, No. 155, Fig. 125.
- <sup>12</sup> Engraving, 330 : 197 mm.; see *Dutuit*, VI, p. 212.

70a. TITLE-PAGE FOR O. BOONAERTS, IN ECCLESIASTICUM COMMENTARIUS: DRAWING OR OIL SKETCH

Technique and measurements unknown.

*Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.*

COPY: Drawing (Fig. 238), attributed to Cornelis Galle, Vienna, Albertina, No. 8233; pen and brown ink and brown wash, heightened with whitish-yellow oil paint, traces of black chalk, on brown-prepared paper; 320 : 194 mm.; traced for transfer; prov.: Huquier (Paris) sale, Amsterdam (Yver), 24 September 1761, lot 549; C. Ploos van Amstel, sale, Amsterdam (v.d. Schley ... Roos), 2 March 1800, teekeningen, Kunstboek BBB, lot 10; lit.: *Mariette*, v, p. 140 (as in Coll. Hecquet); *Rooses*, v, p. 54; *Van den Wijngaert*, p. 48; *Held*, I, p. 41; *Held*, 1974, p. 252; *Renger*, I, pp. 142, 144.

Burchard questioned the attribution of this drawing to Rubens and suggested it might possibly be by Erasmus Quellin. Because the Albertina drawing appears to be flat, lacks a sense of the three-dimensional and renders the lines of the pen in a redundant and lifeless manner, I too find it difficult to reconcile this sheet with Rubens's style. Although the artist uses brown wash and a whitish-yellow pigment in an attempt to imitate an oil sketch, there is a linear precision outlining the shapes that is foreign to Rubens's modello-like drawings.<sup>1</sup> This engraver-like way of working is most evident in the explicit drawing of the minor details, especially in the landscape. This sheet, because of its use of wash and oil, might very well have been copied after a lost Rubens oil sketch by Cornelis Galle or a member of his shop. Heavy pen lines are similarly used to emphasize the shaded areas and are strikingly alike in pattern and size

to those found in the working drawings for M. Barberini's *Poemata* (Fig. 228) and S. Pietrasanta's *De Symbolis Heroicis* (Fig. 235) of the same year.

<sup>1</sup> For this type of Rubens drawing, see, for example, Nos. 49a, 52a, 55a, 64a; Figs. 167, 180, 191, 218.

71. TITLE-PAGE FOR B. VAN HAEFTEN, *REGIA VIA CRUCIS*. Antwerp, 1635 (Fig. 242)

Engraving; 155 : 90 mm.

COPY EXAMINED: Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum, No. R 57.13.

LITERATURE: *Hecquet*, p. 101, No. 48; *Basan*, p. 185, No. 49; *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p. 336, No. 1286; *V.S.*, p. 202, No. 57; *Rooses, Rubens-Moretus*, 1882-83, I, p. 283; II, p. 79; *Rooses, Rubens-Moretus*, 1884, pp. 26, 74; *Dutuit*, VI, p. 221, No. 49; *Rooses*, IV, p. 120; V, pp. 82, 83, No. 1275; *Knipping*, I, pp. 128, 129; *Van den Wijngaert*, p. 49, No. 230; *Bouchery-Van den Wijngaert*, pp. 81, 82, 130, 137, fig. 55; *Evers*, 1943, pp. 81, 189, fig. 116.

The text of this publication in-8° was written by Jacob (monastic name Benedictus) van Haefthen (Utrecht, ca. 1588 – Spa, 1648), who had joined the Benedictine Order while he was studying philosophy and theology at the University of Louvain. He became Provost of the Abbey of Affligem and played an important part in the reform of the Benedictine Order, and he also wrote several books on religious subjects.<sup>1</sup> His *Regia Via Crucis* describes the voyage with the Cross which the soul must perform in imitation of Christ in order to attain the heavenly kingdom. The book starts with two dedications, the first to Jacob de Noyelle (pp. v-x), one of the treasurers at the Brussels court, the second to Saint Teresa of Avila (p. xi-xviii), the founder of the Discalced Carmelites. This is followed by a Preface to the reader (p. xix-xxv), the Approval by the Censor of Brussels, dated February 23, 1633 (p. xxvj), the Privilege, dated September 11, 1634 (p. xxvij) and two indexes (pp. xxviii-xl). The text itself is divided into three chapters: I. Introduction to the way of the Cross (*Praeambula ad viam CRVCIS ineundam*, pp. 1-115); II. The best method to carry the Cross (*De optimâ CRVCEM ferendi methodo*, pp. 119-287); III. The fruits of carrying the Cross (*De baiulatae CRVCIS fructibus*, pp. 290-404). This book closes with two indexes.<sup>2</sup>

The title-page presents a varied summary of the book's contents. Christ, carrying the Cross and kneeling on top of a large block of stone inscribed with

the book's title, looks down to the left at a figure who is also carrying a cross. With His right arm, Christ gestures to the latter to follow Him. This man and the woman to the right are barefooted and walk on steps decorated with thorns. The woman is St. Teresa of Avila to whom the book is dedicated.<sup>3</sup> Another traveller carrying a cross is in the upper left. In the bottom center Rubens has placed the *labarum* inside of a cartouche and inscribed IN HOC SIGNO VINCES (Under this Sign you shall conquer).<sup>4</sup>

This type of imagery, stressing the notion that those who want to follow Christ must take up their crosses<sup>5</sup> and follow in His footsteps, was popular in early Netherlandish art and literature and was found everywhere during the Counter Reformation.<sup>6</sup> A good example is the title-page for G. Mayr's edition of Thomas à Kempis's famous *De Imitatione Christi* (Augsburg, 1615) (Fig. 241). Aside from Rubens's title-page, there are thirty-eight plates in the *Regia Via Crucis*, which were engraved in the Galle workshop. Johannes Galle was paid 684 guilders for all these plates on July 24, 1634 (Appendix III, p. 469 [66]). In a letter dated June 8, 1634, Moretus informed Van Haeften that he would soon send him the plates for approval and that he would ask Rubens to prepare a design for the title-page without delay (Appendix I, p. 397 [80]). By August 16, his design was ready to be submitted to Van Haeften for approval (Appendix I, p. 397 [82]). Apparently the latter objected to the woman whom he thought to be insufficiently clothed, and Moretus promised him in a letter of August 28 (Appendix I, p. 398 [83]) that this would be changed. At the same time, the publisher announced that Cornelis Galle would cut the title-page. The payment to Johannes Galle for his uncle Cornelis's engraving of the frontispiece followed on October 21, 1634 (Appendix III, p. 391 [67]). The inscriptions were added in November (Appendix I, p. 398 [84]; Appendix III, p. 489 [121]) and on December 7, 1634, Moretus was able to present the finished title-page to Van Haeften (Appendix I, pp. 398, 399 [85]). On July 7, 1635, Johannes Galle was paid for printing 300 copies of each engraving and the title-page (Appendix III, p. 474 [84]). The latter makes it clear that three hundred copies of the book were printed, and from another document we learn that the book was sold for 3 guilders and 10 stuivers a copy (Appendix II, p. 441 [29]).

It is interesting to note that in the same year, 1634, Van Haeften commissioned Rubens to paint a large altarpiece of *Christ Carrying the Cross* for the main altar of the church of the Abbey of Affligem.<sup>7</sup> However, the

composition and the oil sketches connected with it bear no resemblance to the title-page of the *Regia Via Crucis*.

A proof print without text is preserved in the Albertina, Vienna (Fig. 243).<sup>8</sup> It is inscribed *Regia Via Crucis* by a later hand.

- <sup>1</sup> E. Van Arenbergh, in *Biographie Nationale*, VII, Brussels, 1880–83, cols. 598–600.
- <sup>2</sup> For the contents of the *Regia Via Crucis*, see also *Knipping*, I, pp. 128, 129.
- <sup>3</sup> She also appears in Rubens's title-page design for Thomas a Jesu's *De Contemplatione Divina* of 1620 (No. 45; Fig. 153).
- <sup>4</sup> For an earlier use of the *labarum* by Rubens see the title-page of G. Bosio, *Cruce Triumphans et Gloriosa* of 1617 (No. 37; Fig. 126).
- <sup>5</sup> Matthew 10 : 38.
- <sup>6</sup> See *Knipping*, I, pp. 128, 129. To his examples can be added an anonymous engraving published by Hieronymus Cock (L. De Pauw-De Veen, [*Cat. Exh.*] *Hieronymus Cock prentenuitgever en graveur 1507?-1570*, Brussels, 1970, p. 34, No. 87, pl. 23).
- <sup>7</sup> Now in the Museum of Brussels (see J. Bruyn, *Rubens' schets voor de kruisdraging*, *Bulletin van het Rijksmuseum*, VII, 1959, pp. 3–9, fig. 6).
- <sup>8</sup> Inv. No. H II 19, p. 74; engraving, 139 : 87 mm., margin; *Dutuit*, VI, p. 221.

71a. TITLE-PAGE FOR B. VAN HAEFTEN, REGIA VIA CRUCIS: DRAWING OR OIL SKETCH

Technique and measurements unknown.

*Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.*

Balthasar Moretus's accounts list a debt to Rubens of 8 guilders for the design of this title-page (Appendix III, pp. 448, 449 [2]). From the correspondence between Moretus and Van Haefthen, we can deduce that Rubens made his design in the summer of 1634. In a letter from Moretus to Van Haefthen dated July 11, 1634 (Appendix I, p. 397 [81]), Rubens is said to have agreed to prepare a design. Five weeks later, on August 16, 1634, it was sent to the author for approval (Appendix I, p. 397 [82]).

71. TITLE-PAGE FOR D. DE AEDO Y GALLART, EL ... VIAJE DEL INFANTE CARDENAL ... Antwerp, 1635 (Fig. 244)

Engraving; 160 : 118 mm.; below on the left: *P.P. Rubens inuent*; below on the right: *Marinus sculps*.

COPY EXAMINED: Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum, No. A 2081.



LITERATURE: *Hecquet*, p. 98, No. 18; *Basan*, p. 181, No. 37; *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p. 340, No. 1309; *Mariette*, v, p. 144; *V.S.*, p. 200, No. 44; *Dutuit*, vi, p. 219, No. 37; *Rooses*, v, pp. 43, 44, No. 1233; *Knipping*, II, p. 179; *Van den Wijngaert*, pp. 59, 60, No. 301; *Evers*, 1943, pp. 83, 190, 191, fig. 118; [*Cat. Exb.*] *A Loan Exhibition of Works by Peter Paul Rubens Kt*, London, 1950, p. 28; *Haverkamp Begemann*, 1953, p. 104; *Martin, Pompa*, pp. 22, note 9, 40, 41, 47, 51, 58, 59, 150, note 4, fig. 5.

The frontispiece was designed by Rubens, engraved by Marinus van der Goes and published by Jan Cnobbaert. The book contains a description of Prince-Cardinal Ferdinand's trip from Spain to the Netherlands, 199 pages long and divided into seventeen chapters. The author begins with the moment when it was planned to send the Prince-Cardinal to the Netherlands and ends with his entry into Brussels on November 4, 1634. The Dedication to the Count-Duke of San Lucar is dated March 13, 1635. Apart from the title-page, which was designed by Rubens, the book contains a few other illustrations: a portrait of Ferdinand engraved by Marinus after Jan van den Hoecke,<sup>1</sup> an anonymous engraving of a reliquary in the Duomo of Milan<sup>2</sup> and a view of the battle of Nördlingen engraved by Andreas Pauli.<sup>3</sup>

Rubens himself has explained the imagery of the title-page in an inscription now lost but known through a transcription by P.J. Mariette.<sup>4</sup> Above in the center is the coat-of-arms of the Cardinal-Infant with the royal crown and the cardinal's hat, crowned by two Genii with butterfly wings to indicate the eternity of Ferdinand's glory. Two palm trees, symbolizing victory and strength, support the coat-of-arms. The Prince's voyage from Spain to Brussels is indicated by a flying eagle holding a serpent in its talons.<sup>5</sup> To the right Rubens has placed a personification of Victory who presents a crown of laurel to the eagle. This signifies the restoration of the Empire resulting from the victory at Nördlingen. *Mars Gradivus* (the striding Mars) is to the right and represents the victories won by the Cardinal-Infante during his voyage. This type, as Martin has pointed out,<sup>6</sup> is borrowed from Roman Imperial coinage, except for the replacement of the spear by a short sword. The title of the book is inscribed in the space surrounded by these two figures and the symbols above, while the printer's address is given in a cartouche below in the center. The same frontispiece was used for the French edition of the book, also published by Cnobbaert in 1635.<sup>7</sup> Martin has drawn attention to the fact that in his designs of *The Stage of Welcome for the Pompa Introitus Ferdinandi* depicting *The Voyage of the Prince*

from *Barcelona to Genoa* and *The Meeting of the two Ferdinands at Nördlingen* Rubens relied on the description of these events by Aedo y Gallart.<sup>8</sup>

- <sup>1</sup> Engraving; 418 : 430 mm.; D. de Aedo y Gallart, *op. cit.*, opposite p. 6; *Hollstein*, IX, p. 37, No. 10; XI, p. 170, No. 19.
- <sup>2</sup> D. de Aedo y Gallart, *op. cit.*, opposite p. 72.
- <sup>3</sup> *Ibidem*, opposite p. 120.
- <sup>4</sup> For the full text, see below, p. 297, under No. 72a, note 1.
- <sup>5</sup> For a detailed discussion of this imagery, which stresses the idea, among others, of the victory of good over evil in politics, see R. Wittkower, *Eagle and Serpent. A Study in the Migration of Symbols*, *Journal of the Warburg Institute*, II, 1938-39, pp. 293-325. Rubens used a similar image in the title-page for Matthieu de Morgues's *Diverses pieces pour la defense de la Roynie Mere* of 1637 (No. 75; Fig. 257).
- <sup>6</sup> *Martin, Pompa*, p. 47.
- <sup>7</sup> LE VOYAGE DV PRINCE DON FERNANDE INFANT D'ESPAGNE, CARDINAL. EN ANVERS Chez IEAN CNOBBART, l'an M. DC. XXXV.
- <sup>8</sup> *Martin, Pompa*, pp. 40, 41, 51, 58, 59, Figs. 8, 14.

72a. TITLE-PAGE FOR D. DE AEDO Y GALLART, EL ... VIAJE DEL INFANTE CARDENAL ... : GRISAILLE SKETCH (Fig. 245)

Oil on panel; 16.8 : 13 cm.

*London, Victoria and Albert Museum. Inv. No. D 1399 - 1891.*

PROVENANCE: P.J. Mariette (Paris, 1694-1774), sale, Paris (Basan), 15 November 1775 *et seqq.*, lot 15; Prince de Conti, sale, Paris, 8 April 1777, lot 246; De Ghent, sale, Paris, 15 November 1779, lot 357; Albert Hartshorne, Ashborne; sold by the latter to the Victoria and Albert Museum in 1891.

EXHIBITED: *London*, 1950, No. 25 (repr.); *Rotterdam*, 1953, No. 98 (repr.).

LITERATURE: *Mariette*, v, p. 144; *Rooses*, v, pp. 43, 352, 353; *Van den Wijngaert*, p. 60; *Haverkamp Begemann*, 1953, p. 104, No. 98, fig. 83; *Held*, I, p. 41; *Martin, Pompa*, pp. 38, 41, 47; C.M. Kaufmann, *Victoria and Albert Museum. Catalogue of Foreign Painting. I. Before 1800*, London, 1973, pp. 249, 250, No. 308, repr.

Rubens executed this grisaille sketch as a study for the title-page of Aedo y Gallart's account of the Cardinal-Infante's voyage from Spain to the Netherlands (No. 72; Fig. 244). On the left we can see the remains of Rubens's Italian inscription in which he explained the meaning of the image. It is very

likely that this was meant for the author. P.J. Mariette had the panel cut down to make the sketch more attractive and copied the text on a piece of paper which he pasted on the back of the panel.<sup>1</sup> Rubens has represented the figures left-handed in order to facilitate the work of the engraver.

<sup>1</sup> Mariette's inscription reads as follows: "Voicy l'explication du sujet de ce tableau telle que Rubens l'avoit écrite luy même. / L'Arme del Sig<sup>r</sup> Infante Card<sup>e</sup>. Si compara il viaggio di S.A. ad una Aquila volante, con un serpente trà le ungue. / Duoi Geni che coronano S.A.S<sup>ma</sup> et hanno l'ale di papilione che dinotano l'eternita della sua gloria. / La Vittoria che porge a l'aquila una corona alloro significa che mediante la vittoria di Nordlingh è ristorate l'Imperio. / Gli duoi arbori di palme che sostengono l'arme di S.A. designano Vittoria, e forza perche l'alzano contra il peso. / Marte gradivo per denotar le vittorie di S.A. ottenute nel far il suo viaggio. / Cecy etoit écrit dela main de Rubens; sur les bords du tableau qui a été rogné pour le rendre d'une forme plus agréable. C'est le dessin d'un Frontispice de Livre intitulé le Voyage du Cardinal Infant. Il a été gravé par Marinus." (C.M. Kaufmann, *loc. cit.*).

73-74. TITLE-PAGE AND VIGNETTE FOR J. LIPSIUS, OPERA OMNIA, I-IV. Antwerp, 1637.

COPY EXAMINED: Brussels, Royal Library, No. V.H. 12981.

Moretus's edition of Justus Lipsius's collected works comprises six volumes. The first four were published jointly in 1637. Rubens had designed the title-page for Volume One (No. 73; Fig. 246) and his design for the Plantin printer's device decorates the title-pages of Volume Two through Four (No. 74; Fig. 254). The other two volumes had been published earlier and their title-pages were not created by Rubens. Book V, Lipsius's *Tacitus*, was printed in 1627 and was decorated only with a vignette containing the Plantin printer's mark as it had appeared in the 1607 edition of the same work. Book VI, Lipsius's *Seneca* of 1632, had the same title-page as the 1615 edition (Fig. 103), and also the same illustrations which Rubens had designed especially for that occasion (Nos. 30-32, Figs. 106, 108, 111). Heretofore, it seems to have escaped notice that the 1627 *Tacitus* and the 1632 *Seneca* are part of the Lipsius *Opera Omnia*, although they are included in the Table of Contents of Volume One and in the Index of Volume Four of 1637. Furthermore, their inclusion explains the prominent position of the portraits of Seneca and Tacitus in the title-page of Volume One.

The documents inform us that the printing of Volumes One through Four took almost four years. The text was in the press by December 16, 1633, as stated in a letter of that date written by Moretus to B. van Haeften in Affligem

(Appendix I, p. 396 [79]). On August 9, 1634, Moretus wrote to Raphelengius in Delft that Volume Four had been printed, but that because there was no paper the *Fama Posthuma* had still not been placed in the front of Volume One (Appendix I, p. 415 [121]). In spite of the paper problem, Moretus worked on as best he could and by December 11, 1634, Johannes Galle was paid 90 guilders for the copper plate and the title-page cut by his uncle Cornelis Galle (Appendix III, p. 470 [68]). The paper shortage appears to have continued into 1635. A letter of May 30 from Moretus to A. Desselmans and F. Lambert in Lisbon states that the proper paper could not be obtained because of the war in Lorraine and because of the trade embargo imposed on the Southern Netherlands by the King of France (Appendix I, p. 386 [57]). The situation must have improved somewhat by the fall and early winter of 1635. On October 16, 1635, sixteen plates had been corrected at four guilders a piece and thirteen guilders was paid to Charles de Mallery for improving the Lipsius portrait (Appendix III, p. 470 [69, 70]). On December 19, Moretus wrote to H. Barentsen in Amsterdam stating, among other things, that he hoped to finish the Lipsius "towards the end of next January" (Appendix I, p. 366 [6]). On January 29, 1636, Raphelengius in Delft received a letter from Moretus asking the former's advice about the title (Appendix I, p. 415 [122]). The situation continued to improve as the account book of Moretus contains a payment dated March 23, 1636, for the printing of 300 copies of Lipsius's *Opera* (Appendix III, p. 475 [87]). On May 26, 1636, a payment of 4 guilders and 15 stuivers was made for cutting the letters in the title (Appendix III, p. 476 [88]). Just sixteen days before the letters were cut, Cornelis Galle's nephew Johannes received 29 guilders for the former's cutting of the plate, supplying the copper and having changed the drawing for the printer's device used on the title-page of Volume II (Appendix III, p. 473 [81]). However, in less than two months, on July 12, 1636, Moretus wrote Raphelengius in Delft that the scarcity of paper caused by the unexpected war with France was again holding up the Lipsius publication (Appendix I, pp. 415, 416 [123]). Early in the following spring, on April 4, 1637 (Appendix III, p. 476 [90]), payments were made for printing the title-pages of all four volumes. When the Cardinal-Infante visited the Moretus workshop shortly before April 28, 1637, the publisher was able to present him with a finished copy of the book (Appendix I, p. 426 [150]), which was dedicated to him.

The price of the book varied according to the quality of the paper and the

contents. The four volumes, containing 717 sheets and 108 illustrations, sold for 45 guilders when printed on common paper and at 54 guilders on "better paper". If Lipsius's editions of Seneca and Tacitus were included, the volumes on common paper sold for 60 guilders and those on better paper at 72 guilders (Appendix II, p. 442 [30]).

73. TITLE-PAGE FOR J. LIPSIUS, OPERA OMNIA, I. Antwerp, 1637 (Fig. 246)

Engraving; 327 : 203 mm.; below on the left: *Pet Paul Rubenius inuenit*; below on the right: *Corn. Galleus sculpsit*.

COPY: Engraving, frame decoration in P. de Sandoval, *Historia de la Vida y Hechos del emperador Carlos V*, Antwerp, 1681.

EXHIBITED: *Antwerp*, 1946, No. 1111; *Bologna*, 1965, No. 289.

LITERATURE: *Hecquet*, p. 99, No. 28; *Basan*, p. 178, No. 29; *Smith*, *Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p. 338, No. 1301; *V.S.*, p. 198, No. 33; *Rooses*, *Titels*, No. 10; *Rooses*, *Rubens-Moretus*, 1882-83, II, pp. 79, 80; *Rooses*, *Rubens-Moretus*, 1884, pp. 74, 75; *Dutuit*, VI, pp. 216, 217, No. 29; *Rooses*, V, p. 92, No. 1281, pl. 370; A.M. Berryer, *Essai d'une iconographie de Justus Lipsius*, *Annales de la Société Royale d'Archéologie de Bruxelles*, XLIII, 1939-40, pp. 35, 36, No. 48, fig. 26; *Knipping*, I, pp. 31, note 1, 48; *Van den Wijngaert*, p. 50, No. 234; *Bouchery-Van den Wijngaert*, pp. 79, note 3, 82, 124, 142, fig. 83; *Evers*, 1943, pp. 81, 189, 190, fig. 117; *Benesch*, *Book Illustration*, p. 13, fig. 9; *Burchard-d'Hulst*, 1963, I, pp. 320, 321; *Renger*, I, p. 144.

In this design Rubens has arranged his figures and objects in front of, on top of and within a large rusticated arch of the type found in his own courtyard. In the top center, above the keystone, there is a portrait of Justus Lipsius enframed by a laurel wreath, symbol of literary greatness, and containing his motto MORIBVS ANTIQVIS. This portrait is a reduced repetition of the one executed by Rubens for Lipsius's 1615 edition of *L. Annaei Senecae Philosophi Opera Omnia* (No. 30; Fig. 106). Just above Lipsius, Rubens has placed an antique funerary lamp in honour of the departed. The lamp is flanked on the left side by the personification of Philosophy and on the right by Politics. Philosophy is an elderly woman wearing a lion-skin cape and holding a club. These attributes refer to Hercules and his decision at the crossroads when he chooses the path of Virtue as well as to the ethical nature of Lipsius's philosophy. The latter is also alluded to by the inscriptions on the books held

by Philosophy which read *STOICA* and *CONSTANTIA* which are the titles of two books published by Lipsius. *Philosophia's* colleague on the opposite side of the arch, *Politica*, is adorned with the attributes of secular power. She wears a castle-shaped crown, the sign of power, and supports a globe and rudder, the attributes of government, in her right hand while in the other she holds a spear. Philosophy and Politics are the two main themes of the writings of Lipsius. Below these figures, Rubens has placed two herms with the portraits of the most important Latin authors in these fields whose writings had been critically edited by Lipsius: Seneca and Tacitus. Beneath the latter's bust and to the right are included Mercury, the personification of Eloquence and Reason, and a seated female with two faces holding a snake, the attribute of Prudence, in her right hand and resting her left on a steering wheel, emblematic of Wise Government. The idea of equipping Prudence with two faces is Italian in source<sup>1</sup> and stresses the notion of studying events from the past and the present to produce Wise Government.<sup>2</sup> These two figures are placed opposite the helmeted Minerva, emblem of Wisdom, and a seated woman wearing a helmet and cradling a short sword in her right hand. The latter represents, as was observed by F. Baudouin,<sup>3</sup> Virtue because of her close affinity in type with the figure of Virtue in Rubens's drawing of *Virtue and Honour* in the Plantin-Moretus Museum, Antwerp.<sup>4</sup> The same figure occurs in an oil sketch in Leningrad for the *Rear Face of the Arch of Ferdinand*, one of the decorations for the *Pompa Introitus*.<sup>5</sup> The etching by Van Thulden in the *Pompa* repeats this figure which is identified as Virtue<sup>6</sup> and includes an illustration of the Roman prototype for it, a coin.<sup>7</sup> Roman arms and war machines are included in the bottom center of the title-page for the *Opera Omnia*. They refer to Lipsius's book on the Roman military, *De Militia Romana*. In the bottom center, we find the *She-Wolf with Romulus and Remus*, and they are, as Rubens always appears to do when using this group, based upon the figures in the large antique marble sculpture of the *River Tiber*, now in the Louvre, Paris.<sup>8</sup> These two images beneath the arch are a veiled reference to Lipsius's long study and interest in Roman Antiquity. To the left and to the right of the image, the two most important subjects of his writings are illustrated: Philosophy with her books symbolic of Virtue, and below Seneca with the personifications of Wisdom and Virtue and on the right Politics with Tacitus and Prudence beneath.

A proof print (Fig. 248) is preserved in the Rijksprentenkabinet, Amsterdam.<sup>9</sup> It contains stronger contrasts of light and shadow than the engraving,

due to the use of short lines and untouched paper, as in the drawing (Fig. 247). However, in the final version of the title-page the contrasts are eliminated by filling the areas first left blank with long parallel lines. In the drawing and in the proof, the herm with Tacitus's portrait has shaded areas made up of horizontal lines and dots while in the finished frontispiece the shadow is indicated by long deep vertical lines superimposed on the horizontals. The latter are unevenly cut off at the top. The counter proof in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris (Fig. 249)<sup>10</sup> is the same as the published version except that it is reversed and, most important, bears the date 1636. From this one can conclude that the counter proof was pulled sometime around May 26, 1636, when the payment was made for cutting the letters (Appendix III, p. 476 [88]). However, there was still not enough paper at that time to complete the project and publish the book.

The general arrangement, with a portrait enframed by a laurel wreath or pecten shell placed in the top center of the architecture above the title, allegorical figures or putti at the sides and other personifications below, is found in earlier book titles. However, compared with such examples as the 1588 *Inscriptionum Antiquarum Liber* (Fig. 250), the 1607 edition of the *History Books* of Procopius (Fig. 251) and the 1618 *Opera Omnia* of Cicero (Fig. 252), Rubens has simplified the composition and changed the architecture into a rusticated arch. The upper section of his composition was very likely the source for the top of the title-page for the 1650 Dutch version of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* by S. Van Dort (Fig. 253). The copper plate for the title-page is preserved in the Plantin-Moretus Museum.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Knipping*, II, p. 31.

<sup>2</sup> Rubens repeated this two-headed symbol of Prudence in the *Triumphal Car of Callo* (*Martin, Pompa*, pp. 217, 218, No. 56, Figs. 112, 114).

<sup>3</sup> F. Baudouin and R.-A. d'Hulst, [*Cat. Exb.*] *Rubens en zijn Tijd*, Antwerp, 1971, p. 93, under No. 71; *Bouchery-Van den Wijngaert* (p. 142) had suggested that this soldier represents *Constantia*.

<sup>4</sup> *Held*, I, p. 147, No. 138; II, pl. 148.

<sup>5</sup> *Martin, Pompa*, pp. 156-158, No. 40a, Fig. 74.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibidem*, Fig. 73.

<sup>7</sup> C. Gevartius, *Pompa Introitus Ferdinandi*, Antwerp, 1642, p. 111.

<sup>8</sup> For a detailed discussion see above, pp. 190, under No. 39a.

<sup>9</sup> Inv. No. OB 4303; 327 : 203 mm.; *Dutuit*, VI, p. 217.

<sup>10</sup> Inv. No. Cc 31, f° 84, No. 105; 314 : 197 mm.

<sup>11</sup> Inv. No. KP 61 D; 329 : 206 mm.

73a. TITLE-PAGE FOR J. LIPSIUS, OPERA OMNIA, I: DRAWING (Fig. 247)

Pen and brown ink, brown-grey wash and black chalk, horizontal fold in the middle; 309 : 201 mm., traced for transfer.

*Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum. Inv. No. 395.*

EXHIBITED: *Brussels*, 1938-39, No. 54 (repr.); *Rotterdam*, 1939, No. 51 (repr.); *Antwerp*, 1946, No. 11; *Liège*, 1949, No. 83; *Paris*, 1954, No. 383 (repr.); *Antwerp*, 1956, No. 137; *Bologna*, 1965, No. 288 (repr.); *Antwerp*, 1971, No. 71 (repr.).

LITERATURE: *Rooses, Titels*, No. 10; *Rooses, Rubens-Moretus*, 1882-83, I, p. 282; II, pp. 79, 80; *Rooses, Rubens-Moretus*, 1884, pp. 74, 75; *Rooses*, IV, p. 120; V, p. 92; *Glück-Haberditzl*, p. 59, No. 214, pl. 214; *Knipping*, I, p. 31, note 1; *Van den Wijngaert*, p. 50; *Bouchery-Van den Wijngaert*, pp. 82, 129, fig. 84; *Van den Wijngaert, Inventaris Tekeningen*, No. 36; *Burchard-d'Hulst*, 1963, I, pp. 319, 320, No. 199; II, pl. 199; F. Baudouin and R.-A. d'Hulst, [*Cat. Exh.*] *Rubens en zijn Tijd*, Antwerp, 1971, pp. 93, 94, No. 71, fig. 12; *Held*, 1974, p. 252; *Renger*, I, p. 144.

Although the drawing contains extremely expressive faces of the type that one associates with Rubens, there are elements which might suggest that the engraver had a hand in it. One finds a certain flatness and surface-like arrangement of the forms which lack the Rubensian sense of substance and movement. The pen lines appear repetitive, heavy and precise, and the areas of light and shadow do not merge but stand apart, adding to the sense of flatness. These characteristics are those generally associated with a print maker and not with an artist who conceives his work with the eye of a painter.<sup>1</sup> However, these elements are not nearly as pronounced as in the drawing attributed to Cornelis Galle, or a member of his shop, executed for Jan van Meurs's printer's device (No. 60a; Fig. 207) and for the 1634 title-pages of M. Barberini's *Poemata* and S. Pietrasanta's *De Symbolis Heroicis* (Nos. 68b, 69a; Figs. 228, 235). It may very well be that Rubens took more care with the faces and the *She-Wolf* than with the rest. Until a second drawing or an oil sketch is found, it seems best to retain the traditional attribution of his sheet to Rubens.

Balthasar Moretus's credit accounts dating from 1624-1655 list a debit owed to Rubens of 20 guilders for the design of this frontispiece (Appendix III,



pp. 448, 449 [2]), which the artist completed prior to December 11, 1634, when Galle was paid for having cut the plate (Appendix III, p. 470 [68]).

<sup>1</sup> Cf. for example Rubens's ca. 1633 sketch for *The Feast of Herod*, Cleveland, Museum of Art (Holden Collection, Inv. No. 54.2), where the pen creates a variety of lines and suggests solid, three-dimensional forms interacting in space.

74. VIGNETTE FOR J. LIPSIUS, OPERA OMNIA, II–IV. Antwerp, 1637 (Fig. 254)

Engraving; 112 : 155 mm.

EXHIBITED: *Antwerp*, 1946, No. 10<sup>1</sup>.

LITERATURE: *Hecquet*, p. 104, No. 67; *Basan*, p. 197, No. 78; *Smith*, *Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p. 347, No. 1355; *V.S.*, p. 207, No. 91; *Rooses*, *Rubens-Moretus*, 1882–83, II, p. 80; *Rooses*, *Rubens-Moretus*, 1884, p. 75; *Van Havre*, II, p. 150, No. 84, repr. on p. 156; *Dutuit*, VI, p. 229, No. 78; *Rooses*, V, pp. 92–94, 129, Nos. 1282, 1312; A. Blunt, *Blake's "Ancient of Days". The Symbolism of the Compasses*, *Journal of the Warburg Institute*, II, 1938–39, p. 54, note 3; *Van den Wijngaert*, p. 50, No. 234bis; *Bouchery-Van den Wijngaert*, pp. 82, 97–99, 141, fig. 81; *Burchard-d'Hulst*, 1956, p. 92; *de Tervarent*, I, col. 110; *Held*, I, p. 151; L. Kesteloot, *Steekpasser met Mechels merkteken*, *Jaarboek Koninklijke Oudheidkundige Kring van Antwerpen*, XXIX, 1958–60, p. 21, fig. 11; *Burchard-d'Hulst*, 1963, I, pp. 219, 220.

Balthasar Moretus used the printer's mark of the Plantin Press, based upon a design by Rubens and engraved by Cornelis Galle, to decorate the title-pages of Volumes II, III and IV of Justus Lipsius's *Opera Omnia*.<sup>1</sup> The center of the engraving is dominated by a large compass held by a hand emerging from the clouds. Around the legs of the compass runs a scroll with the inscription LABORE ET CONSTANTIA. This motto and its visual expression by the compass had been adopted by Christophe Plantin in 1557.<sup>2</sup> Four years later, he changed the name of his house in the Kammenstraat from "De Gulden Eenhoorn" (The Golden Unicorn) to "De Gulden Passer" (The Golden Compass).<sup>3</sup> The image of the hand emerging from the clouds and holding a compass, often in combination with a pair of scales, has a long history and goes back to Anglo-Saxon manuscript drawings and to *Bibles moralisées*.<sup>4</sup> In these earlier works, the compass in the hand of the Creator alludes to the act of creation and symbolizes *mensura*.<sup>5</sup> The compass's long association with mathematics and science in general later developed into a symbol of Wisdom.<sup>6</sup> Plantin informs us in his

explanatory text for the illustrations of the *Biblia Polyglotta*, that the moving point of the compass symbolizes Labour and the stationary point Constancy.<sup>7</sup> A similar interpretation can be found in a Latin poem by Johannes Hemelaers<sup>8</sup> and in a Dutch verse of 1641 celebrating the New Year, written for Balthasar Moretus by Johannes Mantelius.<sup>9</sup> The central image is enclosed by a laurel wreath flanked on the left by Hercules holding his club, and he is obviously to be read as a personification of Labour. On the right, a woman leans against the laurel and rests her left hand on a square pedestal. She has been identified as Virtue<sup>10</sup> but is more likely Constancy, the second part of Plantin's motto.<sup>11</sup> Above in the center, there is a shining star, which is borrowed from the coat-of-arms of the Moretus family and refers to their motto, *Stella Duce* (With the star as guide).<sup>12</sup> In the upper corners are burning antique oil lamps and below a winged cherub's head is flanked by garlands of fruit and flowers.

Moretus's payment of May 10, 1636, to Johannes Galle suggests that the latter's uncle Cornelis had cut the plate for the vignette shortly before the payment was made (Appendix III, p. 473 [81]). It is explicitly stated there that Cornelis Galle had also "changed the drawing". This design by Rubens, altered by Galle, has been identified by most authors as the sheet in the Plantin-Moretus Museum (No. 74a; Fig. 255). The original purpose and date of this drawing, however, have been interpreted in different ways. For a discussion of these views, see below, under No. 74a.

<sup>1</sup> For a discussion of the contents of the publication, see above, p. 299, under Nos. 73-74 and for Rubens's frontispiece for volume I, see pp. 301-303, No. 73, Fig. 246.

<sup>2</sup> *Van Havre*, II, p. 90, No. 6, repr. on p. 97; *Voet*, I, p. 31.

<sup>3</sup> *Voet*, I, p. 260.

<sup>4</sup> For a detailed discussion see A. Heimann, *Three Illustrations from the Bury St. Edmunds Psalter and their Prototypes. Notes on the Iconography of Some Anglo-Saxon Drawings*, *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, XXIX, 1966, pp. 47, 52-54, pl. 11c.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 52.

<sup>6</sup> A. Blunt, *loc. cit.*

<sup>7</sup> "Ex altera vero parte Plantini typographi symbolum est circinus, altero pede fixo, altero laborante" (*Biblia Regia*, I, Antwerp, 1572, f<sup>o</sup> [43]; quoted by M. Rooses, *Christophe Plantin, imprimeur anversois*, Antwerp, 1882, p. 49 note 1; see also A.M. Muntendam, *Critiek van Roemer Visscher op Plantin's drukkersmerk*, *De Gulden Passer*, XIV, 1936, pp. 77-79 and *Voet*, I, p. 31).

<sup>8</sup> "Super Symbolo Plantino-Moretiano; quod est : Labore & Constancia; cum emblemate Circini, é puncto stabili circulum perfectum, Laboriosi ductus constantia, absolutentis" (Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum, Ms., 328, f<sup>o</sup> 1; see M. Sabbe, *De Moretussen en hun kring*, Antwerp, 1928, p. 60, note 1).

<sup>9</sup> "Den pickel die blijft staen / Stantvasticheyt wijst aen : / Den Aerbeyt door die roert te volle wort bethoont, / Die alle tuchten croont" (Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum, *Archives*, No. 1142, p. 45; see M. Sabbe, *op. cit.*, p. 61).

<sup>10</sup> *Burchard-d'Hulst*, 1963, I, p. 219.

<sup>11</sup> *Held*, *loc. cit.* A column is sometimes used as an attribute of Constancy (*de Tervarent*, I, col. 107). Ripa describes Constancy as a woman with her right hand raised, supporting herself on a square stone and holding a javelin in her left hand (C. Ripa, *Iconologia*, Rome, 1603, p. 86).

<sup>12</sup> As early as 1573, Jan Moretus included in his device the Moorish King who was guided by the Star on the road to Bethlehem (*Van Havre*, II, p. 128, No. 61, repr. on p. 131). For more details on the Star and its connection with the Moretus family and the *Three Kings on the Road to Bethlehem* see M. Rooses, *Christophe Plantin imprimeur anversois*, Antwerp, 1882, p. 382.

#### 74a. PRINTER'S DEVICE FOR THE PLANTIN PRESS: DRAWING (Fig. 255)

Pen and brown ink and brown wash; 207 : 280 mm.

*Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum*, Inv. No. 391.

EXHIBITED: *Brussels*, 1938-39, No. 53 (repr.); *Rotterdam*, 1939, No. 50 (repr.); *Antwerp*, 1946, No. 10; *Tekeningen van Jan van Eyck tot Rubens*, Museum Boymans, Rotterdam, 1948-49, No. 127; *Paris*, 1949, No. 113; *De Van Eyck à Rubens, dessins de maîtres flamands*, Palais des Beaux-Arts, Brussels, 1949, No. 106 (repr.); *Liège*, 1949, No. 156; *Helsinki*, 1952-53, No. 51 (repr.); *Brussels*, 1953, No. 51 (repr.); *Paris*, 1954, No. 385 (repr.); *Antwerp*, 1956, No. 107; *Bologna*, 1965, No. 294 (repr.); *Antwerp*, 1971, No. 67 (repr.).

LITERATURE: *Rooses, Rubens-Moretus*, 1882-83, II, p. 80; *Rooses, Rubens-Moretus*, 1884, p. 75; *Rooses*, V, p. 93; *Glück-Haberditzl*, p. 52, No. 167, pl. 167; *Van den Wijngaert*, p. 50; *Bouchery-Van den Wijngaert*, pp. 82, 97, 98, fig. 82; *Van den Wijngaert, Inventaris Tekeningen*, No. 37; *Burchard-d'Hulst*, 1956, pp. 91, 92, No. 107; *Held*, I, p. 151, No. 148, pl. 160; *Burchard-d'Hulst*, 1963, I, pp. 218-220, No. 141; II, pl. 141; J. Müller Hofstede, *L. Burchard and R.-A. d'Hulst: Rubens Drawings, Master Drawings*, IV, 1966, pp. 451, 452.

Although the image of the drawing is basically the same as in the vignette on the title-pages for volumes II, III and IV of Justus Lipsius's *Opera Omnia* (Fig. 254),<sup>1</sup> there are some important differences. In Rubens's drawing the top is decorated with a curved frieze, leaves and a scroll, all of which are omitted in the engraving. The palm branches have also been discarded in the engraving, as well as the bucranium and the cornucopiae. The Creator's hand emerging

from the clouds has been added in the engraving and also a second oil lamp in the upper right. Held <sup>2</sup> has identified the ox's skull as a reference to Piety and draws attention to its similarity to the one used in Rubens's illustration of a frieze reproduced in Philip Rubens's *Electorum Libri II* of 1608 (Fig. 46). The scroll in the drawing is not inscribed whereas it contains the Plantin motto in the vignette.

On May 10, 1636, Johannes Galle was paid 29 guilders for his uncle Cornelis having cut the plate for the Lipsius vignette, for having provided the copper and for having made changes in the drawing (Appendix III, p. 473 [81]). However, whether or not Rubens's design in the Plantin-Moretus Museum is the one mentioned in the above document as having been changed by Galle and used for the vignette is open to question. L. Burchard and d'Hulst believe that it is the one utilized by Galle as his model for the Lipsius vignette. Others, beginning with *Rooses*, V, p. 93, think that the Rubens sheet was originally the design for a silver plate engraved by Theodore Galle, and that it was re-used with changes by Galle for the Lipsius vignettes. On March 15, 1630, Theodore Galle received 36 guilders for engraving "the compass after Rubens" on a silver plate. <sup>4</sup> In that case, the Rubens drawing would have to date from 1630 or earlier. <sup>5</sup> It appears likely that the Plantin-Moretus drawing was the Rubens design used by Theodore Galle for his engraving on the silver plate. The drawing is not traced for transfer and is in the same direction as the engraved vignettes. This means that another drawing, in reverse of the Plantin sheet, was probably made to be transferred onto the plate by Galle. In the case of the silver plate, the design could have been copied directly onto it without reversing the drawing. The idea that the drawing was made specifically for Theodore Galle's plate is further supported by the fact that all of the sixteenth and seventeenth-century Plantin printer's marks included the hand when the compass was present. <sup>6</sup> During the sixteenth century, Labour and Constancy were represented by various personifications such as a seated farmer holding a hoe and reading a book, a seated woman who also reads, <sup>7</sup> a Bacchus as Labour and a Hercules as Constancy <sup>8</sup> or a standing farmer with a shovel accompanied by a woman holding a cross. <sup>9</sup> It was not until 1627 that a standing Hercules with a club appears in the Plantin device, <sup>10</sup> and four years later he is combined with Constancy, who rests her arm on a pedestal. <sup>11</sup> The star enframed by palms is present first in the Plantin device in 1625, <sup>12</sup> again in 1630 <sup>13</sup> and frequently thereafter. Although the Plantin drawing may not have

been created especially for the publisher's device, it is a highly imaginative combination of elements used by earlier artists. For example, Rubens translates the more primitive and crude Hercules into a majestic antique type ultimately based on Lysippus's *Farnese Hercules* of the fourth century B.C.<sup>14</sup> He includes a bucranium in the bottom center which is also a clear recollection of the antique<sup>15</sup> as is the oil lamp in the upper left.

Because Rubens often borrowed motifs from earlier title-page designs and because the important changes in the vocabulary of the Plantin device are found in 1627 and 1629, one can suggest, with a bit more confidence, that the Plantin drawing was made shortly before March 1630 for Theodore Galle's silver plate. However, one cannot entirely rule out the possibility that the drawing was Rubens's first idea for the Plantin printer's mark. It has been suggested that the sheet could be the one mentioned in the inventory of Erasmus Quellin as "Labor et Constantia, Rubbens crabbellinge" (A Labour and Constancy, Rubens's scribble).<sup>16</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See No. 74 for a detailed discussion of the iconography.

<sup>2</sup> *Held*, I, p. 151.

<sup>3</sup> *Burchard-d'Hulst*, 1963, I, pp. 218–220, No. 141; II, pl. 141.

<sup>4</sup> "Den 15 maart [1630] gesneden in een silvere talloer den passer naer Rubens... 36 gul." (*Archives*, No. 123, f<sup>o</sup> 76; *Rooses*, v, p. 93, note 2).

<sup>5</sup> For a discussion concerning a date earlier than 1630 see *Held*, I, p. 151 and J. Müller Hofstede, *loc. cit.*

<sup>6</sup> *Van Havre*, II, pp. 90–167.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, II, p. 98, No. 11; p. 99, No. 14.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, II, p. 107, No. 27.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, II, p. 108, No. 28.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, II, p. 148, No. 72.

<sup>11</sup> Vignette in J. Fulligatus, *Vita R. Bellarmini*, Antwerp, 1631 (Fig. 256).

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, II, p. 147, No. 70.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, II, p. 151, No. 75.

<sup>14</sup> For an earlier example of this type see Rubens's ca. 1615 oil sketch of *Hercules*, Boymans-van Beuningen Museum, Rotterdam, illustrated in *Haverkamp Begemann*, 1953, pp. 46–48, No. 16, pl. 16.

<sup>15</sup> For his earlier use of this type see No. 5, Fig. 46.

<sup>16</sup> J. Denucé, *De Antwerpsche "Konstkamers", Inventarissen van Kunstverzamelingen te Antwerpen in de 16e en 17e Eeuwen*, Antwerp, 1932, p. 286.

75. TITLE-PAGE FOR M. DE MORGUES, DIVERSES PIÈCES POUR LA DÉFENSE DE LA ROYNE MÈRE. Antwerp, 1637 (Fig. 257)

Engraving; 285 : 181 mm.

COPY EXAMINED: Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum, No. B 832.

COPY: Engraving, in reverse, for M. de Morgues, *Diverses Pièces pour la Défense de la Royne Mère*, in-4°, Antwerp, n.d.

LITERATURE: *Hecquet*, p. 98, No. 25; *Basan*, pp. 173, 174, No. 18; *Smith*, *Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p. 336, No. 1288; *V.S.*, p. 196, No. 20; P. Henrard, *Mathieu de Morgues et la maison Plantin*, *Bulletin de l'Académie Royale des Sciences, des Lettres et des Beaux-Arts de Belgique*, 2nd series, XLIX, 1880, pp. 556-558; *Rooses*, *Rubens-Moretus*, 1882-83, II, pp. 130-132; *Rooses*, *Rubens-Moretus*, 1884, pp. 80-82; *Dutuit*, VI, p. 214, No. 18; *Rooses*, V, pp. 105, 106, No. 1290; *Knipping*, I, p. 49, note 4; *Van den Wijngaert*, p. 50, No. 237; *Bouchery-Van den Wijngaert*, pp. 82, 143, 144, figs. 87, 88; *Evers*, 1943, p. 87, fig. 120; M.L. Hairs, *Erasmus Quellin, disciple de Rubens*, *Revue belge d'archéologie et d'histoire de l'art*, XLII, 1973, p. 44.

This publication contains 801 pages of text, consisting of eleven political tracts against King Louis XIII of France and Cardinal Richelieu and in favour of the Queen-Mother, Maria de' Medici. These tracts had been published separately during the years 1631 through 1637. They were reprinted in 1637 to serve the cause of Maria de' Medici, who had been living in exile at the Brussels court since 1631. The author was Mathieu de Morgues, Abbot of Saint-Germain (Saint-Germain-Leprade, near Le Puy-en-Velay, 1582 - Paris, 1670). He began his career as a novice in the Jesuit Order in Avignon, and after a short stay there, he moved to Paris, where he completed his theological studies. In 1613, he became priest to Marguerite de Navarre, Henry IV's first wife, and after her death in 1615, he assumed the same position in Louis XIII's entourage. In the quarrel between the latter and his mother, Maria de' Medici, Mathieu de Morgues took her side, and beginning in 1618 he wrote pamphlets in her defense. At first, he was still a close associate of Cardinal Richelieu's, but when the latter opposed his nomination as Bishop of Toulon, they became enemies. De Morgues followed the Queen Mother into exile in the Netherlands. It was during her stay in Antwerp from 1635-36 that de Morgues met Balthasar Moretus and that for the first time the latter published the author's tracts. When the Queen Mother left Brussels in 1638, de Morgues remained. The

Cardinal-Infante bestowed upon him the position of Provoost in Harelbeke near Courtrai. In 1643 he returned to France.<sup>1</sup>

There is a large and interesting correspondence concerning this frontispiece between Moretus, the author, his brother M. du Verdier and Cornelis Galle (Appendix I, pp. 387-389, 410-412, 422-425 [58-62, 109-115, 139-149]).

It begins with a letter from Moretus to de Morgues, dated February 10, 1637, in which we first hear that Rubens is going to design the frontispiece (Appendix I, p. 410 [109]). On April 3, 1637, Moretus wrote to du Verdier that Rubens had made the design but that another artist would execute the drawing (Appendix I, pp. 422, 423 [140]). In spite of repeated letters from du Verdier urging Moretus to send the pencil drawing ("le Crayon du frontispiece" or "le frontispiece crayonné") to Brussels (Appendix I, pp. 423, 424 [141, 144, 145]), the drawing in question was finally sent to de Morgues on May 22, 1637 (Appendix I, p. 410 [110]). At his request, the draughtsman, Erasmus Quellin, made some corrections.<sup>2</sup> The improved drawing was transmitted to de Morgues on June 20, 1637 (Appendix I, p. 410 [111]), two days after Quellin had been paid 24 guilders by Moretus (Appendix III, p. 489 [122]). The drawing by Quellin (Fig. 258) is preserved in the Plantin-Moretus Museum.<sup>3</sup> It has two pieces of paper loosely attached to it with corrections for the original sheet. Instead of transmitting the drawing to Cornelis Galle, de Morgues must have returned it to Moretus. The publisher sent it, together with the copper plate, to Galle on July 14, 1637 (Appendix I, p. 387 [58]). After a last check by the author, permission to engrave the frontispiece was given (Appendix I, p. 425 [148]). By August 18, Galle had cut the frontispiece and delivered it to Moretus (Appendix I, p. 388 [60]), but several small corrections were made by the engraver between August 29 and September 6 (Appendix I, p. 388 [61]). Cornelis Galle the Younger engraved the inscriptions.

On December 5, 1637, Galle was paid 12 guilders and 15 stuivers for printing 275 copies of the frontispiece (Appendix III, p. 477 [91]). Nearly the whole edition, one thousand copies, was bought by the Queen Mother for 12,000 guilders (Appendix IV, p. 503 [7]). Moretus, at the request of du Verdier, distributed some copies in Antwerp, including one to Rubens (Appendix I, p. 412 [115]).

The center of the frontispiece is dominated by an enthroned female figure wearing a crenellated crown and resting her arms on two obedient lions. According to Rooses, the lions represented Maria de' Medici and Louis XIII

being calmed down by a genius. *Bouchery-Van den Wijngaert* have given an even more complicated and far-fetched explanation. They maintain that the right side illustrates the present and the left side the future state of the relationship between the Queen Mother and her son. The enthroned female is supposed to be a personification of Maria's political thoughts on this question: the lion to the right illustrates her present patient non-aggressiveness, the one to the left her new rise to power once Truth has been brought to light. In fact, there can be no doubt that the female figure with the turreted crown and the lions is Cybele, the mother of the gods. In this context she represents the Queen Mother. <sup>4</sup> She keeps her lions under control, meaning she does not take any action against her enemies and is confident of the outcome of the differences between her and her son. This is explicitly shown by the symbols and mottoes in the upper corners. To the left is a dove with an olive branch in its beak, referring to Peace which will return, carrying the inscription CUM PACE REVERTAR (I shall return with Peace). On the other side, an eagle is poised above several snakes. Between them, one reads POSSEM SED NOLO (I could but I do not want to), meaning that the Queen Mother does not want to destroy her enemies, although she could do it. <sup>5</sup>

15  
In the Dedication of the book to King Louis XIII, Mathieu de Morgues emphasizes the idea that the quarrel between the King and his mother is only the result of the slander uttered against her by her enemies (meaning of course Cardinal Richelieu) and that the reappearance of Truth will dissipate the differences between the two royal personages. <sup>6</sup> The author hopes that his writings will help to achieve this and Rubens's frontispiece translates this hope into two images. To the left of the title, *Time rescues Truth* and to the right *Time destroys Discord*. These two actions are closely linked since the latter will, in the opinion of de Morgues, follow the former immediately and automatically. Rubens had already used the same image of *Time Rescuing Truth* some fifteen years earlier in connection with the same conflict between Louis XIII and Maria de' Medici in one of the paintings in the Medici Cycle (Fig. 260). <sup>7</sup>

At the bottom of the frontispiece, three small scenes illustrate the futility of the efforts of the Queen Mother's opponents. To the left, a brilliant sun breaks through the clouds and one reads PER NUBILA MAIOR (Greater through the clouds). In the center, a dragon vainly fights against the sun's light and is killed by an arrow emanating from it. Beneath the monster, one reads PESTIFERO, INGRATO (To the pestiferous and ungrateful one). On the right, a head



vainly tries to blow the clouds in front of the sun, which has chased them away. The inscription reads LUCI, QUOS EXTULIT, OBSTANT (They stand in the way of the light which has driven them away). A final inscription summarizes the fate of the villain who fights the light of truth: *In Solem ingratus qui sibilat inficit auras, Caelesti debet luce perire draco* (The ungrateful dragon who hisses against the sun, who infects the air, must perish through the heavenly light).

A proof print without the inscriptions is in the Rijksprentenkabinet, Amsterdam<sup>8</sup> (Fig. 259). The copper plate is preserved in the Plantin-Moretus Museum.<sup>9</sup>

- <sup>1</sup> C. Perroud, *Essai sur la vie et les œuvres de Mathieu de Morgues, abbé de Saint-Germain (1582–1670)*, Le Puy, 1865; P. Henrard, *op. cit.*, pp. 542–589.
- <sup>2</sup> These corrections are most likely the ones pasted on the top of the pedestals of the drawing in the Plantin-Moretus Museum (see note 3). They measure 44 : 64 mm. and 44 : 63 mm. Originally the holes on top of the bases were not built up along the sides but opened directly into the pedestals. Consequently, the figures of Truth and Discord were larger before the change. In a letter to Moretus of June 15, 1637, (Appendix 1, p. 424 [146]), du Verdier recommends that the inscriptions should be put in their proper place and talks about a change in the emblem below on the left. This, however, does not appear to have been done.
- <sup>3</sup> Inv. No. 411; pen and brown ink and brown wash, over preliminary work in black chalk; 284 : 180 mm.; *Van den Wijngaert, Inventaris Tekeningen*, No. 38.
- <sup>4</sup> A drawing by Claes Moeyaert in the Hermitage, Leningrad, *The Triumph of Maria de' Medici*, shows the Queen Mother as Cybele, seated in a triumphal car drawn by four lions. This composition is one of the designs from a series of nine for the decoration of the triumphal arches in Amsterdam in 1638 for the entry of Maria de' Medici ([*Cat. Exb.*] *Zeventiende-eeuwse Hollandse en Vlaamse Tekeningen uit de Hermitage te Leningrad en uit het museum Poesjkin te Moskou*, Brussels-Rotterdam-Paris, 1972–73, pp. 43, 44, No. 64, pl. 65).
- <sup>5</sup> On the symbolism of the eagle and the snake see R. Wittkower, *Eagle and Serpent. A Study in the Migration of Symbols*, *Journal of the Warburg Institute*, 11, 1938–39, pp. 293–325.
- <sup>6</sup> “J'espere que le mesme soleil qui fera esclater votre Iustice, qui escartera les tenebres des confusions, & qui rendra sa lumière à la Royne votre Mere, fera voir à V.M. la vérité de mes escrits ...” and “...Les fausses lumières qui paroissent dans les sales vapeurs de quelques petits calomnieurs & flatteurs, seront dissipées, lors qu'un bon vent du saint Esprit aura nettoyyé l'air de la France, qui est maintenant rempli de brouillards” (M. de Morgues, *op. cit.*, f<sup>o</sup> a 4, b).
- <sup>7</sup> *Tbuillier-Foucart*, p. 92, No. 24, pl. L and fig. 89. Still another example of *Truth being carried by Father Time* can be found in the *Triumph of the Eucharist over Heresy* in the well-known series of tapestries for the Descalzas Reales in Madrid (see Rubens's modello in the Prado, Madrid; *K.d.K.*, p. 297).
- <sup>8</sup> Engraving, 311 : 185 mm.
- <sup>9</sup> Inv. No. KP 39 D; 289 : 186 mm.

76. TITLE-PAGE FOR J. BOYVIN, LE SIEGE DE LA VILLE DE DOLE.  
Antwerp, 1638 (Fig. 261)

Engraving; 193 : 133 mm.; below on the right: *C. Galle f.*

COPY EXAMINED: Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum, No. R 57.12.

COPY: Drawing, Edinburgh, National Gallery of Scotland, Department of Prints and Drawings, Inv. No. R.S.A. 1061; pen and brown ink over black chalk, 200 : 130 mm.

LITERATURE: *Hecquet*, p. 99, No. 31; *Basan*, p. 188, No. 56; *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p. 343, No. 1327; *V.S.*, p. 203, No. 65; *Rooses, Titels*, No. 24; *Rooses, Rubens-Moretus, 1882-83*, II, pp. 130, 132-134; *Rooses, Rubens-Moretus, 1884*, pp. 80, 82-84; *Dutuit*, VI, p. 223, No. 56; *Rooses*, V, pp. 56-58, No. 1249; *Rooses-Ruelens*, VI, pp. 190, 191, 194, 195; *Van den Wijngaert*, pp. 48, 49, No. 224; *Bouchery-Van den Wijngaert*, pp. 82, 144, 145, 157, fig. 89; *Evers, 1943*, pp. 89, 193, fig. 123; M.L. Hairs, *Erasmus Quellin, disciple de Rubens, Revue belge d'archéologie et d'histoire de l'art*, XLII, 1973, p. 44.

The book describes the siege and deliverance of the city of Dole, which had been attacked by the French army on May 28, 1636, but resisted for three months and was finally rescued by its allies on August 15. The author, Jean Boyvin (Dole, 1575-1650), had studied law and architecture in his native city. He made a career as a lawyer and held a variety of political offices. At the time of the siege, he was president of the Parliament of Dole and earlier had designed the fortifications of the city.<sup>1</sup> Immediately after the withdrawal of the French armies, he wrote the story of the siege which was published in Dole in 1637.<sup>2</sup> By December 27, 1637, a copy of his in-8° edition had been sent to Brussels and was transmitted by Philippe Chifflet, also a native of Franche-Comté, to Mathieu de Morgues, the Chaplain of Maria de' Medici. The latter gave it to Moretus to prepare a new edition as soon as possible (Appendix I, p. 372 [20]). In about a half year, this was realized.

The book is dedicated to the Cardinal-Infante Ferdinand. This seven-page Dedication is followed by a Preface to the reader of the same length in which Boyvin explains the difficulty of writing a true account of the events. The text itself is 313 pages and ends with a memorial text in Latin honouring the victory, an index of 33 pages and the permissions for publication.

Between December 28, 1637 and May 7, 1638, a number of letters were exchanged between Chifflet and Moretus (Appendix I, pp. 372-376 [20-29]).

They provide interesting information on the iconography of the frontispiece, and the way in which it was composed. Chifflet thought that a title-page designed by Rubens would be a great ornament and negotiations first started on January 17, 1638 (Appendix I, p. 372 [21]). By February 1, 1638, Rubens had agreed to work on the project. He had suggested to Moretus that the frontispiece should include the *Corona obsidionalis*, the "Crown of the siege", which was given by the Romans to the victorious defender of a besieged city,<sup>3</sup> but he was not sure to whom it should be presented (Appendix I, p. 373 [22]). The same day, Chifflet sent a letter to Moretus (Appendix I, p. 373 [23]) in which he explains that the frontispiece would illustrate the moment when the *Corona obsidionalis* is presented to the King, i.e. Philip IV of Spain, by the City of Dole. The latter would be represented as a helmeted woman with a dog at her feet, symbol of loyalty. She would place the *Corona* on the King's head. One must remember that the main idea in Boyvin's book was Dole's loyalty to the Spanish king who was its traditional ruler. In his Preface to the reader Boyvin calls his book "the picture of unvincible fidelity".<sup>4</sup> Shortly after the end of the siege, the Dole Parliament abdicated its power and offered it to the King of Spain, who turned it down.<sup>5</sup> In January 1638, a copy of Boyvin's book was sent to Madrid to be presented to Philip IV.<sup>6</sup> Although Rubens, on the whole, agreed with Chifflet's suggestions, he preferred that the *Corona* should be offered to the King instead of being placed on his head. In the same letter of February 11 in which Moretus informed Chifflet of Rubens's preference, Moretus announced that another artist would make the drawing (Appendix I, p. 374 [24]). Chifflet agreed to this immediately (Appendix I, p. 374 [25]).

The design is arranged like a Roman imperial relief sculpture. The personification of Dole, kneeling before the King, offers him the crown made of grass with her right hand and holds the city's coat-of-arms with her left. Philip IV, wearing long flowing robes and an ermine cape, accepts the crown. In his left hand he holds the commander's baton. A dog, symbol of Fidelity, sits at the feet of Dole while behind her stands a figure carrying a horn of plenty and holding a staff topped by the ancient symbol of Concord, the clasped hands, and a cartouche with the word FIDES. This figure suggests the notion that through loyalty to the King prosperity will return to Dole. Beneath the pedestal and to the right of the title, Rubens has placed the scales of Justice, the weapons of war and the city's motto, IUSTITIA ET ARMIS (Through Justice and Arms). On the opposite side is the Habsburg coat-of-arms.

As we know from the correspondence between Chifflet and Moretus, the

drawing for this title-page was not made by Rubens. On March 9, 1638, Erasmus Quellin was paid 15 guilders for this design (Appendix III, p. 490 [125]) which is preserved in the Plantin-Moretus Museum<sup>7</sup> (Fig. 262). On March 5, 1638, Moretus sent Quellin's drawing to Galle and urged him to engrave it as soon as possible but only after obtaining Chifflet's approval (Appendix I, p. 389 [63]). The latter was, on the whole, satisfied except for the figure of the King, but Galle persuaded him that he would correct this and immediately started to work.<sup>8</sup> In about one month, the engraving was finished and on April 9, Galle sent it, together with the drawing, to Moretus (Appendix I, p. 390 [65]). In the meantime, Andries Pauwels had been paid 6 guilders, on March 24, 1638, for cutting the letters (Appendix III, p. 490 [126]). Chifflet, to whom the publisher submitted a proof print of the frontispiece, found it very good, but complained that Philip IV looked too old and that his crown was not right (Appendix I, p. 375 [27]). Between May 5 and 7, Galle made the necessary corrections (Appendix I, pp. 375, 376 [28, 29]). Moretus paid 12 guilders for the printing of 1,500 copies of the title-page (Appendix III p. 477 [92]), and the book was sold to the public for 2 guilders and 10 stuivers a copy (Appendix II, p. 442 [31]). The copper plate is preserved in the Plantin-Moretus Museum.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>1</sup> E. Clerc, *Jean Boyvin, président du parlement de Dole, sa vie, ses écrits, sa correspondance politique*, Besançon, 1856, *partim*.

<sup>2</sup> E. Clerc, *op. cit.*, p. XLIII.

<sup>3</sup> E. Bay, in *Lexikon der Alten Welt*, Zürich-Stuttgart, 1965, col. 669; *Bouchery-Van den Wijngaert*, p. 144.

<sup>4</sup> "Je le pouvois appeler sans flatterie le Tableau de l'Invincible Fidélité" (J. Boyvin, *op. cit.*, p. \*\*1).

<sup>5</sup> E. Clerc, *op. cit.*, p. XXXI.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. XLIII, XLIV.

<sup>7</sup> Inv. No. 399; pen and brown ink and brown wash, heightened with white, 180 : 130 mm.; indented for transfer; *Van Wijngaert, Inventaris Tekeningen*, No. 39.

<sup>8</sup> See Chifflet's letter to Moretus of March 9, 1638 (Appendix I, p. 375 [26]) and Galle's letter to Moretus of March 10, 1638 (Appendix I, p. 390 [64]).

<sup>9</sup> Inv. No. KP 104 C; 194 : 134 mm.

77. TITLE-PAGE FOR PH. CHIFFLET, SACROSANCTI ET OECUMENICI CONCILII TRIDENTINI CANONES ET DECRETA. Antwerp, 1640 (Fig. 263)

Engraving; 120 : 57 mm.

COPY EXAMINED: Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum, No. A 1489.

COPIES: (1) Engraving in reverse, title-page for Ph. Chifflet, *Sacrosancti et Oecumenici Concilii Tridentini Canones et Decreta*, Antwerp, [1644]; lit.: *Bouchery-Van den Wijngaert*, p. 106, note 5; (2) Engraving in reverse, title-page for Ph. Chifflet, *Sacrosancti et Oecumenici Concilii Tridentini Canones et Decreta*, Antwerp, 1674; lit.: *Bouchery-Van den Wijngaert*, *loc. cit.* (3) Engraving, after the upper part, title-page for N.S.P.A., *Het Alderbeylighste Concili van Trente...*, Amsterdam, 1657; lit.: *Bouchery-Van den Wijngaert*, *loc. cit.*; (4) Engraving, after the upper part, title-page for N.S.P.A., *Het Alderbeylighste Concili van Trente...*, Antwerp, 1809; lit.: *Bouchery-Van den Wijngaert*, *loc. cit.*

LITERATURE: *Rooses, Rubens-Moretus*, 1882-83, I, p. 218; II, pp. 130, 136, 138; *Rooses, Rubens-Moretus*, 1884, pp. 16, 81, 86-88; *Rooses*, v, pp. 67, 68, No. 1263; *Rooses-Ruelens*, VI, pp. 221, 222, 225, 246-250, 303; *Van den Wijngaert*, p. 55, No. 282; *Bouchery-Van den Wijngaert*, pp. 106-109, 145, 146, fig. 91; *Evers*, 1943, p. 93; *Held*, I, p. 39, note 2; M.L. Hairs, *Erasmus Quellin, disciple de Rubens*, *Revue belge d'archéologie et d'histoire de l'art*, XLII, 1973, p. 46.

Philippe Chifflet (Besançon, 1597 – after 1663), Abbot of Balerne (Franche-Comté), almoner of the Infanta Isabella and later of the Cardinal-Infante at the Court in Brussels, edited this volume which gives the texts of all the decrees issued by the Council of Trent. The book starts with Chifflet's Dedication to Balthasar Moretus, dated August 15, 1639 (f° 2-8), followed by a table of concordances (f° 8<sup>v</sup>-14) and by the text of Paul III's bull organizing the Council. The decrees are divided into twenty-five sessions in chronological order. They fill 358 pages of text. The book closes with lists of names, indexes and with the approbation by the Censor G. Eſtrix given at Brussels on March 20, 1640. It contains three woodcut portraits by unknown artists of the Popes who presided over the Council: Paul III, Julius III and Pius IV. The top of the title-page depicts a meeting of the Council with the Cardinals seated in an amphitheatre surrounded by high arches; in the center is a table with two church dignitaries. This arrangement is remarkably close to that in an anonymous sixteenth-century engraving depicting a session of the Council of Trent in Santa Maria Maggiore in Rome.<sup>1</sup> The frontispiece is lighted by the Holy Spirit, which refers to divine inspiration and, consequently, the authority of the decrees issued by the Council. The same idea was also expressed in Rubens's design for the title-page of the 1623 *Summa Conciliorum Omnium* (No. 50; Fig. 172), which also contains figures in the bottom section representing the defeat of Heresy and Deceit. In the bottom left of the 1640 title-page, one finds

a many-headed monster, symbol of destruction, heresy and iconoclasm,<sup>2</sup> and next to it a bound, winged female very likely representing Discord. To the right, Rubens has placed Deceit in the guise of a chained woman with a mask on the back of her head.<sup>3</sup> She is placed next to an old man who also has his hands tied behind his back but with the added attribute of an open book on his lap. This might suggest an heretical text rejected by the Council.

The book title is enframed by a heavily rusticated portal reminiscent of sixteenth-century mannerist architecture, especially in Mantua. The pediment contains a shield with bound arrows, which are traditionally associated with Concord. In this case, the emblem refers to the unification of the Church brought about by the Council of Trent.

Although Rubens must have played a very minor role in the design, the allegorical figures below do reflect a type used earlier by him in F. Longo a Coriolano's 1623 *Summa Conciliorum Omnium* (No. 50; Fig. 172). Furthermore, the correspondence between Chifflet, Moretus and the younger Galle concerning this frontispiece not only explains why Rubens's name is connected with this title-page but also its evolution. Chifflet had very clear ideas about the frontispiece. In a letter of September 23, 1638, he suggests that it should contain portraits of Charles V, his father "Ferdinand"<sup>4</sup> and possibly Saint Charles Borromeo, and that he trusted Rubens to make a good design for it (Appendix I, p. 376 [30]). When Moretus began to print the book in 1639, Philippe Chifflet sent him a frontispiece design by Nicolaas van der Horst. This was rejected by Moretus and Rubens (Appendix I, pp. 377, 378 [31-33]), and the latter worked out a new project. This was drawn by Quellin, who was paid three guilders for it as late as August 22, 1641 (Appendix III, p. 493 [137]). This drawing, now lost, was sent to Chifflet on January 12, 1640 (Appendix I, pp. 380, 393 [38, 74]). Chifflet was pleased with the design and turned it over to Cornelis Galle the Younger (Appendix I, p. 380 [39]), who had received it by January 17 (Appendix I, p. 394 [75]). Galle finished cutting the plate by January 28, 1640 (Appendix I, pp. 394, 395 [76]). He sent it to Moretus, who forwarded it to Chifflet for his approval (Appendix I, p. 381 [40, 41]). Chifflet and his brother, the physician of the Brussels Court, found the design beautiful (Appendix I, p. 381 [42]). Cornelis Galle was paid 36 guilders on February 12, 1640 (Appendix III, p. 491 [131]) and his son Cornelis the Younger received 4 guilders on April 2 for making some corrections (Appendix III, p. 492 [133]). By April 7, 1640, 3,000 copies of the frontispiece

had been printed as it was on that day that Johannes Galle was paid twenty-two and a half guilders for the job (Appendix III, p. 477 [93]). The book was sold to the public for one guilder and four stuivers a copy (Appendix II, p. 443 [32]). The plate is preserved in the Plantin-Moretus Museum, Antwerp.<sup>5</sup>

An often quoted letter from Chifflet to Moretus, dated June 6, 1640, calls the frontispiece for the *Canones et Decreta* Rubens's "dernier dessein" (Appendix I, p. 381 [43]). This means Rubens's last design, not his last drawing.<sup>6</sup> Chifflet had been informed by Moretus that Quellin had made the drawing (Appendix I, p. 380 [38]). As in the case of Quellin's drawing for the title-page of Boyvin's 1638 *Siège de la ville de Dole* (No. 76; Fig. 262), Chifflet had also expressed his admiration for a design which had been drawn by Quellin under Rubens's direction (Appendix I, p. 374 [25]).

<sup>1</sup> A.G. Dickens, *The Counter Reformation*, London, 1968, fig. 69.

<sup>2</sup> *Knipping*, II, p. 177.

<sup>3</sup> C. Ripa, *Iconologia*, Rome, 1603, pp. 174, 175.

<sup>4</sup> Chifflet was wrong here: Charles V's father was Philip the Fair.

<sup>5</sup> Inv. No. KP 429A; 116 : 55 mm.

<sup>6</sup> *Bouchery-Van den Wijngaert* (p. 107) seem to think that Chifflet had the idea that Rubens made the drawing.

#### 78-79. TITLE-PAGE AND ILLUSTRATION FOR LIUTPRAND, OPERA. Antwerp, 1640

COPY EXAMINED: Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum, No. R 52.7.

This publication consists of five historical treatises by the diplomat, historian and Bishop of Cremona, Liutprand or Luitprand (ca. 920-972?). The first, entitled *Res Gestae ab Europae Imperatoribus et Regibus* (pp. 1-130) but better known as *Antapodosis*, is divided into six Books and gives a history of Europe from 888 to 949. The second (pp. 131-160) describes Liutprand's embassy in the service of the German Emperor Otto I to the Emperor of Constantinople. Section three (pp. 161-284) presents an account of the lives of the Roman Popes from St. Peter to Formosus (891-896). The fourth is a *Chronicon* (pp. 285-455) or chronicle covering the years 606 to 955 and containing a survey of the political and ecclesiastical events of that time. The last treatise (pp. 457-512) is entitled *Adversaria* and consists of random notes on historical facts. These last two, as the title of the book informs us, had not

been published previously and were supplemented with commentaries by Father Hieronymus de la Higuera (Toledo, 1538-1611), a Jesuit, and Lorenzo Ramirez de Prado.

In addition to the works of Liutprand, this publication contains a number of letters written by prominent people. They were collected by Julianus of Saint Justa in Toledo and annotated by Ramirez de Prado (pp. 513-532). This section is also accompanied by a text written by Father de la Higuera and entitled *Diptychon Toletanum* (pp. 533-588), which consists of the lives and activities of all the bishops of Toledo. The book closes with a list of corrections (pp. 589-592), an index of subjects, the Approvals by the ecclesiastical authorities and the Royal Privilege. The latter was given in Brussels on December 15, 1639.

Apart from the title-page illustration, the book contains a portrait of the Count-Duke of Olivares (Figs. 265, 268), to whom the publication was dedicated. As early as March 13, 1637, Moretus wrote to Ludovicus Nonnius, the intermediary between Ramirez de Prado and the publisher, that he hoped to be able to start printing Liutprand's *Opera* within six months (Appendix I, p. 413 [116]). Nevertheless, the book did not appear until three years later, in 1640. On January 18 and October 24, 1639, Moretus received two payments from Nonnius, one of 405 guilders and 8 stuivers and the other of 175 guilders, to cover the printing costs (Appendix III, pp. 490, 491 [127, 129]). Cornelis Galle the Younger was paid 120 guilders on March 8, 1640 for engraving both the title-page and Olivares's portrait (Appendix III, p. 491 [132]). On September 22, Peter Verbießt received 9 guilders for cutting the letters of the inscriptions (Appendix III, p. 492 [135]). Finally, on February 16, 1641, a payment was made to Johannes Galle for printing four hundred copies each of the title-page and the portrait of the Count-Duke (Appendix III, p. 478 [95]). The book was offered to the public at 9 guilders a copy, but if it was printed on "larger" paper, it cost a guilder more (Appendix II, p. 443 [33]).

78. TITLE-PAGE FOR LIUTPRAND, OPERA. Antwerp, 1640 (Fig. 265)

Engraving; 276 : 180 mm.; below on the left: *E. Quellinius delineavit*, below in the center: *Pet. Paul Rubenius inuenit*, below on the right: *Corn. Galle iunior sculpsit*.

EXHIBITED: *Paris*, 1954, No. 394; *Bologna*, 1965, No. 293.



LITERATURE: *Hecquet*, pp. 99, 100, No. 35; *Basan*, pp. 179, 180, No. 33; *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p. 339, No. 1305; *V.S.*, p. 199, No. 38; *Rooses, Titels*, No. 12; *Rooses, Rubens-Moretus, 1882-83*, II, pp. 130, 134, 135; *Rooses, Rubens-Moretus, 1884*, pp. 84, 85; *Dutuit*, VI, p. 218, No. 33; *Rooses*, V, pp. 95, 96, No. 1284; *Van den Wijngaert*, p. 55, No. 283; *Bouchery-Van den Wijngaert*, pp. 108, 146, fig. 93; *Evers, 1943*, p. 91, fig. 127; *Hollstein*, VII, p. 72, No. 315; M.L. Hairs, *Erasmus Quellin, disciple de Rubens, Revue belge d'archéologie et d'histoire de l'art*, XLII, 1973, p. 44.

The title-page is dominated by the personification of History, who is enthroned on the top of a circular pedestal. She writes in a book with her right hand and holds the torch of Fame in her other. On her right, just beneath the torch, there is a phoenix perched on a globe, symbolizing Immortality and the idea that History immortalizes man's actions. Above the phoenix and to the right, a coat-of-arms containing the papal tiara and keys is attached to an olive tree, symbol of Peace, on which a woman hangs medals containing portraits of the popes. This woman very likely symbolizes the idea of *Successio Papalis*,<sup>1</sup> which Rubens represented in a similar way in the 1622 frontispiece for Mudzaert's *Kerckelycke Historie* (No. 49; Fig. 166). The entire right side is a clear allusion to papal history, which is discussed in detail in Section Three of Liutprand and in parts of Section Four and Five. On the left side of the title-page Mercury, emblematic of Reason, stands on the instruments of war and places medals with portraits of emperors and kings around a palm tree, symbol of Virtue, Justice and Victory. Just above Mercury's head, a banner is wound around the tree and inscribed *PACE ET BELLO* (In War and Peace). An eagle (Power) is perched above the banner and holds a crown (Honour, Victory and Worldly Power) with his left talon and a laurel wreath (Victory) in his beak. This entire side of the frontispiece must refer to the worldly history discussed in Parts One, Two, Four and Five of the book. In the bottom center, beneath the pedestal, the artist has included *The Rape of Europa*, which is probably a reference to the part of the world, Europe, about which Liutprand has written.

Judging from the inscriptions at the bottom of the print, Quellin, under Rubens's supervision, worked out the design in a drawing (Fig. 266), now in the Plantin-Moretus Museum, Antwerp.<sup>2</sup> On May 25, 1639, Quellin was paid 24 guilders for a design for "eenen boeck van del Prado" (a book by del Prado) which probably refers to the title-page of Liutprand's *Opera* (Appendix III, p. 490 [128], Appendix IV, p. 505 [10]). However, a letter of February 12, 1640, from Cornelis Galle the Younger to Balthasar Moretus informs us that

the plate for the *Portrait of Olivares* has been cut, except for the lower border, and that Galle will now start the copper plate for the title-page (Appendix I, p. 395 [77]). It was completed shortly before March 8, 1640, when Cornelis Galle received his fee (Appendix III, p. 491 [132]). On April 30, 1640, Moretus sent a proof print to Ramirez de Prado and asked him for his opinion of it (Appendix I, p. 414 [119]).

A proof print is preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale (Fig. 267). A later hand has added an abbreviated title and the signatures along the bottom margin.<sup>3</sup> The copper plate is in the Plantin-Moretus Museum.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Knipping*, II, pp. 171, 172.

<sup>2</sup> Inv. No. 397; pen and brown ink and brown wash over black chalk, heightened with white body-colour; 283 : 178 mm.; traced for transfer; in the upper right corner a small piece of paper is pasted over part of the area where the eagle and tree are delineated; *Van den Wijngaert, Inventaris Tekeningen*, No. 40/1.

<sup>3</sup> Inv. No. Vol. AA. 2; 265 : 175 mm.

<sup>4</sup> Inv. No. KP 18 D; 280 : 183 mm.

79. PORTRAIT OF COUNT-DUKE OLIVARES: ILLUSTRATION FOR LIUTPRAND, OPERA (Fig. 268)

Engraving; 270 : 172 mm.; below on the left: *Pet. Paul Rubenius pinxit*, below on the right: *Cor. Galleus junior sculps.*

EXHIBITED: *Elewijt*, 1962, No. 76.

LITERATURE: *Hecquet*, p. 83, No. 33; *Basan*, p. 150, No. 71; *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p. 311, No. 1151; *V.S.*, p. 185, No. 264; *Rooses, Titels*, No. 33; *Rooses, Rubens-Moretus, 1882-83*, II, p. 134; *Rooses, Rubens-Moretus, 1884*, pp. 84, 85; *Dutuit*, VI, p. 197, No. 71; *Rooses*, V, p. 96; *Van den Wijngaert*, p. 55, No. 283 bis; *Bouchery-Van den Wijngaert*, pp. 108, 146, fig. 95; *Haverkamp Begemann, 1953*, p. 72; *Hollstein*, VII, p. 69, No. 184; M.L. Hairs, *Erasmus Quellin, disciple de Rubens, Revue belge d'archéologie et d'histoire de l'art*, XLII, 1973, pp. 42, 44.

This portrait of the Count-Duke of Olivares is found on folio two just after the frontispiece. Quellin's drawing (Fig. 269) for this portrait is preserved in the Plantin-Moretus Museum, Antwerp<sup>1</sup> and is a copy of Paulus Pontius's engraving (Fig. 270)<sup>2</sup> made from a Rubens grisaille sketch now in the Royal Museum, Brussels.<sup>3</sup> Pontius, however, has changed Olivares's costume and dresses him in armour and adds a sash over his right shoulder exactly as in the

Quellin drawing. Actually, the latter has simplified the frame and used the second state by Pontius, where the beard is longer and extends below the collar. We also learn from the inscription on Pontius's plate that Rubens's portrait was made after a Velázquez prototype.<sup>4</sup> Olivares is enframed by palm branches (Fame as a fruit of Victory), two torches (Fame and Peace) and two trumpets (Fame). The frame is capped by a globe, upon which rests a rudder on the left and a commander's baton with a snake around it on the right, all of which is emblematic of Wise and Prudent Government. This is topped by a crown of olive branches with wings on either side (Peace) and above a snake biting its own tail and encircling a star (Eternal Fame). The following inscription runs through the snake and star: *HESPERE, QVIS CAELO LVCET FELICIOR IGNIS ?*<sup>5</sup> (Evening star [= Spain], what fire shines more auspiciously in heaven?). Hercules's club supports the skin and head of the Nemean lion (Power), which rests against the frame on the left, while on the right one finds Minerva's shield with the head of Medusa and an owl perched on top (Wisdom). Olivares's coat-of-arms is on the pedestal with the following words inscribed to the right and left: *PHILIPPI IV. MVNIFICENTIA*. Along the bottom margin the following words are written: *Qui COMITIS ducitque DVCIS sub Imagine Vultus, Moli ornandae ORBIS dat COMITEM atq. DVCEM* (He who appears in this portrait under the guise of Count and Duke provides a collaborator and a leader to the gigantic task of bringing order to the world). This is a play on the words *Comes* and *Dux* which have a double meaning. *Dux* can mean Duke and leader and *Comes* Count and companion. The inscription at the top of the engraving lists Olivares's titles and the important positions he occupied in Philip IV's government. Quellin completed the design by November 24, 1639, when he received 18 guilders for his drawing (Appendix III, p. 491 [130]). Cornelis Galle the Younger started cutting the engraving around that time but was asked by Moretus on January 12, 1640 to stop working on it in favour of more urgent tasks (Appendix I, p. 393 [74]). However, the delay was minimal as Galle finished the plate a month later, on February 12. The lower border was left blank because the engraver did not know how much space to leave for the inscriptions (Appendix I, p. 395 [77]). Moretus wrote to Lorenzo Ramirez de Prado in Madrid concerning this question on February 17, 1640 (Appendix I, p. 414 [118]). Still another letter about this problem was sent from Antwerp to Madrid on April 30, 1640, in which Moretus said that he did not like the distich sent by Ramirez de Prado and would replace it by Gevartius's poem which is at the

bottom of Pontius's engraving (Fig. 270) (Appendix I, p. 000 [119]). This solution was not favoured by the Spaniard, who sent another distich (Appendix I, p. 414 [120]), which is most likely the one used for Galle's engraving. The copper plate is preserved in the Plantin-Moretus Museum, Antwerp.<sup>6</sup>

- <sup>1</sup> Inv. No. 396; pen, brown ink and brown wash, 258 : 171 mm.; indented for transfer; *Van den Wijngaert, Inventaris Tekeningen*, No. 40/2.
- <sup>2</sup> *V.S.*, p. 184, No. 263.
- <sup>3</sup> For details see *d'Hulst*, 1968, No. 16, fig. 9, and for a painted portrait of Olivares attributed to Rubens by Burchard and not given to him in *Goris-Held*, p. 46, No. A.10, see the illustration in A.L. Mayer, *The Portrait of Olivares by Rubens, The Burlington Magazine*, LII, 1928, pp. 241, 242.
- <sup>4</sup> "Ex Archetypis Velasquez". For the connection with Velázquez see the 1624 portrait in the Museum at São Paulo and the one painted a year later, in the Hispanic Society of America, New York, discussed by *d'Hulst*, 1968, p. 98.
- <sup>5</sup> This is an adaptation from Catullus: "Hespera, qui caelo lucet iocundior ignis?" (*Carmina*, LXII, 26).
- <sup>6</sup> Inv. No. KP 425 C; 274 : 175 mm.

80. TITLE-PAGE FOR B. DE LOS RIOS, DE HIERARCHIA MARIANA LIBRI SEX.  
Antwerp, 1641 (Fig. 271)

Engraving; 283 : 183 mm.; below on the left: *E. Quellinius delineavit*, below in the center: *Pet. Paul. Rubenius inuenit*, below on the right: *Corn. Galleus iunior sculpsit*.

COPY EXAMINED: Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum, No. R 52.12.

LITERATURE: *Basan*, p. 176, No. 23; *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p. 337, No. 1294; *V.S.*, p. 197, No. 26; *Rooses, Titels*, No. 9; *Rooses, Rubens-Moretus*, 1882-83, II, pp. 135, 136; *Rooses, Rubens-Moretus*, 1884, pp. 85, 86; *Dutuit*, VI, p. 215, No. 23; *Rooses*, V, pp. 111, 112, No. 1294; *Rooses-Ruelens*, VI, pp. 215, 216, 231; M. Sabbe, *De Moretussen en hun Kring*, Antwerp, 1928, p. 73; *Van den Wijngaert*, p. 56, No. 285; *Knipping*, II, p. 9; *Bouchery-Van den Wijngaert*, pp. 108, 147, fig. 97; *Evers*, 1943, pp. 91, 193, fig. 126; J. Müller Hofstede, *Neue Oelskizzen von Rubens, Städel-Jahrbuch*, II, 1969, p. 211; M.L. Hairs, *Erasmus Quellin, disciple de Rubens, Revue belge d'archéologie et d'histoire de l'art*, XLII, 1973, pp. 44, 46.

Bartolomé de los Rios y Alarcon (Madrid, ca. 1580-1652) was a Spanish member of the Augustine Order. From 1624 to 1641 he was preacher at the Brussels court. He first served the Infanta Isabella and afterwards the Cardinal-

Infante Ferdinand. He was famous as a zealous venerator of the Virgin and founder in the Netherlands of the "Congregation of the Servants of Mary". A large portion of his *De Hierarchia Mariana* is devoted to this congregation as is explained in the title of the book. This work starts with 50 folios which include the Dedication to Philip IV and a *Praefatio ad lectorem* where the author gives a short resumé of the entire work. This is followed by 752 pages of text divided into six books. In a number of chapters several problems concerning the Virgin are discussed such as her power in Heaven, her divine motherhood, the etymology of her name, her virtues, etc. The book ends with 31 folios, sixteen being an Index of the passages from the Bible cited in the text. Aside from the frontispieces, there are plates executed by Cornelis Galle on pages 134, 137, 140, 141, 160, 167 and 168.

The Virgin, supporting the Christ Child, is enthroned on a stone pedestal. Below and to the left stands St. Augustine holding the burning heart in his left hand symbolizing the fervour of his devotion and with the other he points to King Philip IV of Spain who kneels on the right. An angel flies just above Philip and carries the latter's crown above his head while another angel is placed between the King and the Virgin, and holds a pair of handcuffs symbolizing the *Iberian Order of the Slaves of Mary*. A third angel, carrying a heavy book, flies above St. Augustine. Just below Philip, a kneeling angel offers a globe and handcuffs to the Virgin, alluding to the idea that all the lands ruled by Philip are dedicated to her. In the bottom corners there are more handcuffs, emblems of the congregation, flanking a crowd of noblemen and clergy all manacled, kneeling down and looking up in adoration at the Virgin. These figures are represented as "Slaves of Mary". The general idea for this imagery came from the author himself and is explained in his letter to Moretus of May 7, 1638 (Appendix I, p. 417 [126]): "The King of Spain, with the aid of the Augustine order, offers himself and his dominions to the Virgin. By doing this, he is setting an example for all other monarchs".

In the very beginning, de los Rios had insisted that Rubens should be asked to design the frontispiece (Appendix I, p. 417 [125, 126]). From a letter written by Cornelis Galle the Younger to Moretus on March 18, 1639 (Appendix I, p. 392 [70]), it appears that de los Rios claimed to have seen Rubens's design.<sup>1</sup> If this is true, it can only have been a preliminary sketch because Quellin's preparatory drawing in the Plantin-Moretus Museum<sup>2</sup> (Fig. 272) had not yet been executed. On April 11, 1639, Moretus wrote to Galle that Quellin,

following Rubens's instructions, would shortly make such a drawing (Appendix I, p. 392 [71]). A week later, on April 18, Quellin had finished it (Appendix IV, p. 503 [10]), and he was paid 24 guilders for it on May 25 (Appendix III, p. 488 [128]). Consequently, the sheet in the Plantin-Moretus Museum cannot be the one which de los Rios claimed to have seen in March. Quellin's drawing was sent to Galle to be engraved on May 8, 1639 (Appendix I, p. 392 [72]). However, as Galle reported to Moretus on May 15 (Appendix I, p. 393 [73]), de los Rios was not satisfied. Moretus immediately wrote a letter to the author on May 18 (Appendix I, p. 490 [127]) saying that he did not like the slaves sitting on the ground with their hands and feet bound. There was a further exchange of letters between the author and the publisher which tells us that de los Rios would visit Antwerp in order to explain his ideas to the "painter" (Appendix I, p. 490 [128]) and that Moretus would have the design changed according to de los Rios's wishes (Appendix I, p. 491 [129]). These corrections are evident in the Plantin-Moretus drawing where a piece of paper is pasted over the bottom center of the sheet. Here Quellin has followed the suggestion made in Moretus's letter of May 18, 1639, that the Kings, following Philip IV's example, should kneel in adoration before the Virgin and wear the hand-cuffs symbolic of the *Slaves of Mary*. It is not known when Quellin made these corrections, but by February 12, 1640, Galle had not started to cut the plate (Appendix I, p. 395 [77]). He was paid 55 guilders for this job on May 31, 1640 (Appendix III, p. 492 [133]), which suggests that he must have completed the engraving around that time. Peter Verbiest received four and a half guilders on October 30 of the same year for engraving the letters of the title-page (Appendix III, p. 492 [135]). The payments to Johannes Galle for printing 1,250 copies of the title-page are dated February 9 and June 22, 1641 (Appendix III, pp. 447, 478 [94, 96]). The book was sold for 12 guilders a copy or 13 1/2 when printed on "larger paper" (Appendix II, p. 444 [34]). The copper plate is preserved in the Plantin-Moretus Museum.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Strangely enough, Moretus apparently had not seen such a drawing by that time, for in a letter to Galle dated March 9, 1639 (Appendix I, pp. 391, 392 [69]), he wrote that he would like to see the design before the engraver started cutting the copper plate.

<sup>2</sup> Inv. No. 401; pen and brown ink and brown wash, heightened with white, over preliminary drawing in black chalk; 283 : 180 mm.; indented for transfer; *Van den Wijngaert, Inventaris Tekeningen*, No. 42.

<sup>3</sup> Inv. No. KP 38 D; 287 : 186 mm.

81. TITLE-PAGE FOR C. GEVARTIUS, POMPA INTROITUS FERDINANDI.

Antwerp, 1642 (Fig. 273)

Engraving; 496 : 336 mm.; below on the left: *Pet. Paull. Rubens Inuent*, below in the center: *Cum priuilegio* and below on the right: *Iac. Neeffs sculpsit*.

COPY EXAMINED: Antwerp, Rubenianum, No. 5/209.

LITERATURE: *Hecquet*, p. 113, No. 15; *Basan*, p. 222, No. 17; *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, II, pp. 26, 27, No. 89; *V.S.*, p. 224, No. 27 (1); *Dutuit*, VI, pp. 241-243, No. 17; *Rooses*, III, pp. 329-334; V, p. 76, No. 1269; *Van den Wijngaert*, pp. 76, No. 466, 96, No. 668; *Evers*, 1943, pp. 83, 191, fig. 122; P. Arents, *Pompa Introitus Ferdinandi. Bijdrage tot de Rubensbibliografie, De Gulden Passer*, XXVII, 1949, pp. 82, 86-89, 126, 127, repr. opp. p. 128; *Held*, I, pp. 19, 41; H. Gerson and J.W. Goodison, *Fitzwilliam Museum Cambridge, Catalogue of Paintings*, I, Cambridge, 1960, p. 108; *Martin, Pompa*, p. 227; *Hollstein*, XIV, p. 139, No. 81.

This sumptuous publication in-folio was commissioned by the City of Antwerp to commemorate the Joyous Entry of Prince-Cardinal Ferdinand on April 17, 1635. It contains 43 engravings depicting the arches and stages built on that occasion and the paintings adorning them. These decorations are described and commented upon in a text of 189 pages by Caspar Gevaerts (Gevartius) (Antwerp, 1593-1666). The latter had studied at the Jesuit College of his native town and at Louvain University. After a stay in Holland and in Paris, where he refused the chair of history at the University, he returned to Antwerp. He held the office of City clerk or griffier from 1621 to 1662.<sup>1</sup>

The *Pompa Introitus* begins with the Dedication to the Prince-Cardinal, dated July 18, 1641, followed by a four page Preface to the reader and an explanation in two pages of the meaning of the frontispiece of the book. The book concludes with a Synopsis of five and an Index of four pages, a list of the plates, one page of *Addenda*, a few epigrams, the Approval by the Censor (Antwerp, November 14, 1638) and the Privilege (Brussels, December 9, 1638).

Gevartius's description of the frontispiece<sup>2</sup> starts with the top of the arch containing a portrait of Philip IV and enframed by a wreath made up of oak and laurel leaves. The former refer to the antique *corona civica* awarded to the preserver of the lives of Roman citizens<sup>3</sup> and the latter to the triumphal crown. The portrait is buttressed by two horns of plenty resting against either side of the wreath. The cornucopia on the left contains palm branches, ears of corn and

poppies which symbolize the prosperity of the present time while the one on the right overflows with pearls, necklaces and precious stones referring to the wealth of the Spanish Empire. Just above the portrait, one finds the Evening Star, emblem of the Occident or Spain. The inscription surrounding it on three sides reads HESPERUS EOIS LVCE ET OCCIDVS (The Evening Star shines in the East and West). In the top left-hand corner, Aurora, personification of the East Indies, drives her chariot with two winged horses while in the opposite corner, Luna, the Moon, sign of the West Indies, urges on another chariot pulled by a team of horses. Aurora and the Moon are included to indicate the notion that the stars never set in the Spanish Empire. The same idea that Spanish rule covers the entire globe is expressed by the presence of Cybele and Oceanus to the left and to the right of the King's portrait. Cybele, whom the ancients associated with the Earth, wears her turreted crown, leans on a globe encircled by a crown of precious stones, holds a lance in her right hand and is accompanied by a lion. Here, Cybele symbolizes power over the earth and just beneath her is written TVO PAR CIRCVLVVS AMBIT TELLVREM IMPERIO (A ring encloses the world as your sovereignty does). Oceanus is placed to Philip's right. The god's legs cover a globe, and he holds a staff in his right hand indicating his rule over the sea. A giant snake has entwined itself around Oceanus and, at the same time, grips the globe. This refers to the streams which sometimes meander around the world like snakes. At Oceanus's feet there is a ship and beneath him the inscription TVVS CIRCVMLVIT ORBEM OCEANVS (Your ocean flows around the world). In the pediment, the King of Spain, seated on a throne, presents the Commander's baton to his brother Ferdinand who wears armour and is ready to set out on his journey. An eagle, symbol of the Roman Empire, flaps his wings above them and this is read as a favorable omen for the journey. Between the royal personages and at their feet, a lion holds the globe of Belgium and submits in humility. Behind Ferdinand stands the personification of *Public Welfare* (*Salus Publica*) which the Commander will save by his victory at Nördlingen. She reaches out with her right hand towards the eagle and holds a staff in her other. A snake, symbol of Welfare, curls around this staff and an altar. The inscription beneath this scene reads TV REGERE IMPERIO BELGAS GERMANE, MEMENTO: PARCERE SVBIECTIS ET DEBELLARE SVPERBOS (Remember, brother, that you must reign over the Belgians: spare the conquered and defeat the arrogant). Below in the center of the frontispiece, one sees a portal upon which the title is printed. This is flanked by four terms.



To the left are Mars and Victory and to the right Mercury and Peace. Mars wears a breast-plate, a cape and a helmet. He draws his sword from its scabbard and is ready to show the Prince the road to victory. On the base below, one reads VLTOR ADES GRADIVE, VIAM VI STERNE TRIVMPHIS (Stand by me, Striding Avenger, and strew triumphs on the road). *Mars Gradivus* was represented with similar dress and attributes by Rubens in the 1635 title-page of D. de Aedy Gallart's *Viaje del Infante Cardenal* (No. 72; Fig. 244). Victory is behind and to the left of Mars. She carries a palm branch in her left hand and a wreath of laurel in the other. Her base is inscribed AEQVAT VICTORIA COELO (Victory elevates to heaven). Mercury is placed just to the right of the gate, and he wears his winged helmet, carries the caduceus in his left hand while his right hand and arm are covered by drapery. The foot of his term reads PACE BONVS, DIVVM INTERPRES, SVADAEQVE MAGISTER (Promoter of Peace, interpreter of the gods, master of persuasion). Peace is behind Mercury and to the right. She holds an overflowing horn of plenty in her left hand and in the other a torch with which it burns weapons lying on the ground. She is a type that one finds on Trajanic coins. Her inscription, also on the base, says PAX OPTIMA RERVVM (Peace is the best of things).

Rubens's use of an imaginative architectural structure for this title-page fits the theme of the book and is also not a new form for him. He had used an architectural format adorned with terms as early as 1613 in the title-page for Aguilon's *Opticorum libri sex* (No. 10; Fig. 55) and as late as 1637 in Lipsius's *Opera Omnia* (No. 73; Fig. 246). In the latter, Rubens also included a portrait of Lipsius with his Latin motto enframed in a laurel wreath. Several of the figures in the frontispiece for the *Pompa Introitus* are variations on earlier types and also are present in the decorations for the *Entry*. Peace, holding the inverted torch which burns arms and armour, is found earlier in Rubens's 1623 title-page of the first volume of F. Van Haer's *Annales Ducum Brabantiae* (No. 51; Fig. 174) and in *The Conclusion of the Peace* in the Louvre.<sup>4</sup> The terms are a continuation of those used by Rubens in his tapestry designs illustrating *The Life of Achilles*. The bearded, helmeted, mantled and intensely staring Mars bears a strong resemblance to the term on the right in Rubens's modello for *Achilles Vanquishing Hector*.<sup>5</sup> Mercury, with his right arm covered by drapery, is foreshadowed by the one in the sketch for *Briseis Restored to Achilles*,<sup>6</sup> where both arms are covered. However, in the frontispiece and the etching for *The Portico of the Emperors*<sup>7</sup> only one arm is covered. Gevartius explains

this unusual manner of clothing Mercury as a way of indicating that the messages he carries must be kept under cover or secret.<sup>8</sup>

The production of this splendid folio volume has a long and involved history. Our first indication that such a book would be published is found in a letter from Rubens to Peiresc dated December 18, 1634 (Appendix I, p. 364 [3]). The artist speaks of the decorations he is making for the *Entry* and adds that perhaps some day Peiresc may see them published with beautiful inscriptions and verses by their mutual friend Gevartius. A concrete step towards the realization of the book was achieved when Theodore van Thulden signed a contract for its publication with the city of Antwerp on May 25, 1635 (Appendix IV, pp. 498, 499 [5]). This document says that by Christmas of 1636 Van Thulden was to have produced twenty-five large plates and at least fifteen small ones, illustrating the most important paintings from the arches and decorations of the original *Entry*. A portrait of the Cardinal-Infante Ferdinand would be included, and all the illustrations would be explained in an accompanying Latin text by Gevartius of around twenty-five to thirty pages. The printing of the book was entrusted to Balthasar Moretus at Van Thulden's expense. The edition was to number eight hundred copies, and two hundred would be bought by the city of Antwerp. Although Van Thulden completed his work on time, there were serious delays caused by Gevartius because of his six-fold expansion of the explanatory text estimated at some thirty pages. For some reason, Moretus's contract was cancelled and on December 5, 1638, Jan van Meurs was requested to print the book (Appendix IV, p. 504 [8]). The volume finally appeared on the market at the end of January 1643, seven and a half years after it had been planned.<sup>9</sup> Because of the death of Ferdinand in November 1641, the magistrates decided that the Dedication, in order not to appear posthumous, should be dated July 18, 1641. A number of the books, however, contain a colophon with the date 1642.<sup>10</sup> Gevartius was paid 3,600 guilders for his text (Appendix IV, p. 508 [13]) and Van Thulden finally received 4,500 guilders for his efforts (Appendix IV, p. 507 [12]).

Van Thulden executed all of the plates except for the frontispiece and the portrait (or portraits, for some copies have two<sup>11</sup>) of the Cardinal-Infant. The portrait on horseback was engraved by Paul Pontius, who was paid forty-five Flemish pounds, the equivalent of two hundred and seventy guilders, for it by the City of Antwerp on January 13, 1639 (Appendix IV, p. 504 [9]). The frontispiece and the standing portrait of Ferdinand were engraved by Jacob

Neeffs. Not all the copies of the book have his name on the title-page, but some do,<sup>12</sup> among them a separate sheet in the Rijksprentenkabinet, Amsterdam.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>1</sup> L. Roersch, in *Biographie Nationale*, xvii, Brussels, 1880-1883, col. 694-700.

<sup>2</sup> *OPerae pretium duxi, Frontispicij vniuersi conspectum, rerumque ac figurarum quae in eo exhibentur, Symbola breuiter & summatim hic indicare. Nam singula deinceps passim in sequentibus Arcuum ac Pegmatum descriptionibus copiosè explicabuntur. In Portae fastigio, PHILIPPI IV. Hispaniarum Indiarumque Regis, Belgarum Principis, cernitur effigies, quam CORONA partim LAVREA Triumphalis; partim QVERCEA, OB CIVES SERVATOS, ambit. Inde geminum COPIABCORNVM Coronam fulcit. E dextro Cornu, Palmae, Spicae & Papauera, quibus Temporum Felicitatem prisca artifices denotabant; ex altero, Margaritae, Vniones, Gemmae eminent, quibus Imperij Hispanici Opulentia designatur. HESPERVS, Stellarum maxima, HESPERIAE, siue HISPANIAE Symbolum, Regis vertici incumbit. Adscriptum :*

HESPERVS EOIS LVCET ET OCCIDVIS.

AVRORA, INDIAE ORIENTALIS Symbolum, à dextro latere alatis equis bigâ in Caelo vehens conspicitur. LVNA, INDIAE OCCIDENTALIS Symb. equas geminas agit. Quo designatur, in Imperio Hispanico numquam Astra feriri. In hunc sensum superba exstant priscorum scriptorum de Imperij Romani amplitudine elogia. Lucanus *Roman* sic affatur :

*Te geminum TITAN procedere vidit in Axem :*

*Haud multum TERRAE spatium restabat EOAE,*

*VT TIBI NOX, TIBI TOTA DIES, TIBI CVRRERET AETHER,*

*Omniaq. errantes Stellae ROMANA viderent.*

Rutilius Numatianus, Vir Consularis, eamdem sic compellat :

*Voluitur ipse, qui continet omnia, PHOEBVS,*

*Eq. TVIS ortus, in TVA condit equos.*

CYBELE, quam eamdem cum TERRA censebant veteres, Turrata, ORBEMQUE TERRARVM gemmatâ Coronâ praecinctum complexa, hastamque manu tenens, sub Regis effigie à dextrâ parte sedet, TERRAE IMPERIVM designans. Adscriptum :

—TVO PAR CIRCVLVS AMBIT

TELLVREM IMPERIO.

LEO, CYBELAE adstat ad pedes, vt animantium quae in TERRA degunt, Princeps. OCEANVS, ORBI TERRARVM insidens, & cruribus suis eundem operiens, hastamque tenens, ad laeuam partem adiacet, MARIS IMPERIVM denotans. Cornibus paullùm è fronte protuberantibus expressus est OCEANVS : vnde idem Ταυροκρανος *Tauriceps* Euripidi dicitur. DRACO ingens OCEANO circumuolutus est, vnaque ORBEM ambit. Ita Socrates apud Platonem ait : Amnes quosdam spiras circum Terrarum Orbem replicare instar Anguium. Verba ipsius sunt in Phaedone, circa finem :

<sup>3</sup> *Ἔστιν δε ἡ παντάπασιν κύκλῳ περιελθόντα, ἣ ἀπαξ ἢ καὶ πλεονάκις περιελιχθέντα περὶ τὴν γῆν ὡσπερ οἱ ὄρει, εἰς τὸ δυνατόν κάτω καθέντα πάλιν ἐμβάλλει· δυνατόν δὲ ἔστιν ἑκατέρωσε μέχρι τοῦ μέσου ἐκαθιέναι, περὰ δ' οὐ πρὸς ἄναντες γὰρ ἀμφοτέροις τοῖς ρεύμασι το ἑκατέρωθεν γίγνεται μέρος the reading of this text by Gevartius has been corrected according to the edition of Plato's "Œuvres complètes" by the Association Guillaume Budé, IV, 1, Paris, 1926, pp. 93, 94).*

*Nonnulli circulo quodam omnino circumrotati, aut semel aut saepiùs circa Terram, instar ANGVIVM, inspiram gyrumq. circumplicati, quantum fieri potuit, infrà curuati rursus impellunt se, quâ licet vtrimque ad medium vsque descendere, non verò*

*ulterius. Imperuia est enim ad utraque profluuia, utraque pars* (this passage added on fo Hhhhh v°). Atque eo habitu visitur OCEANI effigies marmorea Romae, in aedibus Farnesianis. NAVIS illi ad pedes. Adscriptum :

— TVVS CIRCVMFLVIT ORBEM

OCEANUS. —

Sic Theodosii Aug. Statua, à vetere Poëtâ in Anthologiâ describitur :

'Ὀκέανον περὶ πουσιν ἔχων μετ' ἀπείρουσα ΓΑΙΑΝ.

OCEANUM TERRAMQ. *premens pede, sine carentem.*

In Tympano Portae, REX CATHOLICVS in Solio sedens, scipionem Imperatorium tradit Ser<sup>mo</sup> Principi FERDINANDO Fratri, armato, & ad iter accincto. AQVILA, Romani Imperij Insigne, eiusdem vertici superuolitat & applaudit, faustum profectionis omen. LEO, ORBEM BELGICVM complexus, ad pedes eiusdem se submittit & inclinat. SALVS PVBLICA adstans Ser<sup>mo</sup> FERDINANDO, dextram versùs AQVILAM (quam ille ad NORLINGAM transiens, seruaturus erat) protendit. Laeuâ virgam tenet, cui ANGVIS (Salutis Symbolum) circumuoluitur, Aramque amplectitur. Epigraphe ex personâ Regis Catholici :

TV REGERE IMPERIO BELGAS, GERMANE, MEMENTO :

PARCERE SVBIECTIS, ET DEBELLARE SVPERBOS.

MARS Paludatus & Galeatus, gladium exerens, Termini habitu ad dextrum Portae latus molem sustentat. Epigraphe :

VLTOR ADES, GRADIVE, VIAM VI STERNE TRIVMPHIS.

VICTORIA Laureata & Pennata, dextrâ Lauream, sinistrâ Palmam gerens, MARTI comes est. Epigraphe :

— AEQVAT VICTORIA CABLO.

MERCVRIVS Petasatus, dextram chlamyde operiens, laeuâ Caduceum gestans, ad alterum Portae latus conspicitur. Epigraphe :

PACE BONVS, DIVVM INTERPRES, SVADAEQVE MAGISTER.

PAX illi adstat, Cornucopiae tenens, & face admotâ arma succendens, quemadmodum in Numis Traiani Aug. cernitur. Epigraphe :

PAX OPTIMA RERVM. (C. Gevartius, *op. cit.*, fo \*\*\*\* r° and v°).

- 3 The same crown of oak leaves is held above the head of the Infanta Isabella by two angels in the engraving by P. Pontius after the portrait which Rubens painted of her upon her return from Breda. The victorious siege of that town had also won her the *Corona civica*, as H. Hugo explained : "Isabella dum Antverpiae manet, Rubenii pictoris excellentissimi penicillo expressa, caeloque in aes insculpta, se Civica coronatam, augusta sane in tabula vidit. Digna sic pingi post nobilissimum triumphum, nec alterius atque Apellis illius manu" (H. Hugo, *Obsidio Bredana*, Antwerp, 1626, p. 125). This type of crown was also used in the title-page for Boyvin's *Le Siège de Dole* (No. 76; Fig. 261).
- 4 *Thuillier-Foucart*, pl. XLVII.
- 5 Pau, Musée des Beaux-Arts; E. Haverkamp Begemann, *The Achilles Series (Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burcharđ, x)*, Brussels-London, 1975, pp. 133, 134, No. 7b, Fig. 63.
- 6 Madrid, Prado; *Ibidem*, pp. 128, 129, No. 6b, Fig. 55.
- 7 *Martin, Pompa*, pp. 101-110, No. 21, Figs. 37, 42.
- 8 "Altera manum chlamyde operit. Legatorum enim tecta esse debent mandata" (C. Gevartius, *op. cit.*, p. 91).
- 9 P. Arents, *op. cit.*, pp. 86-88.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 90–92.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 92–95.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 88, 89.

<sup>13</sup> Box No. 262; 496 : 336 mm.; below on the right : *Iac. Neeffs sculpsit.*

81a. TITLE-PAGE FOR C. GEVARTIUS, POMPA INTROITUS FERDINANDI:  
GRISAILLE SKETCH (Fig. 274)

Oil on panel, over preliminary sketch in black chalk; 52.5 : 37.5 cm. Traces of inscriptions on the medallion and on the lintel above the portal.

*Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum. No. 240.*

PROVENANCE: J. de Roore, sale, The Hague, 4 September 1747 *et seqq.*, lot 72 (bought by D. Ietswaard); D. Ietswaard, sale, Amsterdam, 22 April 1749, lot 20; John, Duke of Argyll, sale, London, 21–23 May 1798, lot 318; presented to the Museum in 1873 by the Reverend R.E. Kerrich.

EXHIBITED: *Loan Exhibition of Flemish and Belgian Art, 1300–1900*, Royal Academy, London, 1927, No. 295.

LITERATURE: *Roozes*, III, p. 331; V, p. 76; *Van den Wijngaert*, p. 76; P. Arents, *Pompa Introitus Ferdinandi, Bijdrage tot de Rubensbibliografie, De Gulden Passer*, XXVII, 1949, pp. 177, No. 112b, 178, No. 113b; *Held*, I, pp. 19, 41, fig. 1; H. Gerson and J.W. Goodison, *Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, Catalogue of Paintings*, I, Cambridge, 1960, pp. 107, 108, No. 240, pl. 54; *Martin, Pompa*, p. 227, note 23; *Held*, 1974, p. 252.

Except for the profile portrait of Philip IV, Rubens's oil sketch is in the same direction as the engraved frontispiece. This change was not unusual for Rubens: he had worked this way on at least two earlier occasions when making designs for the title-page of the *Catena Patrum in S. Lucam* (Nos. 58, 58a; Figs. 199, 200) and for the *Printer's Device of Jan van Meurs* (Nos. 60, 60a; Figs. 204, 206).

Rubens sketched the composition with black chalk on the panel before he started painting it. In this first design, the pediment and the terms were lower, but as he proceeded, he raised them to their present position. He also changed the scene above the portal. Originally, Ferdinand climbed up several steps towards his royal brother, who was seated on a throne which was placed higher. In the final version, both princes are on the same level, but Ferdinand kneels down as Philip IV hands him the commander's baton.

The sketch contains traces of the inscriptions which were later used on the engraving. In the medallion with Philip's bust one can make out PHILIPPVS IIII HISPAN..., and in the lintel above the portal, a few words are decipherable: *Tu regere imperio Belgas ... debellare superbos*.<sup>1</sup> Between the grisaille sketch and the engraving, there are only minor differences. In the former, Luna, above on the right, drives a chariot pulled by three horses while the print has only two.

It is difficult to date this oil sketch with precision because of the lack of documentation. It cannot have been executed prior to May 25, 1635, when Van Thulden contracted with the city of Antwerp to produce the book. Moreover, since Rubens's design is not cited in Moretus's list of debts and payments, nor mentioned in his correspondence, it is possible that the oil sketch was made after the task of printing the book had been taken away from Moretus and given to Jan van Meurs, on December 5, 1638. The sketch could thus be more or less contemporary with the modello for the *Triumphal Car of Calloo*.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For the complete inscription and its meaning, see under No. 81.

<sup>2</sup> *Martin, Pompa*, pp. 219–221, No. 56a; Figs. 112, 113.

82-83. TITLE-PAGES FOR H. GOLTZIUS, OPERA OMNIA. Antwerp, 1645

COPY EXAMINED: Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum, Nos. R 60.3<sup>1</sup> and A 1315.

The history of the publication of Goltzius's complete works by the Plantin Press is long and complicated. Hubert Goltzius (Venlo, 1526 – Bruges, 1583) was a famous numismatist, poet, painter and engraver.<sup>1</sup> During his lifetime, five of his works were published and carried the following titles: *Vivae Omnium fere Imperatorum Imagines a C. Julio Caes. usque ad Carolum V et Ferdinandum* (Antwerp, 1557), *C. Julius Caesar sive Historiae Imperatorum Caesarumque ... Liber Primus* (Bruges, 1563), *Fasti Magistratum et Triumphorum Romanorum* (Bruges, 1566), *Caesar Augustus sive Historiae Imperat. Rom. ex antiquis Numismat. ...* (Bruges, 1574) and *Sicilia et Magna Graecia sive Historiae Urbium et Populorum Graeciae* (Bruges, 1576). Some thirty years after his death, the unsold copies of three of the above volumes, the *Julius Caesar*, the *Fasti* and the *Siciliae*, were purchased by Jacob de Bie, the engraver and numismatist. He decided to combine them into a new edition and to add a fourth, unpublished volume based on a manuscript and engravings by the same author. De Bie re-used the old title-pages for the first three books, but had Rubens design a

new one which was cut by Michel Lasne for the heretofore unpublished fourth volume (No. 43; Fig. 148).<sup>2</sup> De Bie suffered severe financial losses due to the publication of these four books from 1617–20 and in 1623 there were rumours that he wanted to sell his Goltzius material. In a letter of March 10, 1623 (Appendix I, p. 363 [1]), Peiresc wrote to Rubens from Paris asking if this was true and whether or not they could be bought and sent to Paris for publication. Rubens agreed to negotiate with De Bie (Appendix I, p. 364 [2]), but nothing happened. It was not until several years later, probably between 1626 and 1628, that Rubens himself purchased the unsold volumes from Jacob Loemans.<sup>3</sup> However, on November 27, 1630, the artist sold 328 books of De Bie's Goltzius edition along with the copper plates to Balthasar Moretus for 4,920 guilders (Appendix III, pp. 484, 486, 489 [108, 109, 113, 124]; Appendix IV, pp. 496, 497 [4]). Moretus planned to publish a new edition and applied for the Privilege on February 3, 1631 (Appendix I, p. 419 [130]).<sup>4</sup> Unhappily, neither he nor Rubens lived to witness its appearance as it did not come out until 1645, and then under the aegis of the printer's nephew and successor, Balthasar Moretus II.

The 1645 Plantin edition of Goltzius's complete works is comprised of five volumes. Volume I contained the title-page for the entire publication, engraved by Cornelis Galle after a design by Rubens. It carried the title *Romanae et Graecae Antiquitatis Monumenta* and the date 1645 (No. 82; Fig. 275). Moreover, on page XV there is an independent title-page, dated 1644, for Volume I which was entitled *Fasti Magistratum et Triumphorum Romanorum*. This is Michel Lasne's engraving for the earlier De Bie edition and is ultimately based upon the title-page for the original Goltzius publication of 1566. De Bie's frontispieces were also used for Volumes Two through Four. The title-page for Volume II, *C. Iulii Caesaris, Augusti et Tiberi Nomismata*, repeated the one used in the 1617 *Nomismata Imperatorum Romanorum* (No. 39; Fig. 130), the one for Volume III, *Graeciae, eiusque Insularum et Asiae Minoris Nomismata*, came from the 1618 *Graeciae Universae ..... Nomismata.....* (No. 43; Fig. 148) and the frontispiece for Volume IV, *Siciliae et Magnae Graeciae Historia* is a copy of the one used in Goltzius's first edition of 1576. These engravings were all printed before November 14, 1643 (Appendix III, pp. 478, 479 [97]). The fifth volume is an addition by the Plantin Press to the four published by De Bie. This final tome, *Icones Imperatorum Romanorum*, is decorated with a frontispiece drawn by Quellin under Rubens's supervision and engraved by Cornelis

Galle (No. 83; Fig. 279). One might add that the four title-pages in the Plantin edition borrowed from De Bie all are dated 1644 while the two new ones carry the year 1645.

Balthasar Moretus II sold the complete set of five volumes for two different prices, 70 or 75 guilders, depending on the quality of the illustrations. Volume V could be purchased separately for 14 guilders and Volume III for 12 guilders (Appendix II, pp. 444, 445 [35]).

<sup>1</sup> For further details concerning Goltzius, see above, p. 202, under No. 43.

<sup>2</sup> *Rooses-Ruelens*, II, p. 34.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibidem*; see also *Bouchery-Van den Wijngaert*, p. 91.

<sup>4</sup> In this letter Moretus tells us that he has purchased four hundred and four copper plates. This closely conforms with the number of plates, four hundred, which Galle was paid 520 guilders for cleaning on July 23, 1633 (Appendix III, p. 471 [72]). One week earlier, he had received four guilders and eight stuivers for checking the condition of all these plates (Appendix III, p. 472 [76]).

82. TITLE-PAGE FOR H. GOLTZIUS, ROMANAE ET GRAECAE ANTIQUITATIS MONUMENTA (OPERA OMNIA). Antwerp, 1645 (Fig. 275)

Engraving; 321 : 206 mm.; below on the left: *Pet. Paul. Rubenius inuenit*; below on the right: *Corn. Galleus sculpsit*.

EXHIBITED: *Paris*, 1954, No. 373.

LITERATURE: J. von Sandrart, *Academie der Bau-, Bild-, und Malerey-Künste*, ed. by A.R. Peltzer, Munich, 1925, p. 338; *Hecquet*, p. 101, No. 47; *Basan*, p. 186, No. 52; *Mariette*, v, p. 143; *V.S.*, p. 202, No. 60; *Rooses, Rubens-Moretus*, 1882-83, II, pp. 125-127, 182-184; *Rooses, Rubens-Moretus*, 1884, pp. 75-77, 105-107; *Dutuit*, VI, p. 222, No. 52; *Rooses*, v, pp. 77-80, No. 1272, pl. 365; M. Hoc, *Etude sur Jean-Gaspard Gevaerts*, Brussels-Paris-London, 1922, pp. 47, 48; *Van den Wijngaert*, p. 49, No. 228; *Bouchery-Van den Wijngaert*, pp. 79, note 3, 90-92, 119, 129, 147, 148, fig. 99; *Evers*, 1943, pp. 77, 183, 184, fig. 102; *Benesch, Book Illustration*, pp. 10-12, fig. 7.

This title-page forms part of the introductory section for the five volume Plantin Press edition of Hubert Goltzius's complete works. Although it appears



in the beginning of Volume I, it is entirely separate from it, like the general introduction for all five volumes, which immediately follows. This contains a Dedication to Ferdinand Franz of Habsburg written by Caspar Gevartius and dated August 1, 1645, a text explaining the imagery of the frontispiece (*Tabulae praeliminaris sive Frontispicii Explicatio*, pp. XI–XII), a discourse to the reader by Balthasar Moretus (pp. XIII–XIV) and a short comment by Claude Chifflet on the value of numismatics (p. XIV).

Fortunately the complicated imagery of this title-page is discussed in detail in the aforementioned *Explicatio*, which was probably written by Caspar Gevartius.<sup>1</sup> This text informs the reader that the frontispiece was designed and drawn by Rubens and that it depicts the revival of the antique. Throughout his discussion, Gevartius (?) reverses right and left in the composition as though he was describing the drawing and not the engraving.

In the upper right corner Time, in the guise of an old man with wings, grips a scythe in both hands. Death stands to his right, and they hurl figures representing the monarchies of Rome, Macedonia, Persia and Media into the deep chasm of Time. The Roman Monarchy is represented by an upside-down helmeted goddess with a statuette of Victory in her right hand and the lance of honour without a point in the other. Just below her, the Macedonian or Greek Monarchy is illustrated by the figure of Alexander who carries a shield and wears a helmet and breast-plate. He holds a bolt of lightning in his right hand. The Persian Monarchy is represented by the head of Darius wearing a diadem. Alexander sits on his back and crushes him. The Monarchy of Media is represented by the figure who wears a turban, carries a bow and an upside-down quiver and is dressed in loose flowing robes. He is almost swallowed up by the gloomy, dark chasm of Time. Mercury, with his winged hat, is in the bottom left of the image. He holds a shovel in his left hand and below it to the right in the debris lie marble heads of Greek and Roman leaders. With his right arm, Mercury pulls a partially damaged statue of an ancient Emperor crowned with a laurel wreath and a cape covering part of the body. A little above this group, Hercules, clothed in a lion's skin, gives an enormous pot filled with coins to a slave above. The helmeted Pallas, deity of the Arts, stands in the upper left. She holds a lance in her left hand and a torch in the other in order to illuminate and explain the dug up coins of ancient Emperors and Kings. In the center of the page, one sees the personification of Antiquity. She is veiled, crowned with laurel and encircled by a chain made up of coins. An open book

rests against her breast and represents the history and interpretation of coins. The Phoenix, symbol of Revival and Eternity, is perched on Antiquity's head.<sup>2</sup>

Rubens's composition, with its flowing upward movement on the left, downward tumble of bodies into an abyss on the right and stable figure in the upper center, seems to be an adaptation of his earlier scenes representing the Last Judgment.<sup>3</sup> The falling, upside down figure of Rome, with wild eyes and kicking legs, could be a distant reminder of an earlier Rubens type like the Arab in the center foreground of the Munich *Lion Hunt*.<sup>4</sup> The engraving was executed by Cornelis Galle shortly before July 28, 1632, the day when Theodore Galle received 100 guilders for this job from Moretus (Appendix III, p. 467 [59]). On December 23, 1645, P. Verbiest was paid 2 guilders and 8 stuivers for cutting the letters (Appendix III, p. 493 [138]), and on January 1, 1646, 537 copies of the title-page were printed as a cost of 5 guilders and 7 stuivers (Appendix III, p. 481 [99]).

A number of corrections were made in the plate after it was cut by Cornelis Galle, who made three different proofs. The first two proofs are preserved in the Rijksprentenkabinet, Amsterdam (Figs. 276, 277),<sup>5</sup> and a third in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge (Fig. 278).<sup>6</sup> The second proof contains a number of changes. Of major importance is the reworking of the bottom of the plate, where the hole containing the sculptural fragments has been enlarged. The earth just above the pick and on either side has been burnished out to give a greater sense of space. This effect is further enhanced by the feathers of the arrows which are now silhouetted against the dark chasm, as is the hand of the King of Media. The men have been darkened by the addition of curved lines and cross-hatchings in the tools and the antique head framed by the pick. The engraver has also worked out the coins in greater detail and Hercules's right eye is in deeper shadow, caused by the addition of more lines. The same can be said of his torso and drapery. The entire right side of the plate has also been slightly reworked in physiognomy and costumes of the main figures. The book placed against Antiquity has scribbly lines added to it, giving the impression that there is a text. In the third proof, the engraver has burnished out the pupils in the eyes of the antique sculpture, and the bolt of lightning held by Alexander no longer has a straight shaft but is bent.

The copper plate is preserved in the Plantin-Moretus Museum<sup>7</sup> and it was used again for the 1708 edition of this book, published in Antwerp by Hendrik and Cornelis Verdussen.

<sup>1</sup> As suggested by Rooses (*Rooses, Rubens-Moretus, 1882-83, II, p. 126*) and *Boubery-Van den Wijngaert* (p. 147).

<sup>2</sup> "TABVLAE PRAELIMINARIS SIVE FRONTISPICII EXPLICATIO. TABELLA *Praeliminaris, à Petro-Paullo Rubenio, Equite, Aeni nostri Apelle, designata & delineata; ANTIQVITATIS REVIVISCENTIS Typum exhibet. Ad sinistrum Tabulae latus, in superiori parte, TEMPVS est, Senis alati habitu, Falcem tenens, vnaq. MORS adstans, qui prisca ROMANAE, MACEDONICAE, PERSICAE & MEDICAE, MONARCHIARVM Simulacra in profundum Aeni Specum praecipitant. ROMANAM MONARCHIAM designat DEAE Galeatae inuersa Effigies, quae Victoriolae signum laevâ, hastam puram dextrâ gestat. Quâ formâ in priscis Nummis ROMA spectatur. MACEDONICAM, siue GRAECAM, denotat ALEXANDRI galeati & thoracati Figura, dextrâ Fulmen tenentis : quo habitu ipsum ab Apelle olim depictum esse refert Plinius lib. XXXV, cap. X, PERSICAM repraesentat Diadematum Caput DARIÏ, cuius dorso insidens incumbensq. ALEXANDER Regem eundem opprimit. MEDICAM refert Imago Principis Vittati, Arcum & pharetram inuersam gestantis, laxâque & fluidâ veste, (qualis erat MEDORVM) amicti, atque in obscurum caligantemq. Aeni Specum iam propè immersi. Haec quatuor summa IMPERIA breuiter complexus est eruditissimus Poëta Claudianus lib. III. de Laudibus Stiliconis :*

— nam caetera Regna

Luxuries vitiiis, odiisque Superbia vertit.  
Sic malè sublimes fregit Spartanus Athenas,  
Atque idem Thebis cecidit. Sic MEDVS ademit  
Assyrio; Medoque tulit moderamina PERSES;  
Subiecit Persen MACEDO, cessurus & ipse  
ROMANIS. Haec auguriis firmata Sibyllae,  
Haec sacris animata Numae est. &c.

*Huiusmodi autem AEWI omnia deaurantis SPECVM eleganter describit idem Poëta Lib. II. de Laudibus eiusdem Ducis :*

Est ignota procul, nostraeque imperuia Menti,  
Immensi SPELVNCA AEWI, quae Tempora vasto  
Suppeditat reuocatque sinu.

*Dextro Specus lateri adstet MERCVRIVS more suo Petasatus, alterâ manu ligonem tenens, cui eruderata Graecorum, Romanorumq. Ducum marmorea Capita adiacent. Alterâ manu Mercurius propè integram prisci Imperatoris Statuam Laureatam & Paludatam è specu educit. Paulo supra HERCVLES, Leonis exuuiis amictus, Vas ingens NVMISMATIBVS plenum seruo succincto tradit. PALLAS Galeata, Atrium Praeses Dea, FACEM admouens, effossa priscorum Regum Caesarumq. NVMISMATA illustrat & interpretatur. Media Tabulae parte, ipsa ANTIQVITATIS Velatae & Laureatae, variisq. Numismatibus concatenatis circumdatae spectatur Effigies. LIBER apertus, pectori eius appositus, Historiam & Interpretationem Numismatum designat. ANTIQVITATIS vertici PHOENIX insidet, Παλιγγενεσίας id est, Reuiuiscantiae & PERENNITATIS Symbolum (H. Goltzius, loc. cit.).*

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *The "Great Last Judgment"*, Munich (K.d.K., p. 118).

<sup>4</sup> K.d.K., p. 154.

<sup>5</sup> First state : Inv. No. OB 4319, 305 : 200 mm.; and second state : Inv. No. OB 4304, 327 : 206 mm.

<sup>6</sup> Third state: Inv. No. P 97-1942; 327 : 205 mm.

<sup>7</sup> Inv. No. KP 141 D; 315 : 206 mm.

<sup>8</sup> *Van den Wijngaert*, p. 49, No. 228 bis.

82a. TITLE-PAGE FOR H. GOLTZIUS, ROMANAE ET GRÆCÆ ANTIQUITATIS MONUMENTA (OPERA OMNIA, I): DRAWING

Technique and measurements unknown.

*Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.*

Balthasar Moretus's accounts list a debit of 20 guilders owed to Rubens for the design of the Goltzius frontispiece (Appendix III, pp. 448, 449 [2]). A sheet in the Mariette collection<sup>1</sup> might have been either Rubens's design for this title-page or the working drawing by the engraver.

<sup>1</sup> "Autre Titre, où se voient le Temps & la Mort qui détruisent tout; fait pour les Œuvres d'Antiquités in-folio, de Goltzius : il est connu par l'Étampe qui en a été gravée d'après, & est d'une conservation parfaite, ainsi que l'article précédent & les suivants, exécuté à la pierre noire, mêlée d'encre de la Chine & de blanc" (Cat. sale Mariette, Paris (Basan), 15 November 1775-30 January 1776, lot 1010).

83. TITLE-PAGE FOR H. GOLTZIUS, ICONES IMPERATORUM ROMANORUM (OPERA OMNIA, V). Antwerp, 1645 (Fig. 279)

Engraving; 312 : 207 mm.; below on the left: *Pet. Paul. Rubenius inuent*, below on the right: *Corn. Galleus sen. sculpsit*.

EXHIBITED: *Paris*, 1954, No. 346.

LITERATURE: *Hecquet*, p. 99, No. 29; *Basan*, p. 177, No. 27; *Smith*, *Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p. 338, No. 1299; *Rooses*, *Titels*, No. 17; M. Rooses, *Notes sur l'édition plantinienne des Œuvres de Hubert Goltzius*, *Bulletin de l'Académie archéologique de Belgique*, II, 1879-84, pp. 304-308; *Rooses*, *Rubens-Moretus*, 1882-83, II, pp. 125-129; *Rooses*, *Rubens-Moretus*, 1884, pp. 75-78; *Dutuit*, VI, p. 216, No. 27; *Rooses*, V, pp. 76, 80, 81, No. 1273, pl. 366; M. Rooses, *Le Musée Plantin-Moretus*, Antwerp, 1914, pp. 301, 302, 361; M. Funck, *Le livre belge à gravures*, Paris-Brussels, 1925, p. 189; *Van den Wijngaert*, p. 49, Nos. 229, 229 bis; *Bouchery-Van den Wijngaert*, pp. 92-96, 149, 150, fig. 103; *Evers*, 1943, pp. 89, 193, fig. 125; *Benesch*, *Book Illustration*, p. 13; *Held*, 1960, p. 225; H.D. Rodee, *Rubens' Treatment of Antique Armor*, *The Art Bulletin*, XLIX, 1967, p. 229; M.L. Hairs, *Erasmus Quellin, disciple de Rubens*, *Revue belge d'archéologie et d'histoire de l'art*, XLII, 1973, p. 46.

The frontispiece for Volume V of the 1644-45 edition of Hubert Goltzius's works, published by Balthasar Moretus II, was designed by Erasmus Quellin

under the direction of Peter Paul Rubens and engraved by Cornelis Galle. This volume was not included in De Bie's second edition of Goltzius's works, which appeared during the years 1617-20. Balthasar Moretus II dedicated this new book to Ferdinand III, who had succeeded to the Imperial throne in 1637. The Dedication was, like the one for the entire publication found in Volume I, written by Caspar Gevartius (pp. V-XIV). The book also contains the Privilege granted in Brussels on November 14, 1645 (p. XV), and the Approval by the Antwerp censor which is dated November 10, 1645 (p. XVI). The core of the work is the 419 pages of text containing 160 biographies of the Emperors from Roman, Byzantine and German history. Each biography is placed opposite a coloured portrait woodcut executed by Christopher Jegher<sup>1</sup> in the shape of a medallion. Above the portrait is a famous saying of the emperor concerned and below is a sentence about his death. The series begins with Julius Caesar and ends with Ferdinand III. The book closes with a transcription of the document dated February 15, 1644, in which Ferdinand III bestowed the title of Imperial Historiographer (*Historiographus Caesareus*) upon Gevartius (pp. 421-423), and with a list of the Emperors (pp. 424-426).

In his title-page design, Rubens has seated Julius Caesar before a niche and on a pedestal inscribed along the rim with his name (C.IVL. CAESAR). He holds a globe, symbol of Worldly Power, in his left hand and a statuette of Victory in the right,<sup>2</sup> and is crowned with laurel, another reference to Victory. Above there is a shining star, which symbolizes the soul of the divine Julius<sup>3</sup> as well as Fame. Emperor Constantine stands below and to the left on a base inscribed IMP. CAES. CONSTANTINVS AVG. He supports the labarum in his right hand and a globe, emblematic of his imperial dignity, in the left. He, too, wears a crown of laurel, and a suit of late-antique armour very similar to Julius Caesar's. On the opposite side stands Emperor Rudolph I, the founder of the Habsburg dynasty, identified by the inscription beneath his feet, IMP. CAES. RODOLPHVS I AVG. He wears the Imperial Crown, holds a raised sword in his right hand and an orb with a cross in his left. The Habsburg coat-of-arms is placed between him and the pedestal. This same way of presenting Rudolph is used in the medallion-portrait by Jegher but there, the Emperor is seated.<sup>4</sup> For the title-page image of Rudolph, Rubens may have combined several of the Emperor portrait types designed by him in 1634-35 for the *Portico of Emperors* erected for the *Pompa Introitus Ferdinandi*. Rudolph's face, his long moustache and his attributes resemble the *Portrait of Rudolph I* known from the oil sketch in the

Hermitage, Leningrad, while the costume and crown bring to mind those worn by *Maximilian I*, in Oxford, Ashmolean Museum.<sup>5</sup> These emperors are also portrayed by Jegher in the book. Jegher's medallion portraits as well as the antique coins illustrated in the other four Goltzius volumes also appear to have influenced the manner in which Rubens presented them on the title-page.<sup>6</sup> He very likely chose to include these three emperors because Julius Caesar was the first Roman Emperor, Constantine, the first Christian Emperor, and Rudolph I, the founder of the Habsburg Dynasty. Furthermore, Ferdinand III, to whom this volume was dedicated, was a Habsburg.

Along the bottom of the page, one finds the rudder (Wise Government), a bundle of rods (fasces) with an axe in the center (carried by the lictors of ancient Rome), the globe crowned with laurel (Victory and World Power) and a snake biting its own tail (Eternity). The sun and the moon are placed in the upper corners of the title-page. They may possibly symbolize the immensity of the Roman<sup>7</sup> and Austrian Empires and the eternity of the monarchy's power. The latter meaning is explicit in Trajanic coins where *Aeternitas* holds the sun with rays in one hand and the head of the moon, with the crescent above, in the other.<sup>8</sup>

Moretus must have started printing the *Icones Imperatorum Romanorum* during the first half of the 1630's. This is attested to in a letter from him to the Dutch book dealer Hendrik Barentsen in Amsterdam, dated December 19, 1635. Here Moretus wrote that he was forced to stop printing the *Emperors* of Goltzius because of a "lack of paper" (Appendix I, p. 366 [6]). However, the design for the title-page was not completed until much later. Erasmus Quellin was paid 24 guilders for the frontispiece drawing on December 27, 1637 (Appendix III, p. 489 [123]). Cornelis Galle cut the plate by September 9, 1638, as he wrote to Moretus on that day apologizing for the delay, which was due to illness, and saying that he was enclosing the drawing and the plate (Appendix I, pp. 390, 391 [66]).<sup>9</sup> On September 28, Moretus wrote Galle that he would have a certain M. Lenaert pay him 60 guilders for the plate, which would be checked by Quellin, who had made the drawing, and then returned to the engraved (Appendix I, p. 391 [68]). Quellin's drawing (Fig. 280) is in the Plantin-Moretus Museum<sup>10</sup> as is Galle's copper plate (Fig. 282).<sup>11</sup> On December 9, 1645 Galle was paid for printing 1,050 ordinary copies of the title-page of the *Icones Imperatorum Romanorum* and 25 copies on special, "white" paper (Appendix III, p. 481 [98]). The copper plate was used again for the 1708

edition of Goltzius's works published by Hendrik and Cornelis Verdussen. There is a proof print in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris (Fig. 281).<sup>12</sup> A variation on the composition of this frontispiece was engraved by A. Lommelin for Volume IV of C. Hazart's 1671 *Kerckelycke Historie*.<sup>13</sup>

In the Preface to Volume I of this edition, signed by Balthasar Moretus, it is stated that most of the medallions, especially those of the Emperors of the House of Austria, have been designed by Rubens.<sup>14</sup> This, however, is clearly not the case, as first suggested by Rooses<sup>15</sup> and convincingly argued by Van den Wijngaert. The latter rightly points out that this Preface was written by Balthasar Moretus the Younger<sup>16</sup> and that documents in the archives of the Plantin-Moretus Museum support the attribution of the woodcuts to Christopher Jegher and Erasmus Quellin.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Jegher had been commissioned by Balthasar Moretus to recut the blocks because those from the 1577 edition had become unusable. He did this in the years 1631-1634 (*Bouchery-Van den Wijngaert*, pp. 92, 93).

<sup>2</sup> For a similar type of Victory on antique coins, see Jan Hemelaers's *Imperatorum Romanorum Numismata Aurea*, Antwerp, 1615 (No. 33), pls. 40, 46.

<sup>3</sup> H. Mattingly, *Roman Coins*, London, 1960, p. 146, note 2.

<sup>4</sup> H. Goltzius, *op. cit.*, No. CXXI.

<sup>5</sup> *Martin, Pompa*, Figs. 43, 49.

<sup>6</sup> Julius Caesar is No. 1, p. 3, Constantine is No. 67, p. 138 and Rudolph I is No. 141, p. 317.

<sup>7</sup> *Bouchery-Van den Wijngaert*, p. 149.

<sup>8</sup> *Martin, Pompa*, p. 88.

<sup>9</sup> See also his letter of September 14 (Appendix 1, p. 391 [67]).

<sup>10</sup> Inv. No. 398; pen and brown ink and brown wash over preliminary drawing in black chalk, heightened with white chalk; 302 : 203 mm.; signed below on the left *E. Quellinius Inuent*; *Van den Wijngaert, Inventaris Tekeningen*, No. 41.

<sup>11</sup> Inv. No. KP 104 D; 315 : 210 mm.

<sup>12</sup> Inv. No. Cc 31, f° 85, No. 106; 295 : 199 mm., margin.

<sup>13</sup> *V.S.*, p. 198, No. 36; *Rooses*, v, p. 127; a proof print is in the Albertina, Vienna (No. H. II. 19, p. 71).

<sup>14</sup> "Quaeque Tomo V. spectantur Imperatorum ICONES, nouas omninò damus : ac nonnullae ex iis, & praesertim ROMANO-AVSTRIACORVM IMPERATORVM Imagines à praestantissimi Rubenij manu sunt delineatae" (*H. Goltzius, op. cit.*, p. XIII).

<sup>15</sup> *Rooses*, v, p. 81.

<sup>16</sup> See also *Rooses-Ruelens*, vi, p. 361.

<sup>17</sup> *Bouchery-Van den Wijngaert*, pp. 93-96.

84. TITLE-PAGE FOR F. DE MARSELAER, *LBGATUS*. Antwerp, 1666 (Fig. 286)

Engraving; 316 : 208 mm., margin.

COPY EXAMINED: Brussels, Royal Library. No. V.H. 4900 C.

EXHIBITED: *Elewijt*, 1962, No. 154b.

COPY: Engraving (Fig. 285) in J. de Solorzano Pereira, *Politica Indiana*, Antwerp, 1703, with the author's portrait in an oval frame replacing the square cartouche with the title.

LITERATURE: *Hecquet*, p. 100, No. 37; *Basan*, p. 179, No. 32; *Smith*, *Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p. 339, No. 1304; *V.S.*, p. 199, No. 37; *Rooses*, *Rubens-Moretus*, 1882-83, II, pp. 129, 130; *Rooses*, *Rubens-Moretus*, 1884, pp. 79, 80; *Dutuit*, VI, pp. 217, 218, No. 32; *Rooses*, V, pp. 98-101, No. 1287, pl. 372; M. Rooses, in *Rubens-Bulletijn*, V, 1910, p. 328, No. 1187 (sic); H. Hymans, *Deux nouveaux autographes de Rubens*, *Bulletin de l'Académie royale de Belgique, Classe des Beaux-Arts*, 1900, pp. 674-678; *Rooses-Ruelens*, VI, pp. 198-205, 336; *Knipping*, I, p. 7; *Van den Wijngaert*, pp. 55, 56, No. 284; *Bouchery-Van den Wijngaert*, pp. 8, 109, 110, 119, 124, 125, 150-152, 154, fig. 107; *Evers*, 1943, pp. 89, 191-193; G. de Tervarent, *Les Enigmes de l'Art, III: L'Héritage Antique*, Paris, 1946, p. 51; O. Kurz, in *The Burlington Magazine*, XC, 1948, p. 301; W. Deonna, "La Politique" par P.P. Rubens, *Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire*, XXXI, 1953, pp. 520-536; *Held*, I, pp. 6, 7, 39; M. Hoc, *Een Brusselse Magistraat van het Ancien Régime: Frederik de Marselaer (1584-1670)*, *Gemeentekrediet van België*, XXIII, 1969, No. 87, pp. 28-33.

Frederik de Marselaer (Antwerp, 1584 - Perk, 1670) was the son of an Antwerp magistrate. He studied law at the University of Louvain, and after a trip to Italy, he settled in Brussels, where he built up a career in law and politics. Between 1614 and 1659, he was burgomaester (Mayor) of Brussels seven times, alderman sixteen times and held several other offices. He spent the last years of his life in his castle at Perk, which he had acquired in 1626, through an inheritance of his wife. When Rubens bought the Château de Steen at Elewijt in May 1635, he and De Marselaer became virtually neighbours as the distance was only about a half mile.<sup>1</sup>

By 1618, De Marselaer had published a book<sup>2</sup> in which he discussed the qualities required of ambassadors and the behaviour expected of them during their missions. This treatise was so popular that an enlarged edition in-4° was published in 1626 by Balthasar Moretus with a frontispiece engraved by Corne-



lis Galle after a design by Theodore van Loon<sup>3</sup> (Fig. 284). It was probably De Marselaer's idea to ask Van Loon, who was living in Brussels and who was not a specialist in this kind of work, to make the design. We can also suppose that the author asked Rubens to design a new frontispiece for the third edition of his book when the artist became De Marselaer's neighbour. In a letter of March 6, 1638, to Moretus (Appendix I, p. 408 [105]), De Marselaer expresses his joy at having received, "after nearly three full years", Rubens's design. This would mean that it had been ordered shortly after March 1635, at the time when Rubens bought the Château de Steen. It may well be that Moretus was not so eager to publish a new edition of the *Legatus*. In fact, it was only his nephew and successor who finally published it in 1666. We know that as late as 1656 the title-page had not yet been engraved because at that time negotiations concerning the costs of the engraving were still going on between Balthasar Moretus the Younger, Cornelis Galle the Younger and the author (Appendix I, pp. 408, 409 [106-108]). Between 1626 and 1660, two other small-size editions had been published, with different title-pages.<sup>4</sup>

The 1666 Plantin Press edition of the *Legatus* contains 39 essays in the First Book and 49 in the Second. They deal with the qualities which an ambassador must have at his disposal (good health, knowledge of languages, eloquence, etc.), and they give a survey of European courts and examine various types of problems and situations he may have to face (peace, war, surrender, revolution, etc.). The text numbers 361 pages. It is preceded by the Dedication of the book to Philip IV of Spain (pp. [V]-[XXVII]), a Preface to the reader (pp. [XXVIII]-[XXIX]), a portrait of the author engraved by Cornelis Galle after Anthony van Dyck (p. [XXX]), a poem about this engraving by L. Lancellottus (p. XXXI), a series of eulogies and complimentary poems concerning De Marselaer's book (pp. XXXII-XLIX), the table of contents (pp. L, LI) and the privilege, dated Brussels, October 29, 1665 (p. LII). The book ends with a thirteen page index and a few separate pieces, including the epitaphs of De Marselaer, his parents and his wife.

Rubens himself has explained the imagery of the frontispiece in a manuscript note, preserved in the Royal Library, Brussels (Appendix IV, pp. 500, 501 [6]). A slightly changed version of this text was printed in the 1666 edition of the *Legatus*.<sup>5</sup> Above, in the center, there is a bust symbolizing Politics or the art of Good Government. It rests on a square pedestal, indicating the firmness of the authority of Politics. On its head is a turreted crown like that of Cybele because

Politics builds, rules and preserves cities. The bust also has a crown of poppies and ears of corn to show that Politics feeds the people and brings safety and peace to the citizens. Beneath this bust, and to the left, one finds Minerva in armour and carrying a spear and to the right Mercury holding the caduceus in his left hand and with his right clasping Minerva's extended right hand. Both have their usual attribute at their feet, the owl for Minerva and the cock for Mercury. In representing these two antique gods Rubens followed the example of Theodore van Loon's title-page for the 1626 edition (Fig. 284), but intensified its meaning by depicting the two deities shaking hands. Both Minerva and Mercury can be seen as tutelary deities of the ambassador. The former because she is the goddess of Wisdom, the latter because he is the messenger of the gods, just as the ambassador is the messenger of the kings. Mercury and Minerva stand on pedestals adorned with meaningful decorations. Minerva's contains an olive wreath, her attribute since ancient times, crossed by a palm branch, symbol of the victory of Wisdom. Mercury's has the oak wreath, or *Corona civica*, given by the Romans to the preserver of citizens.<sup>6</sup> The latter is crowned by an olive branch, the well-known symbol of peace. According to Rubens's explanation, very much the same idea was expressed by the frolicking nude children in the cartouche below. One child carries a basket of fruit and another holds a hare, symbolizing fertility and prosperity. Such scenes appear throughout Antiquity in marble sculptures and on coins to illustrate the happiness of the times (*Temporum felicitas*).<sup>7</sup> After explaining all these elements, Rubens returns to the upper zone of the frontispiece, where two flying genii can be seen. The one on the left, carrying a palm branch in the right hand and a wreath in the left, represents Victory. On the right side is a genius with a rudder and a globe; it symbolizes universal government.<sup>8</sup> Under their protection, good results can be predicted for all national and international affairs and government will endure for a long time. The idea of eternity or longevity is also conveyed by the necklace in the shape of a snake worn by Politics. The two cornucopias overflowing with crowns, scepters and fruit are too obvious for Rubens to explain. In the printed explanation they are said to indicate the good and advantageous things which can be expected from the embassies. These are not the only differences between Rubens's manuscript note and the *Elucidatio* in the 1666 book. The latter text is most probably the result of De Marselaer's reworking of Rubens's explanation, and it is not certain that it reflects completely and exactly the artist's ideas. For one thing, it is unlikely

that the owl and the cock symbolize the watchfulness of the ambassador. This would be a possible meaning for a cock, but not for an owl. These birds are probably represented here solely as attributes of Minerva and Mercury. An even more striking difference between Rubens's and De Marselaer's explanations is the total absence in the former of the Eye of Providence, which in the latter is described at the very beginning, as the most prominent feature of the image. Since it is improbable that Rubens would have forgotten to mention it, we may suggest that in the original design the eye did not appear and that it was added by the engraver, presumably at the request of De Marselaer.<sup>9</sup> This would be compatible with the author's profoundly religious attitude, especially in his old age, when he lived in retirement in his castle in Perk where he was writing a pious book called *Legatio mentis ad deum*.<sup>10</sup> He may have had the idea of adding Divine Providence from the engraving by P. Pontius after Rubens's *Portrait of the Infanta Isabella*, which has the same eye surrounded by beams of light and is inscribed PROVIDENTIA AVGVSTA.<sup>11</sup>

Deonna<sup>12</sup> has rightly observed that Rubens's frontispiece has retained some iconographic elements of the 1626 title-page designed by Van Loon: Mercury and Minerva, the overflowing cornucopiae with crowns, scepter and fruit. Rubens, however, has incorporated them into a more complex imagery and has achieved a fluid movement which Van Loon's design totally lacks.

Several letters written by Balthasar Moretus the Younger to Frederik de Marselaer in the autumn of 1656 (Appendix I, pp. 408, 409 [106-108]) inform us that Cornelis Galle the Younger was charged to engrave Rubens's design. It is usually assumed that he executed the engraving in 1656, but this may be too early because the book was not published until ten years later. Since De Marselaer himself paid Galle's fee of 150 guilders, there is no mention of it in the Moretus accounts books. A proof print without inscriptions is preserved in the Teylers Museum, Haarlem (Fig. 287).<sup>13</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For details of De Marselaer's life, see M. Hoc, *loc. cit.*

<sup>2</sup> KHPYKEION, *sive Legationum Insigne*, Antwerp, 1618.

<sup>3</sup> *Legatus Libri duo, ad Philippum IV Hispaniarum Regem*, Antwerp, 1626.

<sup>4</sup> One in-duodecimo, Amsterdam, 1644, and one in-octavo, Weimar, 1663 (M. Hoc, *op. cit.*, p. 31).

<sup>5</sup> "IN FRONTISPICIVM LEGATI NOBILISSIMI AC AMPLISSIMI VIRI D. FREDERICI DE MARSELAER, EQVITIS AVRATI, TOPARCHAE DE PARCK, ELEVVYT, &c. P. PAVLI RVBENII ELVCIDATIO. In supremâ tabulae parte excubat vigil cuncta lustranis ac sospitantis DIVINAE PROVIDENTIAE OCVLVS, *Legationum arbiter ac moderator. Infrâ Stat POLITICE,*

sive *Ars dominandi*, formâ quadratâ stabilitatem Imperij designans : ipsa turrata instar Cybeles, quia vrbes struit, regit & conseruat. Papaueribus autem & arstis redimita est, quôd nutrix Populorum sit, & securam ciuibus quietem praestet. Torquis Anguineus collo eius circumuolutus circulum sive Æternitatem exprimit, ab hoc ornatu non alienus : nam torques Romanorum eam reddebant figuram; ut videre licet apud Antonium Augustinum, & egomet in Musaeo Laelij Pasqualini Romae, Torquem, inquam, aureum antiquum, subtiliter meberclè intextum hac formâ vidi, et manibus meis tractaui. Iuxta Politicen duo GENII PROPITII aduolant, quorum vnus VICTORIAM, alter REGIMEN ORBIS TERRARVM repraesentat. Illoꝝ auspicijs cuncta domi forisque benè cessura, ad Imperium prorogandum, & diu conseruandum, ominari licet. Adstat à dextro latere Prudentiae Numen MINERVA, nempe

Consilio sata Virgo Iouis de vertice pollens.

Haec MERCVRIO dextram porrigit. Nam ille

— Diuûm interpres, & nuntius Hermes,

Eloquij, inquam, Suadaeque magister, videtur meritò commeantium Legatorum Deus Tutelaris ac praeses haberi; cùm, ut ille Deorum, ita hi Principum, qui Deos in terris referunt, nuntij sint. Enimuerò consilia ex adytis Mineruae probè petita per eloquium, in actum producenda sunt, & aptissimis ad rem verbis exponenda, ut Legatus finem suum consequatur, & ardua quaeque negotia commodè perficiat. CADUCEVS Pacis symbolum est : ideoque ad conciliandas magis amicitias, & foedera percutienda, quàm ad dissoluenda, insituti videntur Legati, eâque ratione sacrosancti & inuiolabiles habentur; quamquam interdum tristioribus quoque negotijs implicentur. Hinc etiam Homero solus omnium ferè Deorum Mercurius in bello Troiano contentionis & pugnae expers seruatur. NOCTVA & GALLVS GALLINACEVS Vigilantiam Legati designant. In basi sub Mineruâ CORONA OLEAGINA est, huic Deae peculiaris, & Themistocli olim, in publico Graeciae conuentu, cum elogio Prudentiae decreta. Palma huic inserta, nempe Prudentia victrix. Sub Mercurio CIVICA CORONA est, quôd operâ Legatorum (quos Ramus felicitis oliuae indicat) probè ac strenuè negotia publica tractantium ciues seruentur. CORNVA AMALTHEAE, Coronis, Sceptris, & varijs fructibus referta, bona & commoda è Legationibus speranda designant. Idem ferè significat LVSVS ILLE PVERVLORVM lasciuientium & exultantium, quo omnis Antiquitas in marmoribus & nummis Temporum Felicitatem repraesentauit" (F. De Marselaer, *op. cit.*, opposite the title-page).

- 6 See also above, p. 327, under No. 81.
- 7 The same imagery was used by Rubens himself in *The Stage of Welcome* for the Entry of the Cardinal-Infante (*Martin, Pompa*, p. 40, Figs. 2, 3).
- 8 Rubens used these attributes for his personification of *Providentia Regis* (Foresight of the King) on the back of *The Arch of Ferdinand* for the *Pompa Introitus Ferdinandi*, preserved in an oil sketch in the Hermitage, Leningrad (*Martin, Pompa*, pp. 156-158, No. 40a, Fig. 74) and a painting in Lille, executed after Rubens's sketch in the workshop of Jan van den Hoecke (*Ibidem*, p. 162, No. 43, Fig. 76).
- 9 This was earlier suggested by H. Hymans (*op. cit.*, p. 676).
- 10 M. Hoc, *op. cit.*, p. 31.
- 11 Rooses, IV, p. 196, under No. 970.
- 12 W. Deonna, *op. cit.*, p. 523.
- 13 Engraving; 323 : 213 mm.; *Dutuit*, VI, p. 218; Rooses, V, p. 101; Evers, 1943, fig. 124.

84a. TITLE-PAGE FOR F. DE MARSELAER, LEGATUS: DRAWING OR OIL SKETCH

Technique and measurements unknown.

*Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.*

A letter dated March 6, 1638, written by De Marselaer to Balthasar Moretus (Appendix I, p. 408 [105]), informs us that after three years of waiting, the author finally received Rubens's design for the frontispiece of the *Legatus*. He also mentions that Rubens had made the frontispiece on a "sesquipedalis tabella", literally a panel of one and a half feet. This would suggest it was an oil sketch on panel, but in 1656, when Cornelis Galle the Younger was asked to engrave the title-page, it is indicated as "gheteekent" (drawn) by the late Rubens (Appendix I, p. 408 [106]). Therefore, the technique used by Rubens to design this title-page must remain an open question.

85. ST. FRANCIS SERAPHICUS ATLAS: THESIS ILLUSTRATION (Fig. 288)

Engraving; 509 : 726 mm., margin; below on the left: *P. Paulus Rubens pinxit Paulus Pontius sculpsit.*

PRINT EXAMINED: Antwerp, Rubenshuis, No. P 736.

COPY: São Paulo, private collection, on copper; lit.: B. Sweeny, *John G. Johnson collection, catalogue of Flemish and Dutch Paintings*, Philadelphia, 1972, p. 74.

LITERATURE: *Hecquet*, p. 72, No. 32; *Basan*, p. 124, No. 65; *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p. 296; G.K. Nagler, *Neues allgemeines Künstler-Lexicon*, XI, Munich, 1841, p. 504, No. 90; *V.S.*, pp. 144, 145, No. 69; *Duituit*, VI, pp. 172, 173; *Rooses*, V, pp. 37, 38, No. 1231, pl. 354; *Van den Wijngaert*, p. 82, No. 531; *Goris-Held*, p. 35; L. Van Puyvelde, *Un tableau symbolique de Rubens, Beiträge für Georg Swarzenski*, Chicago, 1951, pp. 186-188; M. Jaffé, *Rubens' Sketching in Paint, The Art News*, LIII, No. 3, 1953, p. 64, repr. on p. 65; [*Cat. Exh.*] *Rubens drawings and oil sketches from American collections*, Cambridge, Mass., 1956, p. 36; D.P. Snoep, *Van Atlas tot Laef. Aspecten van de betekenis van het Atlas-motief, Simiolus*, II, 1967-68, p. 13, note 33.

Rubens' composition is dominated by the central group, consisting of the kneeling St. Francis of Assisi who supports, on his shoulder, three spheres and the Virgin of the Immaculate Conception. The inscription in the bottom-

center foreground calls the Saint SERAPHICVS ATLAS (the Seraphic Atlas). From the middle of the sixteenth century onwards, numerous examples can be found of representations of individuals as Atlas or Hercules carrying the globe as an image of their heavy burdens or responsibilities.<sup>1</sup> This image could also apply to St. Francis, the Seraphic Father. Usually, however, Atlas carries only one globe and the fact that Saint Francis supports three globes, with the Virgin of the Immaculate Conception on top, has obviously a specific meaning. This is difficult to explain, but a clue to their meaning might be found in the inscription which runs down from the Crucified Christ above and to the left of St. Francis and strikes one of the globes: VADE FRANCISCE REPARA DOMVM MEAM (Go, Francis, and repair my house). This refers to St. Francis's experience at the age of twenty-five when he heard these words spoken from the Crucifix in the Church of San Damiano near Assisi. He rebuilt San Damiano and afterwards also San Pietro in the village of Rivo Torto and the Portiuncula Chapel or Chapel of Santa Maria degli Angeli in Assisi. It was in the latter sanctuary, according to the *Life of Saint Francis* by St. Bonaventure, that while saying Mass one day in February 1209, St. Francis experienced a vision which inspired him to found his Order.<sup>2</sup> St. Bonaventure further states that St. Francis had rebuilt a triple edifice and that also, under his stimulus, the triple army of the elect promised to reestablish a triple vitality created by a new type of life, lived according to the rules and teachings of Christ as transmitted by St. Francis. This triple army referred to by St. Bonaventure is an allusion to the three orders established by St. Francis: one for holy men, another for holy women and a third for laymen and laywomen.<sup>3</sup> The three spheres supported by St. Francis can be interpreted as a reference to the three buildings repaired by him and, in turn, to the three separate orders following his rule.<sup>4</sup> Furthermore, the three spheres might be a subtle reference to the three continents reached by Franciscan teaching. St. Francis, himself, preached in North-Africa and Palestine and all the holy ground in Palestine was entrusted to the care of his Order. There were also large missions sent to Asia, and the third continent touched by the Franciscans was America. Finally, it has been suggested that the three spheres represent the three Franciscan vows of poverty, chastity and obedience.<sup>5</sup> The Virgin of the Immaculate Conception is placed on the topmost sphere. She is surrounded by brilliant rays of light and this association, through the image of the sun, with the Apocalyptic woman is common in the 16th and 17th centuries.<sup>6</sup> Rubens gives the Virgin a crown of six stars instead of

the usual twelve while a pair of seraphim are placed on either side on a level with her head. A banner containing the words AVSTROSERAPHICVM COELVM (Southern-angelic heaven) flies above her head. Whatever may be the exact significance of the three spheres carried by St. Francis, the fact that the Immaculata stands on top of them must mean that the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception is largely based on the theological writings of the Franciscans. This is stressed by the presence of four Franciscan monks to the right of St. Francis and the foremost is identified by an inscription as INVICTISSIMVS THEOLOGORVM PRINCEPS SCOTVS (The invincible prince of theologians John Duns Scotus). Armed with a fork, two bows, arrows and a spear, they thrust Heresy into the open jaws of hell represented by a terrifying monster. Duns Scotus was indeed a strong champion of the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception, which he is said to have defended victoriously against two hundred antagonists at the Paris Sorbonne, in 1305 or 1306.<sup>7</sup> The Franciscans were, from that time on, leaders in the promulgation of this concept and their numerous writings of the 16th and 17th centuries devoted to the Immaculate Conception bear witness to their zeal in defending this doctrine.<sup>8</sup>

To the left of St. Francis, Rubens has placed a group of living members of the Spanish royal family and of Franciscan monks. The Cardinal-Infante Ferdinand, in ecclesiastical robe,<sup>9</sup> stands nearest to the Virgin. To his right is his brother, King Philip IV, with the crown and the scepter.<sup>10</sup> He holds his hand protectively over the head of his son, the young Don Balthasar. The third of the royal brothers, Don Carlos, stands in the foreground.<sup>11</sup> He wears armour and holds the commander's baton and a large hat in his hands. All of these personages look up reverently at the Virgin and at their feet is the inscription ASTRA MATVTINA. *In Missa Concept:* (Morning star. In the Mass of the Conception). The presence of the Franciscans behind the Spanish princes can be explained by the fact that their Order had long held a favoured and powerful position in Spain. This had been the case at least since the time of Queen Isabella the Catholic (1451-1504), whose confessor was a Franciscan. Above this group on the left, riding in a chariot drawn by four eagles—the eagle is an imperial symbol—and driven by a winged angel clothed in the Franciscan robe, are three ancestors of the royal group below. Charles V<sup>12</sup> is in the back, wearing the Habsburg mitre-crown<sup>13</sup> and holding a scepter in his right hand, which rests on a globe.<sup>14</sup> Next to him is his son Philip II while Philip III is seated in front.<sup>15</sup> These three kings are present not only as

predecessors of Philip IV, Ferdinand and Don Carlos, but they also had close connections with the Franciscans. Charles V, the founder of the Spanish Habsburg hegemony over Europe, was crowned King of Spain by the Franciscan Cardinal Ximénez. The Emperor, after his abdication in 1555, retired to the Hieronimite monastery of Yuste, which had been founded by Franciscan hermits. Philip II also was closely involved with the Franciscans and was buried in the habit of the Third Order of St. Francis. A winged figure carrying a palm branch, symbol of victory, is seated behind and above the three sovereigns. She is identified as AVSTER. This means the South wind but at the same time refers to Austria, which is further emphasized by the Habsburg coat-of-arms which adorns the back of the car. Floating above the car are two banderoles with the following inscriptions: AB AVSTRO DEVS. *habac. 3* (God will come from the South) <sup>16</sup> and VENI AVSTER (Come, South wind). <sup>17</sup>

On the right of the Virgin there is another car which is drawn by four lions, symbolic of Justice, and driven by an angel dressed as a Franciscan. In this instance the passengers are the four Cardinal Virtues. Justice carries the scales and a sword, Prudence looks into a mirror, Fortitude holds a column fragment and Temperance pours water from a pitcher into a cup. Justice is identified as ASTRAEA, the goddess of Justice who lived on earth during the Golden Age but later fled and returned to heaven. Above her, on top of the car, is the Franciscan coat-of-arms, showing Christ's and St. Francis's crossed arms with the wounds. A banner floats over the chariot, with the text EGREDIMINI FILIAE SYON ET VIDETE REGINAM VESTRAM QVAM LAVDANT (Go forth, daughters of Sion, and look at your praised queen). <sup>18</sup>

The main idea of this image seems to be the representation of a Southern (and Austrian) seraphic (and Franciscan) heaven of which the Immaculate Virgin Mary is the Queen. <sup>19</sup> At the same time, the scene not only connects with the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception but also with contemporary politics. Just above the monk on the right, two banderoles read SVRGE AQVILO *Cant. 4* (Awake, o North wind) <sup>20</sup> and AB AQVILONE MALVM. *Ieremiae I* (Evil from the North). <sup>21</sup> These inscriptions are clearly intended as counterparts to those on the banderoles above the car with Charles V, Philip II and Philip III stressing the beneficial force of the South, i.e. Austria. In all likelihood, the words mentioning the evil from the North refer to the Dutch rebellion against Spanish rule and possibly to a specific event such as the threat of invasion by the Dutch troops shortly before the fall of Maastricht in



1632. Held has rightly pointed out that Rubens's design can be dated ca. 1631-32, because Don Balthasar, Philip IV's son, was born on October 17, 1629 and Don Carlos had died on July 30, 1632.

The size of the engraving and its complicated imagery suggests that it may have served as an illustration for a thesis.<sup>22</sup> In that case there must originally have been a second sheet containing the text of the propositions of the thesis and the dedication.<sup>23</sup> The absence of a dedication on the engraving is another argument in favour of its being a thesis illustration. The subject of the dissertation had probably something to do with the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception. We may also deduce that its author was a Franciscan monk, and we may suppose that the thesis was dedicated to either King Philip IV of Spain or to one of his brothers. Unfortunately, there are so many Franciscans of this period who have written on the subject that it is impossible to decide which one of them could have been the author of the thesis illustrated by Rubens. The Immaculate Conception was an especially important theme in the Netherlands and Franciscans such as Egidius Paesmans, Boudewijn de Jonghe, Lambert Pévée, Marianus de Smytere, Joos van der Borgh, Egidius Cuallart, Charles Mathieu, Meliton de Fontaine, Florent van Hanswyck or François van Hondeghem wrote a large number of books on this matter.<sup>24</sup> It may also be relevant to point out that in 1639 the Irish friar Luke Wadding published the complete works of John Duns Scotus in Lyons.<sup>25</sup>

<sup>1</sup> D.P. Snoep, *op. cit.*, pp. 12, 13.

<sup>2</sup> T. Desbonnets and D. Vorreux O.F.M., *Saint François d'Assise, documents écrits et premières biographies*, Paris, 1968, pp. 593-600.

<sup>3</sup> First Order (Franciscans, Franciscan Conventuals and Capuchins); Second Order or Poor Clares (Urbanists, Colettines, Capuchinesses, etc.); Franciscan Third Order Regular (thirty male congregations, more than four hundred provinces of Franciscan Sisters and Third Order Secular).

<sup>4</sup> The latter explanation is proposed by D.P. Snoep (*loc. cit.*).

<sup>5</sup> A. Mongan, in [*Cat. Exh.*] *Rubens drawings and oil sketches from American collections*, Cambridge, Mass., 1956, p. 36, under No. 40.

<sup>6</sup> *Knipping*, II, p. 12.

<sup>7</sup> C. Balić, in *Theologisch Woordenboek*, III, Roermond-Maaseik, 1958, cols. 4309-4317; see also C. Balić, *Les Commentaires de Jean Duns Scot sur les quatre livres des sentences*, Louvain, 1927.

<sup>8</sup> P. Pauwels, *Les Franciscains et l'Immaculée Conception*, Malines, 1904; A. Drieghe, *L'Immaculée Conception et les traditions franciscaines*, Malines, 1905.

<sup>9</sup> See Rubens's 1629 *Portrait of Ferdinand* in Munich (*K.d.K.*, p. 307, right).

<sup>10</sup> See Rubens's 1629 *Portrait of Philip IV* in Munich (*K.d.K.*, p. 306, left).

- <sup>11</sup> See Pieter de Jode's engraving of his portrait made in 1632 (*V.S.*, p. 173, No. 171).
- <sup>12</sup> The facial type recalls, although older in the print, the portrait of Charles V on the *Triumphal Arch of Philip* for the *Pompa Introitus* (*Martin, Pompa*, Figs. 24, 41, 50).
- <sup>13</sup> *Martin, Pompa*, p. 121, Fig. 49.
- <sup>14</sup> For this, see the ca. 1604 *Portrait of Charles V as Ruler of the World*, Salzburg, Residenzgalerie, ascribed to Rubens by J. Müller Hofstede (*Rubens und Tizian : Das Bild Karls V, Münchner Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst*, xviii, 1967, pp. 61–63, fig. 24).
- <sup>15</sup> For a younger representation but with a similar moustache, goatee, collar and Order of the Golden Fleece, see Cornelis de Vos's portrait, retouched by Rubens, in Raleigh, N.C. (*Martin, Pompa*, pp. 82–85, No. 11, Fig. 28).
- <sup>16</sup> Habacuc 3 : 3.
- <sup>17</sup> Song of Solomon 4 : 16.
- <sup>18</sup> *Ibidem* 3 : 11.
- <sup>19</sup> We are very much indebted to J. Wijnhoven and L. Little for their help in deciphering this allegory.
- <sup>20</sup> Song of Solomon 4 : 16.
- <sup>21</sup> Jeremias 1 : 14.
- <sup>22</sup> G.K. Nagler (*loc. cit.*) was the first to suggest that the engraving by Pontius had served to illustrate a thesis.
- <sup>23</sup> See below, No. 86.
- <sup>24</sup> P. Pauwels, *op. cit.*, pp. 218–221.
- <sup>25</sup> *The Dictionary of National Biography*, xx, Oxford, 1921–22, pp. 407, 408.

85a. ST. FRANCIS SERAPHICUS ATLAS: THESIS ILLUSTRATION: GRISAILLE SKETCH (Fig. 289)

Panel; 54 : 78.5 cm.

*Philadelphia, John G. Johnson Art Collection.*

PROVENANCE: Dominique Bernard Clemens, sale, Paris, 2 June 1788, lot Rubens 1; T. Van Saceghem, sale, Brussels, 2–3 June 1851, lot 54, bought by Chapuis; J.J. Chapuis, sale, Brussels, 4 December 1865 *et seqq.*, lot 342, bought by Burger; A. Oudry, sale, Paris, 16–17 April 1869, lot 57; Marquis du Blaisel, sale, Paris, 16–17 March 1870, lot 109 (withdrawn); sale, London (Christie's), 18 May 1872, lot 148, bought by West; Charles Sedelmeyer, Paris, 1898.

EXHIBITED: *Cambridge-New York*, 1956, No. 40 (repr.).

COPY: Etching by Ph. Spruyt; lit.: *V.S.*, p. 145, No. 70.

LITERATURE: *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, II, pp. 295, 296, No. 1057; *V.S.*, p. 145; *Dutuit*, VI, p. 173; *Roses*, v, p. 38; M. Roses, in *Rubens-Bulletijn*, v, 1910, p. 177;

*Illustrated Catalogue of 300 Paintings by Old Masters which have at various times formed part of the Sedelmeyer Gallery*, Paris, 1898, No. 163, repr.; W.R. Valentiner, *Catalogue of the John G. Johnson Collection, Flemish and Dutch Paintings*, II, Philadelphia, 1913, No. 677; Van den Wijngaert, p. 82; Goris-Held, p. 35, No. 58, pl. 58; L. Van Puyvelde, *Un tableau symbolique de Rubens*, *Beiträge für Georg Swarzenski*, Chicago, 1951, p. 185; M. Jaffé, *Rubens' Sketching in Paint*, *The Art News*, LII, No. 3, 1953, p. 64, repr. on p. 65; E. Duverger, *Filip Spruyt en zijn inventaris van kunstwerken in openbaar en privaat bezit te Gent (Ca. 1789-1791)*, *Gentse Bijdragen tot de Kunstgeschiedenis*, XIX, 1961-66, p. 210; [B. Sweeny], *John G. Johnson Collection. Catalogue of Flemish and Dutch paintings*, Philadelphia, 1972, p. 74, No. 677, fig. 195.

Although this modello has been ascribed to Erasmus Quellin and Abraham van Diepenbeeck, the high quality of the work must be from the hand of Rubens as stated in the inscription of Pontius's engraving. The latter has faithfully repeated Rubens's design except for a few small changes. The knotted cord enfaming the oil sketch—possibly a reference to the Brotherhood of the Cord, a religious association founded in 1588 which had many adherents in Antwerp up to the end of the 18th century<sup>1</sup>—has been omitted in the engraving. Pontius has, on the other hand, added a crown of flowers on the head of the angel driving the car carrying the royal personages and has also changed the position of his arms.

A pentimento can be seen below on the left in the action of the spearing monk behind Duns Scotus. Originally, he held the spear in his right hand. Apparently the panel suffered damage and, above to the left, a triangular piece of wood was newly inserted and the corresponding area repainted. This accounts for the differences in the figures of the Cardinal Virtues. The most obvious is Temperance who is shown holding an unrecognizable object instead of pouring water into a cup, as in the print. Since Spruyt's etching of 1784 renders these changes as seen today, the restoration must have taken place before that date.

*Goris-Held* have dated the sketch convincingly ca. 1631-32. They observe that it must postdate the birth of Don Balthasar (October 17, 1629) and predate the death of Don Carlos (July 30, 1632). The panel was not in the sale of the collection of E. Secrétan, Paris, July 1, 1889 *et seqq.*, as stated by *Goris-Held*.

<sup>1</sup> F.S. Schoutens, *Geschiedenis van het voormalig Minderbroedersklooster van Antwerpen 1447-1794*, Antwerp, 1894, pp. 259-261.

86. THE CONTEST BETWEEN MINERVA AND NEPTUNE: THESIS ILLUSTRATION  
(Figs. 290, 291)

Engraving in two plates. Upper half 482 : 594 mm., margin; lower half 433 : 598 mm., margin; below on the left: *P.P. Rubens. C. Abr. a Diepenbeke Delin.*; below on the right: *Paulus Pontius sculpsit.*

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LITERATURE: *Hecquet*, p. 73, No. 34; *Basan*, p. 125, No. 66; *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p. 305, No. 1117; G.K. Nagler, *Neues allgemeines Künstler-Lexikon*, XI, Munich, 1841, p. 504, No. 91; *V.S.*, p. 143, No. 64; *Dutuit*, VI, pp. 173, 174, No. 66; Ch. Blanc, *Manuel de l'amateur d'estampes*, III, Paris, 1888, p. 234, No. 137; *Roeser*, V, pp. 38, 39, No. 1232; A. von Wurzbach, *Niederländisches Künstler-Lexikon*, I, Vienna-Leipzig, 1906, p. 405, No. 14; *Delen*, I, p. 94; *Van den Wijngaert*, p. 82, No. 532.

This thesis illustration is enframed by large columns on either side and by an entablature on top.<sup>1</sup> The upper part represents the contest between Minerva and Neptune while the lower part contains the Dedication to Pope Urban VIII and the philosophical positions defended in the thesis. These twenty-eight points of defense are enframed by richly decorated medallions and, in the bottom center, by two angels with garlands of fruit.

There are several printed versions of the contest between Minerva (Athena) and Neptune (Poseidon) for the possession of Attica.<sup>2</sup> Rubens has used Ovid's description,<sup>3</sup> where the two gods competed with each other for the right to give their name to the city which was eventually called Athens. The Council of the Gods decided that the victor should be the deity who had given mankind the most useful gift. Neptune created the horse who sprung from a rock and Minerva invented the olive tree and was declared the winner.

Minerva stands in the left foreground, armed with spear and helmet and points to the olive tree. Neptune, on the right, restrains the rearing horse and holds his trident. The competitors are surrounded by the other gods. Mercury stands next to Minerva, behind whom are Vulcan with his hammer, Venus and Cupid, Mars, Ceres, Bacchus and Apollo. On the other side, Neptune is in front of Diana, Pan, Hercules, Pluto and several gods without attributes. Juno and

Jupiter are enthroned in the center and the latter is attended by Ganymede. Jupiter's gesture toward the olive tree reveals the outcome of the competition. Victory, with palm and wreath, flies down toward Minerva. Three signs of the zodiac, Gemini, Taurus and Aries, are visible behind Jupiter.

The subject of this thesis illustration, although not as elaborately treated as by Rubens, has a long history, beginning with the West Pediment of the Parthenon.<sup>4</sup> It was carried into the Renaissance, where it usually included only the two protagonists.<sup>5</sup> The closest parallel to Rubens's design is found in the engraving by René Boyvin and Antonio Fantuzzi made after a lost fresco by Rosso Fiorentino in Fontainebleau.<sup>6</sup> These engravings vaguely resemble Rubens's design in their horizontal format, the rearing horse controlled by Neptune in the right foreground and the group to the left which includes Mercury, the olive tree and Minerva about to be crowned by the flying personification of Victory.

Rubens's dependence upon Ovid's *Metamorphoses*<sup>7</sup> is made evident by the fact that his image simulates a tapestry, which is secured to the upper corners of the architecture by two pairs of putti. In Ovid it is just this theme that was woven by Minerva when she was challenged by Arachne. In the top center of the engraving, two genii fly in front of the tapestry. One carries the palm of Victory and the other an overflowing cornucopia of Abundance. Together, they support the coat-of-arms of the Barberini family crowned by the papal tiara and the keys. This imitation tapestry effect was not invented by Rubens but can be found in several sixteenth-century frescoes, especially in Italy.<sup>8</sup> Rubens himself had used it already a number of times.<sup>9</sup> In this thesis illustration he has combined two levels of reality, one being the architectural background and before it the genii carrying the coat-of-arms, the four putti and the tapestry, while the second level is the scene represented in the tapestry. This is justified here by the implicit reference to Ovid.

Rubens's choice of the subject is explained in the Dedication of the thesis to Pope Urban VIII, written by Charles de la Vieuville, Abbot of the Monastery of St. Mary's of Savigny, near Avranches (Normandy). This eulogy of the Pope on the lower plate praises his unceasing efforts to restore and maintain peace in Europe. His actions are compared to the victory of Minerva's gift, the olive tree (symbol of Peace), over the "martial" horse offered to Jupiter by Neptune. This comparison is carried a step farther. In the coat-of-arms of the Barberini family there are three bees, and because bees were believed to have a predilec-

tion for olive blossoms,<sup>11</sup> de la Vieuville concludes that those in the Pope's device contain a promise of peace's return. Pope Urban VIII is said to have had a strong desire for peace which he tried to achieve through his own actions in Rome and by sending ambassadors to various parts of the world. The latter are alluded to by the bees which move off in various directions above and around the olive tree. De la Vieuville also suggests that posterity may believe that the three bees represent Pope Urban VIII's restoration of the concord between the three kings. This could be an allusion either to the conclusion of peace brought about by the Treaty of Prague signed on May 30, 1635, or, even more likely, to the efforts of Urban VIII, beginning in 1635, to establish a meeting of ambassadors in Cologne to stop the war. These efforts failed. Rubens's design contains images of all these ideas. In the mythological scene above, the bees swarm around Minerva's olive tree while down below the medallions illustrate the attempt at further peace negotiations between the rulers of Europe and the dispatching of papal legates to work in this cause. It is clear that Rubens's imagery has nothing to do with the contents of de la Vieuville's thesis but only with the ideas expressed in the Dedication.

Although the olive branch was used as a symbol of Peace<sup>12</sup> on antique medals, the interpretation of the contest between Minerva and Neptune as the victory of Peace over War does not seem to be found in ancient art. Rubens, however, did not introduce this theme into art. It is represented with slight changes, such as the substitution of King Cecrops for Jupiter as the Judge, in an engraving by Theodore de Bry after J. J. Boissard illustrating the motto *PACI STVDERE PRAESTAT QUAM BELLO* (It is better to strive for peace than for war) in Denis Lebey de Batilly's emblem book of 1596.<sup>13</sup> In Rubens's illustration this idea is applied to Urban VIII's activities toward attaining peace, and the scenes in the lower plate are more specific illustrations of this quest. In every medallion surrounding the text, there is a reference to the Barberini bees, and the corner medallions allude to specific peace missions undertaken by Urban's ambassadors. The image in the upper left contains a seated female river goddess holding a caduceus, symbol of peace, surmounted by the Barberini bee and decorated with palms. The same bees adorn the jug from which the water flows. The text at the top of the frame reads: *OB MISSVM IN GALLIAM PACIS CAUSA LEGATVM FRANC. CARD. BARBERINVM. ANNO.M.DC.XXV.* (For sending Francesco Barberini into France as a legate for the sake of peace in the year 1625). The medallion in the upper-right corner includes a seated river god,

holding a similar caduceus, but decorated with the Order of the Golden Fleece, a lion, reeds and a distant mountain. The frame is inscribed above: OB LEGATVM IN HISPANIAM PACIS INTERPRETEM FRANCO. CARD. BARBERINVM. ANNO. M.DC.XXVI. (for sending Francesco Cardinal Barberini into Spain as the interpreter of peace in the year 1626).<sup>14</sup> In the bottom-left corner, there is also a seated river god holding the same type of caduceus described above and placed in a landscape with a goose, a serpent and a horse. The accompanying text reads: OB SEDATVM CASALENSE BELLVM PER LEGATVM ANTONIVM CARD. BARBERINVM. ANNO. M.DC. XXX. (For the settling of the struggle for Casale by the legate Antonio Cardinal Barberini in the year 1630).<sup>15</sup> On the right there is another river god holding a caduceus, but now the heads of the vipers turn out from the staff and an eagle sits in the left foreground. The words on the bottom of the medallion read: OB IMPENSE. (sic) PROCVRATAM PACEM LEGATO IN GERMANIAM MARTIO CARD. GINETTO. ANNO. M.DC.XXXVI. (For the zealous procuring of peace during the embassy to Germany of Cardinal Marzio Ginetti in the year 1636). Although Cardinal Ginetti's mission to Cologne in 1636 did not restore the peace desired by the Pope,<sup>16</sup> the imagery implies that the Pope's labours would not be fruitless. In fact, peace was not achieved until the Treaty of Westphalia in 1648. This notion that the Pope's efforts were not in vain is expressed in the three remaining illustrations, which must be read together. The medallion in the center left depicts two sleeping shepherds, an enormous number of bees buzzing around a tree and the words SOMNVVM SVADEBIT INIRE SVSVRRO (By its buzzing it will persuade to go to sleep). This suggests the idea that the first step towards peace is a softening of the aggressiveness of the opposing forces. On the other side, a shepherd plays a harp while a bee joins the ends of a broken string and others fly above three beehives. The text below reads: VT PLENA SONET CONCORDIA (In order that full harmony may sound). Finally, in the bottom center, a shepherd kneels before two dead bulls lying on stone altars. A swarm of bees fly out of the corpses and three of them form the shape of the Barberini device. The inscription below reads PACE REPERTA (When peace is recovered). This medallion alludes to the myth of Aristaeus, who had offended the nymphs and was punished by the destruction of his bees. His mother, Cyrene, then advised him to sacrifice four bulls, and after nine days had passed, bees flew from the dead bodies.<sup>17</sup> The ancient Greeks and Romans believed that bees could be bred from the carcasses of dead animals, and Virgil, who describes this practice, states that this was especially known to people from the

East.<sup>18</sup> Read in the context of Rubens's illustration, this image clearly refers to the regeneration of peace. These three medallions describe the manner in which Pope Urban VIII hoped to achieve this goal.

The inscription at the bottom of the engraving informs us that the composition was conceived by Rubens, worked out by Abraham van Diepenbeeck and engraved by Paulus Pontius. The Van Diepenbeeck drawing for the upper half of the engraving, preserved in the Stedelijk Prentenkabinet, Antwerp (Fig. 294),<sup>19</sup> contains all of the major figures present in the print except for Mercury and Bacchus. Actually Van Diepenbeeck has placed Mercury to Diana's right just behind Neptune in the space Pontius used for Pan. It is most likely that Pontius made this change because Mercury, the patron of the ambassadors,<sup>20</sup> had to be next to Minerva as the Pope's mainly tried to attain peace by the dispatching of his legates. There are other minor alterations such as the absence of Ganymede and the signs of the zodiac. His figure of Juno was slightly modified in the print, and the angels securing the tapestry to the architecture are barely suggested in the drawing.

The long inscription in the lower part of the engraving tells us that Charles de la Vieuville will defend his thesis in the College of Anchin in Douai on December 29, 1636, at eight-thirty in the morning, and that the Jesuit Father Robertus de Vitry<sup>21</sup> will preside. This date provides us with a *terminus ante quem* for both the Pontius engraving and the Van Diepenbeeck drawing. Because de la Vieuville's dedication mentions contemporary events such as the mission of Cardinal Ginetti to Cologne in the summer of 1636,<sup>22</sup> it is safe to suggest that the drawing and engraving were very likely finished late in 1636.

Proof prints of both plates are preserved in the Albertina, Vienna (Figs. 292, 293),<sup>23</sup> and they are inscribed with the names of Rubens and Pontius. There are only three medallions with inscriptions on the text plate, the ones on the middle left and right sides and in the bottom center.

<sup>1</sup> The architecture in the two plates is not consistent. In the upper plate the columns protrude above and beneath the tapestry. This is not the case in the bottom zone, where the columns are only indicated below, while the Dedication and the Summary of the thesis appear to be part of a wall.

<sup>2</sup> For a discussion of the literary history of this theme, see J.G. Frazer, *Apollodorus, The Library*, II, London-New York, 1921, pp. 78, 79, note 1.

<sup>3</sup> *Metamorphoses*, VI, 70–82.

<sup>4</sup> *Handbuch der Archäologie*, ed. by W. Otto and R. Herbig, III, I, Munich, 1950, pp. 152, 153, pl. 55.



- <sup>5</sup> See the examples listed by A. Pigler, *Barockthemen*, II, Budapest, 1956, p. 174.
- <sup>6</sup> E. and D. Panofsky, *The Iconography of the Galerie François I<sup>er</sup> at Fontainebleau*, *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, LII, 1958, p. 176, note 112, fig. 55; H. Zerner, *La Galerie François I<sup>er</sup> au Château de Fontainebleau, Les estampes et le style de l'ornement*, *Revue de l'Art*, XVI-XVII, 1972, p. 115, fig. 181.
- <sup>7</sup> Rubens obviously follows the version of Ovid's text in which Neptune creates a horse (*ferum*) and not a salt well (*fretum*; *Metamorphoses*, VI, 77). Both readings were known in the 17th century: the 1595 edition by the Plantin Press and the 1619 Amsterdam edition of the Latin text read *fretum*, but the Dutch translation of the *Metamorphoses*, published in 1608 in Antwerp by the heirs of Pieter Beelaert, and reprinted in 1631, mentions the horse ("oock wasser Neptunus die met sijnen scepter die aerde gheslagen hebbende, hadder een peert wt doen springen ..."; *Metamorphosis, dat is: Die Herscheppinge oft Veranderinghe, bescreven vanden vermaerden ende geleerden Poet Ovidius*, Antwerp, 1608, f<sup>o</sup> 80<sup>v</sup>). Modern editions, e.g. the one by the Association Guillaume Budé, prefer "fretum" but also mention the other variant (Ovide, *Les Métamorphoses*, II, Paris, 1965, p. 4).
- <sup>8</sup> As a few examples among a great many: *Psyche and the Gods* and *The Marriage of Amor and Psyche* in the Farnesina decorations (L. Dussler, *Raphael*, London-New York, 1971, pls. 159, 160) and *The Vision of Constantine* by Giulio Romano in the Vatican, Sala di Constantino (F. Hartt, *Giulio Romano*, II, New Haven, 1958, pl. 57).
- <sup>9</sup> Probably the earliest examples can be found in *The Eucharist Series*, best known through Rubens's modelli (*Haverkamp Begemann*, 1953, pp. 84-88, Nos. 73-77, figs. 63-66); other cases are *The Battle of Coutras* and *Henry IV Taking the Opportunity for Peace*, two modelli in the Liechtenstein Collection, Vaduz, for the *Henry IV Series* (K.d.K., p. 319) and *The Stage of Welcome*, designed for the *Pomba Introitus Ferdinandi* (Martin, *Pompa*, pp. 36-45, Nos. 1, 1a, Figs. 2, 3).
- <sup>10</sup> "VREANO VIII. PONT. MAX. COMMVNIS EVROPAE PACIS AVTHORI ET ARBITRO. SPERM TIBI orbis terrarum, SANCTISSIME PATER, ac poenè plausum exhibeo. Is enim saepe à Te subleuatus, nunc inter nouissimas clades salutem affectat, alioque periturus: & presumpto foelicitatis suae gaudio, gratulatur victricem auctoritate tua PACEM caput attollere; non aliter, quam Iouis sententiâ Pallas inuentione Oleae de Neptuno palmam tulit, qui Martialem è terra equum tridente extuderat. Hoc adeò spondebant APES tuae, quas vt Oleae floribus nasci, pascique certum est; sic vtique PACIS artibus mite ingenium alis, & PACEM ipsam, quam Romano in sinu foves, in ceteras partes crebrâ legatione moliris; vt ex trium Regum reducta concordia TRES tibi enatas APES credi à posteris aliquando possit. Haec inter orbis vita, patere me Philosophico hoc rudimento datam Tibi de me fidem exsoluere: nunquam tamen absoluendum, quamdiu fruar beneficio Tuo. Quod enim à Te accipi puer, adeò mentem adolescentis accendit, vt non satis vnquam dignus illo videri velim, quod immerito contulisti. CAROLVS DE LA VIEUVILLE". Charles de la Vieuville, Abbot of the monastery of Savigny since 1629, left this charge in 1644, to be succeeded by his cousin Henri (*Gallia Christiana*, XI, Paris, 1894, col. 551).
- <sup>11</sup> "Apis olivae floribus delectatur" (Ph. Picinelli, *Mundus Symbolicus*, Cologne, 1681, p. 26; H. Henkel and A. Schöne, *Emblemata*, Stuttgart, 1967, col. 2120).
- <sup>12</sup> *de Tervarent*, II, col. 290.
- <sup>13</sup> H. Henkel and A. Schöne, *op. cit.*, col. 213, repr.
- <sup>14</sup> For details of these two missions of the pope's nephew Cardinal Francesco Barberini (1597-1679) to Paris (May-December, 1625) and to Madrid (February-October,

- 1626) see L. von Paſtor (*Geschichte der Päpſte ſeit dem Ausgang des Mittelalters*, XIII, 1, Freiburg i.B., 1928, pp. 286-289, 296-299) and A. Merola (in *Dizionario biografica degli Italiani*, VI, Rome, 1964, pp. 173, 174).
- <sup>15</sup> Another nephew of Urban VIII, Cardinal Antonio Barberini (1607-1671), was ſent to Aſſandria, Torino and Pinerolo in March-April 1630 to try and negotiate, without ſucceſs, a truce in the Mantuan war (L. von Paſtor, *op. cit.*, pp. 401-406; A. Merola, *op. cit.*, p. 167).
- <sup>16</sup> Cardinal Marzio Ginetti, the former majordomo of Urban VIII and Cardinal ſince 1627, was appointed by the Pope as ſpecial ambaffador for the peace negotiations which were to be held. Becauſe of the reluctance of ſeveral of the parties involved, Cardinal Ginetti's arrival in Cologne was delayed until October 22, 1636. He remained there for nearly four years without any reſults worth mentioning (L. von Paſtor, *op. cit.*, pp. 484-493).
- <sup>17</sup> Virgil, *Georgics*, IV, 315-558.
- <sup>18</sup> *Ibidem*, 281-314.
- <sup>19</sup> Inv. No. 348; black chalk and brown waſh, 439 : 559 mm.; A.J.J. Delen, *Cabinet des eſtampes de la ville d'Anvers, Catalogue des deſſins anciens (Ecoles Flamande et Hollandaiſe)*, Brussels, 1938, I, p. 94, No. 337; II, pl. LXIII; *Van den Wijngaert*, p. 82.
- <sup>20</sup> See alſo above, p. 346, under No. 83.
- <sup>21</sup> "PRAESIDE R.P. ALOYSIO ROBERTO DE VITRY E SOCIETATE IESV Defendet Duaci in aulâ Collegij Aquicinctini Illuſtriſs. D. CAROLVS DE LA VIEVVILLE Abbas Monaſterij B. Mariae de Sauigniaco. Prior Belli-loci &c. Die 29. Decembris ſub medium 9. matutinae. Anno 1636". Aloysius Robertus de Vitry, born in Air, died in Douai on June 18, 1658 (A. Poncelet, *Nécrologie des Jéſuites de la province Gallo-Belge*, Louvain, 1908, p. 61).
- <sup>22</sup> See note 16.
- <sup>23</sup> Inv. No. HB, LIX, VI, pp. 36, 37; 482 : 594 mm., margin (top half); 433 : 598 mm. (bottom half).