

CORPUS RUBENIANUM

LUDWIG BURCHARD

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PART XXIII

COPIES AFTER THE ANTIQUE

IN THREE VOLUMES

I • TEXT

II • CATALOGUE

III • PLATES & INDEX

CORPUS RUBENIANUM  
LUDWIG BURCHARD

AN ILLUSTRATED CATALOGUE RAISONNÉ  
OF THE WORK OF PETER PAUL RUBENS  
BASED ON THE MATERIAL ASSEMBLED  
BY THE LATE DR LUDWIG BURCHARD  
IN TWENTY-SEVEN PARTS

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RUBENS  
COPIES AFTER  
THE ANTIQUE

BY MARJON VAN DER MEULEN

VOLUME I • TEXT

EDITED BY  
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# AUTHOR'S PREFACE

THIS PART of the *Corpus Rubenianum* Ludwig Burchard deals with copies that Rubens made of ancient monuments. They range from sculptures, mainly free-standing marbles, to portrait busts, sarcophagus reliefs and vases. His drawings of small objects such as coins and engraved gems and cameos are also included.

For the preparation of this study, the files of the late Dr Ludwig Burchard, now in the Nationaal Centrum voor de Plastische Kunsten van de XVIe en XVIIe Eeuw at Antwerp, served as a basic source. They contain a wealth of material on classical sculptures, although it is unedited and far from complete. Some of the material was used for the entries on ten drawings displayed at the exhibition, *Tekeningen van P.P. Rubens* (Antwerp, 1956), and the later publication, *Rubens Drawings* (2 vols., Brussels, 1963), in which five entries deal with copies after the Antique. Both were written by Burchard in cooperation with Professor R.-A. d'Hulst, Director of the Rubenianum. However, Burchard's documentation yields little information on Rubens's interest in numismatic and glyptic works of art. Engraved gems and cameos were the subject of my Ph.D. thesis for the University of Utrecht, *Petrus Paulus Rubens Antiquarius, Collector and Copyist of Antique Gems* (Alphen on the Rhine, 1975).

Since the death of Burchard in 1960 much new material has come to light. Of particular importance were the rediscovery of the album of Padre Resta in the Biblioteca Ambrosiana in Milan and the reappearance of two transcripts of Rubens's lost Notebook, the so-called *MS Johnson* and *MS de Ganay*. A considerable number of recent publications focus on Rubens's antiquarian interests as well as on the influence of classical art in his *oeuvre*.

Four introductory chapters precede the *catalogue raisonné*. The first describes the sculpture collections in Rome, and inevitably it responds to the irresistible challenge to pinpoint the exact models drawn by the artist. In the past, all too often works of art have been named as models for drawings by Rubens, even when they would not yet have been available to him. It was not always possible to track down the exact early seventeenth-century location of a sculpture. I have grouped the drawings together according to where Rubens could have produced them. The location of the model may provide clues to the itinerary of the artist and the date of a drawing. I have attempted to define the dates of his drawings more precisely to either the first or second Roman period.

The second chapter investigates Rubens's approach to and usage of classical statuary. In copying classical art, he originally followed the rules of cinquecento art theorists as well as the humanistic trend of the era. The presence of his brother Philip during his second stay in Rome may have stimulated his antiquarian studies and resulted in a more scholarly selection of sculptures. This is the subject of the third chapter. Rubens's interest in ancient portraiture and his contribution to the understanding of this field are examined in the fourth chapter.

The *catalogue raisonné*, Volume Two of this work, lists individual drawings by Rubens, together with copies and engravings made from them. In most cases, Burchard's attributions are still valid. In a few cases, however, new research has changed attributions. In several instances, where Burchard did not express an opinion, I have used my own judgement. This also holds for drawings that have come to light after Burchard's death. Although the text for this publication was virtually complete three years ago, the literature published since that time has been taken into account and the bibliographic references are up to date as far as possible.

In preparing this publication I have received the assistance of many scholars, friends and relatives. My greatest debt is to the late Dr Jan G. van Gelder, my teacher and Ph.D. adviser, and his wife Dr Ingrid van Gelder-Jost, who so liberally shared their knowledge and experience with me. Sadly enough, neither lived to see the present volume completed. I was much helped by the staff of the Rubenianum in Antwerp, who first hosted me in 1965 at the Museum Ridder Smidt van Gelder on the Belgiëlei. I thank Professor Roger-A. d'Hulst for his advice concerning the authorship of the drawings in Russia. To Dr Carl van de Velde I owe sincere thanks for assisting me in several ways, and also to his collaborators, Paul Huvenne and Marc Vandeven. I am particularly indebted to Arnout Balis for reading the manuscript and improving it with many creative suggestions and corrections. Much appreciated was the expertise and connoisseurship of Dr Julius Held, who also put his collection of rare books at my disposal. A special word of thanks goes to Elizabeth McGrath for correcting the Latin translations and Clare Reynolds for editing the manuscript.

This study required extensive archaeological knowledge, often a *terra incognita* for art historians, and I have drawn upon several specialists in this field. At a very early stage in my studies, the late Dr Jan H. Jongkees initiated me in archaeology and advised on iconographical matters; while much later Dr D. Mannsperger from Tübingen University gave me great assistance in identifying portraits drawn after coins. I have benefited from a discussion



with Dr C.C. Vermeule in Boston concerning Rubens's sculptural models. The Fondation Custodia, the Marquis de Ganay in Paris, the Earl of Plymouth in Oakly Park, Shropshire, and Prince Torlonia in Rome have made their collections of manuscripts, drawings and sculptures accessible to me, while F. Anzelewski, R. Bacou, Helen Braham, R.E.O. Ekkart, Dr Nancy T. de Grummond, Dr E. Haverkamp Begemann, C. van Hasselt, J. Kuznetsov, Dr Anne-Marie Logan, P. Marlow, C. Pietrangeli, and Ella Snoep-Reitsma have assisted in many different ways by supplying information or answering queries.

I am indebted to the staff of the Bibliothèque de Méjanes in Aix-en-Provence, the Rijksprentenkabinet in Amsterdam, the Staatliche Museen in Berlin, the Musée des Arts in Besançon, the Art Institute in Chicago, the Kobberstiksamling of the Statens Museum for Kunst in Copenhagen, the Staatliche Kunstsammlungen in Dresden, the Archivio di Stato in Florence, the Fogg Art Museum of Harvard University in Cambridge, Mass., the Department of Prints and Drawings of the British Museum in London, the Museum für Kunst und Kulturgeschichte in Lübeck, the Biblioteca Ambrosiana in Milan, the Museo Nazionale in Naples, the Pierpont Morgan Library and the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, the Musée des Beaux-Arts in Orléans, the Ashmolean Museum, Bodleian Library and Christ Church Library Collection in Oxford, the Cabinet des Médailles and the Cabinet des Estampes of the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, the Département des Arts Grecques et Romaines and the Cabinet des Dessins of the Musée du Louvre in Paris, the Villa Torlonia in Rome, the Museum Boymans-van Beuningen in Rotterdam and the Albertina in Vienna.

Grants from the Netherlands Organisation for the Advancement of Pure Research (Z.W.O.) and the Centrum voor de Plastische Kunsten van de XVIe en de XVIIe Eeuw in Antwerp have sponsored travel to Aix-en-Provence, Antwerp, Besançon, Brussels, Copenhagen, London, Lübeck, Milan, Naples, Oakly Park, Oxford, and Paris.

I am much indebted to the hospitality of the staffs of the libraries of the Kunsthistorisch Instituut and the Archaeologisch Instituut in Utrecht, the Universitäts Bibliothek in Tübingen, Bibliothèque d'art et d'archéologie in Paris, the Landes Bibliothek in Stuttgart and also in Munich, the Fogg Art Library of Harvard University in Cambridge, Mass., the Sterling and Art Libraries of Yale University in New Haven, Conn., the Census of Works of Art known to Renaissance Artists and the libraries of the Institute of Fine Arts of New York University in New York, the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, the IBM T.J. Watson Research Center in Yorktown Heights,

PREFACE

N.Y., and of the John C. Hart Memorial Library, also in Yorktown Heights, N.Y. I wish to acknowledge the help of my daughters Marjolein and Sabine, respectively, in obtaining library materials and in instructing me in the use of a personal computer for word processing.

My good friend Ko Feye now at the Archaeologisch Instituut of the University of Groningen deserves a special word of thanks, because without his vast knowledge of archaeological literature this study would never have been possible. Throughout the years devoted to Rubens and the Antique my husband and partner Yde has been a source of valuable criticism and encouragement. As a token of my gratitude this book is dedicated to both Ko and Yde.

*Yorktown Heights, N.Y., March 1993*

# ABBREVIATIONS

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- Le Blanc, *Manuel* C. Le Blanc, *Manuel de l'amateur d'estampes, contenant le dictionnaire des graveurs de toutes les nations. Dans lequel sont décrites les estampes rares, précieuses et*

ABBREVIATIONS

- intéressantes avec l'indication de leurs différents états et des prix auxquels ces estampes ont été portées dans les ventes publiques, en France et à l'étranger, depuis un siècle, I-IV, Paris, 1854-1889.*
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ABBREVIATIONS

- Maas, durch 73 Figuren in Kupfer vorgestellt; wie auch der Bildhauer-Kunst vortrefflichste 50 antiche oder alte Statuen mit ihren Regeln beschrieben: folgens die 12. erste Römische Käyser... Allesamt nach des Autoris verfertigten eignen Handrissen von den allerberühmtesten Kupferstechern dieser Zeit in Kupfer gebracht, Nuremberg-Frankfurt, 1679.*
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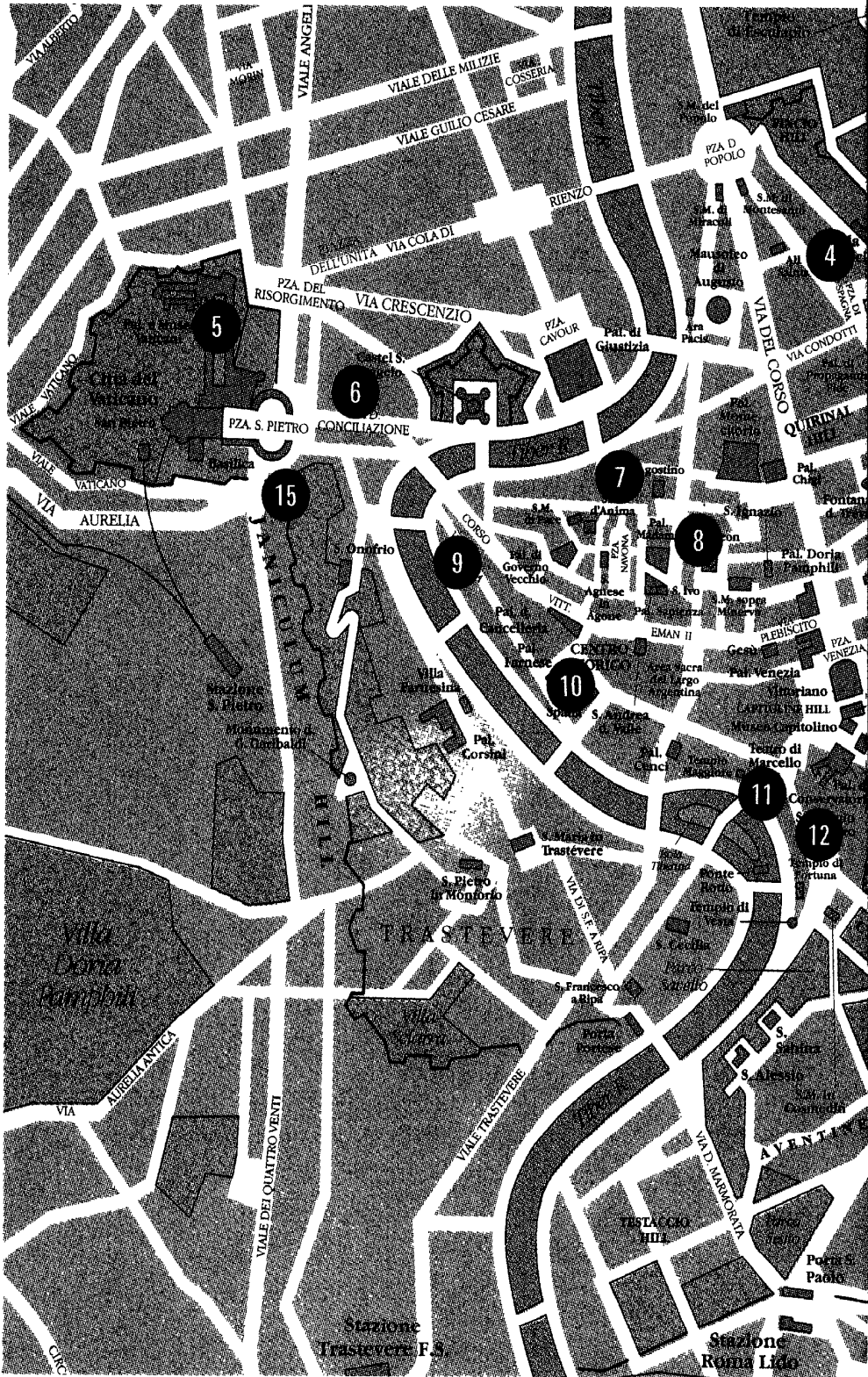


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- Canberra, 1988* *Rubens' Self-portrait in Focus*, Australian National Gallery, Canberra, August-October 1988.
- Cologne, 1977* *Peter Paul Rubens, 1577-1640, I, Rubens in Italien. Gemälde, Ölskizzen, Zeichnungen. Triumph der Eucharistie, Wandteppiche aus der Kölner Dom; II, Maler mit dem Grabstichel. Rubens und die Druckgraphik*, Kunsthalle, Cologne, October-December 1977.
- Dresden, 1970* *Dialogue. Kopie, Variation und Metamorphose alter Kunst in Graphik und Zeichnung vom 15. Jahrhundert bis zur Gegenwart, Zum 250 jährigen Jubiläum des Dresdner Kupferstichkabinettes*, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Kupferstichkabinett, Albertinum, Dresden, September-December, 1970.
- Düsseldorf, 1979* *P.P. Rubens und J. Jordaens. Handzeichnungen aus öffentlichen belgischen Sammlungen*, Kunstmuseum, Düsseldorf, March-April 1979; Wallraf-Richartz-Museum, Cologne, May-June 1979.
- Florence, 1966* *Artisti olandesi e fiamminghi in Italia. Mostra di disegni del cinque e seicento della collezione Frits Lugt*, Istituto Universitario Olandese di Storia dell'Arte, Florence, 1966.
- Helsinki, 1952-53* *P.P. Rubens, esquisses, dessins, gravures*, Ateneum, Helsinki, December 1952-January 1953.

ABBREVIATIONS

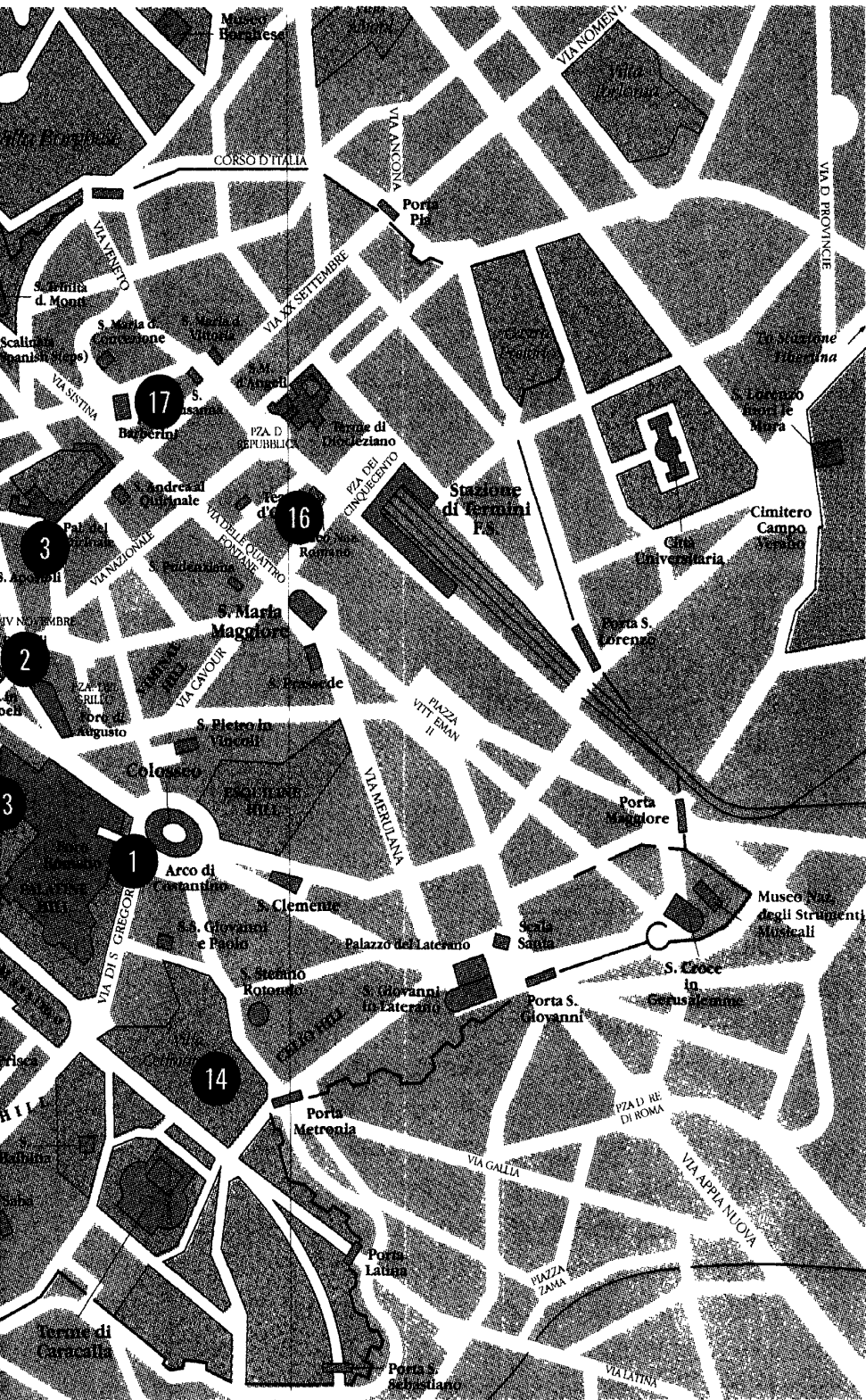
- Leningrad, 1940* *Rubens and his School in Drawing and Print in the Hermitage* [Russ.], Hermitage, Leningrad, 1940.
- Leningrad-Moscow, 1965-66* *Drawings by Rubens in the Museums of the USSR* [Russ.], Hermitage, Leningrad; Pushkin Museum, Moscow, 1965-1966.
- Leningrad, 1978* *Rubens and the Flemish Baroque. In Celebration of the 400. Birthday of Rubens* [Russ.], Hermitage, Leningrad, January-February 1978.
- London, 1835* *The Lawrence Gallery. First Exhibition. A Catalogue of One Hundred Original Drawings by Sir P.P. Rubens, Collected by Sir Thomas Lawrence*, [Cosmorama, London, May 1835].
- London, 1950* *A Loan Exhibition of Works by Peter Paul Rubens, Kt., Wildenstein and Co., London, October-November 1950.*
- London, 1960* *Paintings and Drawings from Christ Church, Oxford, The Matthiesen Gallery, London, April-June 1960.*
- London, 1977* *Rubens Drawings and Sketches*, British Museum, London, 1977.
- London, 1988-89* *Rubens Paintings, Drawings, Prints in the Princes Gate Collection, Courtauld Institute Galleries, University of London, London, October 1988-January 1989.*
- New York, 1968-69* *Gods and Heroes. Baroque Images of Antiquity*, Wildenstein, New York, October 1968-January 1969.
- Oxford-London, 1988* *Rubens in Oxford. An Exhibition of Drawings from Christ Church and the Ashmolean Museum, Christ Church Gallery, Oxford, April-May 1988; Colnaghi, London, May-June 1988.*
- Paris, 1954* *Anvers, ville de Plantin et de Rubens*, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, March-April 1954.
- Paris, 1978* *Rubens, ses maîtres, ses élèves; dessins du Musée du Louvre*, Cabinet des Dessins, Musée du Louvre, Paris, February-May 1978.
- Paris-Antwerp-London-New York, 1979-80* *Rubens and Rembrandt in their Century. Flemish & Dutch Drawings of the 17th Century from The Pierpont Morgan Library*, Institut Néerlandais, Paris, April-June 1979; Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Antwerp, June-September 1979; British Museum, London, September 1979-January 1980; Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, April-July 1980.
- Pittsburgh, 1987-88* *Old Master Drawings from Chatsworth. A Loan Exhibition from the Devonshire Collections*, The Frick Art Museum, Pittsburgh and other places, 1987-1988 (International Exhibition Foundation).

- Rome, 1977* *Rubens e l'incisione nelle collezioni del Gabinetto Nazionale delle Stampe, Villa della Farnesina alla Lungara, Rome, February-April 1977.*
- Rotterdam, 1939* *Teekeningen van Petrus Paulus Rubens, Museum Boymans, Rotterdam, February-March 1939.*
- Rotterdam, 1953-54* *Olieverfschetsen van Rubens, Museum Boymans, Rotterdam, December 1953-March 1954.*
- Rotterdam, 1969* *De antieke wereld in de prentkunst 1500-1700, Museum Boymans-van Beuningen, Rotterdam, February-March 1969.*
- Rotterdam, 1972-73* *Prenten naar Rubens, Museum Boymans-van Beuningen, Rotterdam, December 1972-March 1973.*
- Tokyo-Yamaguchi-Tsu-Kyoto, 1985-86* *Pierre Paul Rubens, Takashimaya Art Gallery, Tokyo, August-September 1985; Prefectural Museum, Yamaguchi, October-November 1985; Mie Prefectural Art Museum, Tsu, November-December 1985; Takashimaya Art Gallery, Kyoto, December 1985-January 1986.*
- Vienna, 1977* *Die Rubenszeichnungen der Albertina, zum 400. Geburtstag, Graphische Sammlung Albertina, Vienna, March-June 1977.*



Map of modern Rome with names of monuments and buildings

1. Arch of Constantine
2. Trajan's Column
3. Horse Tamers
4. Villa de' Medici
5. Belvedere
6. Palazzo Giraud (Borghese)



- 7. Palazzo Altemps
- 8. Palazzo Giustiniani
- 9. Palazzo Sacchetti (Ceoli)
- 10. Palazzo Farnese
- 11. Palazzo Savelli
- 12. Arch of the Moneyhandlers

- 13. Temple of Vespasian
- 14. Villa Mattei
- 15. Palazzo Cesi
- 16. Villa Montalto
- 17. Vigna da Carpi



# Introduction

THROUGHOUT HIS CAREER as an artist Peter Paul Rubens was fascinated by Antiquity, and at different times in his life he focused on different aspects of ancient art. In his youth, while spending eight years in Italy from 1600 to 1608, he became very interested in large, free-standing sculptures, and also in sarcophagus reliefs and small objects such as bronze statuettes, gems and coins. In the decade after his return to Antwerp he wrote essays on classical art theory, illustrated by study drawings. The 1620s would see his involvement in the preparation of a Gem Book for which he copied engraved gems and cameos (Nos. 163-173). And finally, in the last years of his life, he completed a series of portraits engraved after sculptures of famous Greek and Roman men, that reveal his interest in iconography (Nos. 108-119).

The Italian years nurtured the roots for many of his later preoccupations. It has been suggested that Rubens practised little actual copying in Italy but stored the newly acquired knowledge in his mind,<sup>1</sup> yet the artist himself wrote in 1606 that he had spent the summer in Rome studying art.<sup>2</sup> The number of copies that he made of Renaissance and ancient art while in Rome shows that the second statement more precisely reflects his activities.

Rubens normally copied marble statues in black chalk, applying accents in white.<sup>3</sup> Working with this medium on rough white paper he avoided the hard contours of the stone and could indicate the gradual nuances of light and shade. Some of his chalk sketches were worked up with the brush or pen to serve as work drawings for engravers. This we know from the preliminary drawings for prints with ancient portrait busts. Drawings used for engravings for Philip Rubens's *Electorum Libri II* of 1608 and for a reprint of Seneca's writings (1615) are not preserved, but were probably made by following the same procedure.

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1 A. Houbraken, *De groote Schouburgh der Nederlantsche Konstschilders*, I, Amsterdam, 1718, p. 65: 'dat hy weinig afteekeningen of modellen van Romeen met zig bracht, en als'er hem, (nu t' huis gekomen) naar gevraagd wierdt, om ze te zien, tot antwoord gaf: dat die in 't Kabinet van zyn geheugen waren opgesloten'.

2 Rubens to Chieppio, 2 December 1606 (*Rooses-Ruelens*, I, p. 354; *Magurn, Letters*, no. 14, p. 39). Cf. Rubens to Peiresc, 18 December 1634 (*Rooses-Ruelens*, VI, pp. 83-84; *Magurn, Letters*, no. 235, p. 394).

3 [A.J. Dézallier d'Argenville], *Abrégé de la vie des plus fameux peintres*, Paris, 1745, II, p. 145; *Held, Drawings*, p. 30; *Glück-Haberditzl*, p. 11.

When sketching bronzes, Rubens worked in the very different medium of pen and ink to reflect the harsh contours of the metal with its shiny gloss. He used the same technique to draw engraved gems and cameos, although for large gem stones he often sketched the main composition first in chalk, and then continued with a fine pen. This technique best rendered the taut, stiff lines of the hard precious material, while at the same time the detailed pen drawings were suitable as working drawings for his engravers.

In copying reliefs, Rubens made both detailed chalk drawings and quick pen sketches, the latter perhaps to illustrate the *Itinerary* he kept while in Italy (see below).

The majority of Rubens's copies of classical sculptures were made directly after originals, and only in a few cases do jagged edges or cut-off details indicate the use of a cast. In the case of coins and gems, Rubens often worked from the original. When original gems were not at hand he had to use casts made of sulphur, plaster or wax, often coloured in to resemble the original stone which the artist wanted to reproduce as closely as possible.<sup>4</sup> On a cast the picture is generally clearer than on a cameo or an intaglio, and Rubens may have used casts together with the originals.

Rubens studied classical sculptures in a very intense and scrupulous fashion, producing highly-finished drawings of single sculptures on large sheets of paper. He often 'circled around' his model, drawing it from as many as six angles, including back views. He did not always work in such a systematic fashion but might limit himself to a single view, sometimes from an unconventional angle. Typical for Rubens is the addition of a close-up view of a particular detail (a sandal, a mask or a face) that was of interest to him, seemingly added as an afterthought. When copying a relief, he might draw the whole composition or single out just one scene or motif.

Rubens was rather casual where it concerned even basic information on the model for his drawings,<sup>5</sup> but this is understandable, as he drew ancient statues primarily for study purposes. Since these drawings often pictured well-known statues, there would have been no need to provide details on their whereabouts. But even for a lesser-known marble he apparently judged it unnecessary to record location or identification. It is known that the artist

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4 Peiresc to P. Pasqualino, 26 January 1622 (see Appendix III.1); Rubens to P. Dupuy, 9 September 1627 (*Rooses-Ruelens*, IV, p. 303; *Magurn, Letters*, no. 123, pp. 200-201).

5 Cf. *Van Gelder-Jost, Rubens and Poelenburgh*, p. 470, n. 41: De Bisschop had already complained about the lack of information on Dutch drawings, "this being the usual carelessness of our countrymen".



kept an *Itinerary in Italy*<sup>6</sup> and perhaps this document contained particulars of the sculptures copied. The few pages preserved of this *Itinerary* (in a French translation) recount a visit to the collector Lelio Pasqualino in Rome and also give a rather precise description of mythological scenes on three sarcophagus reliefs, although their whereabouts are not disclosed.<sup>7</sup> Rubens may have considered such information irrelevant. In rare instances he annotated sculpture drawings with an appropriate quote from ancient literature.

Rubens's reproductions of antique cameos do bear annotations, of which some are even quite elaborate. They are scribbled, seemingly at random, around the gemstone and mainly provide information on iconography, size and colourings of the stone, but again, unfortunately, never on the whereabouts of the original model. Even on his sketches in Chatsworth of Roman emperors, the informative legends of the coins were omitted (Nos. 186-199).

The word 'copies' has so far been used for authentic drawings by Rubens which accurately reproduce classical works of art. However, for lack of an alternative, the word also applies to the second-generation products of others who in turn copied these drawings by Rubens. During his lifetime his study drawings were avidly copied and used as models.

Centuries later, in 1919, Gustav Falck published a revealing article on a large corpus of drawings in the Print Room of the Copenhagen Statens Museum for Kunst in which he showed that these drawings were copies after originals by Rubens.<sup>8</sup> On many of these, inscriptions were added in a cryptographic code. The sheets with these annotations are probably all by the same hand, most likely Willem Panneels whom Falck identified as the copyist.<sup>9</sup> The inscriptions often supply information on the original Rubens

6 Peiresc to Rubens, May 1625 (*Roses-Ruelens*, III, p. 364); Peiresc to P. Pasqualino, 26 January 1622 (see Appendix III.1). For the *Itinerary* see also Chapter III, pp. 114-122, and Chapter IV, p. 131.

7 Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS Fr. 9530, fols. 199r-200v (see Appendix I.1-3).

8 G. Falck, 'En Rubenselevs Tegninger', *Kunstmuseet Aarsskrift*, V, 1918, pp. 64-77; P. Génard, 'Petrus Paulus Rubens en Willem Panneels', *Rubens-Bulletijn*, I, pp. 220-223; J. Garff, 'Den kgl. Kobberstiksamling. Rubens Cantoor. Selected Drawings by Willem Panneels', in [Cat. Exh.], *Christian IV and Europe (The 19th Art Exhibition of the Council of Europe, Denmark, 1988)*, Copenhagen, 1988, pp. 291-299; *Garff-Pedersen, Panneels* (only those copies considered to be by the hand of W. Panneels have been catalogued and reproduced). The corpus of copies entered the collection allegedly in the 17th century.

9 *Garff-Pedersen, Panneels*, p. 11, assumed that Panneels furtively copied from Rubens's graphic material. However, J.S. Held, in his review of this book (*Master Drawings*, XXXIX, 4, 1991, pp. 416-430), rejected this hypothesis of Panneels's assumed deceitful behaviour and suggested that the annotations in code 'were meant only for himself'. Was it indeed for purely psychological reasons or could there have been a more urgent reason for the copyist to take the

drawing, kept in his 'Cantoor'. This word probably refers to a large closet used for storing valuable papers that could be locked, but it might also apply to the studio of the artist.<sup>10</sup>

The bulk of the Copenhagen corpus remained unpublished until recently.<sup>11</sup> About eighty-five copies in this corpus depict ancient sculptures and around twenty-five bear inscriptions. As part of the information on the model, identifications of the sculptures are mentioned in a few instances. Occasionally the copyist evaluated his work. Sometimes content with the result, he could also take a rather critical stance.

Of some originals by Rubens several copies exist, which clearly indicates that they were not the work of a single copyist but that several hands are represented. On average, with a few exceptions, their quality is rather poor. One copyist (probably the same Panneels) did not always copy the entire figure but omitted hands and heads, while adding hatchings to the background (see note 8). He did not always use the medium in which the original was drawn, but copied in red and black chalk, and corrected contours in dark ink.

The Copenhagen copies are interesting for a number of reasons. In some instances they copy a drawing by Rubens which still exists and thus offers an opportunity for comparison. A few copies are deceptively good. In other cases the originals by Rubens no longer exist, and the copies add to our knowledge, reproducing sculptures not known from Rubens's drawings, or picturing additional views of a known sculpture. Some of these can still be linked to his *oeuvre* through paintings, but there are copies that cannot be connected to Rubens at all, and it is uncertain whether they are in fact based on originals by Rubens. However, for the sake of completeness I have included these in my review and in the *catalogue raisonné*.

Rubens's copies after the Antique can generally be divided into two categories: those made for study purposes, and those recording monuments as documentation. The first group of study drawings was made to acquire

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trouble to invent a code, so that nobody else would be able to read his comments?

10 J. Verdam, *Middelnederlandsch handwoordenboek*, The Hague, 1932 (reprint 1979), p. 282. Erasmus Quellin II had a large 'cantoir' (gallery) constructed in his backyard; see F.J. Van den Branden, *Geschiedenis van de Antwerpsche schilderschool*, Antwerp, 1883, II, p. 793. Cf. Denucé, *Konstkamers*, p. 278: 'Op het groot cantoir'.

11 Held touches on some of the Copenhagen copies when they are related to autograph sheets in his *Rubens, Selected Drawings*. Others, such as Jaffé and Müller Hofstede, also published some of the copies. Garff-Pedersen, *Panneels*, published 258 sheets of the c. 500 copies, of which 64 are copies after the Antique.

experience in copying stone statues before proceeding to draw models from life. The number of autograph studies now known is rather small, yet the size of the Copenhagen corpus would indicate that Rubens had made an unusually large quantity. It is impossible to estimate how many drawings after antique models originally existed. After Rubens's return to Antwerp, the study drawings would serve as a source of inspiration for his paintings, in which a number of ancient statues reappear. Some types were particularly popular with Rubens and often recur, adapted for different purposes.

The second group of copies served a documentary purpose, and comprised less-detailed drawings, such as the sketches illustrating Rubens's *Roman Itinerary* (see note 6 and Appendix I). To this group also belong the illustrations made for Claude Fabri de Peiresc, his French correspondent, who repeatedly asked Rubens for 'griffonements' (sketches) of antiquities in his collection.<sup>12</sup> Some drawings by Rubens were made for, or would later

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12 Peiresc to Gevaerts, 17 January 1620 (*Rooses–Ruelens*, II, p. 240): 'un petit griffonement sur du papier'. Cf. Peiresc to Gevaerts, 3 October 1620 (*ibid.*, p. 257). In a few instances Rubens's letters are illustrated with pen sketches of objects discussed in his letters. For example: an engraved gem with a *Diva Vulva* is illustrated in Rubens's letter to Peiresc of 3 August 1623 (*Rooses–Ruelens*, III, p. 216). Sketches of tripods and a reconstruction of a fragment of an Egyptian calendar in Peiresc's collection served to clarify Rubens's letter; cf. Rubens to Peiresc, [1] August 1630 (*Rooses–Ruelens*, V, pp. 309–313 [as 10 August]; M. van der Meulen, 'A Note on Rubens's Letter on Tripods', *The Burlington Magazine*, CXIX, 1977, pp. 647–651, figs. 61–62; the letter is now in the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York).

In 1624 Rubens had an assistant make a drawing of a mummy case in his collection; cf. Rubens to Valavez, 26 December 1624 (*Rooses–Ruelens*, III, p. 315; *Magurn, Letters*, no. 59, p. 100). A drawing in black chalk with designs on the case in red chalk, blue and yellow wash shows two views of the mummy case (*text ill.* 27; Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS Dupuy 667, fol. 104r; 520 × 390 mm.). Two bronze statuettes were probably found in the case (their height 80 mm.). The sheet bears annotations in pen and ink in Rubens's handwriting on the lid of the case: *la cassa nella parte superiore*; above the mask in centre: *la maschera che copre / il viso del morto*; below the bronze statues: *Idolo di bronzo di questa Grandezza*. Inscriptions in pen and ink in Peiresc's handwriting read in bottom centre: *Dissegno d'vna Grande Mummia Aegyptia / dello studio del Sri. P. Rubens. / La maschera era d'argento*; at top left: *Cassa di / legno di Cedro / con il corpo / dentro*; at top right: *coperchio / della / cassa* (see *Van der Meulen, Antiquarius*, pp. 17–18, fig. XXVIII; *Jaffé, Self-portrait*, p. 28, pl. Xc). The artist did not want to fold the rather large sheet to make it fit in a package with books he was sending to Valavez, but preferred to take it to Paris rolled up in the paintings for Maria de' Medici; cf. Rubens to Valavez, 10 January 1625 (*Rooses–Ruelens*, III, p. 321; *Magurn, Letters*, no. 60, p. 102). Rubens travelled to Paris in February 1625, on which occasion Peiresc received the sheet. According to Ruelens the mummy case was still in 1850 in the collection of M. Van Parys, a descendent of the artist (C. Ruelens, *Pierre-Paul Rubens, documents & lettres*, Brussels, 1877, pp. 26–27; *Rooses–Ruelens*, III, p. 318). This was not the same mummy case as Rubens's, since it was the case of a male mummy and that of Rubens was of a female mummy (J.M. Muller, *Rubens: The Artist as Collector*, Princeton, N.J., 1989, p. 150, no. 1).

Two drawings of a gilt helmet acquired by Rubens in 1628 were made for Peiresc (*text ill.* 76 and cf. *text ill.* 77). For more details see Chapter III, note 139.

Included with the drawings of the helmet was a drawing of a marble sarcophagus cover (*text ill.* 35) picturing the *Trojan War (Iliupersis)*, which was spotted by the artist in England in the

serve as, book illustrations.<sup>13</sup> And most of his copies of antique gems were intended for publication.

Rubens himself was well aware of the importance of his working material. He bequeathed his library and archaeological papers to his son Albert, who shared his father's antiquarian interests and later used some of this material.<sup>14</sup> Rubens also stipulated in his will that after his death his drawings were to remain together for future use by his children, in case one of his sons would become an artist, or a daughter would marry one. When the youngest child entered a convent at the age of sixteen they were put up for sale on 28 August 1657.<sup>15</sup> Among the eager buyers was J.P. Happaert, Canon of Antwerp Cathedral, who reportedly spent 6,000 florins on drawings by Rubens.<sup>16</sup> Another buyer was probably Erasmus Quellin II, one of his last

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Arundel collection and copied by a pupil; cf. Rubens to Peiresc, 16 March 1636 (*Roozes–Ruelens*, VI, p. 155; *Magurn, Letters*, no. 238, p. 404; see *Van der Meulen, Antiquarius*, p. 85, n. 22). See Chapter II, notes 83 and 84. On another occasion a drawing of a spoon owned by Rubens was sent to Peiresc; cf. Rubens to Peiresc, 18 December 1634 (*Roozes–Ruelens*, VI, p. 83). See No. 200; Fig. 403.

- 13 Five engravings were made by Cornelis Galle after Rubens's preparatory drawings to illustrate Philip Rubens's *Electorum Libri II*, Antwerp, 1608, pp. 21, 33, 66, 73 and 74. See Chapter III, pp. 97–113; *text ill.* 51, 54, 57, 59 and 61.

Two preliminary drawings served as models for the engravings by C. Galle picturing a statue of the *Dying Seneca* (see under No. 8) and the portrait head of 'Seneca' belonging to Rubens (see under No. 117; Fig. 221) to illustrate *L.A. Senecae Opera Omnia*, Antwerp, 1615.

*A Child in Swaddling Clothes* was drawn after a detail of a scene on Rubens's Early Christian sarcophagus for an illustration in J.J. Chifflet, *De Linteis Sepulchralibus Christi Servatoris Crisis Historica*, Antwerp, 1624, p. 171. Cf. Rubens to [J.J. Chifflet?], 23 April 1624 (*Magurn, Letters*, no. 57, pp. 97, 453; see *Van der Meulen, Antiquarius*, pp. 17, 83 n. 2, fig. XXVI.A). See No. 142; Fig. 273.

- 14 P. Génard, 'Het laatste testament van P.P. Rubens', *Rubens-Bulletijn*, IV, p. 133: 'Aan Albert gaf hij als "prelefaat de boecken ende bibliotecque"'. Cf. *Rubenius, De Re Vestiarum*, p. 122: 'inveni inter schedas patris'. See also Chapter I, note 7; Chapter II, note 87; and under Nos. 4, 60, 132–134 and 218.

- 15 P. Génard, *op. cit.*, p. 134. In his introduction of 1684 to a volume of drawings by Rubens (now in Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, F.249 inf.), Padre Resta remarks that he had acquired them from a Fleming, who died in Rome. The Fleming had inherited them from a fellow countryman, a Monsù Habé, a pupil of Van Dyck and friend of Rubens, who had inherited them from Rubens himself. This mysterious person was recently identified as Maximiliaen Labbé, a sculptor and contemporary of Rubens who died in 1675 in Malines (J. Wood, 'Padre Resta's Flemish Drawings. Van Diepenbeeck, Van Thulden, Rubens and the School of Fontainebleau', *Master Drawings*, XXVIII, 1990, pp. 3–53). Among the drawings Resta acquired were several after the Antique: the *Borghese Fisherman* (Nos. 7 and 13), *Hercules Farnese* (No. 14), *Head of Silenus* (No. 33), *Laocoon* (Nos. 76, 81, 91–93), *She-wolf with Romulus and Remus* (No. 98), and *Reclining Hercules and Rivergod* (No. 136). This course of events, however, seems contradictory to the stipulation in Rubens's last will. See also notes 14 and 22.

- 16 P. Skippon, *An Account of A Journey*, in *A Collection of Voyages and Travels*, London, 1732, p. 384: 'Antwerp. 6 May 1664. At mijnheer Happaert's, a canon of N. Dame, we saw very rare pieces, being first draughts of the best painters, which he purchas'd with 6000 florins at the

students and collaborators, as quite a few of Rubens's copies after the Antique are listed in the inventory of his estate.<sup>17</sup> A banker, Everard Jabach from Cologne, was also among the bidders.<sup>18</sup>

For centuries Rubens's copies after the Antique were neglected, probably because they lack creativity and are not original compositions. References to them are rare and entries in sales catalogues tend to be brief and uninformative when they concern copies after the Antique. From collector's marks and stamps on front and back of the sheets we learn that Rubens's studies of sculptures found a place in well-known collections. For example, the entry '18 studies of antiquities and coins' in Bénard's catalogue of the Paignon-Dijonval collection of 1810 can only be understood from the later history of the collection.<sup>19</sup> And even the connoisseur Pierre Jean Mariette (1694-1774) lumped several drawings together as 'copies' in his catalogue of the collection of Pierre Crozat.<sup>20</sup> From Mariette's personal notes published much later we learn that Crozat owned at least two drawings with antique portrait sculptures,<sup>21</sup> as is indeed confirmed by his collector's mark on two drawings known today.

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auktion von Rubens's goods, who order'd by will that they should not be sold 'till 14 years after his death, lest it should be discover'd from whence he had his best designations'.

An inventory of the collection of J.P. Happaert was drawn up in 1686 (*Denucé, Konstkamers*, pp. 333-338). See also No. 184, n. 10.

17 *Denucé, Konstkamers*, pp. 272-294: inventory of 1678 of E. Quellin. See No. 76, n. 6, and Nos. 77, 126, 143-159.

18 *Mielke-Winner*, p. 6. See No. 109a.

19 *Bénard, Paignon-Dijonval*, p. 66, no. 1347. Some of these were later acquired by Sir Thomas Lawrence; cf. *The Lawrence Gallery. First Exhibition. A Catalogue of One Hundred Original Drawings by Sir P.P. Rubens, Collected by Sir Thomas Lawrence*, [London, 1835], no. 35: 'Six highly finished drawings from antique gems, heads of Medusa, &&... From the Dijonval collection'. See Nos. 174-179.

20 P.J. Mariette, *Description sommaire des desseins des grands maîtres d'Italie, des Pays-Bas et de France du Cabinet de feu M. Crozat*, Paris, 1741, p. 92, no. 810: 'Dix Desseins de Rubens... d'après l'antique...'; p. 93, no. 812: 'Dix, id., d'après l'Antique...'. In the introduction (p. vij), Mariette observed that the drawings by Rubens were acquired from the collection of Antoine Triest, Bishop of Ghent. The large number of drawings by Rubens were grouped into lots and only those picturing original designs and compositions were mentioned by name. Cf. *Held, Drawings, 1986*, p. 9.

21 *Abécédario de P.J. Mariette*, ed. by P. de Chennevières and A. de Montaiglon, V, Paris, 1858-59, p. 118: '-Divers bustes antiques dessinés par Rubens et gravés au burin sous sa conduite en l'année 1638- J'ai vu chez M. Crozat deux desseins de Rubens pour ces bustes; ils étoient à la plume et dessinés très ferme, mais peu ou point du tout dans le goût antique'. See Nos. 114a and 117a.

There are some exceptions to the general lack of interest. An Italian collector, Padre Sebastiano Resta, often belittled for his lack of connoisseurship, greatly cherished his drawings by Rubens after the Antique and mounted them together in an album. He owned no less than eight or nine sheets picturing ancient marbles and hoped to acquire another two, as he wrote in a foreword to the album he presented to the Biblioteca Ambrosiana in 1684.<sup>22</sup> Another exception is formed by the description of a drawing of an 'antique bas-relief' in the Van Schorel collection, sold in Antwerp in June 1774, which may, though not with absolute certainty, be identified with a sheet picturing the *Gemma Tiberiana* in Antwerp.<sup>23</sup> In the same catalogue, an entry of a drawing after an antique onyx may be connected with a nineteenth-century facsimile reproduction of a drawing by Rubens of a cameo representing *The Battle of Alexander the Great against the Indians*, which is now lost (No. 163; Fig. 309).<sup>24</sup>

A more appreciative attitude emerges with the sale of the collection of Sir Thomas Lawrence in 1835. Among the hundred sheets on view to the public were several copies by Rubens after the Antique. The powerful drawing of the Torso of Laocoon (now in Dresden; No. 77; Fig. 150) is praised as a 'beautiful, finished drawing, evidently executed from the statue'. A sheet with six studies from antique gems is noted to picture 'the original gems [which] formed part of the Collection which Rubens sold to the Duke of Buckingham' and 'A Bust of Socrates, great expression' was recognized to have been 'among the acquisitions made by the Duke of Buckingham'.<sup>25</sup>

22 Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, F. 249 inf. (fol. 2r), 'del medemo [sic] Rubens il Seneca in vna sola veduta di profilo dispiacendomi, che due altre vedute siano capitate in altre mani, ma forse le aquistarò, e le mandarò perche le agghionghino à questo foglio'. See Nos. 7 (nn. 9 and 10), 14, 76, 81, 91-93, 98, 136, and also Nos. 13 and 33.

23 *Catalogue des tableaux, peintures à gouache, miniatures, desseins, estampes...provenant du Cabinet de Monsieur van Schorel, Seigneur de Wiltryck*, 7 June 1774, Antwerp, p. 66, lot 3: 'Un autre Dessein capital, fait à la plume: il représente un bas-relief antique composé de 25 figures'. See No. 168a.

24 *Ibid.*, p. 67, no. 9: 'Un Dessein fait à la plume d'après un onyx antique: il est accompagné de quelques notes manuscrites, qui sont aussi de la main de Rubens'. See No. 163.

25 *The Lawrence Gallery*, op. cit. (note 19). Several entries pertain to drawings after the Antique: no. 16: 'Triumph of Bacchus and Silenus—from an antique basso relievo' (unidentified, c.395 × 125 mm.; as from Sir P. Lely's collection); no. 19: 'The Body of the Laocoon' (see No. 77); no. 20: 'A Design.—Soldiers storming the entrenchments; being a part of the Trajan column' (unidentified, c.395 × 285 mm.; as from M. Brunet's collection; later sold in London [Foster], 9 April 1862, lot 375); no. 35: 'Drawings from Antique Gems, etc.' (see Nos. 174-179); no. 36: 'Bust of Socrates...From the collection of Marquis Vinde' (see No. 111a, Copy); no. 94: 'Mask of a Silenus—from the Antique, octagon... From the Collection of Richardson and J. Hudson' (see No. 33, Copy 4).

A century later, in 1933, a major exhibition of drawings by Rubens that included three sheets showing classical sculptures was mounted by the Amsterdam art dealer Goudstikker.<sup>26</sup> In 1954, at the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, engravings were exhibited for the first time.<sup>27</sup> A series of prints after antique sculpture busts have become a regular feature at exhibitions since 1969, when eleven of twelve prints showing *Viri Illustri*, famous Greeks and Romans, were shown in Rotterdam together with other prints with ancient themes.<sup>28</sup> By coincidence the head of Seneca (No. 117; Fig. 223) had been on view a year before at Chapel Hill, North Carolina.<sup>29</sup>

The number of exhibitions showing copies after the Antique has increased over the past decades, culminating in 1977 when practically every drawing and engraving could be seen at shows celebrating the fourth centenary of Rubens's birth.<sup>30</sup> By then, the summary entries of early catalogues had grown into lengthy articles discussing the artist's antiquarian interests and his involvement in classical art. The exhibition *Rubens in Italien*, mounted in Cologne in autumn 1977, offered a unique occasion to view and compare Rubens's drawings of classical statues and small bronzes. Padre Resta's album from Milan was taken apart and the sheets were displayed separately for the first time. A large show organized by the British Museum in London included a series of pen sketches showing coins with Roman emperors; regrettably, a similar set of much better quality, belonging to the Duke of Devonshire, has received little exposure (see Nos. 186-199).

Rubens's elaborate drawing of the *Gemma Tiberiana* (No. 168a) has been featured at many exhibitions, but his meticulous pen sketches of smaller gemstones and the exquisite pen drawing of the *Triumph of Licinius* in the British Museum have been rarely seen by the public (No. 167a). The series,

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26 *Catalogus der Rubens-tentoonstelling*, Kunsthandel J. Goudstikker, Amsterdam, 1933: no. 92, *Farnese Bull* (see No. 71); no. 93, *Torso Belvedere* (see No. 37); no. 94, *Hercules Farnese* (see No. 18); no. 110, *Cameo of Tiberius* (see No. 168a).

27 *Anvers, ville de Plantin et de Rubens*, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, 1954, no. 361. Also entered were: no. 389, *The Large Cameo of Tiberius* (see No. 168a); no. 413, *Torso Belvedere* (see No. 37); no. 414, *Story of Proserpina* (see No. 139).

28 *De antieke wereld in de prentkunst 1500-1700*, Museum Boymans-van Beuningen, Rotterdam, 1969: no. 69, *Brutus* (see No. 108); no. 70 B *Julius Caesar* (see No. 109); no. 72, *Cicero* (see No. 110); no. 73 B, *Democritus* (see No. 111); no. 76, *Hippocrates* (see No. 113); no. 78 B, *Nero* (see No. 114); no. 80 C, *Plato* (see No. 115); no. 81, *Scipio Africanus* (see No. 116); no. 82, *Seneca* (see No. 117); no. 83, *Socrates* (see No. 118); no. 84, *Sophocles* (see No. 119).

29 N.T. de Grummond, [Cat. Exh.] *Prints after Rubens*, Chapel Hill, N.C., 1968, no. 37, *Brutus* (see No. 108); no. 38, *Seneca* (see No. 117).

30 P. Huvenne, 'Het Rubensjaar in druk', *Antwerpen, Tijdschrift der Stad Antwerpen*, XXIV, 1978, 3, pp. 18-19, II: Tentoonstellingscatalogi.

engraved after antique gems and cameos, had been virtually ignored until recently and never been shown as a complete set, yet these prints are among the most remarkable of their kind.<sup>31</sup>

Rubens's archaeological knowledge and antiquarian activities were both recognized and appreciated by his contemporaries, but early biographers severely criticized the use of ancient art in his *oeuvre*.<sup>32</sup>

The influence of classical art in Rubens's work was widely noticed even when his drawings after the Antique remained largely unknown. In a 1642 biography, Giovanni Baglione praised the artist's work as vivacious and natural, and ascribed these qualities to his study of the ancient and modern *mirabilia* in Italy.<sup>33</sup> Other early writers were not nearly as positive about his use of antique art. In 1672, when assessing Rubens's handling of antique models, Gian Pietro Bellori observed that, although the painter was a genius and erudite artist, his figures did not correspond to the aesthetic ideal. He claimed that when Rubens copied the statues of Apollo, Venus, Hercules, the Gladiator, he made them unrecognizable and subjected them to his own *maniera*.<sup>34</sup> Bellori's opinion, later repeated verbatim by Félibien (1685), Baldinucci (1702) and Turnbull (1740), had an enduring influence on the appreciation of Rubens.<sup>35</sup> Félibien claimed that, in spite of all Rubens's studies

31 A few of the eight engravings picturing gems have been displayed on separate occasions: *Anvers, ville de Plantin et de Rubens*, Paris, 1954, no. 390, *Cameo of Tiberius* (see No. 168); *Het Belgisch humanisme na Erasmus*, Museum Plantin-Moretus, Antwerp, 1969, no. 106 (id.); *De antieke wereld in de prentkunst 1500-1700*, Museum Boymans-van Beuningen, Rotterdam, 1969, no. 37, 'Five Cameos' (see No. 170) and no. 38, 'Triumph of Constantine' (see No. 166); *Rubens, Drawings and Sketches*, British Museum, London, 1977, no. 96, *Triumph of Licinius* (see No. 167). Following my suggestion, David Jaffé mounted seven of the eight engravings in the bicentenary exhibition *Rubens' Self-portrait in focus*, Canberra, Australia, 1988: p. 19 (repr.), drawing *Gemma Tiberiana* (see No. 168a); p. 26 (repr.), drawing *The Triumph of Licinius* (see No. 167a); p. 32 (repr.), engraving *Gemma Tiberiana* (see No. 168); p. 33 (repr.), engraving by Nic. Ryckemans, *Gemma Augustaea* (see under No. 164); p. 34 (repr.), engraving *Three Heads in Profile* (see No. 169); p. 35 (repr.), engraving 'Triumph of Constantine' (see No. 166); p. 36 (repr.), engraving by Lucas Vorsterman, *Four Heads in Profile I* (see No. 172); p. 37, engraving *Five Heads in Profile* (see No. 170) but with *Head of Africa* spliced in (see No. 171); p. 38 (repr.), engraving *Rubens Vase* (see No. 184); p. 38 (repr.), engraving *The Triumph of Licinius* (see No. 167). Vorsterman's *Four Heads in Profile II* (see No. 173) was excluded from the show.

32 O. Bock von Wülflingen, *Rubens in der deutschen Kunstbetrachtung*, Berlin, [1947]; V. Miesel, 'Rubens, Ancient Art, and the Critics', *Criticism*, V, 1963, pp. 214-238; *Stechow, Rubens*, pp. 90-95; D. Bodart, 'Rubens et la critique italienne ancienne', in *Rubens e Firenze*, ed. by M. Gregori, Florence, 1983. See also notes 33-36 below.

33 G. Baglione, *Le vite de' pittori, scultori et architetti*, Rome, 1642 (reprint Rome, 1935), p. 362.

34 G.P. Bellori, *Le vite de' pittori, scultori et architetti moderni*, Rome, 1672, p. 248.

35 A. Félibien, *Entretiens sur les vies et sur les ouvrages des plus excellens peintres*, Paris, 1685, IV, p. 120; F.S. Baldinucci, *Notizie de' professori del disegno*, Florence, 1702, p. 287; G. Turnbull, *A Treatise on Ancient Painting*, London, 1740, pp. 164-165.



and his high esteem for the ancients, the artist painted faces that were ordinary and common, while the proportions of his figures were a far cry from those of the antique sculptors.<sup>36</sup> Also uncalled for was the mixture of pagan allegories with contemporary and religious events in the paintings for the Medici gallery. Thus, classical education, advocated by Henry Peacham as important for proper historical compositions,<sup>37</sup> was held against Rubens by Félibien who proposed that he had studied too much (see note 36).

To Roger de Piles, however, Rubens's paintings surpassed nature and were superior to those of painters whose figures had little colour and resembled stone sculptures.<sup>38</sup> De Piles was well informed on his studies of ancient art and his position on imitating classical statues, and he praised the genius of the erudite Flemish artist who could avoid the resemblance of stone statues in his paintings: 'His postures are simple and natural, lacking coldness, contrasting and animated without exaggeration and varied with prudence'.<sup>39</sup>

In spite of an appreciative attitude towards Rubens, the great English collector and critic Jonathan Richardson the Elder exclaimed in his *Traité de la Peinture* (1728) that the artist rejected the Antique to follow Nature.<sup>40</sup> And, as George Turnbull phrased it in his *Treatise on Ancient Painting* (1740): 'The great modern Masters seem to have fallen short of the ancient Artists, not in Genius, but chiefly on this account, that they had not such noble living Forms before their Eyes to raise and exalt their Conceptions'.<sup>41</sup> Turnbull's judgment is clearly based on the essay, *De Imitatione Statuarum*, published by De Piles in 1708, in which Rubens focused on the degeneration of the human body since Antiquity, due to overeating and lack of physical exercise.<sup>42</sup> Turnbull also extolled Rubens's 'vast Imagination and very sublime grand Genius, but a good Taste of Beauty and the Antique is wanting' (see note 35). And Horace Walpole remarked in a biography of 1762 published by George Vertue, '...that the Duke [of Mantua] sent him to Rome to copy the works of great masters. There he studied them, not what they had

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36 A. Félibien, op. cit., pp. 115-117.

37 H. Peacham, *The Compleat Gentleman*, London, 2nd edn, 1634, chapter XII, 'Of Antiquities', p. 110 (not in the 1st edn).

38 R. de Piles, *Dialogue sur le coloris*, Paris, 1673, p. 68.

39 Id., *Abrégé de la vie des peintres, avec des reflexions sur les ouvrages*, Paris, 1699, p. 404.

40 J. Richardson, *Traité de la peinture et de la sculpture*, Amsterdam, 1728, III, p. 29.

41 G. Turnbull, op. cit. (note 35), p. 92.

42 R. de Piles, *Cours de peinture par principes*, Paris, 1708, pp. 139-148.

studied, the ancients; Rubens was too careless of the antique as Poussin copied it too servilely. The former seemed never to have seen a statue, the latter nothing else'.<sup>43</sup>

The contours of Rubens's figures are a far cry from those of ancient Greek statues, as the German art theorist J. J. Winckelmann complained in his *Gedanken über die Nachahmung* (1756),<sup>44</sup> but later in *Von der Fähigkeit der Empfindung des Schönen* (1763) he wrote passionately about the transparent glow in Rubens's rendering of skin and the translucent hue of his colours, praising above all his poetic creativity as equal to that of Homer.<sup>45</sup> Such debates on Rubens's aesthetic merits and qualities were to persist among art theorists.

A different approach came from an unknown Dutch artist and actor, Wybrand de Geest, who was the first to analyze Rubens's use of ancient sculptures. His *Kabinet der Statuen*, an abbreviated commentaried Dutch edition of F. Perrier, *Segmenta nobilium Signorum et Statuarum* (Rome, 1638), was published in Amsterdam in 1702. Taking 83 of the 100 statues reproduced in Perrier, he categorized them into three groups: standing males, standing females and recumbent figures. The purpose of his booklet is explained by de Geest in his Preface: 'to present the sculptures, their whereabouts as well as the famous artists who used these sculptures as models and honoured them in their paintings'.<sup>46</sup> De Geest was surprisingly well informed on Rubens's appreciation for antique statues and in fact quoted him several times. This information might have been passed on by his father, Julius de Geest, who studied with Erasmus Quellin.<sup>47</sup> The latter, a student and collaborator of Rubens, must have been familiar with Rubens's opinion and admiration of antique sculpture. It seems doubtful whether de Geest

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43 *Anecdotes of Painting in England; collected by G. Vertue, published by H. Walpole*, Strawberry Hill, 1762, II, p. 80.

44 J.J. Winckelmann, *Gedanken über die Nachahmung der griechischen Werke in der Malerey und Bildhauerkunst*, 2nd rev. edn, Dresden-Leipzig, 1756, p. 16: 'Viele unter den neueren Künstlern haben den griechischen Contour nachzuahmen gesucht, und fast niemanden ist es gelungen. Der grosse Rubens ist weit entfernt von dem griechischen Umrisse der Körper...', and p. 123.

45 Id., *Abhandlung von der Fähigkeit der Empfindung des Schönen in der Kunst, und dem Unterrichte in derselben*, Dresden, 1763, p. 29: 'Rubens, welcher in der Zeichnung nicht Idealisch ist, ist es hier; sein Fleisch gleichet der Röthe der Finger, welche man gegen die Sonne hält, und seine Colorit ist gegen jene, wie das ächte Porcellan gegen eine durchsichtige Glascompositon'.

46 W. de Geest, *Het kabinet der statuen*, Amsterdam, 1702, preface \*.

47 *Ibid.*, p. 52; *Biographie nationale de Belgique*, V, Brussels, 1876, col. 93; *Allgemeines Lexikon der bildenden Künstler*, ed. U. Thieme and F. Becker, XIII, Leipzig, 1920, p. 331; P. Rombouts and T. Van Lierus, *De liggeren... der Antwerpsche Sint Lucasgilde*, Antwerp-The Hague, II, 1876 (reprint Amsterdam, 1961), pp. 278, 280 (anno 1656-1657).

could have seen many paintings by Rubens, but he did know prints of his work. With Perrier's illustrations at hand he pointed to several statues in Rubens's *oeuvre* declaring that 'Rubens always used the Ancients in his paintings'.<sup>48</sup>

From an extensive biography by J.F.M. Michel (Amsterdam, 1774) we learn disappointingly little about Rubens's studies of the Antique.<sup>49</sup> The author only mentioned the Greek Venus in the Medici collection in Florence as much admired by Rubens, although the early whereabouts of this sculpture have not been traced. Francesco Algarotti recognized the imitation of ancient statuary in Rubens's *oeuvre* and stated in his *Saggio sulla pittura* that only a great master could use antique models for his own purposes.<sup>50</sup>

In 1750 Mariette's *Pierres Gravées* appeared, with a survey of literature on ancient engraved gems.<sup>51</sup> In it, Mariette discussed a rare series of engravings by Rubens after gems and cameos which belonged to his large collection. He realized the uniqueness of the prints, but he did not know for what purpose Rubens had intended them. The missing link can be found in Rubens's correspondence, which became available a century later with the publication of Gachet's *Lettres inédites* of 1840,<sup>52</sup> followed by Ruelens' *Documents et lettres* in 1877,<sup>53</sup> and by the monumental *Rooses–Ruelens* (1887-1909), a compilation of key importance for any research on the artist. In Rubens's letters to his archaeological friend Peiresc the image of the artist as a philologist and an antiquarian emerges, and the history of the gem engravings could be pieced together. This enabled Goeler von Ravensburg to devote a monograph to *Rubens und die Antike* (1882), a basic historical overview still valid today. Few of Rubens's drawings after classical statuary were known at that time, those used as work drawings for engravers were lost and 'about

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48 W. de Geest, *op. cit.*, p. 75: 'Rubbens heeft de Antyken altyd in sijne Schilderij gebragt'.

49 J.F.M. Michel, *Histoire de la vie de Rubens*, Brussels, 1771 (trans. V.C. van Grimbergen, *Historische levensbeschryving van Petrus Paulus Rubens*, Amsterdam, 1774, p. 39).

50 F. Algarotti, *Saggio sopra la pittura*, Livorno, 1763 (trans. *Essai sur la peinture*, Paris, 1769, p. 227).

51 Mariette, *Pierres Gravées*, pp. 299-301; see p. 300: 'Ce qui me fait conjecturer qu'il avoit véritablement conçu le project d'un ouvrage, qui ne pouvoit qu'ajouter à sa gloire, ce sont des épreuves que je possède, & qui ne sont pas aisées à trouver, de quelques Planches qu'il avoit fait graver d'après des Camées antiques de la première beauté...'; p. 301: 'Quel étoit le véritable motif de Rubens en faisant graver ces Camées? c'est ce que je ne puis pénétrer. Peut-être n'avoit-il d'autre intention que de faire simplement connoître les Camées qui lui appartenoient, tant ceux qu'il avoit en original, que ceux dont il avoit seulement des empreintes...'

52 E. Gachet, *Lettres inédites de Pierre-Paul Rubens*, Brussels, 1840.

53 C. Ruelens, *Pierre-Paul Rubens. Documents & Lettres*, Brussels, 1877.

those not used for engravings we know nothing, especially his studies from Rome'.<sup>54</sup> Von Ravensburg wrote that the influence of ancient art could be detected in Rubens's compositions: his mythological work reflects the influence of bas-reliefs, just as his paintings with subjects from Roman history reflect scenes and motifs from the Columns of Trajan and Marcus Aurelius. The heroes on his paintings assume statuary poses, although only the Borghese statue was literally copied in *The Death of Seneca* (Fig. 25; Munich; K.d.K., p. 44), and the *Apollo Belvedere* and the *Crouching Venus* of Doidalsas were used in the Medici cycle (text ill. 45). Ancient prototypes clearly served as models for drapery, military costume, and various objects, while religious paintings undeniably betrayed the influence of pagan art.

Grossman recognized several more ancient prototypes on the paintings for Maria de' Medici,<sup>55</sup> thereby stimulating further efforts to find ancient models. Haberditzl studied the influence of ancient models on Rubens's figures and compositions.<sup>56</sup> This subject was more thoroughly explored by Emil Kieser, whose *Antikes im Werke des Rubens* is still a valuable basic study.<sup>57</sup>

When Max Rooses took stock of Rubens's *oeuvre* in 1892, the drawings after the Antique comprised nine entries.<sup>58</sup> Several others were added by Glück and Haberditzl in their 1928 volume on Rubens's drawings.<sup>59</sup> Ludwig Burchard and Roger d'Hulst expanded this number in their *Rubens Drawings* of 1963.<sup>60</sup> In Julius Held's fundamental book, *Rubens, Selected Drawings* (1959), copies after ancient works were of minor interest, but even so several newly identified sheets were included among five entries of drawings after ancient sculpture and commented upon. This number has been expanded

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54 F. Goeler von Ravensburg, *Rubens und die Antike, seine Beziehungen zum classischen Alterthum und seine Darstellungen aus der classischen Mythologie und Geschichte*, Jena, 1882, pp. 46-47: 'Andere Zeichnungen nach der Antike... sind von Rubens nicht bekannt; manche mögen noch vorhanden gewesen sein, von denen wir, weil sie nicht gestochen wurden, nichts wissen, insbesondere Studien aus Rom. Jedenfalls aber ist es doch klar, dass Rubens bei weitem nicht so viele Antike gezeichnet hat, als die Schüler Raffaels...'

55 K. Grossmann, *Der Gemäldezyklus der Galerie der Maria von Medici von Peter Paul Rubens*, Strasbourg, 1906.

56 F.M. Haberditzl, 'Studien über Rubens, II, Rubens und die Antike', *Jahrbuch der kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses*, XXX, 1911-12, pp. 276-297.

57 Kieser, *Antikes*, pp. 110-137.

58 Rooses, V, nos. 1398-1408.

59 Glück-Haberditzl, p. 31, no. 24 (see No. 165); p. 31, no. 26 (see No. 8); p. 32, nos. 28-37 (see Nos. 188, 191, 192, 193, 193a, 194, 197, 197a, 198, 199); p. 41, no. 100 (see No. 109a).

60 Burchard-d'Hulst, *Drawings*.

to eleven in the revised edition of the book (1986) and two of these treat Rubens's reproductions of ancient cameos.<sup>61</sup>

Rubens's studies of antique art reflect his humanistic and archaeological interests and they continue to fascinate, even though the artistic value of his original compositions is higher. However, as William Blake observed, 'the difference between a bad artist and a good one is that while the bad artist seems to copy a great deal, the good one really does copy a great deal'.<sup>62</sup>

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61 Held, *Drawings*, p. 156, no. 159, *The Flight of Medea* (see No. 137); pp. 156-157, no. 160, *Three Figures from a Roman Sarcophagus* (see No. 138); pp. 160-161, no. 164, *Head of Silenus* (see under No. 33); p. 161, no. 165, *The Head of Seneca* (see under No. 117); pp. 163-165, no. 171, *Design for a Tomb* (see Chapter I, note 90). See also Held, *Drawings*, 1986, pp. 71-72, no. 16, *The Flight of Medea* (see No. 137); pp. 73-74, no. 21, *Three Figures from a Roman Sarcophagus* (see No. 138); p. 80, no. 34, *Laocoon, seen from the back* (see No. 81); p. 81, no. 35, *Laocoon's Younger Son, seen from the front* (see No. 92); p. 81, no. 36, *Laocoon's Younger Son, seen from the back* (see No. 93); p. 81, no. 37, *Silenus* (see No. 29); pp. 81-82, no. 38, *Sleeping Hermaphrodite* (see under No. 63); pp. 88-89, no. 50, *Design for a Tomb* (see Chapter I, note 90); p. 119, no. 129, *Head of Seneca* (see under No. 117); p. 129, no. 153, *Gemma Tiberiana* (see No. 168a); pp. 129-130, no. 154, *The Triumph of Licinius* (see No. 167a).

62 Note in Burchard's files with a quote from Blake in the *Sunday Times*, 3 December 1944.



# I. Rubens and the Sculpture Collections of Rome

WHEN RUBENS SET OUT for Italy on May 1600, the twenty-two year old artist was already an established painter who had entered the Guild of St Luke in 1598. Trained in the workshop of Otto van Veen, he was familiar with engravings of masterpieces, but he did not have first-hand experience of Renaissance artists and classical Antiquity. A visit to Italy with its artistic heritage was considered an important step in the training of a Humanist or an artist. Peter Paul's education at the Latin School of Rumoldus Verdonck in the churchyard of Our Lady in Antwerp (1589-1590) had well prepared him to understand the art and culture of the Ancients, and he must have eagerly anticipated the journey across the Alps to see the masterpieces with his own eyes.

Rome, once the capital of an ancient empire, was by far the largest storehouse of classical remains. Only a handful of Greek originals survived, but innumerable Roman copies after Greek art were preserved. These rendered the human body in perfect proportions, showed the emotions of body and soul, pictured people of every walk of life at all ages. Roman reliefs offered everyday scenes, religious rites and cultural aspects of life in Antiquity. Historical events were well recorded on public monuments illustrating victory and defeat, glory and grief. The monuments and works of art recommended for study were listed in the artistic guidebooks and treatises on art.<sup>1</sup>

The public monuments were accessible to every visitor in Rome, but most of the decorative sculptures were hidden in the *palazzi* and *vigne* of private citizens and clericals, often in 'covered and enclosed sites... some lack good lights and others shadows'.<sup>2</sup> Artists and antiquarians sought out these treasure troves to investigate and copy the antique relics.

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1 G.P. Lomazzo (*Trattato dell' arte della pittura*, Milan, 1584, cf. Lomazzo, edn Ciardi) named specific sculptures such as the *Hercules Farnese* (pp. 54-55, I: XI and pp. 248-252, VI: III), the *Laocoon* (p. 145, II: XVI), the *Venus of Cnidus* (pp. 56-57, I: XII and pp. 248-252, VI: III), the *Horse Tamers on Montecavallo* (pp. 258-259, VI: V) and the *Torso of Belvedere* (p. 381, VI: LI). See below, Chapter II, notes 10, 20, 24, 25; No. 75, note 5; introduction to Nos. 143-160, note 4. Also Armenini, edn Olszewski, I: VIII, pp. 131-132; B. Varchi, *Lezione nella quale si disputa della maggioranza delle arti*, Florence, 1549 (edn P. Barocchi, *Trattati d' arte del Cinquecento*, Bari, 1960, I, p. 51): reference is made to the splendid marbles in the *cortile* della Valle and the Palazzo Cesi, and to the Column of Trajan.

2 Armenini, edn Olszewski, II: III, p. 159.

Many of the small cinquecento collections described by Aldroandi<sup>3</sup> had disappeared by the end of the sixteenth century. Several new prominent collectors had emerged, and they set the trend for the following centuries. Holdings of seventeenth-century collections are often well documented by inventories, and their later vicissitudes are well known.

The majority of copies by Rubens after the Antique render classical sculptures in private collections in Rome. The artist stayed there twice: first from July 1601 until April 1602 and again from late 1605 (or early 1606) until October 1608 with short interruptions. During the second period his brother Philip joined him from early 1606 until May 1607.<sup>4</sup> From a letter dated December 1606, we know that the artist had time to study classical art in depth.<sup>5</sup> At the time, Philip was working on his book, *Electorum Libri II*, to be published in Antwerp in 1608, for which his brother was to provide several illustrations of ancient monuments.

In many cases it is possible to identify the exact sculpture which Rubens drew, with its location at the time of his visit. Often, several of these marbles belonged to the same collection. From the whereabouts of the sculptures we get some idea of Rubens's tour of Rome and some clues as to the date of his drawings, none of which he dated himself.

Then, as now, travel guides provided the foreign visitor to Rome with an anthology of the most interesting monuments, and pointed to the prize pieces of a collection.<sup>6</sup> Rubens himself might have used such a book, of which quite a few were on the market.<sup>7</sup> Very popular was Justus Lipsius'

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3 Aldroandi, *Statue antiche*. The catalogue of Albert Rubens's library lists a copy of [Aldroandi], *Antichità della Città di Roma*, that probably first belonged to his father's library (*Catalogus A. Rubens*, p. 27). For Albert Rubens's library see note 7.

4 From a letter of 11 June 1607 to G. Uvens, it is known that Philip returned to Flanders some time in May 1607 (*Rooses-Ruelens*, I, pp. 383-387; cf. *ibid.*, pp. 9-10). J. Van der Stock, 'Onbekende documenten uit het familie archief van Rubens', in *Rubens and his World, bijdragen... opgedragen aan Prof. Dr Ir. R.-A. d'Hulst*, Antwerp, 1985, p. 129, claimed that Philip was already back in November 1606.

5 Rubens to A. Chieppio, 2 December 1606 (*Rooses-Ruelens*, I, p. 354; *Magurn, Letters*, no. 14, p. 39).

6 L. Schudt, *Le guide di Roma (Quellenschriften zur Geschichte der Barockkunst in Rom, III)*, Vienna, 1930. The artist probably had some knowledge of the famous antique sculptures from prints. A copy of the *Speculum Romanae Magnificentiae* (published by A. Lafreri, Rome, 1573-1577) and *Joannis Baptistae de Cavalleriis Antiquae Statuae Urbis Romae* (Rome, I, 2nd edn, 1561-1562; I-II, before 1584; III-IV, 1594) are entered in the catalogue of Albert Rubens's library (*Catalogus A. Rubens*, p. 11). It is very likely that they were originally in Peter Paul's possession. (See note 7).

7 Rubens is known to have owned a considerable library (cf. P. Arents, 'De bibliotheek van Pieter Pauwel Rubens. Inleiding tot de bibliografie', *Noordgouw, Cultureel tijdschrift van de Provincie Antwerpen*, I, 1961, 4, pp. 145-178). Some of his acquisitions (1613-1640) were made



*Admiranda* with its scholarly description of Rome in ancient times.<sup>8</sup> Newly published in Antwerp before Rubens's departure was the *Itineraria Italiae* by Franciscus Schottus; although derived from older sources, it was often used.<sup>9</sup> Other, more practical booklets supplied the traveller with the most essential information, for example the *Delitiae Italiae*, which included such useful tips as where to find the caretaker or gardener, who could unlock the door for a small 'Trinkgelt' (tip).<sup>10</sup> A brief exploration of Rome will afford a closer look at the sculptures in their seventeenth-century setting.

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through the printer B. Moretus (cf. M. Rooses, 'Petrus-Paulus Rubens en Balthasar Moretus: IV', *Rubens-Bulletijn*, II, pp. 176-207). The artist bequeathed his library to his son Albert (cf. P. Génard, 'Het laatste testament van P.P. Rubens', *Rubens-Bulletijn*, IV, p. 137). Albert, Secretary of the Privy Council, resided in Brussels at St Goedels' Kerkhof (Churchyard of St Gudule). At Albert's death on 1 October 1657 (cf. C. Gevaerts to N. Heinsius, 6 October 1657; see P. Burmannus, *Sylloges Epistolarum a Viris Illustribus Scriptarum*, Leiden, 1627, II, p. 769) and that of his widow in November, three orphaned daughters were left behind and it was decided to sell off his library. Gevaerts mentioned the pending sale of Albert's library and the forthcoming catalogue in his letter to N. Heinsius of 5 December 1657 (cf. P. Burmannus, op. cit., p. 770: 'Auctio Bibliothecae instituetur. Catalogum, ubi impressus fuerit, ad Te mittam'). The sales catalogue was printed by Franciscus Vivien in Brussels: *Catalogus / Variorum & insignium in quavis Facultate / Librorum / Bibliothecae / Clarissimi Viri. / D. Alberti Rubens, / Secretioris in Belgio Concilii / (dum viveret) / Secretarii, / Quorum Publica Auctio habebitur in Aedibus / Defuncti, Bruxellis, die 4 Mensis / Februarii 1658. / Directore Francisco Vivien. / Bruxellis. / Apud Franciscum Vivien, sub signo boni Pastoris. / M. DC, LVIII*. Many of the books listed in the catalogue previously belonged to the artist.

8 Iustus Lipsius, *Admiranda, siue de magnitudine Romana libri quattuor*, Antwerp, 1598. For the reprints of the book see A.H. Luijtdjens, 'Chronologische lijst van beschrijvingen van Italië en Rome tot 1900 in de Nederlanden geschreven of verschenen', *Mededeelingen van het Nederlandsch Historisch Instituut te Rome*, 2e reeks, I, 1931, p. 206, no. 1. A number of Lipsius' books are entered in the catalogue of Albert Rubens's books (cf. *Catalogus A. Rubens*, p. 9 and p. 13: 'Opera Iusti Lipsii. 4. Voll. Antwerp.').

9 F. Schottus, *Itinerarj Italiae rerumque romanarum libri tres*, Antwerp, 1600. The second chapter on Rome is derived from J.J. Boissard, *Pars romanae urbis topographiae et antiquitatum*, Frankfurt, 1597, I-II. The sightseeing of Rome and its monuments are grouped into four tours. For Schottus see L. Schudt, 'Das "Itinerarium Italiae" des Franciscus Schottus', *Adolf Goldschmidt zu seinem siebenzigsten Geburtstag*, Berlin, 1935, pp. 144-152. For Boissard, see L. Schudt, op. cit. (note 6), pp. 143, 390-392. Albert Rubens's catalogue lists 'Boissardi Antiquitates Romanae. 2. Voll.' (*Catalogus A. Rubens*, p. 11), but they were only acquired in May 1614; cf. M. Rooses, op. cit. (note 7), p. 189.

10 G. K[ranitz] V[on] W[ertheim], *Delitiae Italiae*, Leipzig, 1599. Cf. A.H. Luijtdjens, op. cit. (note 8), p. 207, no. 7, where various editions of the book are listed; not mentioned are the 1600 Frankfurt and 1605 Cologne editions. Numerous books on Rome and its history are listed in Albert Rubens's catalogue; however, some were acquired by Peter Paul only after his return from Italy (see note 7).

## PUBLIC MONUMENTS

The public monuments in Rome are dispersed throughout the city, and are both visible and accessible to every tourist. Leaving the Forum Romanum, a flight of steps leads to the Piazza Capitolinum and one would enter the Palazzo dei Conservatori, the first museum dedicated by Sixtus V in 1471 to the Roman people (*text ill. 3*). In a room on the upper floor, the much-admired *Spinario* would have stood (*text ill. 33*).<sup>11</sup> No copies by Rubens of the bronze are known, but several of his chalk sketches show a youth seated in the pose of the boy extracting a thorn from his left foot.<sup>12</sup> In his sketch for the *Baptism of Christ* (Paris, Louvre; *text ill. 31*) a seated man grasping his foot recalls the statue.<sup>13</sup> In the stairwell of the Palazzo dei Conservatori are mounted three reliefs originally part of the Arch of Constantine.<sup>14</sup> The relief with *The Emperor Marcus Aurelius Sacrificing* provided the model for a head of a priest wearing an *albogalerus* with an *apex* (*text ill. 56*). This detail is pictured on an engraving illustrating Philip Rubens's discussion of a *flamen dialis*' head-dress (*text ill. 61*; see p. 109).

Descending to the Campo Vaccino, the ancient Forum, three columns of the Temple of Vespasian form an obvious landmark. The temple was first thought to be the Temple of Jupiter Tonans, erected by Caesar Augustus.<sup>15</sup>

11 For the Palazzo dei Conservatori see A. Michaelis, 'Storia della collezione capitolina di antichità', *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Römische Abteilung*, VI, 1891, pp. 14-15; Stuart Jones, *Palazzo dei Conservatori*, pp. 43-47, *sala dei trionfi*, no. 2, pl. 60; Bober-Rubinstein, *Handbook*, pp. 235-236, no. 203, repr.; Helbig, *Führer*, 1963-72, II, pp. 266-268, no. 1448.

12 Held, *Drawings*, 1986, p. 82, no. 39, pl. 23 (dated to 1605-1608).

13 *Ibid.*, pp. 77-78, no. 28, pl. 28 (c.1604).

14 Philip mentioned that the *apex* pictured on p. 73 was found 'in arce Capitolinâ' (*Rubenius, Electorum Libri II*, II: XXV, p. 72). The relief with *Emperor Marcus Aurelius Sacrificing* was one of a group of three located on the Arch of Constantine. In the Middle Ages the reliefs were transferred to the Church of Santa Martina. Pope Leo X had them transported to the *cortile* of the Palazzo dei Conservatori in 1515. They were installed in their present location on 29 September 1572 and were restored by Ruggero Bescapi in 1595; cf. A. Michaelis, *op. cit.* (note 11), pp. 24-25; Lanciani, *Scavi*, I, pp. 77, 221; II, p. 92; Stuart Jones, *Palazzo dei Conservatori*, pp. 22-25, *Scala II*, no. 4, pl. 12, fig. 1; Helbig, *Führer*, 1963-72, II, pp. 260-261, no. 1444C; Haskell-Penny, 1981, pp. 255-257, no. 56, fig. 130; Bober-Rubinstein, *Handbook*, pp. 223-224, no. 191, repr. See below, Chapter III, note 62.

15 The history of the confusion concerning the identification of the Temple of Vespasian is given by R.T. Ridley, 'The monuments of the Roman Forum: the struggle for identity', *Xenia*, XVII, 1989, pp. 79-80. For the Temple of Vespasian see C. Hülsen, *The Forum Romanum in Rome*, Rome, 1909, pp. 91-95; E. Nash, *Bildlexikon zur Topographie des antiken Roms*, Tübingen, 1962, II, p. 501. The temple before its excavation is pictured on: S. du Pérac, *Vestigi delle antichità di Roma*, Rome, 1575, pl. 2; Barbault, *Les plus beaux monuments de Rome ancienne*, Rome, 1761, pl. 10; G.B. Piranesi, *Veduta di Campo Vaccino* (no. 1) and *Veduta del Tempio di Giove Tonante* in the *Vedute di Roma* series (J. Scott, Piranesi, New York, 1975, pls. 24 and 319); Desgodetz, *Les édifices*

In Rubens's time not much more of the temple was preserved than today. Only three Corinthian columns bearing the cornice of the north-eastern corner, crowned by an architrave, remain. The frieze of the architrave was clearly visible at the time, for the ground level was much higher and almost up to the capitals, as engravings show.<sup>16</sup> Excavations undertaken by Valadier in 1811-1812 unearthed the fluted columns. This relief is of outstanding quality and the most beautiful of its kind; it depicts sacrificial instruments (*text ill. 58*). Philip reproduced it in its entirety to illustrate the priestly headcovering (*text ill. 59*; see pp. 107-109).

Continuing southwards towards the river Tiber, the road leads to the Forum Boarium with the Arch of the Moneyhandlers (Arcus Argentariorum; see map), one side of which is incorporated in the Church of San Giorgio in Velabro. A similar frieze with sacrificial instruments is mounted under a relief with Septimius Severus and Julia Domna on the inside of the east pylon, although the relief is of much cruder workmanship than the Vespasian relief (*text ill. 60*). The cap of the priest was again selected for an illustration in Philip's *Electorum Libri II* (*text ill. 61*; see p. 109). Curiously enough Philip remarked in his text that the cap was found on the Fornix Fabianus.<sup>17</sup> The Arch of Fabianus was known to have stood on the Via Sacra at the east end of the Forum Romanum, yet nothing is known about its decorations.<sup>18</sup>

On the south-west corner of the Forum Romanum stands the Arch of Constantine (see map and *text ill. 6*), notable for its clear representation of

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antiques de Rome, Rome, 1822, II, pp. 59-60, pl. 56.

16 A painting *Mother and Child in front of the Temple of Vespasian in Rome* by J.B. Weenix (Kassel, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Gemäldegalerie, no. GK 376) reveals that the frieze was clearly visible in the 17th century. Philip indicated that the architrave was located 'in zophoro trium columnarum ad radices cliui Capitolini' (*Rubenius, Electorum Libri II*, p. 71). However, A. Fulvio, *Delle Antichità di Roma*, 2nd edn, 1588, III: XXXVI, p. 104 erroneously referred to the architrave as on the Arch of Fabianus 'vi si veggono i tori sacrificarsi & gli istrumenti per ciò ordinati...l'vno nel foro Boario, l'altro nel foro Romano de l'arco Fabiano' [italics mine].

17 In the text to the engraving on p. 73 Philip mentioned that the *apex* was found 'in fornice Fabiano' (*Rubenius, Electorum Libri II*, p. 72). His erroneous information may have been derived from the passage in Andrea Fulvio, loc. cit. (note 16), who mentioned both reliefs in one sentence: the first located on the Arch of the Moneyhandlers, also called Arcus Boarius for its location on the Forum Boarium, the second on the so-called Arcus Fabianus.

18 The Arcus Fabianus stood on the Forum Romanum (A. Fulvio, op. cit., IV: VII, p. 114v: 'Fu oltre à ciò su la piazza Romana, l'arco ouero volta Fabiano nella via Sacra, vicino alla Regia...'). The arch was erected by Quintus Fabius Maximus in 121 B.C. Between 1540 and 1543 inscriptions of the arch were found, but its foundations were only excavated in 1953. The arch was located between the Regia and the Temple of Vesta; cf. E. Nash, op. cit. (note 15), p. 398. For the history of the Arch of Fabian see E. de Ruggiero, *Il foro Romano*, edn L. Pasqualucci, Rome, 1913, pp. 431-439.

a Roman sacrifice, the *suovetaurilia*, and its faithful reproduction of military boots, as Philip observed (p. 106). No drawings by Rubens of this monument are known at present.<sup>19</sup> Then heading north to the imperial fora, the Column of Trajan towers over the Forum Trajanum (see map and *text ill.* 3); it was much admired and copied by artists. A series of chalk sketches in Vienna shows heads of Roman soldiers and Dacian warriors, all drawn from casts, as abruptly ending edges show (Nos. 143-160; Figs. 289-306).

Further up the Quirinal Hill, the *Cavalli Marmorei* (*Horse Tamers*) of colossal dimensions dominate the piazza in front of the Papal palace (see map and *text ill.* 5). Sixtus V had the pedestals renewed and the statues restored during his pontificate (1589-1591). The *Horse Tamer* (Fig. 142) on the left, seen on a copy in Copenhagen, was believed at the time to be the work of Phidias (No. 75; Fig. 141).

Moving eastwards, the Via Pia passes through the Porta Pia and runs to the Via Nomentana, where many funeral monuments had stood scattered along the road. Several more were unearthed in 1606. A unique relief showing the *Lowering of the Cloth*, the starting signal given to charioteers in circus games (*text ill.* 50), was spotted by Philip for its unusual representation and is included in his book (*text ill.* 51; see pp. 99-100).

Most of the drawings of public monuments served to illustrate Philip Rubens's *Electorum Libri II*, and it seems very likely that Peter Paul copied these works of art during the second period he stayed in Rome (1605/6-1607).

## PRIVATE COLLECTIONS

The largest number of drawings by Rubens show sculptures in the round. These statues were displayed in the *palazzi*, courtyards and statue gardens of wealthy citizens and high-ranking clerics. Their mansions had become veritable museums. Marbles were placed in niches decorating art galleries, portrait busts stood on ledges in libraries, while herms and sarcophagi were lined up along the paths in wooded *vigne*, and fountains adorned grassplots

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19 A drawing in the British Museum in London in black chalk with two figures from the roundel with the *Sacrifice of Artemis* has not been accepted as by Rubens (*Miesel, Ancient Art*, p. 63, n. 132; *Miesel, Study Drawings*, p. 326, n. 26, fig. 20). Miesel stated that 'it seems reasonable to assume that Rubens methodically copied every relief on the arch'. He also referred to a drawing picturing part of the relief with the *Victory of the Romans over the Dacians* in the Louvre in Paris, but it is only retouched by Rubens (*Lugt, Cat. Louvre, École flamande*, no. 1080).

of walled private gardens (*giardini segreti*). The drawings of Maerten van Heemskerck faithfully render these Renaissance settings.

Their owners were fully aware of the importance of these ancient relics assembled with much effort and at high cost, since the demand for antique statuary exceeded the supply. Most of the mansions and gardens were open to artists and antiquarians. Access was often obtained through personal recommendation. This should not have provided a problem for Rubens, who was acquainted with influential churchmen, and among their librarians were some of his countrymen and personal friends. Rubens's drawings show that he copied statuary belonging to about a dozen different collections.

### *The Belvedere Collection*

The papal statue court on the Vatican Hill, the Belvedere (see map and *text ill. 1 and 7*), was created by Pope Julius II (1503-1513) and contained the most impressive marbles in Rome. Most of the sculptures there had been reproduced on engravings, and Rubens was certainly familiar with them. He also knew the smaller bronze copies in the collection of the Duke of Mantua and must have looked forward to seeing the originals.

In the *cortile*, niches in the wall sheltered the masterpieces. Under sweet-smelling orange trees several colossal sculptures stood on display.<sup>20</sup> This so-called *viridarium* became a gathering place for scholars and artists, who came to measure and study the statues. A visitor entering the *cortile* from the papal library saw a reclining river god in the centre. The she-wolf and Roman twins characterized the sculpture as the personification of the *River Tiber* (Fig. 169). On the chalk drawing in Milan the artist concentrated on the intimate scene of the mother wolf watching over the playful infants nestling among her paws (No. 98; Fig. 168). The cornucopia partially covering the group was omitted. The counterpart of the Tiber, the *River Nile* (*text ill. 10*), was placed on the opposite side of the garden. The sixteen chubby infants climbing over the gigantic river god were, however, badly damaged

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<sup>20</sup> Aldo Randi, *Statue antiche*, pp. 115-122. A contemporary account was given by Zdenkonius Brtnicensis who visited the statue garden in October 1601 (Rome, Bibl. Vat., Cod. Reg. Lat. 666, fols. 289r-v). For the Belvedere collection see Michaelis, *Belvedere*, pp. 5-73; J. Ackerman, *The cortile del Belvedere (Studi e Documenti per la storia del Palazzo Apostolico Vaticano, III)*, Vatican City, 1954; H. H. Brummer, *The Statue Court in the Vatican Belvedere (Acta Universitatis Stockholmiensis, 20)*, Stockholm, 1970; P. Gerlach, [Review of Brummer], *Kunstchronik*, XXVII, 1974, pp. 19-30.

at the time. Three pages in *MS Johnson* depict several of the Nile children and possibly reflect originals by the master (Nos. 95-97; Figs. 170-172).

Also in the open air, and visible from all sides, stood the Torso (*text ill.* 28), greatly admired by Renaissance artists. The splendid drawing in Antwerp testifies to Rubens's interest in the fragment (No. 37; Fig. 75). Several copies in Copenhagen show the statue from other angles (Nos. 38-39; Figs. 78-79).

The most impressive piece in the collection was the Laocoon group (*text ill.* 11) in a large niche in the centre of the south wall. The dying father and his sons had become the *exemplum doloris*.<sup>21</sup> Rubens sketched the sculpture from all sides and in great detail, showing the figures in separate studies (Nos. 76-93; Figs. 145-164). His drawings also show the back of the group. These triggered the question whether they were made after the original marble or from a cast. According to Jonathan Richardson it was certainly possible to circle the marble.<sup>22</sup> The free handling of the chalk in the study drawings of the back suggests that these date from a later visit.

No drawings by Rubens's own hand survive of the famous *Apollo* (*text ill.* 8) standing in a niche in the south-east corner of the *cortile*, but Joshua Reynolds claimed to have seen them, and Rubens's knowledge of the statue is attested by a painting *The Council of the Gods* in the Medici cycle (*text ill.* 45). Only a rather poor copy of an *Apollo* drawing is extant (No. 1; Fig. 3). This is also the case for the *Hermes Belvedere* (long known as the *Antinous*) (Fig. 54) installed in the niche in the centre of the north wall, and seen from two angles on Copenhagen copies (Nos. 25-26; Figs. 53, 55).

Rubens's early Italian paintings are strongly influenced by the Belvedere marbles, which suggests that he visited the Vatican collection at an early point of his stay (1601-1602).<sup>23</sup>

## The Cesi Collection

South of the Piazza San Pietro, a little alley led to the stately Palazzo Cesi on the Borgo Vecchio close to the Porta Cavalleggeri (see map and *text ill.* 1).<sup>24</sup> The large number of antique statues, funerary monuments and portrait

<sup>21</sup> Lomazzo, *edn Ciardi*, II: XVI, p. 145.

<sup>22</sup> See No. 76, note 12.

<sup>23</sup> Jaffé, *Rubens and Italy*, pp. 59-66.

<sup>24</sup> The *palazzo* was built for Giovanni Antonio di San Giorgio, Cardinal Alessandrino (d.1511). The façade of the *palazzo* was destroyed for the construction of the colonnade of Bernini in

busts originally accumulated by Cardinal Paolo Emilio Cesi (1481-1537), came later into the hands of the Duke of Aquasparta, Giovanni Federico Cesi (d.1630), who sold a considerable part of the smaller sculptures to Cardinal Ludovico Ludovisi in 1622.<sup>25</sup> Rubens still saw the original collection. The statues were displayed in the *palazzo* and the *giardino secreto* behind it, and smaller pieces were carefully arranged in an *antiquarium* further back in the *vigna*.

Unfortunately, not one original drawing of the Cesi marbles is preserved, but Rubens's visit to the statue garden is recorded by an engraving in Philip's *Electorum Libri II*, made after one of his drawings (*text ill.* 54). Therefore, it seems acceptable that copies now in Copenhagen after other Cesi sculptures go back to originals by the master.

In the *antiquarium*, a group of *Pan Instructing Daphnis* (to play the syrinx; Fig. 165) stood to the right of the entrance on a revolving base in a niche encrusted with marble. It is undoubtedly this statue that Rubens used as a model for a (lost) drawing (No. 94; cf. Fig. 167). Facing the statue was a marble group of *Leda with a Child Embracing a Goose* at her side. The so-called Leda is in reality a *Crouching Venus*, a variation of the type created by Doidalsas.<sup>26</sup> A drawing of a *Kneeling Female* in Berlin attributed to Rubens by Winner, derives its lower part from the Cesi statue, since both have the right leg resting on the ground.<sup>27</sup> A similar figure occurs in Rubens's *Shivering Venus* (Antwerp; *K.d.K.*, p. 70) and the *Council of the Gods* (Medici cycle, Louvre, Paris; *K.d.K.*, p. 254; *text ill.* 45). The statue of a *Child Embracing a Goose* (Fig. 133) is one of the replicas of a sculpture by Boethus of Chalcedon, but the position of the goose curling its neck around the boy's head is unique for the Cesi group. A copy in Copenhagen shows the sculpture from three angles (No. 70; Fig. 134).

On one of four lawns in the neatly laid-out garden, a *Silenus Supporting a Wineskin* (Fig. 65) decorated a fountain. Views of the front and back are

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1665-1667. In 1938 the *palazzo* on Via del Sant'Uffizio 1 was demolished. See D. Gnoli, 'Il giardino e l'antiquario del Cardinal Cesi', *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Römische Abteilung*, XX, 1905, pp. 267-276; Lanciani, *Scavi*, IV, pp. 107-117; P. Tomei, 'Un elenco dei Palazzi di Roma del tempo di Clemente VIII', *Palladio*, III, 1939, p. 165.

25 The most complete account is given by Aldroandi, *Statue antiche*, pp. 122-141. For a reconstruction of the collection of Paolo Emilio Cesi and his brother Federico (1500-1565) see Hülsen, *Römische Antikengärten*, pp. 1-35. Part of the collection was dispersed by the sale of 1622 to Cardinal Ludovico Ludovisi; see T. Schreiber, *Die antiken Bildwerke der Villa Ludovisi*, Leipzig, 1880, pp. 7-8, 27-28; Palma, *Marmi Ludovisi*, 1983; Palma-de Lachenal, 1983, Palma-de Lachenal-Micheli, 1986.

26 The sculpture is now in Rome, Museo Nazionale (Palma-de Lachenal, 1983, p. 72, no. 29, repr.).  
27 Mielke-Winner, pp. 49-52, no. 11, repr.

known from a copy in Copenhagen (Nos. 31-32; Fig. 66). In the back of the garden, a *Roma Victrix* (text ill. 52) on a very high pedestal and flanked by two *Captive Barbarian Chieftains* occupied a prominent spot. The *Roma*, formerly a headless Greek statue, was restored as the Roman goddess. The engraving in Philip's *Electorum Libri II* (made after a drawing by Peter Paul now lost) shows the marble from a very unconventional point of view (text ill. 54; see pp. 101-102 and 124). By showing the statue from the side, the buttoned-up sleeve of the Greek *chiton* became clearly visible, a detail discussed by Philip in his book. The undergarment worn by Santa Domitilla on a painting by Rubens in Berlin dated to c. August 1606 shows a similar sleeve.<sup>28</sup> This leads us to the conclusion that Rubens visited the Cesi statue garden that summer. The *Chieftains*<sup>29</sup> influenced Rubens's designs for *Roma Triumphans*.<sup>30</sup>

Another engraving in Philip's book illustrates a *togatus* statue, possibly another marble in the Cesi collection (text ill. 57; see pp. 102-104).

### *The Collection of Tiberio Ceoli*

On Via Giulia, next to the Church of San Giovanni dei Fiorentini stands a *palazzo* where Tiberio Ceoli lived from 1576 until his death in 1605 (see map and text ill. 2).<sup>31</sup> Tiberio, a wealthy banker, added two wings to the building. The wing facing the church was used as a statue gallery; a number of sarcophagi decorated the stairwell of the main entrance. A visit to the collection was strongly recommended to sightseers in Rome.<sup>32</sup>

Rubens would later use a portrait statue of an *Empress as Ceres* (Fig. 114) for the main figure in the *Ceres* painting, now in St Petersburg (Fig. 117;

28 Müller Hofstede, *Rubens in Italien*, p. 343, pl. K 16.

29 Stuart Jones, *Palazzo dei Conservatori*, pp. 16-17, no. 5, pl. 6; Helbig, *Führer*, 1963-72, II, pp. 250-252, no. 1440.

30 Held, *Oil Sketches*, pp. 84-85, no. 51, pl. 52; Burchard-d'Hulst, *Drawings*, pp. 156-159, no. 94, repr.; pp. 208-211, no. 133, repr.

31 Construction of the *palazzo* was started by Antonio da San Gallo and continued by Nanno di Biacci Bigio. Acquired in 1552 by Cardinal Giulio Ricci da Montepulciano, it was sold in 1576 to the banker Tiberio Ceoli with some antique statues and reliefs. Formerly housing the French Academy, it is now the residence of Cardinal Sacchetti on Via Giulia 66. See Lanciani, *Scavi*, III, p. 108; L.C. Frommel, *Der Römische Palastbau der Hochrenaissance*, Tübingen, 1973, II, p. 294; L. Salerno, L. Spezzaferro and M. Tafuri, *Via Giulia. Una utopia urbanistica del 500*, Rome, 1973, pp. 288-313.

32 A contemporary account is written by G.K. von Wertheim, *Delitiae Italiae*, Frankfurt, 1600, p. 179: 'Banchi di Leouelli'.



K.d.K., p. 83). A weak copy of his drawing after the statue is also preserved (No. 61; Fig. 115).

A marble group of *Leda with a Swan*, standing in a loggia, inspired the artist for the figure of the princess in his *St George* (Madrid, Prado; K.d.K., p. 22). The painting is dated c.1606.<sup>33</sup>

Three sarcophagi, described by Rubens on a single page of his *Roman Itinerary* (but without a collector's name) all seem to have belonged to Tiberio.<sup>34</sup> A sarcophagus with the *Abduction of Proserpina* is mentioned in the diary of the Moravian traveller Brtnicensis who visited the Palazzo Ceoli on 23 October 1601 and reported having seen 'multae pulcherrimae statuae, duo sepulchra veterum, in quibus sculptus Raptus Proserpinae'.<sup>35</sup> Rubens drew it before it was walled up in the façade of the Casino Rospigliosi (Fig. 271) in 1612 (No. 139; cf. Fig. 270); it matches the third entry in his *Roman Itinerary*. The second entry concerns a sarcophagus with the *Death of Adonis* (text ill. 36); the description again agrees with the representation on a relief from the Ceoli collection, also mounted later in the Casino Rospigliosi (see p. 84).<sup>36</sup>

The third sarcophagus described by Rubens depicted a rare representation of *The Double Birth of Bacchus* (text ill. 34), and it is probably identical with a sculpture now in the store of the Vatican Museum (see pp. 83-84). Its early seventeenth-century whereabouts are not known. Since the entry occurs on the same page as the other two in Rubens's *Itinerary*, it is likely that the marble was in the same location. As to the date, it is possible that Rubens studied these marbles while they were in the Palazzo Ceoli.

After Tiberio's death on 10 August 1605, Cardinal Scipione Borghese purchased a large number of the statues and three sarcophagi in December 1607 (see below). An inventory drawn up for the sale lists every single piece.<sup>37</sup>

33 Müller Hofstede, *St Georg*, 1965, p. 78, fig. 5.

34 Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS Fr. 9530, fol. 200r (see Appendix I.2).

35 'Many beautiful statues; two ancient sarcophagi, on which the *Abduction of Proserpina*' (Rome, Bibl. Vat., Cod. Reg. Lat. 666, fol. 286v: 'in aedibus Ceuli Tiberij'). Cf. sales inventory of 1607, Scala Maestra, no. 19: 'Un Pilo istoriato cioè il Ratto di Proserpina e suo coperchio long. p. 10 alto p.4 sc.100' (*De Lachenal, Collezione Borghese*, p. 84, appendix II).

36 The *Death of Adonis* relief is not entered in the 1607 sales inventory, unless it is identical with the one listed as *Meleager and Atalante*; cf. *De Lachenal, Collezione Borghese*, p. 84, appendix II, Scala Maestra, no. 20: 'Un altro Pilo istoriato cioè Meleagro et Attalante lo. p.10 3/4 alto p.3 sc.50'.

37 The sales inventory is dated 1 December 1607; 235 marbles are listed sold for 9006 scudi (*De Lachenal, Collezione Borghese*, pp. 52-55, 84-86, appendix II). The palazzo was sold to Cardinal Acquaviva in January 1608; cf. *Orbaan, Documenti*, p. 91.

*The Collection of Scipione Borghese*

Scipione Caffarelli-Borghese (1576-1633) was appointed cardinal soon after his uncle Camillo Borghese became Pope Paul V in 1605.<sup>38</sup> This made it financially possible for him to start collecting paintings and antique sculptures. Little is known about the provenance of his antique marbles: only a few pieces may be traced to previous owners.<sup>39</sup> Others may have been unearthed in Frascati during excavations to expand and beautify 'Caravilla', a country house purchased by Scipione in 1607 (p. 64).

Rubens was on friendly terms with the Cardinal, who assembled the nucleus of his collection while Rubens was still in Rome (1605/6-1608).<sup>40</sup> Rubens was the first to study Scipione's antiquities. In several instances his drawings are not only the oldest, but also the only record, and show the statues in their unrestored condition.

In December 1607, Scipione acquired 235 statues and three sarcophagi from the estate of Tiberio Ceoli (d.1605) for 9006 scudi.<sup>41</sup> An inventory was drawn up listing all the sculptures to be included in the sale. Among his new acquisitions were sarcophagi with the *Abduction of Proserpina* and the *Death of Adonis*. They were restored<sup>42</sup> and by the end of 1612 mounted in the façade of the Palazzo Rospigliosi, a garden palace Scipione constructed on the Quirinal.<sup>43</sup>

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38 Scipione was born from the marriage of Ortensia Borghese, a sister of Camillo, and Duke Francesco Caffarelli, but he used his mother's name.

39 P. Moreno, 'Formazione della raccolta di antichità nel Museo e Galleria Borghese', *Colloqui del Sodalizio*, 2a seria, 5, 1975-1976, pp. 125-143.

40 Rubens to A. Chieppio, 2 December 1606 (*Roses-Ruelens*, I, p. 354; *Magurn, Letters*, no. 14, p. 39).

41 An *avviso* of 15 December 1607 reports incorrectly that 273 statues were sold by the Ceoli heirs to Scipione Borghese for 7000 scudi (*Orbaan, Documenti*, p. 90; *De Lachenal, Collezione Borghese*, pp. 52, 84-86). An *avviso* of 19 December 1607 reports that the sculptures were removed 'verso il palazzo Apostolico' leading to the assumption that they were apparently purchased by the Pope and not by Cardinal Borghese (*Orbaan, Documenti*, p. 89).

42 Construction of the Palazzo Rospigliosi was not begun until 1611; cf. J. Mandl, 'Die Baugeschichte und Ausstattung des Casino Rospigliosi in Rom', in *Hermann Egger. Festschrift zum 60. Geburtstag am 7. Dezember 1933*, Graz, 1933, pp. 63-68, p. 66, n. 24.

43 H. Hibbard, 'Scipione Borghese's Garden Palace on the Quirinal', *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, XXIII, 4, 1964, p. 172, n. 26, fig. 28. The (unfinished) complex was sold in May 1616 to Duke Altemps, subsequently in 1619 to Cardinal Bentivoglio (*ibid.*, p. 173), and in 1641 to Cardinal Mazarin. It came into the possession of the Rospigliosi family in 1677. The palace has been owned by the Pallavicini family since 1704. The *Proserpina* relief is located above the spandrel of the entrance.

In 1608, Scipione was presented with a *Sleeping Hermaphrodite* (Fig. 120), unearthed near Santa Maria della Vittoria. A drawing in the Metropolitan Museum, New York (Walter C. Baker Collection) reflects the sculpture closely (No. 63; Fig. 121).

Two study drawings (Nos. 140-141; Figs. 62, 275) show sections of the frieze of a vase with Bacchic scenes (*text ill.* 62 and Fig. 63) formerly belonging to Carlo Muti. The most popular piece in Scipione's possession was the so-called *Dying Seneca* (*Borghese Fisherman*; *text ill.* 29), previously owned by the Duke of Altemps. Rubens copied it from six different angles (Nos. 7-13; Figs. 21-30).

A drawing in St Petersburg pictures a statue of a *Roman Couple in the Disguise of Venus and Mars* (No. 99; Fig. 175). This marble was in the Borghese collection in 1638, but there is no positive evidence that it belonged to Scipione in the early years of the century. The record shows only an acquisition of such a statue in 1621 (Fig. 173).

A playful group of an *Amor Riding on a Centaur's Back* (Fig. 128) is drawn from several points of view in its unrestored state (Nos. 65-69; Figs. 124-127, 129-132). According to Felini (1610) the marble stood in the Palazzo Borghese on the Ripetta (*text ill.* 2),<sup>44</sup> although Scipione is recorded as residing in the Palazzo Campeggi on Piazza Scossacavalli on the Borgo Nuovo at that time (*text ill.* 2).<sup>45</sup>

In 1613, Francucci wrote a poem extolling the Cardinal's collection. The statues were displayed in the courtyard, stairwell and an upstairs gallery of the 'Palazzo di Borgo', as it became known.<sup>46</sup> Shortly thereafter, transportation of the marbles to the Villa Borghese under construction on the Pincian

44 P.M. Felini, *Trattato nuovo delle cose maravigliose dell'alma Città di Roma*, Rome, 1610, p. 213. The Palazzo Borghese on the Ripetta housed the collection of antique marbles belonging to Giovan Battista, the Pope's brother. It was acquired from the Della Porta estate on 10 October 1609. See P.M. Felini, *op. cit.*, p. 335; Orbaan, *Documenti*, p. 155; H. Graeven, 'La raccolta di antichità di G.B. della Porta', *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Institutes, Römische Abteilung*, VIII, 1893, pp. 236-245; *De Lachenal*, *Collezione Borghese*, pp. 58-60, 87-96, appendices Va-c.

45 Orbaan, *Documenti*, p. 178 (dd. October 1610); cf. pp. 127, 128, 171 n. 1, 244. The palazzo was designed by Bramante for Adriano Castellesi; its construction started in 1502. It was later in possession of Cardinal Lorenzo Campeggi and was acquired in 1561 by Tolomeo Galli, Cardinal di Como, who resided there until his death in February 1607. The palazzo was purchased by Giovan Battista in 1609, although he lived there at least a year earlier. Now Palazzo Torlonia on Via della Conciliazione it is the residence of the Torlonia family and houses the famous sculpture collection. See A. Schiavo, 'Palazzo Torlonia', *Capitolium*, XXXV, 1960, 5, pp. 3-11; L.C. Frommel, *op. cit.* (note 31), II, pp. 209-210.

46 Scipione Francucci, *La Galleria dell'Illustris. e Reverendis. Signor Scipione Cardinale Borghese* (Rome, Bibl. Vat., Arch. Borghese, ser. IV, no. 102). Cf. F. Noack, 'Kunstpflege und Kunstbesitz der Familie Borghese', *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft*, L, 1929, p. 203, n. 26.

Hill began (*text ill. 4*).<sup>47</sup> The statues were restored before being put on display in the new villa.

Rubens's visit to the collection of Scipione Borghese must have occurred during his second stay in Rome, possibly in the summer of 1606.<sup>48</sup> The many studies after the so-called *Dying Seneca* and the *Amor Riding on a Centaur's Back* still display his intense manner of copying the nude body in highly finished, detailed drawings. However, stylistic discrepancies noticeable among the drawings suggest that Rubens employed assistants to work with him.<sup>49</sup>

### *The Farnese Collection*

On the Via Giulia we find the impressive Palazzo Farnese with its entrance on Campo di Fiore (see map and *text ill. 3*).<sup>50</sup> It housed an enormously popular collection, amassed by Pope Paul III and other members of the Farnese family. Many of its statues and busts had been featured earlier on sixteenth-century engravings, and Rubens copied only a small number of these sculptures.

The marbles were displayed in the portico and courtyard of the ground floor and throughout the chambers of the first floor, and amongst them was a prize collection of portrait busts.<sup>51</sup> In the courtyard were colossal sculp-

47 Scipione resided in the 'Palazzo di Borgo' to be close to the Vatican. After Pope Paul V died he moved to the Palazzo Borghese on the Ripetta in 1621 (see note 44). Numerous transfers of statues from the 'Palazzo al Borgo' can be found in the Borghese Archives (A.B. 4173). (My sincere thanks to Dr Carl Van de Velde for perusing the Borghese Archives.) In 1625 the statue collection of Giovan Battista, inherited by his son Marcantonio, was transferred from the Palazzo Borghese al Ripetta to the Villa Pinciana, thereby fusing both collections. This happened *de jure* in 1633 with the death of Scipione whose estate was left to his nephew Marcantonio.

48 Cardinal Borghese may have been instrumental in obtaining the commission for the altarpiece for Santa Maria in Vallicella for Rubens; cf. *Rooses-Ruelens*, I, p. 360.

49 In his letter of 2 December 1606 (*Rooses-Ruelens*, I, p. 354) the artist made mention of two 'servitori' living with him.

50 The construction of the *palazzo* was started in 1517 and finished in 1589 (cf. H. Siebenhüner, 'Der Palazzo Farnese in Rom', *Wallraf-Richartz-Jahrbuch*, XIV, 1952, pp. 144-164). On the decoration of the Gallery vault see J.R. Martin, *The Farnese Gallery*, Princeton, N.J., 1965, Introduction. The *palazzo* on Piazza Farnese now houses the French Embassy.

51 The history of the Farnese collection has recently been researched by Christina Riebesell. Cardinal Odoardo was the last member of the family to make purchases for the antique collection. He also made the final arrangement of the antiques in the *palazzo*. See C. Riebesell, 'Die Antikensammlung Farnese zur Carracci-Zeit', in *Les Carrache et les décors profanes. Actes du colloque organisé par l'École française de Rome (Rome, 2-4 octobre 1986)* (Collection de l'École

tures excavated in the Baths of Caracalla, including a *Hercules* by Glycon and a *Flora*, but a statue group with the *Punishment of Dirce* was stored separately in a wooden shed behind the *palazzo*.<sup>52</sup>

Rubens made many studies of the famous *Hercules* (text ill. 9) of which mostly copies remain (Nos. 14-24; Figs. 31, 33-52). However, the influence of this sculpture pervades his *oeuvre* as prototype of the strong masculine body. The drawings of the head of Hercules were probably made after a cast, as the statue stood on a high pedestal (Nos. 19-20; Figs. 43, 44). This must also have been the case with the drawing of the *Farnese Bull* (No. 71; Fig. 136), as the animal was the crowning marble of the much admired *Punishment of Dirce* (Fig. 135). The dress of the *Flora* in the Farnese collection (text ill. 53) was of interest to Philip Rubens, who pictured the statue in his *Electorum Libri II* (text ill. 54; see p. 102).

Fulvio Orsini, the librarian and adviser to the Farnese family, lived on the second floor of the *palazzo*.<sup>53</sup> He owned a rich library, as well as a collection of coins, gems and portrait busts. After his death in May 1600 his collection remained in the *palazzo*. He bequeathed it to Odoardo Farnese (1573-1626).<sup>54</sup> A series of drawings in the Louvre showing antiquities belonging to Orsini were not made after the original objects, but copied from unpublished drawings by Theodoor Galle (Nos. 201-218; Figs. 405-453).

### *The Savelli Collection*

On Piazza di Montesavello the ancient theatre of Marcellus was converted by B. Peruzzi in 1527 for the Savelli family into a *palazzo* with its entrance

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française de Rome, no. 106), Rome, 1988, pp. 373-417.

52 Plans may have existed to use the statue group as a fountain; see C.L. Frommel, 'La construction et la décoration du Palais Farnèse', in *Le Palais Farnèse. École française de Rome*, I, 1, Rome, 1980, pp. 168-169.

53 G. Celio, *Memorie delli nomi dell'artefici delle pitture, che sono in alcune chiese, facciate e palazzi di Roma*, Naples, 1638, p. 132 (reprint Milan, 1967, ed. E. Zocca, p. 41). The École française de Rome now occupies Orsini's apartment. On Orsini's role as an adviser to the Farnese family see C. Riebesell, *Die Sammlung des Kardinal Alessandro Farnese. Ein 'Studio' für Künstler und Gelehrte (Acta Humaniora)*, Weinheim, 1989, chapters IV-VI.

54 P. de Nolhac, *La bibliothèque de Fulvio Orsini (Bibliothèque de l'école des hautes études, no. 74)*, Paris, 1887, p. 28; P. Bourdon et R. Vibert, 'Le Palais Farnèse d'après l'inventaire de 1653', *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire, École française de Rome*, XXIX, 1909, pp. 152-153, 162-163. After Odoardo's death the collection remained together. In 1786 King Ferdinand IV decided to transfer the collection to Naples. The antiquities were restored by Albacini (cf. A. de Franciscis, 'Restauri di Carlo Albacini a statue del Museo Nazionale di Napoli', *Sannium*, XIX, 1946, pp. 96-110).

overlooking the island in the River Tiber (see map and *text ill. 3*).<sup>55</sup> The courtyard was decorated with statues and sarcophagi.<sup>56</sup>

Among the copies in Copenhagen is a sheet of a standing *Ithyphallic Hermaphrodite* (No. 64; Fig. 123). A statue, now in Paris, said to have come from the Borghese collection, served as model (Fig. 122). However, there is no evidence that the sculpture belonged to either Scipione or his uncle Giovan Battista Borghese in the early seventeenth century. And a woodcut illustrated by Franzini pictures the marble as a sculpture in the Savelli collection.<sup>57</sup> The *Hermaphrodite* was probably a figure on a fountain there.

### *The Peretti-Montalto Collection*

Soon after his arrival in Rome in July or August 1601, Rubens must have contacted Alessandro Peretti, Cardinal Montalto (1572-1623), to whom Vincenzo Gonzaga, Duke of Mantua, had written a letter recommending the artist.<sup>58</sup> The Cardinal's reply of 15 August confirms that he had indeed met with Rubens.<sup>59</sup> Montalto was an passionate collector<sup>60</sup> and housed his sculptures in the Casino Felice<sup>61</sup> built by his uncle, Felice Perretti-Montalto, during the latter's pontificate as Sixtus V (1585-1598).

55 P. Fidenzoni, *Il teatro di Marcello*, Rome, 1973. Acquired in 1712 by Don Domenico Orsini, Duke of Gravina, now Palazzo Gaetani di Sermoneta. The marbles were sold to Prince Alessandro Torlonia.

56 *Aldroandi, Statue antiche*, pp. 232-234; *Lanciani, Scavi*, I, p. 178. The collection was brought together by Jacopo Savelli (d.1587).

57 G. Franzini, *Icones*, Rome, 1599, pl. D13. Other sculptures in the Savelli collection are illustrated on Franzini's woodcuts C 15, D 1, 5-9, D 12-14. Pierre Jacques drew some of the sculptures, others are pictured in the Codex Pighianus and the Dal Pozzo albums in London and at Windsor Castle.

58 V. Gonzaga to Cardinal Montalto, 8 July 1601 (*Roeses-Ruelens*, I, p. 28).

59 Cardinal Montalto to V. Gonzaga, 15 August 1601 (*ibid.*, pp. 29-30).

60 In a letter of Cardinal del Monte to the Grand Duke of Tuscany reference is made to the unsatiable appetite of Cardinal Montalto who tried to acquire every antique statue at any price; cf. C. Hülsen, (Review of P.G. Hübner, *Le statue di Roma*, I, Leipzig, 1912), *Göttinger Gelehrte Anzeiger*, CLXXVI, 1914, p. 293. Sixtus V appointed his nephew Cardinal at the age of fourteen. Alessandro became Vice-Chancellor of the Holy Church and resided in the Palazzo della Cancellaria Apostolica; cf. A. Schiavo, *Il Palazzo della Cancellaria*, Rome, 1964, pp. 69-70, 72.

61 Domenico Fontana (1543-1607) designed two *palazzi* for Sixtus V: the Palazzo a Termini and the Casino Felice. The latter is now demolished. Cf. I. Belli-Barsali, *Le Ville di Roma, Lazio*, I, Milan, 1970, p. 35, repr. pp. 33-34.

A wealth of marbles was displayed throughout the villa and its formal garden, located in the *vigna* Montalto next to the Baths of Diocletian and the basilica of Santa Maria Maggiore (see map and *text ill.* 5 and 12). Felini is one of the first authors to refer to the '*statue bellissime*', which otherwise did not seem to have attracted many artists.<sup>62</sup>

A statue of a *Caryatid* (Figs. 110, 112), dressed in an elegant garment and richly bedecked with jewellery, caught Rubens's eye. Since the copy in Oxford (No. 60; Fig. 113) fits in with his studies of ancient costume, Rubens's drawing probably stemmed from his second stay in Rome (1605/6-1608).

### *The Altemps Collection*

Near the Umberto bridge across the Tiber and opposite Sant'Apollinare stood the Palazzo Altemps (see map and *text ill.* 2), once the residence of Giovanni Angelo, Duke of Altemps (d.1620).<sup>63</sup> Its *cortile* housed antique statues, and in a large gallery a beautiful sarcophagus with Bacchic scenes (Fig. 262) was displayed.

A drawing in St Petersburg pictures part of the relief of the front (No. 135, Copy; Fig. 263) and an engraving in Albert Rubens, *De Re Vestiaria*, shows a motif from the relief on the other side (No. 134, Copy 2; Fig. 256).

Scipione Borghese acquired the so-called *Dying Seneca* from the Altemps collection. It possibly changed owners during the time when Rubens was in Rome (see p. 53).

### *The Collection of Ferdinand de' Medici*

On the Pincian Hill, the splendid Villa de' Medici offered a panoramic view of the City of Rome (see map and *text ill.* 4, 13 and 14). Only a modest dwelling when purchased in 1576 by Ferdinand de' Medici (1549-1609), it was considerably expanded to serve as his country house.<sup>64</sup> Upon his elev-

62 P.M. Felini, *Trattato nuovo delle cose maravigliose dell'Alma Città di Roma*, Rome, 1610, p. 216.

63 The *palazzo*, built in 1537 for Cardinal Girolamo Riario, was rebuilt by M. Longhi Senior for Cardinal Marco Sittico Altemps (A. Nibby, *Roma nell'anno MDCCCXXXVIII*, Rome, 1838 (reprint 1971), IV, pp. 400-402). It now houses the Collegio Spagnolo on Via San Apollinare (G. Torselli, *Palazzi di Roma*, Milan, 1965, p. 17).

64 G.M. Andres, 'The Villa Medici in Rome: the Projects of 1567', *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz*, XIX, 1975, pp. 277-302; M. Fossi, 'Contributo allo studio della Villa Medici alla Trinità dei Monti a Roma', *Scritti di storia dell'arte in onore U. Procacci*, Milan, 1977,

ation to cardinal in 1565, Ferdinand had moved to Rome where he became an avid collector of antique sculptures.<sup>65</sup> Twenty years later he had secured a remarkable collection, which he assembled in his Villa Pinciana. The façade was lavishly decorated with antique statues and reliefs, a wing for a gallery was added to the mansion and a large loggia with niches erected in the garden.

After the death of his brother, Ferdinand became Grand Duke of Tuscany and moved back to Florence in 1587, but his entire collection remained in Rome until 1677 when Cosimo III finally began to transfer it to Florence.<sup>66</sup> An inventory of 1598 informs us of the contents and the locations of the sculptures.<sup>67</sup> At the time of his departure Ferdinand left the use of his villa to Cardinal Alessandro Montalto.<sup>68</sup> Thus Rubens could have gained access to the collection.

Highlights of the collection had been published before, but copies in Copenhagen suggest that Rubens drew several pieces not known from earlier engravings. A statue of a *Seated Bacchus* (text ill. 32), standing along the exterior gallery wall, is drawn in frontal view (No. 3; Fig. 7). It was used in Rubens's design for the *Baptism of Christ* of 1604 (Paris, Louvre; text ill. 31). Separate drawings show the two *Wrestlers* (Fig. 176), displayed in a room facing the Piazza (Nos. 100-101; Figs. 177-178). To the collection belonged three statues of *Pothos*, then thought to be *Apollo*, one of which (Fig. 57) could have served as model for a sketch of such a leaning marble (No. 27; Fig. 56).

No study drawings are known of several sculptures, but Rubens's paintings betray their influence. A *Thusnelda*, one of six marbles placed in niches in the entrance loggia of the villa facing the garden,<sup>69</sup> can be recognized in

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II, pp. 422-425. Ferdinand resided in the Palazzo di Firenze (R.U. Montini, *Palazzo Firenze [Quaderni di storia dell'arte, VIII]*, Rome, 1958, pp. 14-18). Also known as Palazzo Cardella it houses the Società Nazionale Dante Alighieri, Piazza Firenze 27; cf. G. Torselli, op. cit. (note 63), p. 78. He also had the Villa Poggio on the Parioli Hill at his disposal (Hülsen, *Hermeninschriften*, pp. 129-130, n. 3; T. Falck, 'Studien zur Topographie und Geschichte der Villa Giulia in Rom', *Römisches Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte*, XIII, 1971, p. 132).

65 F. Boyer, 'Les antiques de Ferdinand de Médicis', *La revue de l'art ancien et moderne*, LV, 1929, pp. 201-214.

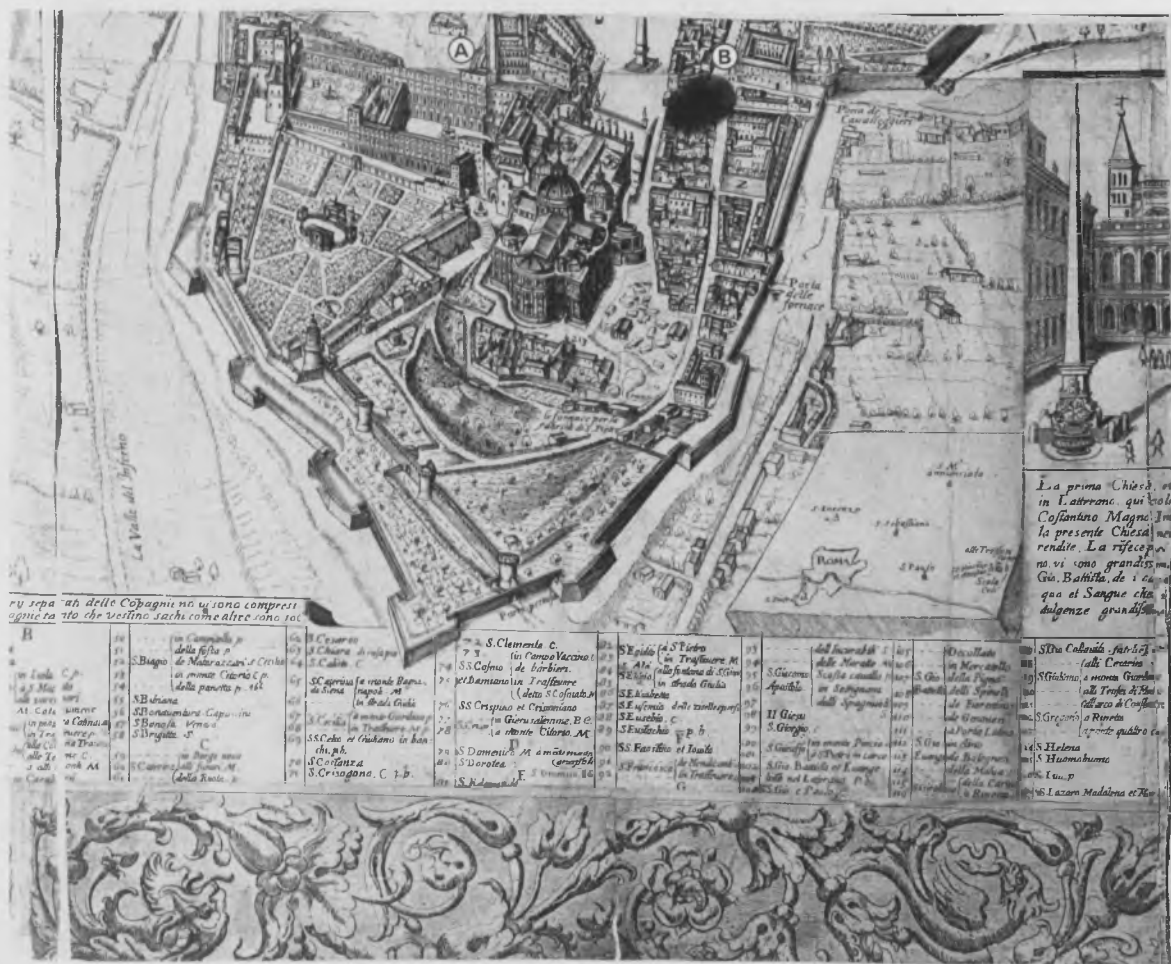
66 Id., 'Le transfer des antiques de Médicis de Rome à Florence', *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, LXXIV, 1932, 1, pp. 211-216.

67 Id., 'Un inventaire inédit des antiques de la Villa Médicis (1598)', *Revue archéologique*, ser. V, XXX, 1929, pp. 256-270.

68 G.M. Andres, *The Villa Medici in Rome*, New York-London, 1976, I, p. 327, n. 727.

69 The *Thusnelda* is now in Florence in the Loggia dei Lanzi. See G. Capecchi and A. Paolucci, 'Le statue antiche della Loggia dei Lanzi', *Bollettino d'arte*, ser. V, LX, 1975, pp. 169, 172, no. 3, figs. 6-7; *Bober-Rubinstein, Handbook*, pp. 198-199, no. 166, repr.; *De Cavalleriis, Antiquarium*





Text ill. 1. Matthias Greuter, *Disegno nuovo di Roma moderna*, Rome, 1616 (dated 3 July 1618), detail.  
A: Belvedere; B: Palace of Cardinal Cesi in the Borgo

Text ill. 2-6 that follow  
all show details of the map from Matthias Greuter,  
*'Disegno nuovo di Roma moderna'*, Rome, 1616



Text ill. 2. A: Borghese Palace on the Ripetta;  
 B: Borghese Palace in Borgo Nuovo; C: Palace of Tiberio Ceoli;  
 D: Church of S. Giovanni dei Fiorentini; E: Palace of the Duke of Altemps



Text ill. 3. A: Church of Sta Maria in Vallicella; B: The Cancellaria (the Palace of Cardinal Montalto); C: Farnese Palace; D: Church of S. Luigi dei Francesi; E: Giustiniani Palace; F: Savelli Palace, formerly the Theatre of Marcellus; G: Column of Trajan; H: Temple of Vespasian



# MODERNA CON PONT.<sup>TO</sup> DI N. S. VRBANO. P. P. VIII.



Text ill. 4. A: Palace of the Grand Duke of Tuscany (Villa Medici);  
B: Garden of the Grand Duke; C: Borghese Palace on the Pincian Hill



Text ill. 5. A: Palace of the Duke of Sforza (formerly da Carpi); B: Quirinal Hill;  
C: Baths of Diocletian; D: Church of Sta Maria Maggiore; E: Villa Peretti-Montalto

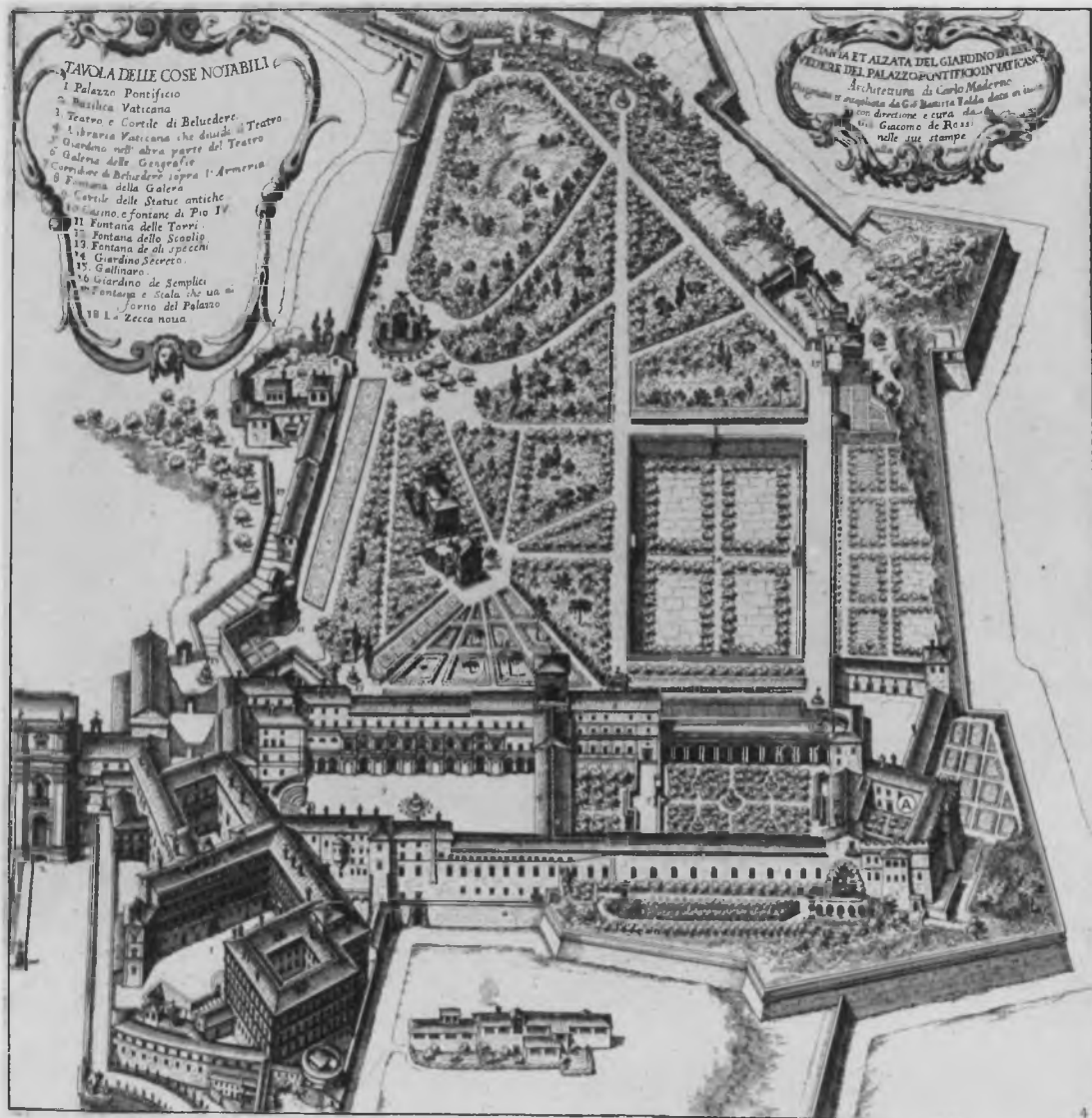


# DE, SITI ET EDI N LVCE DA MATTEO G



*Al benigno let.*  
I notabili accrescimenti dell'Alma Città di ROMA  
ramente per l'eccelsa fabbrica del tempio di S. I.  
fine, per la sontuosissima Capella in S. Maria  
Paolo Quinto, per i sì magnifici splendori, es  
come dissume habitabanti arricchiti; per la ma  
state, come si vede à Monte Cavallo, à S. Ma  
Monti nella Subura, in Borgo, in Trastevere,  
se di nuovo erette, hanno talmente acceso l  
et intaglio che sono stato costretto a benefi  
per porre auanti gli occhi del Mondo tutto qu  
le, sì come pare che sia in un certis modo  
pa. Paolo Quinto, così io sento particolarissim  
luce nell'istesso Pontificato, et massimamente no  
habbia con simili disegni rappresentata tutta l  
mi sono messo ad esprimere con ritrarre gli  
somiglianza di essi. Godi però il giudizioso  
nel tanto che le mie deboli forze mi hanno  
suegliare l'altra ingegno, à supplire, doue s

Text ill. 6. A: Celian Hill; B: Arch of Constantine; C: Mattei Garden; D: Church of Sta Maria in Domnica; E: Church of Sta Croce in Gerusalemme



Text ill. 7. Bird's-Eye View of the Belvedere, from G.B. Falda, *Le giardini di Roma*, [n. d.]  
 A: Courtyard with antique statues



Text ill. 8. *Apollo Belvedere*. Rome, Vatican Museum

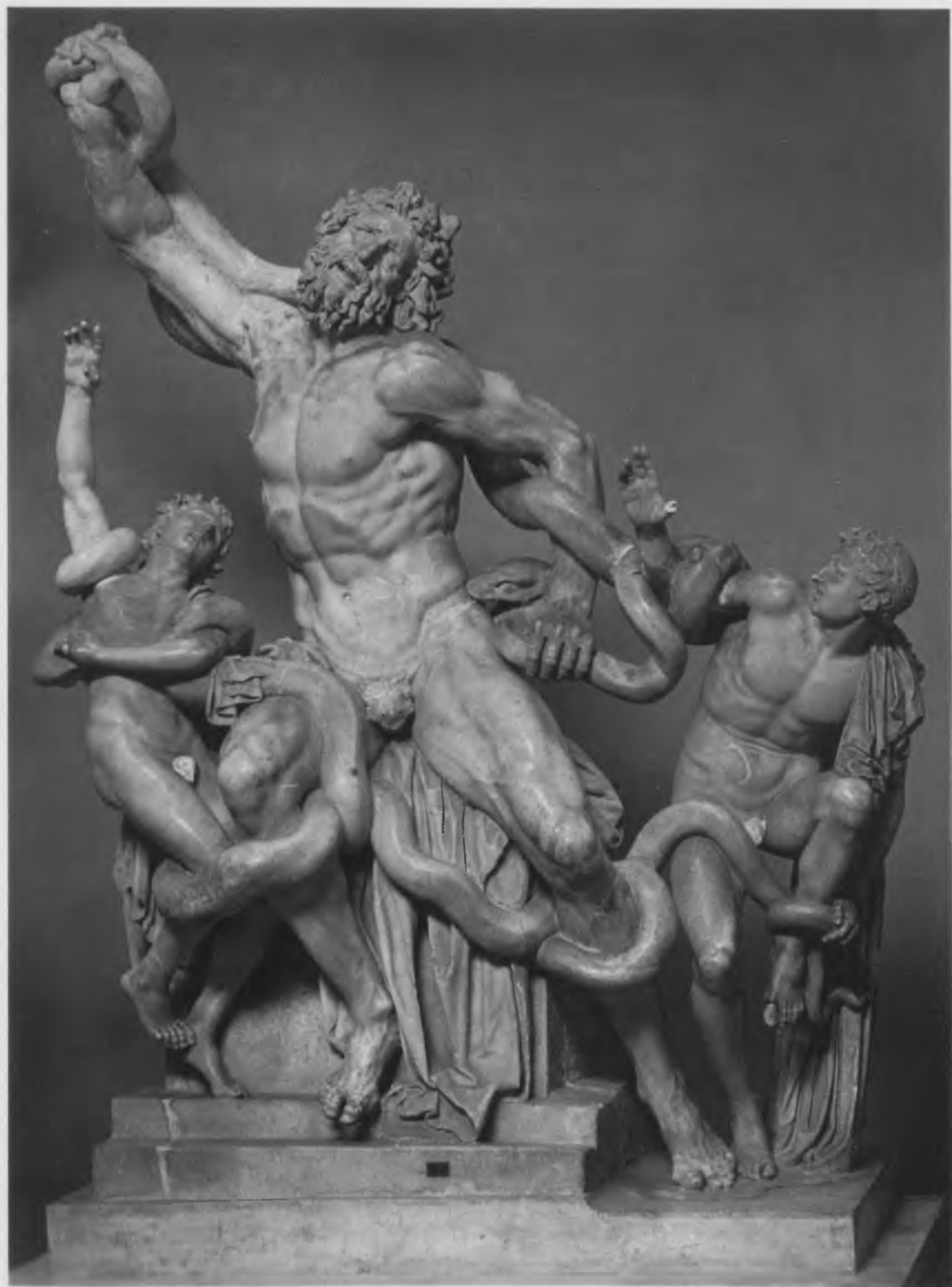


Text ill. 9. *Hercules Farnese*. Naples, Museo Nazionale



Text ill. 10. *River Nile*. Rome, Vatican Museum

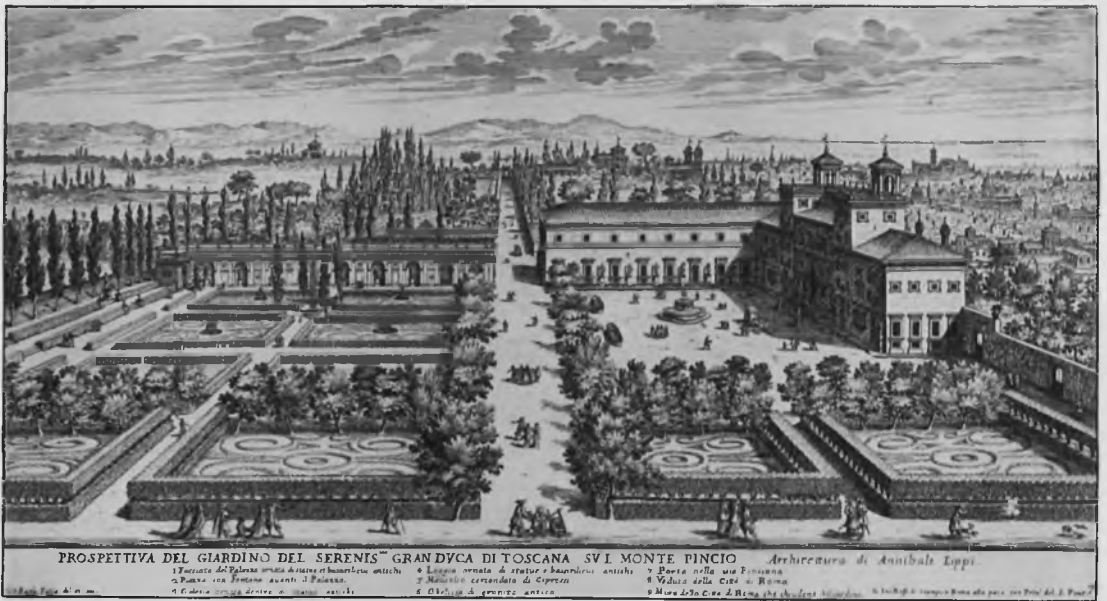




Text ill. 11. *Laocöon Group*. Rome, Vatican Museum, Belvedere



Text ill. 12. Bird's-Eye View of the Garden of Cardinal Savelli-Peretti, from G.B. Falda, *Le giardini di Roma*, [n. d.]



Text ill. 13. Bird's-Eye View of the Garden of the Grand Duke of Tuscany (Villa Medici), from G.B. Falda, *Le giardini di Roma*, [n. d.]



FONTANA DI MERCURIO NEL GIARDINO DEL GRAN DVCA DI TOSCANA ALLA TRINITA DE MONTI ADORNATA DI STATUE DI METALLO AVANTI IL PORTICO DELLA FACCIATA INTERIORE DEL PALAZZO *Architettura di Annibale Lippi.* 9  
Engraving by G. B. Falda, del. et sculp. © L. G. B. Falda in Roma da Pier. con Priv. del S. Pont.

Text ill. 14. Entrance of the de' Medici Palace, with the statue of Silenus with Infant Bacchus, from G.B. Falda, *Le Fontane di Roma*, [n. d.]



SANCTA BARBARA VIRGO ET MARTYR.

Text ill. 15. S. à Bolswert after Rubens, *St Barbara*, engraving



ET ERAT AVRODITUS ILIUS

Text ill. 16. S. à Bolswert after Rubens, *The Holy Family returning from the Temple*, engraving



Text ill. 17. Bird's-Eye View of the Garden of Duke Mattei,  
from G.B. Falda, *Le giardini di Roma*, [n. d.]



Text ill. 18. P. Morghen, *Silenus supported by Faun and Satyr*,  
engraving in R. Venuti and J.C. Amaduzzi, *Vetera monumenta Matteiorum*, III, Rome, 1779



Text ill. 19. Cinerary urn for the Brothers Clodius.  
Rome, Vatican Museum



Text ill. 20. Rubens, *Design for J. Richardot's Tomb*,  
drawing. Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet



Text ills. 21-22. Rubens, *Angels*, exterior left and right wings  
of the *Resurrection Triptych*. Antwerp, Cathedral



Text ill. 23. *Pudicitia*. Rome, Vatican Museum



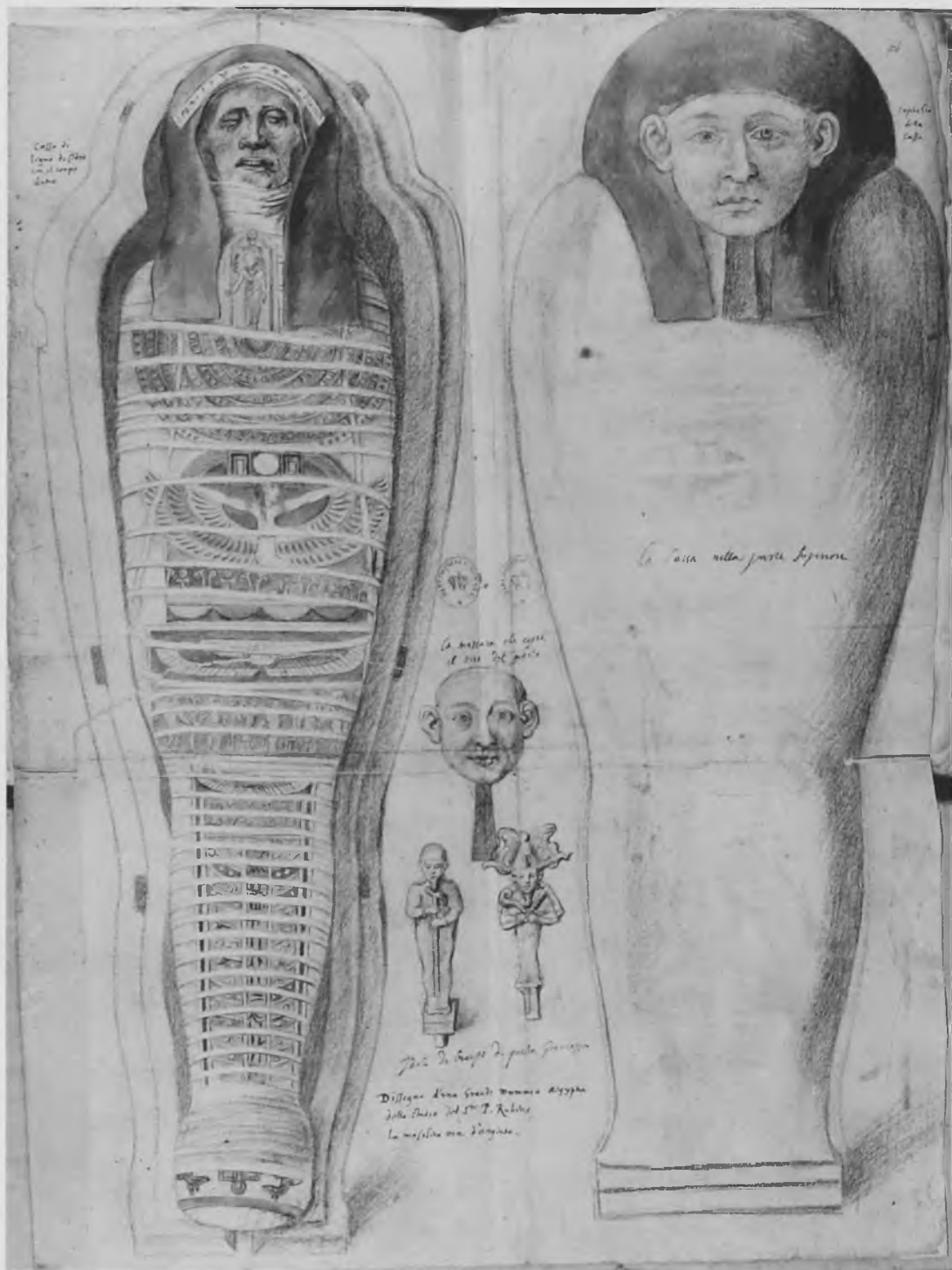
Text ill. 24. *Torso of a Venus Pudica*.  
Florence, Galleria degli Uffizi



Text ill. 25. *Hercules strangling Snakes*.  
Florence, Galleria degli Uffizi



Text ill. 26. ?Rubens,  
*Infant Hercules strangling Snakes*,  
whereabouts unknown



Text ill. 27. Rubens assistant, *Rubens's Egyptian Mummy Case*, drawing. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS Dupuy 667



the figure of Prudence in Rubens's original design for the *Reconciliation of Maria de' Medici* in Bremen.<sup>70</sup> A second statue, a Sabina,<sup>71</sup> is literally copied as Mary in Rubens's altarpiece the *The Holy Family Returning from the Temple*.<sup>72</sup> For *Nymphs with a Cornucopia* (Madrid, Prado; *K.d.K.*, p. 126) a marble of a Nereid on a Seahorse was used, which stood near the steps leading to a wooded area.<sup>73</sup>

The early history of the famous Venus de' Medici, first published by Perrier in 1638<sup>74</sup> is obscure, but it must be identical to one of the three nude statues of Venus listed in the 1598 inventory.<sup>75</sup> No drawings after the sculpture are known by Rubens's hand, yet it left traces in his *oeuvre*.<sup>76</sup> The influence of the Niobid group, displayed in the garden, is also detectable.<sup>77</sup> A relief mounted on the front façade of the villa (*text ill. 14*) picturing *Hercules Combating the Nemean Lion*<sup>78</sup> is rather literally used in Rubens's

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statuarum, I-II, pl. 80; III-IV, pl. 83: 'Sabina' (unrestored).

70 F. Lugt, 'Notes sur Rubens', *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, LXVII, 1925, II, pp. 184-190; F. Boyer, op. cit. (note 67), p. 264, nos. 176-183. Ferdinand had the statue restored after he purchased it in 1584, but a pen drawing in *MS Johnson*, fol. 82r, pictures *Thusnelda* with the right arm missing.

71 The statue of Sabina stood to the left of the entrance loggia as an engraving by G.F. Venturini shows (*text ill. 14*; G.B. Falda, *Le Fontane di Roma*, s.a., pl. 9). The sculpture is now in Florence in the Loggia dei Lanzi; cf. G. Capecchi and A. Paolucci, op. cit. (note 69), pp. 169, 170-171, no. 1, figs. 2-3.

72 The painting (whereabouts unknown) was previously in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (since 1872); cf. *Catalogue of Paintings*, 1931, p. 311, no. R82-1; sale, New York (Christie's), 5 June 1980, lot 135. The painting is engraved by Schelte à Bolswert (*text ill. 16*; *Rooses*, I, pp. 246-247, no. 183, pl. 65; *V.S.*, p. 25, no. 116; *Kieser, Antikes*, p. 128, figs. 17 [engraving Bolswert] and 18 [the statue of Sabina]; M. van der Meulen, 'Rubens in Holland', in *Rubens and His World, bijdragen... opgedragen aan Prof. Dr Ir. R.-A. d'Hulst*, Antwerp, 1985, p. 313, fig. 2). An engraving of *St Barbara* by Schelte à Bolswert pictures the same sculpture in reverse (*text ill. 15*; *Rooses*, II, p. 221, no. 395, pl. 136; *V.S.*, p. 113, no. 18; M. van der Meulen, op. cit., p. 313, fig. 3).

73 F. Boyer, op. cit. (note 67), p. 267, no. 301. The *Nereid* is now in Florence, Uffizi. See *Mansuelli, Cat. Uffizi*, no. 97, repr.; *Bober-Rubinstein, Handbook*, p. 133, no. 101, repr.; *Kieser, Antikes*, p. 119, figs. 7 (Rubens's painting in the Prado) and 8 (the *Nereid* sculpture).

74 *Perrier, Segmenta*, pls. 81-83 (the marble is pictured in mirror image).

75 F. Boyer, op. cit. (see note 67), p. 261, no. 32; p. 263, no. 111; p. 267, no. 308. The inscription on the base of the statue was recorded in the 16th century; cf. L. Correro, 'Nuovo contributo alla storia della Venere dei Medici', *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Institutes, Römische Abteilung*, XIX, 1904, p. 267.

76 J.S. Held, 'Rubens' "Het Pelsken"', in his *Rubens and his Circle*, ed. by A.W. Lowenthal et al., Princeton, N.J., 1982, p. 110, n. 26.

77 *Van der Meulen, Sculpture Collections*, pp. 156-157, n. 9.

78 The relief is still mounted on the façade of the Villa Medici (M. Cagianò de Azavedo, *Le antichità di Villa Medici in Roma*, Rome, 1951, pp. 65-66, no. 49, pl. XXVI.38; *Bober-Rubinstein, Handbook*, p. 172, no. 136, repr.).

sketches where the hero is fighting off the animal face to face.<sup>79</sup> From the fact that the *Seated Bacchus* appeared in Rubens's work as early as 1604 it may be concluded that the artist paid a visit to the villa during his first stay in Rome, between 1601 and 1602.

### *The Collection of Cyriacus Mattei*

On the Celimontana, the spacious, peaceful *vigna* of Cyriacus Mattei (1545-1614) stretched southwards from the Church of Santa Maria in Domnica. Cyriacus, a wealthy Roman senator, resided in a large villa with a beautifully landscaped garden (see map and *text ills. 6 and 17*).<sup>80</sup> An impressive collection of antiquities was displayed throughout the garden, the casino and the villa. A 1614 inventory lists all the marbles according to their locations.<sup>81</sup> The bulk of the sculptures were published in three large volumes shortly after their dispersal in 1776-1779.<sup>82</sup>

Mattei had made his collection accessible to Roman connoisseurs and foreign visitors of good reputation, yet few artists seem to have responded to the opportunity, and only a handful of statues were illustrated in early publications. However, Rubens showed an unusual interest in the collection, which contained some prize pieces. Mattei is not mentioned in Rubens's correspondence and was probably not among the artist's personal acquaintances.

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79 E. Haverkamp Begemann, *Drawings from the Clark Institute*, New Haven-London, 1954, pp. 23-27, no. 20, figs. 23-24; Held, *Drawings*, 1986, p. 107, no. 97, pl. 89. Jaffé, *Rubens and Italy*, p. 83, fig. 285, attributed a drawing of the relief in a private collection in Dorset to Rubens. The attribution is rejected by Vlieghe, *Review Jaffé*, p. 473.

80 The *vigna* was acquired in 1553 by Giacomo Mattei from the Paluzzelli family. Cyriacus had the villa rebuilt (1581-1586) and the gardens landscaped. An engraving by J. Laurus of 1616 shows a bird's eye view of the garden. The villa now houses the Istituto Geografico, and the grounds have become a public park (E. Schröter, 'Ein Zeichnungskabinett im Palazzo Mattei di Giove in Rom', in *Antikensammlungen im 18. Jahrhunderts*, ed. by H. Beck, P.C. Bol, W. Prinz and H. von Steuben, Berlin, 1981, pp. 50-52, figs. 15-16; I. Belli Barsali, *Le Ville di Roma, Lazio*, I, Milan, 1970, pp. 384-386). He is referred to as 'Cyriacus Mattheius ciuis Romanus ex opulentioribus' by T. Ameyden (*Elogia summorum pontificum et sanctae romanae ecclesiae cardinalium suo aevo defunctorum*, Rome, Bibl. Vat., Cod. Lat. 8810, fol. 62v) in the biography of Ascanius Colonna.

81 Cyriacus stipulated in his last will (dd. 26 July 1610) that the collection should remain together (*Lanciani, Scavi*, III, pp. 83-86). This was annulled by Pope Clemens XIV in 1770 on the request of Giuseppe Mattei who was forced to sell off the antiquities for financial reasons.

82 *Venuti-Amaduzzi, Vetera monumenta*.

Among the best-known marbles was a large *Muse* sarcophagus, formerly in San Lorenzo fuori le Mura. It was placed at the far end of the garden close to the wall bordering the property. Rubens drew the figures from the relief on the right side only (Fig. 268), and added a detail sketch of the head of the central figure from a different angle (No. 138; Fig. 269).

In the *giardino segreto*, a loggia contained some smaller statues, among them a *Histrion* (*Comic Actor*, Fig. 98), whose mask was drawn from the front in an enlarged detail study (No. 52, Copy; Fig. 96). Close to the *Histrion* stood an Eagle with outspread wings (Fig. 181); copies in Copenhagen show three views of the statue (Nos. 103-104; Figs. 182-183). An empress in the disguise of Ceres (Fig. 118), placed in the last niche of the side wall of the villa, served as a model for a drawing in London (No. 62; Fig. 119). A drawing in the Woodner collection (No. 127; Fig. 248) pictures a *Bust of a Hellenistic Ruler* (Fig. 250) belonging to Cyriacus Mattei.

Although no other drawings are known, Rubens's paintings provide further evidence of his familiarity with unpublished Mattei sculptures. On his *Three Marias at the Holy Sepulchre* (Pasadena, Calif., Norton Simon Museum of Art) a matron with a veil drawn over her head is based on a statue of *Pudicitia*.<sup>83</sup> The original, larger than life, stood along the path leading to the bird house (*text ill.* 23).<sup>84</sup> A relief with a *Drunken Silenus Supported by Fauns* (*text ill.* 18),<sup>85</sup> displayed in Mattei's Casino Santo Sisto, was copied exactly on a painting of the same subject in Dresden.<sup>86</sup> A familiar motif in Rubens's compositions is a *Silenus* with bald, wreathed head, stubby nose and pointed ears, occurring, for example, on his *Drunken Silenus* (Genoa,

83 Freedberg, *Christ after the Passion*, pp. 39-42, no. 6, fig. 8; M. Jaffé, 'The Return from the Flight into Egypt', *Wadsworth Atheneum Bulletin*, Hartford, Summer 1961, pp. 12-13; fig. 11 shows a pen sketch (c.1612) in Moscow, State Museum Pushkin. The motif of a woman reaching up with her right hand to her veiled head is also used in *The Circumcision* (Genoa, Sant' Ambrogio; *K.d.K.*, p. 21, c.1605), *The Virgin Adorned with Flowers*, (Vaduz, Liechtenstein Collection, c.1609; cf. Held, *Oil Sketches*, pp. 505-506, no. 369, pl. 361; R. Baumstark, in [Cat. Exh.] *Liechtenstein. The Princely Collections*, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 1985, pp. 316-318, no. 201, repr.) and *The Ildefonso Triptych* (Vienna; *K.d.K.*, p. 325; 1630-1632).

84 After Mattei's death in October 1614, an inventory was drawn up on 15 November 1614 (*Lanciani, Scavi*, III, pp. 88-97). The sculpture is there listed as: 'Una statua di marmo rappresentante Cerrere a capo al viale dell' uccelliere alta palmi tredici con il suo piedistallo' (*ibid.*, p. 91). Cf. Venuti-Amaduzzi, *Vetera monumenta*, I, pl. 62: 'Pudicitia'. The *Pudicitia* is now in the Vatican Museum (*Amelung, Skulpturen*, I, pp. 33-37, no. 23, pl. 4; Helbig, *Führer*, 1963-72, I, pp. 321-322, no. 415).

85 Inventory of 1614: 'Nel camerino a capo della loggia o sala a man dritta quando s'entra... Una medaglia di marmo con un sileno imbroiaco che s'appoggia sopra doi figurine...' (*Lanciani, Scavi*, III, p. 93). Cf. Venuti-Amaduzzi, *Vetera monumenta*, III, pl. 22.1. Present whereabouts of the relief unknown.

86 Kieser, *Antikes*, pp. 116-117, figs. 5 (painting in Dresden) and 6 (relief).

Palazzo Durazzo-Pallavicini).<sup>87</sup> It strongly resembles a marble fragment of a *Silenus* belonging to the Mattei collection, pictured on an engraving in Sandrart.<sup>88</sup>

A cinerary urn of the brothers C. Clodius Primitivus and C. Clodius Apollinaris (*text ill.* 19) standing in the *giardino secreto*<sup>89</sup> is literally copied on Rubens's design for Jean Richardot's tomb (*text ill.* 20).<sup>90</sup> And his title-page for L. Nonnius' *Commentarius in Huberti Goltzii Graeciam* (1618) pictures a Roman *cippus* decorated with lush garlands and flowers suspended from ram's heads on each side.<sup>91</sup> It is based on a common type of grave monument of which at least five specimens belonged to Cyriacus.<sup>92</sup>

It is obvious that a large number of marbles drew Rubens's attention. The drawings of Mattei sculptures do not fit into the category of anatomical studies he made in the early years in Rome. The monuments that Rubens selected were predominantly of archaeological importance. He showed an interest in draped figures such as the *Ceres*, the *Pudicitia* and those on the *Muse* sarcophagus. The annotations on the latter also reveal the artist's interest in iconography, when he recognized an elderly bearded man as Socrates (see under No. 138). The sullen woman at the man's side matched his perception of the philosopher's wife. The choice of the *Histrion* is rather unusual. All in all, it seems most likely that the artist visited the Mattei collection during his second stay in Rome together with his brother Philip.

The rarely visited, yet most interesting Mattei garden must have been an ideal place for the two brothers to exchange ideas and scholarly observations while strolling from one monument to the other.<sup>93</sup> A trip to the remote *Horti*

87 E. Kieser, 'Rubens' Münchner Silen und seine Vorstufen', *Münchner Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst*, N.F. XIII, 1938-1939, pp. 186-188, fig. 1.

88 Sandrart, *Teutsche Akademie*, II, 2, p. 13, pl. oo. Present whereabouts of the *Silenus* unknown.

89 Inventory of 1614: 'Nel giardino secreto: Una cassa di marmo con angeletti di mezzo relievo tutta intagliata' (*Lanciani, Scavi*, III, p. 90). Cf. *Venuti-Amaduzzi, Vetera monumenta*, III, pl. LXIII.2. The urn is now in the Vatican Museum (*Amelung, Skulpturen*, II, pp. 216-217, no. 80, pl. 21).

90 Held, *Drawings*, 1986, pp. 88-89, no. 50, fig. 12, pl. 54; Müller Hofstede, *Rubens in Italien*, pp. 206-209, no. 33, fig. K.33. See also p. 88 below.

91 Judson-Van de Velde, pp. 201-203, no. 43, fig. 148.

92 *Venuti-Amaduzzi, Vetera monumenta*, II, pl. LV.2 (Vatican Museum; *Lippold, Skulpturen*, III, 2, pp. 687-688, no. 429a, pl. 77); pl. LVI.1 (Vatican Museum; *ibid.*, pp. 698-699, no. 433a, pl. 77); pl. LVI.2 (Vatican Museum; *ibid.*, pp. 714-715, no. 441a, pl. 77); pl. LXII.2 (Paris, Louvre; *Reinach, Répertoire statuaire*, I, p. 122, pl. 252, no. 559); pl. LXIII.1 (Paris, Louvre?).

93 The collection of Cyriacus Mattei contained the largest number of ancient marble urns, sepulchral monuments and inscriptions. Thus it was very interesting to archaeologists. Cf. P. Rossini, *Il Mercurio errante*, Rome, 1693, p. 98.

*Matteiani* meant a detour for Rubens, who at the time was working on the altarpiece for Santa Maria in Vallicella, but the effort was certainly justified.

### *The Collection of Vincenzo Giustiniani*

Opposite San Luigi dei Francesi rose the large Palazzo Giustiniani (see map and *text ill.* 3), named after the family that had acquired it in 1590.<sup>94</sup> Two Giustiniani brothers lived here. One of them, Marchese Vincenzo (1564-1637), was a successful banker, but also a great art lover. He wrote treatises, collected books and paintings, and owned one of the largest collections of antiquities to be found in Rome, which he displayed throughout the palace.<sup>95</sup> The Marchese had a large number of his sculptures engraved and published in 1631.<sup>96</sup> After his death an inventory was drawn up on 3 February 1638 listing no less than 389 marbles, not including the *cippi* and sarcophagi.<sup>97</sup> A copy in Copenhagen shows a *Resting Faun* in side view (No. 5; Fig. 15). The original statue by Praxiteles is known from several replicas. Two of them belonged to the Giustiniani collection, but only one of these fauns (Fig. 16) had pointed ears like the one on the drawing.

The Giustiniani family also possessed a large piece of property near the Villa Borghese at the Piazza del Popolo, known as the *Horti Justiniani*, where marble vases, sarcophagi, grave altars and marble inscriptions were displayed.<sup>98</sup> Albert Rubens referred to a vase with Bacchic scenes in a discussion on the shape of cymbals.<sup>99</sup> But no drawing by Rubens is known of such a vase.

94 The *palazzo* was newly rebuilt and redecorated with a *galleria* added by Francesco Vento (1585-1587). It is now the residence of the president of the Senate on Via della Dogana Vecchia; see I. Toesca, 'Note sulla storia del Palazzo Giustiniani a San Luigi dei Francesi', *Bollettino d'arte*, XXXII, 1957, pp. 296-308; id., 'Giustiniani Palace', *The Burlington Magazine*, CII, 1960, pp. 166-167; G. Torselli, *op. cit.* (note 63), p. 150.

95 L. Salerno, 'The Picture Gallery of Vincenzo Giustiniani, I: Introduction', *The Burlington Magazine*, CII, 1960, pp. 21-27.

96 *Galleria Giustiniani del Marchese Vincenzo Giustiniani*, I-II, Rome, 1631. Joachim von Sandrart played a major role in the publication.

97 C. Gasparri, 'Materiali per servire allo studio del Museo Torlonia di scultura antica', *Atti della Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei*, CCCLXXVII, 1980, pp. 71-88. An undated note of Peiresc observes: 'Le marquis IVSTINIAN a plus de figures hors du Borghese q. tous les aultrles' (Carpentras, Bibl. Inguimbertaine, MS 1864, fol. 282r).

98 G. Tomassetti, *La Campagna romana*, Rome, 1913, III, p. 210.

99 *Rubenius, De Re Vestiaria*, p. 188. See Chapter II, note 87.

*The Collection of Rodolfo da Carpi*

On the Quirinal, beyond the Papal Palace, lay the large *vigna* of Cardinal Rodolfo da Carpi (1500-1564) (see map and *text ill.* 5). In his garden a large number of splendid antique statues were arranged in loggias. It was a popular gathering-place for Humanists and artists. After the Cardinal's death many of the sculptures were sold, and in 1578 the property came into the possession of the Sforza family, who enlarged the *palazzo* considerably.<sup>100</sup> All the same, a visit to the garden was still recommended.<sup>101</sup>

In the *vigna*, just outside the entrance to the *giardino secreto*, stood a Bacchic sarcophagus (Fig. 260) next to a pergola; a detail of the relief is illustrated in Albert Rubens's book (No. 133, Copy 2; Fig. 256). In 1630, much of the site changed with the construction of the Palazzo Barberini.

## SCULPTURES OUTSIDE ROME

South of Rome, the Via Latina leads to the Tusculan Hills. About thirteen miles away lies Frascati, the ancient Tusculum, favoured as a summer resort by Popes since Clement VIII, with its luxurious residences of citizens eager to flee the heat of the city and cool off in the green mountains.

In 1606, Rubens made a trip to Frascati with several archaeological friends. A sarcophagus lid with Bacchic scenes (Fig. 259) may have been copied on this occasion (No. 132, Copy 2; Fig. 256). It stood in 'Caravilla', the country home of Tolomeo Gallo, Cardinal di Como, since 1591 Bishop of Frascati.<sup>102</sup> In March 1607, after Gallo's death,<sup>103</sup> Cardinal Scipione Bor-

100 An extensive account is given by *Aldroandi*, *Stature antiche*, pp. 295-310. *Hülßen*, *Römische Antikengärten*, pp. 43-84, offers a reconstruction of da Carpi's collection on the basis of an inventory drawn up between 1564-1573 listing the sculptures in their locations.

101 G.K. von Wertheim, *Delittiae Italiae*, Frankfurt, 1600, p. 197: da Carpi is still referred to as the owner.

102 The villa was constructed by the poet Annibale Caro on the site of the ancient Roman villa that belonged to L. Licinius Lucullus, a general in the war against Mithridates. The villa became later known as Villa Conti and is now called Villa Torlonia (*Lanciani*, *Scavi*, III, pp. 50-53; F. Grosso Gondi, *Il Tuscolano nell'età classica*, Rome, 1908, pp. 113-121; G. and F. Tomassetti, *La Campagna Romana*, Rome, 1926, IV, pp. 360-361, 439-440; I. Belli Barsali and M.G. Branchetti, *Ville della Campagna Romana, Lazio*, II, Milan, [1975], p. 24, 270-272).

103 The Bishop died on 4 February 1607 and was buried on 7 February (*Orbaan*, *Documenti*, p. 78). Dirk van Ameijden reported that the Bishop built a magnificent villa in Frascati and died on 3 February 1606; cf. *Elogia summorum pontificum...*, op. cit. (note 80), fols. 51r-52r, biography of Ptolomeus Gallo: 'Villam edificavit Tusculi magnificam mansione dignam' (fol. 51r).

ghese acquired the property and had a large waterfall and fountain installed in the garden.<sup>104</sup> The site yielded many antiquities.

## UNIDENTIFIED LOCATIONS

It is not always possible to specify where a sculpture was copied in the early years of the seventeenth century, and the whereabouts of some sculptures are only known in later times.

Rubens drew several statues that later came into the collection of Thomas Howard, Duke of Arundel (1585-1646). The Duke travelled to Italy in 1613-1614, and on that occasion acquired antique sculptures for his gallery. It is possible that three of these were in a single collection when Rubens saw them. The first, a Roman *Togatus* statue with a portrait head of Nero (Fig. 94), stood outside in a wooded garden, as the background of the drawing indicates (No. 51; Fig. 95). The second, a Greek philosopher (Fig. 92), evidently stood indoors against a wall (No. 50; Fig. 93). As they are both draped statues, it seems likely that their clothing interested Rubens. The third sculpture, known only from a Copenhagen copy (No. 2; Fig. 4), shows a *Bacchus* still unrestored (Fig. 5).

Another Copenhagen drawing (No. 6; Fig. 18) shows an unusual type of *Standing Faun*, with a panther skin on his back (Fig. 17). The first recorded location for the sculpture is the collection of Cardinal Ludovico Ludovisi (1595-1632), but the Cardinal only started collecting antique marbles when he constructed his villa in 1622. He also secured an exquisite Hellenistic statue group of a *Gaul Killing His Wife and Himself* (Fig. 138). The date the sculpture was discovered has been cited as 1622, but the Copenhagen copies would suggest a considerably earlier date (Nos. 72-74; Figs. 137, 139, 140). This is supported by the fact that Rubens used the group in 1622-23 for the *Council of the Gods* in the Medici cycle in Paris (*text ill.* 45; *K.d.K.*, p. 254).

It has always been assumed that Rubens drew a marble group of *A Roman Couple in the Disguise of Venus and Mars* (No. 99; Fig. 175) during his visit to

104 The property was acquired by Cardinal Scipione Borghese on 28 March 1607; on 23 June, Carlo Maderna and Giovanni Fontana received the commission to embellish the gardens with waterworks (cf. N. Caflisch, *Carlo Maderna*, Munich, 1934, pp. 117, 147). An engraving by Matteo Greuter (undated) shows the Borghese property in all its splendour as 'Villa del S Duca Altemps', by the name of its next owner, Giovan Angelo Duke Altemps, who purchased the villa in 1614 (*Lanciani, Scavi*, pp. 61-63; rev. edn, Rome, 1990, fig. 44). The property was acquired on 20 August 1621 by Cardinal Ludovico Ludovisi.

Scipione Borghese. However, recent publications have revealed that the Cardinal probably acquired the group only in later years (Fig. 173).

*A Drunken Silenus leaning against a Tree Trunk* (Fig. 60) is first documented in the collection of Cardinal Flavio Chigi (1641-1693) who resided in the Palazzo SS. Apostoli after 1661. Rubens's beautiful drawing in London shows the marble standing outdoors in an unidentified *viridarium*, where it possibly served as a fountain (Nos. 28, 29; Figs. 58, 61).

The location of a relief with a *Reclining Hercules and Fauns*, possibly part of a large fountain, also remains unknown. The marble, assumed to be lost, is known from Rubens's drawing in Milan (No. 136; Fig. 264). Similarly, the whereabouts of a semi-draped *Venus* (Nos. 56-57, Copy; Figs. 102-103) and two fragments with a *Head of Venus* (?) (Nos. 54-55, Copy; Figs. 100-101) are not identified. A fountain figure of a *Boy Urinating* (Fig. 99), now in the store of the Louvre in Paris, presumably came from the Borghese collection, but it cannot be traced among Scipione's marbles (No. 53, Copy; Fig. 97).

## OTHER COLLECTIONS

The opportunity for Rubens to visit antique statue collections was not limited to Rome. In Venice, where Rubens arrived in July 1600, the Grimani marbles were on display in the *Statuario Pubblico*.<sup>105</sup> He might well have studied the famous head of Vitellius there (Nos. 130-131; Figs. 252, 254). In Mantua, where Rubens was employed by Vincenzo Gonzaga, he must have become familiar with the statues and reliefs belonging to the ducal collection.<sup>106</sup>

### *The Medici Collections in Florence*

In Florence, where the artist stayed twice (October 1600 and March 1603), the Medici family had assembled a large number of sculptures. The collection brought together by Cosimo I was displayed in the gallery of the

105 M. Perry, 'The Statuario Pubblico of the Venetian Republic', *Saggi e memorie di storia dell'arte*, VIII, Florence, 1972, pp. 75-150; id., 'Cardinal Domenico Grimani's Legacy of Ancient Art to Venice', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, XLI, 1978, pp. 215-244. Cf. T. Coryate, *Coryats Crudities*, 1611 (facsimile edn, 1978), pp. 178-180.

106 A. Levi, *Sculture greche e romane del Palazzo Ducale di Mantova*, Rome, 1931. The Gonzaga collection in Mantua was decimated in 1629 by the sale to Charles I of England. The remainder is still in Mantua.



Palazzo Pitti,<sup>107</sup> while Francesco I transferred some of the sculptures to the newly constructed *tribuna* and *galleria* of the Uffizi.<sup>108</sup> A *Venus Pudica* (text ill. 24), with elegant drapery falling from the back, presumably standing in the *sala delle nicchie* in the Palazzo Pitti since Cosimo acquired it, is known from two copies in Copenhagen (Nos. 58-59; Figs. 104, 108). Another copy in Copenhagen shows the marble of a *Boar* on display in the corridor of the Uffizi (No. 102; Fig. 179). The *tribuna* contained a number of smaller statues, including a *Sleeping Cupid* and an *Infant Hercules Strangling Snakes* (text ill. 25). Both types of statues are mentioned in Rubens's essay *De Pueris*, and were recommended to young artists for copying.<sup>109</sup> The Hercules statue possibly served as model for a painting auctioned in Brussels in the Palais des Beaux Arts in 1955 and 1958 (attributed to Rubens, whereabouts unknown; text ill. 26).<sup>110</sup> A *Faun with Scabillum* (Fig. 9), interesting for the instrument tied to his foot, was probably also on display in the Uffizi (No. 4, Copies; Figs. 10-14).<sup>111</sup> The famous head of the so-called *Dying Alexander* (Fig. 240) was the source of inspiration for Rubens's *Daniel in the Lions' Den* and various heads of martyrs. One original drawing (Fig. 241) and copies after two further drawings of the sculpture are known (see under Nos. 124-125; Figs. 242-243). In the Palazzo Medici on Via Larga, a *protome* of a bronze Greek horse stood on display in the second courtyard. It formerly belonged to Lorenzo the Magnificent, who in 1471 sent a copy to Naples as a gift to Count Diomedes di Carafa (Fig. 186). A drawing in black chalk in Paris pictures a head of a horse that resembles the Naples head more closely than the Florentine bronze (No. 107; Fig. 187). Rubens is not known to have visited Naples, but possibly he could have drawn the head from a plaster cast, although I would question the attribution of this sheet to Rubens.

107 M. Daly Davis, 'La Galleria di sculture antiche di Cosimo I a Palazzo Pitti', in *Le arti del principato mediceo*, Florence, 1980, pp. 31-54; M. Mosco, 'Una "Descrittione dell'Apparato delle Stanze del Palazzo de' Pitti in Fiorenza" edita a Venezia nel 1577', *Antichità Viva*, XIX, 1, 1980, pp. 5-20.

108 M. Cristofani, 'Per una storia del collezionismo archeologico nella Toscana granducale. Doni e acquisti di statue antiche nella seconda metà del XVI secolo', in *Le arti del principato mediceo*, Florence, 1980, pp. 19-29.

109 See Appendix IX, n. 6, *Sleeping Cupid*; n. 8, *Infant Hercules Strangling Snakes in his Cradle*.

110 See Appendix IX, n. 8.

111 H. Dütschke, *Antike Bildwerke in Oberitalien*, III: *Florenz Uffizi*, Leipzig, 1878, p. xix, mentions an inventory of 1600 of the antiquities, listing 98 statues in the Uffizi, but the document is now lost. I am much indebted to the staff of the Museum for trying to locate the document.

When visiting the places of interest to Rubens, it becomes evident that while his artistic interests encompassed several public monuments, private collections attracted him far more. He explored most of the long-established, famous statue gardens, but also ventured off the beaten track to some of the lesser known or newly founded collections. As a consequence, Rubens did not limit his choice to the established masterpieces, but added quite a few little-known works of art. In straying away from the prescribed *admiranda* and *exempla*, he had to rely on his own judgment, and was possibly advised by his antiquarian acquaintances.<sup>112</sup>

In travelling to Italy Rubens followed in the footsteps of the sixteenth-century Humanist artists of the Low Countries. Since Jan Gossaert first journeyed to Rome to copy antique statuary in 1508-1509, it had become fashionable to study in Italy.<sup>113</sup> Rubens's use and understanding of ancient art was unique for his time.<sup>114</sup> He is unequalled in his wide range of interests, which embraced sculptures, bronzes, coins and gems.

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112 Cf. *Reznicek, Goltzius*, pp. 90-91, where it is suggested that Goltzius may have been advised by Philip van Winghe on little known sculptures.

113 J.G. van Gelder, 'Jan Gossaert in Rome, 1508-1509', *Oud-Holland*, LIX, 1942, pp. 1-11; Müller Hofstede, *Rubens in Italien*, pp. 21-37.

114 J.R. Judson, 'Observations on the Use of the Antique in Sixteenth-Century Netherlandish Art', in *Rubens and His World, bijdragen... opgedragen aan Prof. Dr Ir. R.-A. d'Hulst*, Antwerp, 1985, pp. 49-59.

## II. Drawings by Rubens after the Antique

### I. THREE-DIMENSIONAL SCULPTURES

Rubens's drawings after the Antique eclipse those of sixteenth-century artists for their quality and quantity. The artist investigated ancient art in nearly all its aspects and with a thoroughness unique of its kind.

The majority of his drawings render full-scale sculptures in the round with an emphasis on nude marbles. He also studied portrait heads, and a small number of copies show small-scale statues of bronze (Nos. 40-49). Rubens's appreciation for decorative arts is evident in several drawings of reliefs on sarcophagi, commemorative monuments and funerary altars. Copies after coins, engraved gems and cameos reveal Rubens's interest in iconography.

Unlike most of his cinquecento predecessors, who crammed the pages of their sketchbooks with pen sketches of unrelated works of art indiscriminately on one folio, Rubens (like Hendrik Goltzius) devoted a full page to one single monument, recording it in a meticulous, detailed study. Unlike any artist before him, Rubens displayed an exhaustive interest in a single marble, often observing it from more than one point of view, or studying it in detail, as can be seen in the many drawings of separate figures of the *Laocoon* group (Nos. 76-93). In several instances the artist focused on an interesting detail by adding a close-up view from a different angle. In some cases, only a detail was selected from a larger composition, reflecting the artist's preference.

Rubens's drawings after classical works of art are here classified according to model or the purpose for which they were drawn.

#### *Nude Statues*

Rubens used the Italian years to further his artistic development by studying the famous works of Renaissance artists and Ancient sculptors. His approach conforms closely to Renaissance academic conventions, with their emphasis on drawing. To acquire a good style, as Vasari observed, many years of 'exercise and study' were a necessary part of the basic training of

an artist.<sup>1</sup> Art theorists had established precise rules and precepts. They advocated the acquisition of a thorough understanding of the anatomical structure of the human body by copying classical sculptures, which showed the human physique in its perfect form.<sup>2</sup>

On the other hand, in his *Veri precetti*, G.B. Armenini cautioned the young artist that drawing statuary could harden one's style,<sup>3</sup> and that 'exercizing proper care in learning and imitating' were essential.<sup>4</sup> He emphasized the importance of using good judgment in choosing one's models and listed the famous sculptures that most closely approached true artistic perfection.<sup>5</sup> Armenini also stressed a need to study male rather than female models: 'For artists show a great mastery of muscles, nerves and veins in a male nude, since a woman's beauty consists after the proper proportions in being delicately soft'.<sup>6</sup> He advised the artist to draw a statue from its most favourable point of view,<sup>7</sup> but also quoted that 'by turning one or two figures in round relief in different ways, one can derive many diverse models for one's paintings, a well-known fact'.<sup>8</sup>

Rubens followed the cinquecento principles to the letter. He devoted considerable time to the study of classical statuary and copied many of the recommended paradigms. As already observed, Rubens often went beyond studying a piece from the traditional, frontal view and copied a single statue from as many as six different angles. His studies of male nude statues, ranging from youthful adolescents to men of advanced age, far outnumber the handful of drawings after sculptures rendering female bodies. A youthful *Apollo* (No. 1), a virile *Hercules* (Nos. 14-24) or the emaciated body of an ageing *Fisherman* (Nos. 7-13) were recorded in at least six views. The male body is pictured in a variety of poses, such as *contrapposto* (*Hermes Belvedere*, Nos. 25-26); stooping (*Borghese Fisherman*, Nos. 7-13); seated (*Torso Belvedere*,

1 Vasari, *edn Milanese*, I, p. 169: 'mediante lo studio ed esercizio di molti anni...'; V. Danti, *Il primo libro del trattato delle perfette proporzioni*, Florence, 1567 (edn P. Barocchi, *Trattati d'arte del cinquecento fra Manierismo e Controriforma*, Bari, 1960, I, p. 211, preface); Armenini, *edn Olszewski*, preface, p. 74 and I: VIII, p. 129.

2 Vasari, *edn Milanese*, I, p. 170; V. Danti, loc. cit., preface; Armenini, *edn Olszewski*, I: VI, p. 120; Lomazzo, *edn Ciardi*, *passim*.

3 Armenini, *edn Olszewski*, preface, p. 74.

4 *Ibid.*, I: VIII, p. 129.

5 *Ibid.*, I: VIII, pp. 130-131.

6 *Ibid.*, II: III p. 160.

7 *Ibid.*, II: III, p. 159.

8 *Ibid.*, II: V, p. 169.

Nos. 37-39); curved and engaged in combat (*Wrestlers*, Nos. 100-101); and reclining (*Drunken Hercules*, Nos. 135-136). By contrast, the female physique is illustrated by *Venus Pudica* types only (Nos. 58-59).<sup>9</sup>

Rubens studied a few particular marbles in great depth. In selecting these, he may have been guided by G.P. Lomazzo, whose *Tratatto dell'arte della pittura* discusses the anthropometric system developed for the human body and points to particular sculptures. These statues are precisely the ones that Rubens investigated more closely. Lomazzo praised *Hercules Farnese* (text ill. 9), for example, for his robust, powerful and square proportions.<sup>10</sup> Rubens's intense preoccupation with the statue may be seen in the numerous drawings (most of which are regrettably known from copies only) of Hercules' muscular body, legs, thighs, broad shoulders and arms (Nos. 14-24). He would always return to the Hercules as the archetypal strong man. The marble formed the basis for Rubens's theoretical studies of the human figure, *De Figuris Humanis*. Apart from one or possibly two loose sheets (Figs. 37-38), the original manuscript was destroyed in a fire in 1720, but two transcripts remain which more or less reflect the original document.<sup>11</sup> In an essay on the basic geometric shapes of the human figures, the sturdy

9 It is noted by Held, *Drawings*, 1986, p. 31, that there are also very few drawings after nude females drawn from life.

10 Lomazzo, edn Ciardi, I: XI, pp. 54-55; VI: III, p. 250. Cf. G.B. della Porta, *Della Fisonomia dell'huomo*, [1st edn Naples, 1586], Vicenza, 1615, V, pp. 186v-187, repr. The catalogue of Albert Rubens's books lists several books by G.B. della Porta, the *Physiognomia* among them. They probably belonged first to Peter Paul (*Catalogus A. Rubens*, p. 8).

11 See notes 14 and 16 for the two loose sheets. For the history of Rubens's lost art-theoretical Notebook (or 'pocket book'), which contained a few related essays on representations of the human physique (*De Figuris Humanis*) in antiquity, as well as scattered notes and various sketches, see Jaffé, *Antwerp Sketchbook*, I, appendix B, pp. 301-302; H. Braham, [Cat. Exh.] *Rubens Paintings, Drawings, Prints in the Princes Gate Collection*, Courtauld Institute Galleries, University of London, 1988-1989, no. 58 pp. 50-51; see also n. 44 below.

Transcripts from the Notebook, with copies of some of the illustrations:

(1) *MS Johnson*, London, Courtauld Institute Galleries, Princes Gate Collection. Cf. Jaffé, *Antwerp Sketchbook*, I, appendix C, pp. 303-304; H. Braham, op. cit., pp. 51-52. See also Appendix IX.

(2) *MS de Ganay*, whereabouts unknown, formerly Paris, Marquis J.L. de Ganay. Cf. Jaffé, *Antwerp Sketchbook*, I, appendix C, pp. 304-305. The text of *MS de Ganay* was published in a French translation by Jombert (see Jombert, *Figure humaine*; the drawings were engraved by P. Aveline; cf. A.M. Logan, 'Leonardo, Poussin, Rubens and the Ms. de Ganay', in *Essays in Northern European Art presented to E. Haverkamp-Begemann*, Doornspijk, 1983, pp. 142-147). Rubens's authorship of at least one of the essays in this MS is in doubt; see pp. 75-76 below and Appendix X.

The pen drawings in the so-called *Van Dyck Antwerp Sketchbook* (Chatsworth, the Duke of Devonshire) are also in part copied after Rubens's Notebook: cf. Jaffé, *Antwerp Sketchbook*, I, pp. 40-42. I am much obliged to Mrs H. Braham for providing me the opportunity to study *MS Johnson* and to Marquis P. de Ganay for allowing the study of *MS de Ganay*.

body of Hercules, of medium height and with its broad shoulders, is praised as the prime example of the athletic male comprised of solid cubes and pyramids. His facial features, muscular neck and curly hair resemble the strongest of animals, the lion and the bull.<sup>12</sup> Hercules' squat physique corresponds to Dürer's Type A, a heavy-set male figure, seven heads tall.<sup>13</sup> Rubens was familiar with Dürer's anthropometric system, as shown by annotations on a drawing in Berlin.<sup>14</sup>

A diagram of a man, seven heads tall, agrees with Lomazzo's Herculean canon.<sup>15</sup> A sheet in London, one of the surviving pages of Rubens's lost art-theoretical Notebook, shows Hercules' body dissected into stereometric shapes and a tripartite cubic analysis of the head, thereby following Vitruvius and Gauricus (Figs. 37-38).<sup>16</sup> A less muscular type was represented by the statue of *Hercules as Commodus* in the Vatican statue garden.<sup>17</sup> A third kind of strong man was represented by the *Borghese Gladiator*, of slender build and with long head, body, arms and legs. This type was analyzed in

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12 *MS Johnson*, fols. 3r-4v ('De Figuræ Humanæ Elementis') and *MS de Ganay*, fols. 6r-7v. The physical characteristics of various male types are described. The artist distinguished between three types of strong men. Cf. *MS Johnson*, fols. 34r-v; this essay is an abbreviated version of fol. 3v written in Dutch.

*MS Johnson*, fol. 1r and *MS de Ganay*, fol. 4r state that Hercules' strong body consists of sturdy cubes: 'Ex cubo, sive figura ab omni latera quadrata. fit omne masculum, aut virile et quicquid grave, forte, Robustum, compactum et Athleticum est...'. Cf. J.M. Muller, 'Rubens' Theory and Practice of the Imitation of Art', *The Art Bulletin*, LXIV, 1982, pp. 229-247.

13 A. Dürer, *Vier Bücher von Menschlicher Proportion*, 1528 (reprint 1969), p. A vi r-v, type A, called 'pewrischen' or 'rustica', but Rubens considered the large, robust figure heroic for his physical strength. Copies of both the German and Latin editions belonged to Albert Rubens's library; cf. *Catalogus A. Rubens*, p. 8: 'Alberti Dureri Institutiones Geometricæ' and 'Id. Germanicæ'. They were probably inherited from his father.

14 Jaffé, *Antwerp Sketchbook*, I, pp. 18, 302; Müller Hofstede, *Rubens in Italien*, p. 187, no. 25 A and pp. 50-67, Essay III, fig. E 25; Mielke-Winner, pp. 29-36, no. 5, repr. For Jaffé it was 'once a leaf of his famous Pocketbook'. Müller Hofstede is more careful: 'Möglicherweise zu einem verschollenen Skizzenbuch gehörig'. And cf. H. Braham (as in n. 11): 'perhaps from the same Pocketbook'.

15 *MS Johnson*, fol. 6v and *MS de Ganay*, fol. 8r. Cf. Lomazzo, *edn Ciardi*, I: XI, pp. 54-55.

16 London, Courtauld Institute Galleries, Princes Gate Collection, Inv. No. PG 427 recto and verso; cf. J.M. Muller, *op. cit.* (note 12), fig. 3; H. Braham, *op. cit.* (note 11), pp. 52-53, no. 59 (with translations of the Latin annotations). Copies of this drawing are in *MS Johnson*, fols. 8r and 40r (Jaffé, *Antwerp Sketchbook*, I, pls. XI and XIII). Cf. Vitruvius, *De Architectura*, III: I; P. Gauricus, *De Sculptura*, 1504, 'De Symmetria', ch. II, para. 5 (edn A. Chastel and R. Klein, Geneva, 1969, pp. 96-97).

17 No original drawing by Rubens of *Hercules as Commodus* is known. A page in *MS Johnson*, fol. 48r and *MS de Ganay*, fol. 28r (Jaffé, *Antwerp Sketchbook*, I, pl. LXXIX; see Jombert, *Figure humaine*, pl. XIII, in reverse) show the statue together with another five Herculean figures.

a second diagram of a man eight heads tall, corresponding to Vitruvius' system (*De Architectura*, III: 1) and Dürer's Type B.<sup>18</sup> Finally, Rubens recognized a type, less robust and therefore less strong, but slim and very handsome, to which statues of Jupiter, Apollo and Mercury belonged. It corresponds to Dürer's Type C of nine heads tall, in which Lomazzo classified the *Apollo Belvedere*.<sup>19</sup> Thus Rubens based his system on antique statue types more or less in agreement with existing anthropometric theories.

In treating the female physique, Lomazzo propounded that ancient statues of Venus embodied the ideal.<sup>20</sup> The marble statue of Venus of Cnidus by Praxiteles, so highly praised by Pliny (*Nat. Hist.* XXXVI: 20-22), epitomized the female beauty. Lomazzo pointed to a statue of the *Venus Pudica* in the Belvedere garden with proportions so well balanced that it could serve as the exquisite model for any woman. Female beauty became a central topic in sixteenth-century Italian literature.<sup>21</sup> It was also of interest to Rubens. He expressed his conception of the ideal feminine physique as '...endowed with modesty and elegance. Her body made up of perfect proportions and curved contours'.<sup>22</sup> He went as far as to compare a woman to a horse, the noblest of all animals, with whom she had in common a small head, long neck, large black eyes and flowing hair. The long neck of the statue of a Greek Venus resembled that of the Horse on the Quirinal Hill or Monte Cavallo.<sup>23</sup> No

18 *MS Johnson*, fol. 26v and in more detail on fol. 27v: the head counting one unit, the torso as three and the legs as four, the centre of the body being the groin. For the statue see Appendix X, n. 2. Cf. A. Dürer, op. cit. (note 13), p. ci verso, type B; Lomazzo, edn Ciardi, I: X, pp. 52-54.

19 *MS Johnson*, fols. 4v-5r. Of this kind of male body he remarked that it was 'nec ad labores robustiores velut herculis apta'. Cf. Dürer, op. cit., p. C v-vi, type D; Lomazzo, edn Ciardi, I: IX, pp. 50-52.

20 Lomazzo, edn Ciardi, I: XII, pp. 56-57 and VI: III, pp. 251-252: reference is made to a *Venus* in the collection of Pope Julius III, but the statue has not been identified.

21 T.F. Crane, *Italian Social Customs of the Sixteenth Century*, New York, 1920 (Reprint 1971), pp. 138-140.

22 *MS Johnson*, fols. 74r-v ('De Forma Feminea') and fols. 75r-v ('Mores foeminei'); cf. *MS de Ganay*, fols. 59r-60v. Sketches in *MS Johnson*, fols. 98r, 99r (240.b; Fig. 107) and 99v (235.a): a headless *Venus Pudica* drawn after a cast in wax; fol. 99r is inscribed: 'nates habebat oblongas t[u]m succinctas' (she has oval and tight buttocks). See No. 58, notes 9 and 10. For statues of *Venus Pudica* see Appendix X, nn. 23-25. Cf. K. van Mander, *Den grondt der edel vry schilderconst*, Haarlem, 1603, ch. III, 14: 'Doch de Vroukens moeten hardicheyt derven In den musculen/ welcke geheel sachtich Moeten verliesen/ oft aerdigh versterven Poeselich van vleesch/ met vouwkens en kerven/ Kuylkens in handen/' (*Das Lehrgedicht des Karel van Mander [Quellenstudien zur Holländischen Kunstgeschichte*, VIII], The Hague, 1916, p. 72; cf. edn H. Miedema, Utrecht, 1973, I, p. 113; II, pp. 446-447).

23 *MS Johnson*, fol. 96r (235.b; Fig. 143) and 99v (235.a) both inscribed: 'collum foeminae pulcherrimae ut adeas redeamus similis est equino q[ua]m viri'; cf. *MS de Ganay*, fol. 64r. See also *MS Johnson*, fol. 97r with sketches of the neck of a *Venus* and a horse; cf. *MS de Ganay*,

autograph drawings after nude female sculptures are known, and only a few copies in Copenhagen show *Venus Pudica* statues (*text ill. 24*); these probably refer to lost originals by Rubens and demonstrate his treatment of the female nude (Nos. 58-59).

The statue group of *Laocoon* (*text ill. 11*) was greatly admired for its expression of the emotions of suffering, dying and compassion (Nos. 76-93). The older son is being suffocated by the coils of the snake and throws his right arm up in despair. The younger son pushes down the snake twisted around his left leg and looks in desperation at his father who himself is trying to fight off the snake, his mouth gasping for air.<sup>24</sup> The sculpture was drawn from the conventional, frontal view (Fig. 145), but the artist also studied the figures separately (Figs. 150, 163 etc.) and from the rear (Figs. 153, 164). The painfully contorted face of the priest was the subject of two studies, probably from a cast (cf. Fig. 154). The handling of the chalk on the sheet in Dresden with the torso of the father seen *di sotto in su* places it among the finest of Rubens's copies after the Antique (No. 77; Fig. 150). This detailed drawing stands in strong contrast to the sketch in Milan where the torso, now seen from the rear, is treated in a much looser way (No. 81; Fig. 153). Rubens probably made the latter drawing during his second visit to Rome.

The *Torso Belvedere* (*text ill. 28*) was considered a prime example of naturalistic muscle structure.<sup>25</sup> Both frontal and dorsal studies attest to Rubens's interest in this well-known sculptural fragment (Nos. 37-39). A drawing in Antwerp is of exceptional quality (No. 37; Fig. 75).

Infants and toddlers also appear on Rubens's drawings. Excellent representations of these were preserved from Antiquity, with bodies 'fleshy, soft and delicate'.<sup>26</sup> Rubens selected a *She-Wolf with Romulus and Remus*, in spite of its damaged condition, for a detailed drawing (No. 98; Fig. 168). The smooth, formless surface of the stone was rendered as natural-looking muscles, creating a drawing superior to the original sculpture. Several of the children romping around on the colossal *River Nile* (*text ill. 10*) were studied (Nos. 95-97; cf. Figs. 170-172), as well as statues of a *Child Embracing*

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fol. 63r: 'Noteert hier die gemeinschap van eenen / Frauwen hals met den hals van een / peerdt, den Frauwen hals is van die / Grieksche Venus. den peerden hals / is van een van die peerden op Monte / Cauallo'. See also notes 49, 50. See No. 58, note 9; No. 75, note 6.

24 Lomazzo, *edn Ciardi*, II: XVI, p. 145.

25 *Ibid.*, VI: LI, p. 381.

26 *Armenini, edn Olszewski*, II: XI, p. 211.



a *Goose* (No. 70; cf. Fig. 134) and a *Boy Urinating* (No. 53; cf. Fig. 99), both preserved on Copenhagen copies.

The first three sculptures are mentioned in an essay attributed to Rubens, entitled *De Pueris (On Children)*, extolling ancient sculptures that best render young children at various ages.<sup>27</sup> The essay is known in two transcripts (in *MS Johnson* and *MS de Ganay*) and Rubens's authorship is supported by the above-mentioned drawings. With his interest in statues of children he followed in the footsteps of Renaissance artists, who included sculptures of infants and cupids in their sketchbooks.<sup>28</sup> The head of an infant is much larger in proportion to its body and limbs than that of an adult, a fact already mentioned by Pomponius Gauricus in his *De Sculptura* (Florence, 1504).<sup>29</sup> Albrecht Dürer developed three proportional formulae for the bodies of children at different ages.<sup>30</sup> The changes in measurements of children were also noted by Leonardo da Vinci, who remarked in his *Trattato della Pittura* that their joints seemed disconnected.<sup>31</sup>

A second essay, *De Figuræ Humanæ Statibus Sive Modis Standis (On Postures of the Human Figure or Ways of Standing)*, bears a more doubtful attribution to Rubens.<sup>32</sup> The text, known only from *MS de Ganay*, refers to twenty-four statues as perfect examples of the human body in varying poses and movements. The female physique is represented by three statues of *Venus Pudica*, none of which were drawn by Rubens. The majority are male statues classified according to their position: standing, running, seated, stooping, reclining, sleeping, dying and dead. Only a few of these sculptures are represented on drawings by Rubens (both autograph and copies), but so far no text or notes by the artist are known that could substantiate his authorship. Only thirteen of the statues referred to in this essay were well known from engravings in print books by De Cavalleriis (published between 1561 and 1594). They were published once again by Perrier in his

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27 *MS Johnson*, fol. 100r, 'De Pueris' (see Appendix IX). Cf. *MS de Ganay*, fol. 47r (see *Jombert, Figure humaine*, pp. 47-49 in a French translation). *MS Johnson*, fol. 32r ('Saturnus') is an abbreviated version.

28 Bober-Rubinstein, *Handbook*, nos. 50, 51, 200-202.

29 P. Gauricus, *De Sculptura*, 'De Symmetria', ch. II, para. 3, ed. cit. (note 16), pp. 94-95.

30 A. Dürer, op. cit. (note 13), pp. F-Fiiij; children of respectively six, five and four headlengths. Cf. *Lomazzo*, edn Ciardi, I: XVII-XIX, pp. 63-66.

31 L. Heydenreich, *Treatise on Painting by Leonardo da Vinci*, Princeton, N.J., pp. 120, paras. 289-290.

32 *MS de Ganay*, fols. 22r-23r (see Appendix X); *Jombert, Figure humaine*, pp. 11-16, chapter III.

*Segmenta nobilium signorum* of 1638,<sup>33</sup> where we also find ten of the remaining eleven which had only then appeared in print. The one sculpture not found in Perrier is the *Sleeping Cupid*, which was also mentioned in the essay *De Pueris*. Several of the descriptions of the marbles in *MS de Ganay* closely follow those used by Perrier. Furthermore, two of the marbles (a *Resting Mars* and *Dying Mirmillo*) are identified as belonging to Cardinal Ludovico Ludovisi who only started collecting in 1622.<sup>34</sup> The presence in both cases of a rather obscure marble, a so-called *Languishing Venus* from the Borghese collection, serves to corroborate my suggestion that the author of the second de Ganay essay made use of Perrier's book, which was popular in the Low Countries. A Dutch edition, prepared by Cornelis van Dalen, appeared between 1655 and 1664;<sup>35</sup> in 1697, W. Goeree was to recommend the study of Perrier's prints as an artistic learning tool.<sup>36</sup> In 1702 a revised edition, *Het Kabinet der Statuen*, was published in Amsterdam by W. de Geest, who arranged the eighty-three statues into three categories: male, female and reclining.<sup>37</sup> Jan de Bisschop copied twenty of Perrier's engravings for his *Icones* of 1668, issued for didactic purposes.<sup>38</sup> Artists used Perrier's engravings as models for figures in their paintings.<sup>39</sup> Some of the pen drawings in *MS de Ganay* bear lengthy inscriptions in Dutch. These are based on Latin annotations occurring on similar pen sketches in *MS Johnson*,<sup>40</sup> suggesting that the transcriber of *MS de Ganay* was in all likelihood Flemish or Dutch. The author of the second essay in *MS de Ganay* may well be Erasmus Quellin II, one of Rubens's last students and collaborators, who owned quite a few of his drawings after the Antique as well as three of Rubens's sketchbooks.<sup>41</sup>

33 For the various editions of Perrier, *Segmenta* see A.P.F. Robert-Dumesnil, *Le peintre-graveur français*, Paris, 1842, VI, no. 41. Not mentioned is the title-page with in the bottom margin: *Io Iacobi de Rubeis Formis Romae ad Templ. S.M. de Pace*.

34 Schreiber, *Villa Ludovisi*, pp. 3-8; Palma, *Marmi Ludovisi*, 1983, p. 19.

35 Van Gelder-Jost, *Jan de Bisschop*, p. 52, n. 122.

36 W. Goeree, *Inleyding tot de praktyk der algemeene schilderkonst*, Amsterdam, 1697, pp. 56-57.

37 De Geest copied Perrier's title-page, changing the text; cf. A.N. Zadoks-Josephus Jitta, 'Een archeologische "pocket" uit 1702', in *Archeologie en historie, opgedragen aan H. Brunsting*, Bussum, 1973, pp. 521-528, fig. 1.

38 Van Gelder-Jost, *Jan de Bisschop*, pp. 51-53.

39 B. Gaehtgens, 'Paradigmata Graphices. Adriaen van der Werff and the Model Books of Jan de Bisschop and François Perrier', *Print Review*, V, 1976, pp. 44-57.

40 *MS de Ganay*, fol. 10r (Fig. 194; see No. 109, note 8); fol. 61r (*text ill. 41*; see note 49); fol. 62r (*text ill. 42*; see note 50); fol. 63r (see note 23).

41 I suggested this to A.M. Logan in 1982 (see above, note 11). Cf. Quellin's inventory drawn up on 27 March 1679 (*Denucé, Konstkamers*, p. 291).

Rubens did not limit his studies to the human figure. Sculptures of imaginary creatures, such as *Fauns* (Nos. 4-6), a *Centaur* (Nos. 65-69), *Herma-phrodite* (Nos. 63-64) and a swag-bellied *Silenus* (Nos. 28-29) also fascinated the artist. Most of these drawings are known in copies only, but the original *Silenus* drawing in London is remarkable (Fig. 61). The artist also included several copies of animals in his repertory:<sup>42</sup> the above-mentioned *She-Wolf with Romulus and Remus* (No. 98), the *Farnese Bull* (No. 71), the *Mattei Eagle* (Nos. 103-104), *Head of a Horse* (Nos. 105-107), the *Medici Boar* (No. 102), and finally the *Child Embracing a Goose* (No. 70).

When Rubens arrived in Rome in July 1601, he began to study the famous *admiranda* of Greek and Roman art. Detailed chalk studies of the *Torso Belvedere* (No. 37; Fig. 75) and the *Laocoon* group (Nos. 76, 77, 91-93; Figs. 145, 150, 163-164) may have been among the first executed. With infinite patience the artist drew these sculptures, studying them from many sides. His *Christ Crowned with Thorns*, one of three paintings made in 1602 for the Helena Chapel in Santa Croce, reflects the influence of both statues.<sup>43</sup> The early use of the *Seated Bacchus* (No. 3; cf. Fig. 7) in the preliminary drawing from 1604 (Paris, Louvre; text ill. 31) for the *Baptism of Christ* (Antwerp, Koninklijk Museum) proves that lesser known marbles also drew his attention. In general, it is tempting to conclude that most of the copies after nude sculptures date to Rubens's first stay in Rome, that lasted for nine months until his departure in April 1602.

When drawing statuary, Rubens tried to avoid reproducing the material, that is, copying so slavishly that he also imitated the appearance of the hard stone. Instead, he sought to transform the marble into flesh and skin. To obtain such results he used soft chalk or crayon, usually black, and worked on rough paper to avoid the hard contours that would look like marble. He carefully applied shadows as diffused areas to prevent the abrupt demarcations associated with shiny surfaces. At a later date, when the artist wrote down his thoughts on the copying of statuary (*De Imitatione Statuarum*), he warned against such pitfalls and noted that a draughtsman should render a stone figure as a lifelike person instead of depicting a figure as 'coloured marble'.<sup>44</sup>

42 Cf. Lomazzo, edn Ciardi, VI: LVIII, p. 400, referring to a *Lion Attacking a Horse*. K. van Mander, op. cit. (note 22), ch. IX: 27 (ed. cit., II, p. 565), pointed to the *Horse Tamers* on the Monte Cavallo. He also recommended the *Farnese Bull* by Apollonius and Tauriskus of Rhodes as a skilfully carved marble worth copying (ibid., ch. IX: 40; ed. cit., II, p. 567).

43 Müller Hofstede, *Rubens in Italien*, p. 172, under No. 21, pl. K 21,1.

44 Rubens's Latin text is extant in a transcript in *MS Johnson*, fols. 31r-v. R. de Piles, *Cours de peinture par principes*, Paris, 1708, pp. 139-148, was the first to publish this essay together with

How well Rubens himself succeeded in transposing stone into flesh is demonstrated on a sheet with *Three Studies* in St Petersburg (Fig. 225). The two studies of heads were long taken to be drawn from life.<sup>45</sup> Held first recognized a marble portrait of the so-called Seneca in the foreshortened head (Fig. 218), but he too thought that the model for the second head in side view was a living person. In my opinion, Rubens used another sculpture, a portrait of a so-called Galba (cf. No. 126; Fig. 247). Other Galba drawings are known from physiognomic studies Rubens drew in his art-theoretical Notebook, and are preserved as copies in *MS Johnson* and *MS de Ganay* (Figs. 245, 246).<sup>46</sup> A marble portrait head of Julius Caesar is likened to the head of a horse for his long face, straight nose and bony jaws (Figs. 192 and 194).<sup>47</sup> In another instance the sagging muscles of his throat are compared to the wattle of a bull (Fig. 193).<sup>48</sup> The face of the *Flora Farnese* (text ill. 53) seen from the front and in side view is also examined for its equine similarities. She has in common with a horse 'a straight and bony nose with high and round nostrils' (text ill. 41),<sup>49</sup> also 'a small space between nose and the upper lip which protrudes a little and is slightly parted from

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a French translation. He owned Rubens's art-theoretical Notebook at the time. The manuscript, since 1715 in possession of A.J. Boulle, was destroyed in a fire in Paris in 1720 (cf. Reply by N. Gabburri on 4 October 1732 to a letter from P. Mariette of 24 May 1732, in G. Bottari, *Raccolta di lettere sulla pittura*, Rome, 1757, II, XCIX, p. 283; see also Jaffé, *Antwerp Sketchbook*, I, pp. 17, 21, 302).

J. de Jongh, *Beredeneerde beschouwing der schilderkunde door de Piles*, Amsterdam, 1756, pp. 88-92, gives the Latin text and a Dutch translation; F. Freiherr Goeler von Ravensburg, *Rubens und die Antike*, Jena, 1882, pp. 37-39, provides a German translation; J.R. Martin, *Baroque*, New York, 1977, pp. 271-273, provides an English translation. Müller Hofstede, *Rubens in Italien*, p. 53, suggested that the essay was written shortly after 1608.

45 Held, *Drawings*, 1986, pp. 32, 119, no. 129, pl. 88 (dated to c.1617-1618). The profile of an old man on the right is copied after the head of Galba. See No. 126.

46 *MS Johnson*, fols. 66r (210.b; Fig. 245), 69r (212.a), 70r (213.a; Fig. 244), 71r (213.b; Fig. 246). See No. 126, notes 6 and 7.

47 *MS Johnson*, fol. 95r (234.a; Fig. 192). See No. 109, note 8.

48 *MS Johnson*, fol. 68r (211.b; Fig. 193) and fol. 73r (214.b.). See No. 109, note 7.

49 *MS Johnson*, fol. 91r (232.a): 'pulcritudo nasi / hominis sumitur / ex equo'; *Van Dyck Antwerp Sketchbook*, fol. 65v (Jaffé, *Antwerp Sketchbook*, II, pp. 242-243); cf. *MS de Ganay*, fol. 61r (text ill. 41): 'Die schoenheit van den neus, wort in den mensch genomen / van den neus van een peerdt, welck is gestreckt ende recht / niet seer gevleescht maer beenachtich, met hooghe, ende ronde groote / neusgaeten' (see Jombert, *Figure humaine*, pl. XXXIX, in reverse).

The straight nose is typical of Greek art: *Vasari*, edn *Milanesi*, I, p. 118: 'si conoscono esser greche... alla maniera delle teste ed alla acconciatura del capo ed ai nasi delle figure, i quali sono dall'appicatura delle ciglia alquanto quadri fino alle nare del naso'.

The face of Rubens's *St Domitilla* (Berlin, Staatliche Museen; 1608) suggests the influence of the physiognomy of *Flora* (Müller Hofstede, *Rubens in Italien*, p. 343, pl. K 16). Cf. also two copies in Copenhagen drawn presumably after ancient heads of Venus (?) (see Nos. 54-55; Figs. 100-101).

the lower one...' (text ill. 42).<sup>50</sup> The head of *Hercules Farnese* is subjected to studies pointing to its heroic leonine features (Fig. 41).<sup>51</sup>

Rubens was not the first to engage in such physiognomic studies. Giovanni Battista della Porta had compared antique portrait marbles to animals, and was among the first to link human physical features to animal-like behaviour.<sup>52</sup> In Odoardo Fialetti's theoretical drawing book, *Vero modo et ordine per dissegñar* (Venice, 1608), the lower part of a female face with features closely resembling the *Flora Farnese* is given as a physiognomic example. It was derived from a drawing by Agostino Carracci, the founder of the Bolognese Academy.<sup>53</sup> The didactic book of Giacomo Franco, *De excellentia et nobilitate delineationes libri duo*, published in Venice in 1611, used ancient portrait sculptures as instructional models for artists. The heads of *Laocoon*, *Alexander the Great* (?), *Vitellius* and *Galba*, grouped together in a haphazard fashion, are seen from various angles.<sup>54</sup> Rubens's theoretical physiognomic studies probably originated in the decade following his return to Flanders.

50 MS Johnson, fol. 93r (233.a): 'os hominis ex equo solum / sumitur / labium superius magis / p.e.minis inferiori / spatium inter nasum et os / breve'; cf. *Van Dyck Antwerp Sketchbook*, fol. 65v (Jaffé, *Antwerp Sketchbook*, II, p. 242). Cf. also MS de Ganay, fol. 62r (text ill. 42): 'Den mont van eenen mensch, wort alleenelyck / genomen van den mont van een peerdt. / die bouenste lippe, meer vtstekende als die / onderste. die spatie tusschen neuse ende / mont, cort' (see Jombert, *Figure humaine*, pl. XL, in reverse).

51 MS Johnson, fol. 51r (203.b; Fig. 41) and fol. 52r (204.a). See No. 14, note 13. Cf. P. Meller, 'Physiognomical Theory in Renaissance Heroic Portraits', in *Studies in Western Art. Acts of the 20th International Congress of the History of Art, II: The Renaissance and Mannerism*, Princeton, N.J., 1963, pp. 53-69.

52 Jaffé, *Antwerp Sketchbook*, I, pp. 40, 93 n. 56. G.B. della Porta, op. cit. (note 10), illustrated marble portrait busts of *Plato* (p. 44v) and *Socrates* (p. 60v), as well as coins with the head of *Caligula* (p. 43v), *Nero* (p. 43v), *Galba* (p. 56r), *J. Caesar* (p. 86v) and *Domitian* (p. 88r), comparing them to animal faces. W. Goeree, *Natuurlyk en schilderkonstig ontwerp der menschkunde*, Amsterdam, 1682, pp. 187-209, 'Tronie-kunde' (Physiognomy), is largely based on Della Porta.

53 E. Gombrich, *Art and Illusion*, 4th edn, London/Princeton, N.J., 1972, pp. 161-162, fig. 120; D. Rosand, 'The Crisis of the Venetian Renaissance Tradition', *L'Arte*, XI-XII, 1970, pp. 12-16, fig. 6; C. Amornpichetkul, 'Seventeenth-Century Italian Drawing Books: Their Origin and Development', in [Cat. Exh.] *Children of Mercury*, Brown University, Providence, R.I., 1984, pp. 109-110, figs. 88 and 89; *The Illustrated Bartsch*, XXXVIII [17, 5], New York, 1983, no. 199, repr. See O. Fialetti, *Tutte le parti del corpo humano diuiso in piu pezzi*, pls. 5 and 6 (*The Illustrated Bartsch*, op. cit., nos. 216 and 217, repr.). Similar drawings are found in Agostino Carracci's *Drawing Book* engraved by L. Ciamberlano and F. Brizio (*The Illustrated Bartsch*, XXXIX [18, 1], ed. D. de Grazia Bohlin, New York, 1980, the *Drawing Book*, nos. 5, 6 and 11, repr.). Cf. also G.L. Valesio, *I primi elementi del disegno* (*The Illustrated Bartsch*, XL [18, 2], ed. by V. Birke, New York, 1982, nos. 56 and 57, repr.). Among the Anatomical Drawing Studies by G. Reni similar facial studies occur (*ibid.*, nos. 35 and 37, repr.).

54 D. Rosand, op. cit., pp. 12-17, figs. 15-16; C. Amornpichetkul, op. cit., p. 110.

In general, Rubens's copies after the Antique were made as study drawings and not as preparatory drawings for compositions. Some would serve later as work drawings for engravings, and others would be used as a source of inspiration for figures in his paintings. As a result, ancient statues recur time and again throughout his *oeuvre*.

In his essay *De Imitatione Statuarum*, Rubens emphasizes the need to fully understand the Antique, 'to be so fully possessed of this knowledge that it may diffuse itself everywhere'.<sup>55</sup> The works of his Italian period already reflect the influence and absorption of antique models in the poses of figures and the treatment of the nude. An interesting case in point is one of the earliest compositions, the preparatory drawing in the Louvre in Paris (*text ill.* 31) for the *Baptism of Christ*, a painting of 1604-1605, now in Antwerp. The finely detailed chalk drawing incorporates several antique statues, as Held observed.<sup>56</sup> Rubens cleverly used a statue of a *Seated Bacchus* (No. 3; cf. Fig. 7 and *text ill.* 32) for a youth sitting in front of a tree, while the position of his neighbour, who is grasping his right foot, is derived from the *Spinario* (Thornpuller), a bronze in the Palazzo dei Conservatori in Rome (*text ill.* 33). The man in side view behind him is clearly inspired by the *Torso Belvedere* (No. 37; *text ill.* 28), and the bearded, athletic figure seen from the front reflects the *Hercules Farnese* (No. 14; *text ill.* 9).

Copying inanimate sculpture was a primary step in learning to master the anatomy of the human body, and it served as a stepping stone to the next, more difficult stage: drawing from a live model.<sup>57</sup> Rubens would soon reap the harvest of his study of classical statuary and prove that the art of the Ancients had become part of his repertoire. While he was still in Rome, he drew a youth posing as the *Spinario*. Drawings in London, Dijon and a private collection in England show the boy from different angles.<sup>58</sup>

Rubens's study of a *Nude Man* (Stockholm)<sup>59</sup> echoes the torso of *Laocoon*, of whom a carefully drawn copy survives in Dresden (No. 77; Fig. 150). A *Nude Man Kneeling* (Rotterdam, Boymans-van Beuningen)<sup>60</sup> was sketched from life, but the exaggerated muscles of the back are reminiscent of studies of the *Torso Belvedere* of which the back views are known from copies in

55 J.R. Martin, *op. cit.* (note 44), p. 271; J.M. Muller, *op. cit.* (note 12), pp. 230 n. 8, 235.

56 Held, *Drawings*, 1986, p. 52, 77-78, no. 28, pl. 28.

57 Vasari, *edn Milanese*, I, pp. 170-171; Armenini, *edn Olszewski*, I: VIII, pp. 129-140.

58 Held, *Drawings*, 1986, p. 82, no. 39, pl. 23. The sketches in London and Dijon are executed in red chalk, the drawing in a private collection in England is in black chalk.

59 *Ibid.*, p. 101, no. 80, pl. 74 (dated to c.1612).

60 *Ibid.*, p. 90, no. 54, pl. 55 (dated to c.1609).

Copenhagen (No. 39; Fig. 77). Similarly, the head of a bearded man (Vienna, Albertina)<sup>61</sup> brings to mind the studies of *Heads of Dacians* on the Column of Trajan (Nos. 143-160; Figs. 289-306).

After his return to Flanders, Rubens would represent the human body in complicated poses and violent movements, and thus apply his newly acquired skills to express action and emotion.<sup>62</sup>

### *Small-scale Bronzes*

A small group of sketches in Copenhagen depict male nudes seen from varying angles, drawn in pen and ink. The taut contours and cross-hatchings of the pen imitate the shiny, hard material of their models, which were in all likelihood bronzes of small dimensions. None of the models have been identified, but among the museum collections of Europe the types of *Hercules Mingens* (Nos. 40-41, and Copies under Nos. 42-44; Figs. 80-84), *Standing Youth* (No. 46 and Copies under Nos. 47-49; Figs. 86-90) and *Mercury* (No. 45; Fig. 85) are well known. Such figurative bronzes were manufactured in large quantities and acquired by private citizens. Easily transported, these objects have been found in military and civilian settlements of the Roman provinces dating from the first century B.C. until the second century A.D.<sup>63</sup> Thus sketches by Rubens may picture statuettes of Roman workmanship, although many Italian forgeries of the Renaissance exist as well.

These pen sketches precede the large elaborate chalk studies after full-scale marbles, and are usually dated to the years before Rubens visited Italy or to the first year of his Italian journey, while he worked in Mantua.<sup>64</sup> Again, the theme is the human body from different points of view, but the musculature is overly exaggerated, appearing harsher on pen sketches than on chalk drawings. Among the corpus in Copenhagen are other pen sketches, picturing the *Hercules Farnese* (No. 15, Copy; Fig. 33) and the *Torso Belvedere* (No. 39, Copy; Fig. 77). These are attributed by Müller Hofstede to Rubens, but they are generally not accepted as the work of the master.

61 *Ibid.*, pp. 91-92, no. 56, pl. 59 (dated to c.1610).

62 *Ibid.*, p. 53.

63 [Cat. Exh.] *Klassieke kunst uit particulier bezit*, Leiden, 1975, introduction to nos. 121-228.

64 *Mielke-Winner*, pp. 25-26, no. 3, repr.

## II. TWO-DIMENSIONAL MODELS

*Sarcophagi, Reliefs*

The artists of the early Renaissance were attracted to less monumental works of art: sarcophagi and bas-reliefs. These 'pili antichi pieni di storie' offered dramatic scenes and violent action, complex movement and unrestrained emotion.<sup>65</sup> A sarcophagus with the *Hunt of Hippolytus* caught their attention for its beautiful nude and draped figures,<sup>66</sup> while a relief picturing the *Death of Meleager* was a prime example of physical exertion.<sup>67</sup> Antiquarian artists and Humanist scholars alike valued these carvings as illustrations of the Greek myths and Roman legends, episodes from Roman history and daily life in Antiquity.<sup>68</sup>

Rubens clearly appreciated these works of art as rich, pictorial sources. His battle and hunting scenes remind us of Roman sarcophagi, and his mythological compositions use motifs from the same origin.<sup>69</sup> Drawings after these objects substantiate his interest. The artist's curiosity and intensive study of these carvings are documented in his *Roman Itinerary*, a fragment of which is preserved in a French translation.<sup>70</sup> The document reveals

65 Vasari, *edn Milanese*, IV, p. 579. On the popularity of sarcophagi reliefs in the Renaissance see Bober-Rubinstein, *Handbook*, pp. 31-42; M. Wiemers, 'Zur Funktion der Antikenzeichnung im Quattrocento. Eine Stellungnahme zur bisherigen Forschung', in *Antikenzeichnung und Antikenstudium in Renaissance und Frühbarock. Akten des internationalen Symposiums 8.-10. September 1986 in Coburg*, ed. R. Harprath and H. Wrede, Mainz am Rhein, 1989, pp. 39-44.

66 Vasari, *edn Milanese*, I, pp. 293-294, Life of Nicola and Giovanni Pisano. The relief in Pisa was then thought to picture the *Hunt of Meleager*; cf. Bober-Rubinstein, *Handbook*, pp. 142-143, no. 111, repr.

67 L.B. Alberti, *De Pictura Libri II*, Basle, 1540, II: 37 (edn C. Grayson, *On Painting and on Sculpture*, London-New York, [1972], p. 75). The first scene pictures the *Carrying of the Body*; cf. Bober-Rubinstein, *Handbook*, p. 147, no. 118, repr.

68 The Codex Coburgensis (Veste Coburg) reflects the first scientific attempt to record all antique relief sculpture in and around Rome depicting scenes from Greek mythology and Roman daily life. The drawings date from 1550-1555. See H. Wrede and R. Harprath, [Cat. Exh.] *Der Codex Coburgensis. Das erste systematische Archäologiebuch. Römische Antiken-Nachzeichnungen aus der Mitte des 16. Jahrhunderts*, Veste Coburg, 1986; M. Daly Davis, 'Zum Codex Coburgensis: Frühe Archäologie und Humanismus im Kreis des Marcello Cervini', in *Antikenzeichnung* (see note 65), p. 195; H. Wrede, 'Opera de'Pili und berliner Sarkophagcorpus', *Jahrbuch des deutschen Archäologischen Instituts*, CIV, 1989, pp. 379-380.

69 For the influence of classical reliefs in Rubens's *oeuvre*, cf. e.g. McGrath, *Painted Decoration*; W. Pinder, 'Antike Kampfmotive in neuerer Kunst', *Münchener Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst*, N.F., V, 1928, pp. 353-375; M. Winner, 'Zu Rubens' "Eberjagd" in Dresden', in *Peter Paul Rubens, Werk und Nachruhm*, Augsburg, 1981, pp. 157-185.

70 Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS Fr. 9530, fols. 199r-200v; fol. 200r: descriptions of three sarcophagi reliefs



Rubens as a conscientious researcher of the art of Antiquity. One page is of particular importance to us here for its description of three sarcophagi (see Appendix I. 2).

In the first entry, Rubens reported 'the complete tale of the double birth of Bacchus; firstly of Semele, already dead; secondly of Jupiter himself, his head veiled like a woman with the ribbons of the woollen headband (*infula*) hanging down. Lucina receiving the new-born child. Mercury taking the child to the Nymphs, who give him to Silenus to bring him up'. The mythological story told by Ovid (*Metamorphoses*, III: 252-315), is only represented on a few sarcophagi. A cover in the Museo Chiaramonti of the Vatican, which is now in fragmentary condition, matches the description by Rubens to a considerable extent (*text ill.* 34).<sup>71</sup> Its whereabouts in the seventeenth century have not been traced. However, a drawing in a Dal Pozzo album pictures the first scene with Bacchus' birth from Semele, thus certifying that the relief was known at the time.<sup>72</sup> Rubens correctly recognized the sad episode with the premature birth and the dead Semele, whose arms hang limply over the edge of the *klinè*.<sup>73</sup> Rubens named the woman behind the couch holding the baby as Lucina, the goddess of Birth.

The main figure in the second scene is a bearded man with a veiled head who lies on a rock, a rudder in his hand. Rubens apparently took this figure to be Jupiter, Bacchus' father, who sewed the new-born in his thigh to carry him to full term.<sup>74</sup> The reclining man is now considered to be a river god, personifying the River Lamos on the Helicon mountain.<sup>75</sup> In the present

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(see Appendix I.2). The page with sarcophagi reliefs follows the one with engraved gems and cameos in Pasqualino's collection (see Appendix I.1). From this I concluded previously that the reliefs were also in his possession (*Van der Meulen, Antiquarius*, p. 10). However, two of the sarcophagi belonged to Tiberio Ceoli and were acquired by Scipione Borghese (cf. *Van der Meulen, Sculpture Collections*, p. 152, n. 6).

71 G. Kaschnitz-Weinberg, *Le sculpture del magazzino di Vaticano*, Vatican City, 1936, pp. 214-215, no. 474, pl. LXXXI; Matz, *Dionysischen Sarkophage*, III, pp. 343, 348-349, no. 197, pl. 208.2: Roman, mid second century A.D.; Helbig, *Führer*, 1963-72, I, pp. 265-266, no. 350. The three women behind the couch can possibly be identified as the Goddess of Birth, Eileithyia, Harmonia and Apollo (*Lexicon Mythologiae*, III, 1, p. 551, no. 128; *ibid.*, p. 692, no. 66).

72 Dal Pozzo album, Windsor, IV, fol. 67 (*Vermeule, Dal Pozzo-Albani*, 1966, p. 30, no. 8471). This drawing is not listed in Matz (see note 71).

73 Cf. Alberti's description of Meleager's dead body 'while in the dead man there is no member that does not seem completely lifeless; they all hang loose' (quoted from Grayson, see note 67).

74 H. Heydemann, *Dionysos' Geburt und Kindheit* (10. *Hallisches Winckelmannsprogramm*), 1885, p. 17, identified the reclining man as Jupiter.

75 A. Greifenhagen, 'Kindheitsmythos des Dionysos', *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Römische Abteilung*, XXXXVI, 1931, pp. 33-41.

incomplete state, the third scene with Mercury bringing the child to the Nymphs of Nyssa is missing, but when Rubens saw the relief it was evidently still present.

The second description concerns 'the complete tale of Adonis, firstly discouraged by Venus from going to the hunt, leaving armed with a hunter's spear (*iaculum venatorium*) and accompanied by hunters wearing caps (*petasoi*). The struggle with the wild boar. His injury on the thigh which is treated by applying a sponge, Venus supporting his head. His death while Cupid continues to sponge his wound. His passing out and last breath as it were into the mouth of Venus who approaches him to receive it'. Many sarcophagi picture the fatal hunt of Adonis told by the Greek poet Bion.<sup>76</sup> The concluding scene with the tragic death of the youth would inspire the artist on several occasions. His description matches the front relief of a sarcophagus walled into the façade of the Casino Rospigliosi (*text ill. 36*).<sup>77</sup> A drawing in a Dal Pozzo album provides the early seventeenth-century location of the piece.<sup>78</sup> A pen sketch, formerly in the Burchard collection in London, was inspired by the relief and pictures the touching moment when Venus tries to capture the soul of the dying Adonis by drawing in his last breath, as the annotation informs, 'spiritum morientis excipit ore'.<sup>79</sup>

In the third entry on this page of the *Roman Itinerary*, Rubens gave a lengthy account of a relief with the *Abduction of Proserpina*: 'The tale of the Abduction of Proserpina by Pluto, with Minerva trying to prevent him and Venus, on the contrary, restraining Minerva. Cyane on the ground, turned into a fountain, under the horses of the chariot. Then comes Ceres on her chariot drawn by winged and crested dragons, holding her flaming torches kindled at the Aetna, accompanied by Night, who has wings like a Victory,

<sup>76</sup> Evers, *Neue Forschungen*, p. 126, gives a German translation of Bion's text.

<sup>77</sup> The Rospigliosi relief pictures the myth in five scenes, as opposed to the usual three on other sarcophagi (cf. C. Robert, *Die antiken Sarkophag-Reliefs*, III, 1, Berlin, 1897, pp. 17-18, no. 15, fig. 15: Roman, late second century A.D.; Bober-Rubinstein, *Handbook*, p. 65, no. 22, repr.; *Lexicon Mythologiae*, I, 1, pp. 227, no. 39e, repr.; G. Koch and H. Sichtermann, *Römische Sarkophage (Handbuch der Archäologie*, ed. by U. Hausmann), Munich, 1982 pp. 131-133. Evers, *Neue Forschungen*, p. 135, suggested the Rospigliosi sarcophagus (fig. 39) as model for the drawing by Rubens (fig. 36) mentioned in n. 79 below. E. Panofsky, *Herkules am Scheidewegen*, Leipzig-Berlin, 1930, p. 115, proposed a sarcophagus in the Gonzaga collection (his fig. 55) as the source for Rubens.

<sup>78</sup> Dal Pozzo album, Windsor, X, fol. 53 (*Vermeule, Dal Pozzo-Albani*, 1966, no. 8046); the verso is inscribed *Cevoli*. Cf. *Van der Meulen, Sculpture Collections*, p. 151, n. 6. See also note 70.

<sup>79</sup> Held, *Drawings*, 1986, p. 92, no. 58, pl. 57: the inscription is translated as 'she draws out the spirit of the dying [youth] through his mouth'. Evers, *Neue Forschungen*, p. 135, quoted a passage by Cicero as the source for Rubens's annotation which Evers read as 'spiritum morientis exceptura'.

and a billowing veil or mantle. Mercury, who comes to take away Proserpina, whom he finds seated next to Pluto, who has his Cerberus close to his throne. She has her head completely covered by a veil, as if to hide her shame, wanting by this action to make it understood that she prefers to stay rather than to leave. As Penelope did, when she covered her head when her father asked her if she would rather follow Odysseus her husband than stay'. The text corresponds exactly to a drawing in Antwerp (now considered a copy after Rubens) of the *Abduction of Proserpina* (No. 139; Fig. 270).

When comparing the drawing to sarcophagi reliefs picturing the myth, the difference in the sequence of the episodes of the story is obvious. On sarcophagi, of which a relative large number remain, the action does not proceed from left to right in a chronological order, but the scene with Ceres on her dragon chariot precedes the rape by Pluto. And the episode with Proserpina in the Underworld visited by Mercury is actually on the right-end side relief on some sarcophagi.

The Antwerp drawing closely resembles a sarcophagus with the *Abduction of Proserpina* mounted with its two side reliefs into the façade of the Casino Rospigliosi (Fig. 271), but in the drawing the two scenes were changed around and placed in chronological order. Thus, Ceres in her dragon chariot follows the scene with Pluto rushing off with his bride. The artist included the end piece with Proserpina and Pluto to complete the story.

Rubens's interpretation of individual figures is also of interest: the winged Caligo flying over Ceres' chariot as the Night,<sup>80</sup> and Tellus (Earth) lying on the ground as Cyane, the nymph from Sicily, who tried to prevent the abduction by throwing herself in front of the horses, and was turned into a fountain. Cyane occurs in Ovid's version of the myth (*Metamorphoses*, V: 412-416).

A letter of May 1625 from Peiresc reveals that the original *Itinerary* was illustrated and I have suggested before that the original for the Antwerp drawing could have been part of it.<sup>81</sup> The sarcophagus would be a source of inspiration for several of Rubens's compositions.

While the myth on the Proserpina relief was painstakingly copied in complete detail and tells the full story, a pen drawing in Rotterdam (No. 137; Fig. 266) shows only the gruesome ending of the tragedy of Medea, as

80 Rubens used the figure of *Night* spreading a dark drapery in his *Flight of Maria de' Medici* (Paris, Louvre; *K.d.K.*, p. 259); cf. *Held, Oil Sketches*, pp. 119-120, no. 77, pl. 77.

81 Peiresc to Rubens, May 1625 (*Rooses-Ruelens*, III, p. 364): 'parecchi de quelli che arichiscono sui proprij itinerarij'. Cf. Peiresc to P. Pasqualino, 22 January 1622: 'una raccolta ch'egli ha fatta dalli studij del Duca di Mantoa, altri principi...' (Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS Fr. N. Acq. 5172, fol. 96r; see Appendix III.1).

written by Euripides. It is usually pictured as the last scene on the right, as on the sarcophagus in Ancona (Fig. 267). Medea is seen fleeing with the bodies of her two children whom she has just killed: one child flung over her left shoulder, the other in her chariot drawn by two winged dragons.

The artist used the same approach when copying only the right-end side of a Muse sarcophagus (No. 138; Fig. 269). The sheet in Chicago shows its three figures without the richly carved columns and niches of the model, a Sidimara sarcophagus now in the Museo Nazionale in Rome (Fig. 268). The two Muses, Urania with a globe (Astronomy) and Polyhymnia (Hymns), flank an elderly philosopher clad in a *pallium*.

Where it concerns the Muses, sarcophagi are informative sources as they tend to picture all nine Muses with their attributes, often together with Apollo and Minerva. Rubens was evidently interested in the iconography of the Muses. When he later designed a title-page for a new edition of Bauhusius' epigrams, he invented a Hermathene in which Mercury was substituted by the Muse of Poetry, Erato with her attribute a lyre. He added a feather to the Muse's head so that she could not be taken for Apollo.<sup>82</sup>

In 1628, during his visit to the Arundel collection in England, Rubens noticed a sarcophagus cover with the Trojan War (*Iliupersis*) (*text ill.* 35).<sup>83</sup> On it, the Trojans and Phrygians wore national costumes. In spite of its damaged condition Rubens had the piece copied by an assistant,<sup>84</sup> but the drawing is no longer known. When asked by Peiresc to identify a youth wearing a Phrygian cap on a cast of the del Monte vase, Rubens thought him to be Paris.<sup>85</sup>

82 Held, *Drawings*, 1986, p. 153, no. 215, pl. 221; Judson-Van de Velde, pp. 270-271, no. 63a, fig. 214.

After the Muses defeated the Sirens in a musical contest, they plucked the feathers of the half-bird creatures and put them in their hair. Thus the Muses are often pictured wearing two feathers on their head. Cf. E. McGrath, 'Rubens's "Musathena"', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, L, 1987, pp. 234-236.

83 Cf. Rubenius, *De Re Vestiaria*, p. 203: 'Londini in aedibus Arundellianis extat halosis Troiae in antiquo marmore, quod omnes Troianos hoc modo cultos exhibet'. Albert must have obtained this information from his father's files (see note 87). The marble was already badly damaged in Rubens's time, and is now in Oxford, University Galleries (cf. A. Michaelis, *Ancient Marbles in Great-Britain*, Cambridge, 1882, pp. 566-568, no. 111; C. Robert, *Die antiken Sarkophag-Reliefs*, II, Berlin, 1890, pp. 73-75, no. 64, fig. 64). The sarcophagus cover is mentioned in a fragmentarily preserved, undated and unsigned letter (probably written by Peiresc to L. Pignoria c.1636) for its scene with Hector's corpse dragged behind Achilles' chariot (Aix-en-Provence, Bibl. Méjanes, MS 1027, fol. 400: 'Il parallelo del suo Hettore strascinato al Carro d'Achille hà il Conte d'Arundel in marmo di basso rilieuo, trouate nell'Asia Minore').

84 Rubens to Peiresc, 16 March 1636 (*Rooses-Ruelens*, VI, p. 155; *Magurn, Letters*, no. 238, p. 404). See also above, Introduction, note 12.

85 Rubens to Peiresc, 16 August 1635 (*Rooses-Ruelens*, VI, p. 128; *Magurn, Letters*, no. 237, p. 401).

Rubens's fascination with Bacchus and his sylvan friends is revealed in his selection of themes. Satyrs, Maenads, the Drunken Hercules, Pans and Silenuses disport themselves in his paintings and were often based on antique prototypes.<sup>86</sup> Numerous sarcophagi illustrate the adventures of the wine god, and several of these were known to the artist.

From the front of a beautifully carved *lenos*, decorated on both sides with a Bacchic *thiasos* (Fig. 262), Rubens copied a group with an inebriated Hercules attended by Pans and baby Satyrs (No. 135; cf. Fig. 263). From the frieze on the other side of the marble, a snake escaping from a *cista mystica* was singled out for copying (Fig. 261). This drawing, now lost, but in all likelihood by Rubens, was engraved to illustrate an essay on cistophoric coins by the artist's son, Albert (No. 134, Copy 2; Fig. 256). The engraving presents two more motifs of a *cista mystica*. At the top of the print, a baby satyr peering into a basket is depicted (No. 132, Copy 2). It was copied from the marble cover of a sarcophagus decorated with Bacchic scenes (Rome, Vatican Museum; Fig. 259). The third motif, a serpent pushing up the top of a *cista mystica* (No. 133, Copy 2), is derived from a sarcophagus relief with the *Triumph of Bacchus over India* (Rome, Museo Nazionale; Fig. 260).

The three preparatory drawings for the engraving are presumably lost, but they may have pictured a larger section of the reliefs. Albert probably found them among his father's Roman sketches. He may also have discovered a drawing of a vase with Bacchantes in the Giustiniani gardens.<sup>87</sup>

<sup>86</sup> No autograph drawings by Rubens are known of an erotic Bacchic sarcophagus then in the Farnese collection (*text ill.* 39, 40; now Naples, Museo Nazionale, Inv. No. 27710; cf. *Matz, Dionysischen Sarkophage*, III, pp. 323-325, no. 176, pls. 196, 198-199: Roman, mid second century A.D.). Copies of drawings of the left and right sections of the front relief are known from the transcripts of his art-theoretical Notebook. The scene on the left with a Satyress holding a bearded herm is pictured in *MS Johnson*, fol. 81r; *Van Dyck Antwerp Sketchbook*, fol. 40r (*Jaffé, Antwerp Sketchbook*, II, p. 232); *MS de Ganay*, fol. 68r (see *Jombert, Figure humaine*, pl. XLIV, in reverse; *text ill.* 44). The scene on the right with a Satyr whipping a Satyress seated on a rock in front of a draped herm is pictured in *Van Dyck Antwerp Sketchbook*, fol. 39r (*Jaffé, Antwerp Sketchbook*, p. 232); *MS de Ganay*, fol. 67r (see *Jombert, Figure humaine*, pl. XXXII, in reverse; *text ill.* 43). The drawings are actually closer to an engraving by M. Raimondi (*The Illustrated Bartsch*, XXVI [formerly XIV, 1], New York, 1978, nos. 248-249; *Jaffé, Antwerp Sketchbook*, pl. XCVII). Rubens's *Bacchanal* in Moscow (*K.d.K.*, p. 82) may be a very free interpretation of the middle section of the sarcophagus where a bearded Priapos holding a *cantharos* and wreath is supported by two Satyrs.

<sup>87</sup> *Rubenius, De Re Vestiaria*, II: XVII, p. 188: 'Cymbalorum etiam formam videmus in vase marmoreo, quo bacchantes expressi sunt, quod extat Romae in horto Iustiniano'. The vase, now in Dresden, shows a Bacchic scene with a Maenad sounding cymbals chased by a Satyr (R. Le Plat, *Recueil des marbres antiques*, Dresden, 1733, pl. I. It is also drawn by P.L. Ghezzi; cf. L. Guerrini, *Marmi antichi nei disegni di P.L. Ghezzi*, Vatican City, 1971, pp. 83-84, no. 44, pls. 28-29). There is yet another example where Albert clearly used his father's papers. Cf. *Rubenius, De Re Vestiaria*, II: XV, p. 185: 'Ita etiam Vlysses cernitur in pila antiqua ex marmore, quae extat in foro Cathanensi, in qua Vlyssis historia sculpta est'. The text discusses the shape

Albert referred to this vase in his discussion on the shape of cymbals. No drawing of such a vase by Rubens is known.

A detailed drawing in Dresden renders Pan supporting a drunken Silenus, who has dropped his goblet; the duo follows a Maenad in a *chiton* with billowing veil looking back over her shoulder (No. 141; Fig. 275). It renders part of the frieze on a vase formerly belonging to Scipione Borghese (Paris, Musée du Louvre; *text ill.* 62). A similar sheer robe with veil blown from the back dresses the figure of Constantia on Rubens's design for the Emblem of the Plantin Press (Antwerp, Museum Plantin-Moretus).<sup>88</sup> From the same Borghese Vase (Fig. 63) came a *Dancing Faun*, shown on a copy in Copenhagen (No. 140; Fig. 62). A *Reclining Hercules* attended by a Pan, possibly part of a fountain complex, is featured on Rubens's black chalk drawing in Milan (No. 136; Fig. 264).

Rubens's copy of a cinerary altar for C. Clodius Primitivus and C. Clodius Apollinaris (Rome, Vatican Museum; *text ill.* 19) is presumably lost. However, the lower part of the monument was incorporated with slight modifications only in his design for an epitaph for Jean Richardot (Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum; *text ill.* 20).<sup>89</sup> The two Victories in belted *chiton* holding the doors to the underworld ajar were quite appropriate as angels on a Christian monument. The motif would be repeated on the wings of the Resurrection Triptych for the tomb of Jan Moretus (Antwerp, Cathedral; *text ill.* 21 and 22).<sup>90</sup>

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of the *pileus* worn by Odysseus and reference is made to a sarcophagus, that stood on the market place in Catania and pictured the *Story of Odysseus*. The source for the information again points to Peter Paul, who in turn obtained the information from Peiresc.

Peiresc is known to have investigated the shape of Odysseus' cap. In a letter of 4 July 1627 to Cassiano dal Pozzo, Peiresc acknowledged the receipt of a drawing with *Odysseus' Navigation along the Island of the Sirens* and requested a cast with the detail of Odysseus' head (Montpellier, Bibliothèque École de Médecine, MS H 271 II, fol. 40r). No sarcophagus (formerly) in Catania with the story of Odysseus sailing past the island of the Sirens is now known. Rubens and Peiresc also discussed the Homeric figure. The former owned a cameo which he had identified as *Lares* (Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS Fr. 9530, fol. 248v, no. 29; see Appendix V.1). After receiving a cast of the stone, Peiresc wrote two descriptions of the representation which he thought to be the *Return of Odysseus* (*text ill.* 65), although the man is not wearing a *pileus* but a *petasus* (Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS Fr. 9530, fols. 194v and 240r; see Appendix V.5 and 6). Cf. also Peiresc to Rubens, 19 May 1628 (*Rooses-Ruelens*, IV, pp. 410-411). See *Van der Meulen, Antiquarius*, pp. 120-121, no. G.35, fig. XIV,B).

88 *Held, Drawings*, 1986, pp. 142-143, no. 186, pl. 181.

89 *Held, Drawings*, 1986, pp. 88-89, no. 50, pl. 54, fig. 12; Müller Hofstede, *Rubens in Italien*, pp. 206-209, no. 33, pl. K 33. See above, Chapter I, notes 89-90.

90 *Freedberg, Epitaphs*, p. 55, fig. 4. The angels on the triptych are derived from the *Flora Farnese* (*text ill.* 53; see p. 102) and the *Caryatid Montalto* (No. 60, Copy; Fig. 113).

Rubens sometimes conveyed information by using reliefs with symbolic imagery. In his *Lamentation* (Rome, Galleria Borghese; *K.d.K.*, p. 20), Christ is placed on a sarcophagus decorated with reliefs *all'antica*. On the left side, a mourning putto wipes tears from his eyes, while on the front relief a lamb is led to be sacrificed.<sup>91</sup> And a relief on a socle in *Hercules and Omphale* (Paris, Musée du Louvre) depicts, as Jeffrey Muller recently proposed, the Phaedran charioteer with his two horses representing opposite characters: the docile versus the recalcitrant.<sup>92</sup>

Rubens's historical paintings reveal his knowledge of the triumphal monuments of Rome, their arches and columns decorated with reliefs commemorating and glorifying the *res gestae* of its emperors. It has been suggested that the artist copied parts of the reliefs on the Arch of Constantine<sup>93</sup> and the Column of Trajan, but only a series of sketches after heads on this column (and not all by Rubens's own hand) are known (Nos. 143-160; Figs. 289-306). From the east wall of the main passage through the Arch of Constantine, the figure of *Virtus Augusti* (*text ill.* 37) was borrowed for the *Virtue* on a drawing in Antwerp (Museum Plantin-Moretus; *text ill.* 38).<sup>94</sup> In the analysis of his *oeuvre* it has been demonstrated that the famous Column of Trajan also influenced Rubens in his compositions (see p. 124).

## Coins

Classical sculpture was a prime source of inspiration, but Rubens had other antique models like coins and gems at hand.<sup>95</sup> He owned a considerable cabinet of coins,<sup>96</sup> and an assortment of numismatic reference books belonged to his library.<sup>97</sup>

91 For the mourning putto as a sepulchral motif, see J. Birkedal-Hartmann, 'Die Genien des Lebens und des Todes', *Römisches Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte*, XII, 1968-69, pp. 11-18.

92 J.M. Muller, 'The Phaedran Charioteer and Two Early Paintings by Rubens', in *Essays in Northern European Art presented to E. Haverkamp-Begemann*, Doornspijk, 1983, pp. 190-193, pl. 2.

93 See Chapter I, note 19.

94 Held, *Drawings*, 1986, pp. 120-121, no. 133, pl. 104. The statue is reflected in Rubens's cartoon *Victoria and Virtus* (Vaduz, Liechtenstein Collection; cf. R. Baumstark, in [Cat. Exh.] *Liechtenstein. The Princely Collection*, (Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 1985), pp. 354-355, no. 216, repr.).

95 A.H. Gilbert, 'How Peter Paul Used Classical Coins', *Renaissance Papers*, 1955, pp. 4-11.

96 Van der Meulen, *Antiquarius*, pp. 21-24.

97 *Catalogus A. Rubens*, pp. 11, 13, 15, 26.

The influence of coins is most clearly detectable in Rubens's designs for title-pages. They are full of symbolic allusions and allegorical figures. To elucidate his compositions the artist sometimes provided an explanatory introduction. The frontispiece for the *Pompa Introitus Ferdinandi*, illustrating Rubens's decorations for the Joyous Entry of Prince Cardinal Ferdinand in April 1635 and engraved by Theodor van Thulden, can be fully appreciated thanks to the extensive explanation published in Gevaerts' edition of 1642.<sup>98</sup> It reveals the substantial effort Rubens put into the creation of the title-page. After discussing three of the herms supporting the entablature in general terms, Gevaerts elaborates on the fourth herm, Peace, cradling a horn of plenty in the left arm and holding a burning torch to the weapons lying on the ground. He explains that she was modelled after the Pax on coins issued by Trajan.<sup>99</sup> Rubens had already used the same allegory on his title-page for F. Haraeus, *Annales Ducum*, I-II, 1623, where Peace holds a *caduceus* in the left hand, a variation on the Roman original.<sup>100</sup>

The title-page for F. de Marselaer, *Legatus*, 1666, was given a considerable amount of thought, and the resulting composition is full of complicated imagery.<sup>101</sup> A cartouche between two pedestals, on which Mercury and Minerva stand, shows a relief with frolicking children. It was inspired by coins picturing the four genii of the Four Seasons, the 'TEMPORVM FELICITAS' (happiness of the times), symbolizing the prosperous reign of an emperor, a motif used on coins since Hadrian.<sup>102</sup> A frieze with playful putti on the *Stage of Welcome* in the *Pompa Introitus Ferdinandi* alludes to the future victories of

98 Judson-Van de Velde, pp. 327-333, no. 81, fig. 273; the text of the introduction is quoted on pp. 331-332, n. 2. A.H. Gilbert, op. cit. (note 95), discussed the decorations and their numismatical sources.

99 Cf. O. Brendel, 'Die Friedensgöttin', in *Corolla Ludwig Curtius*, Stuttgart, 1937, pp. 212-216, fig. 71; J.S. Held, 'Rubens and the Book', *Harvard Library Bulletin*, XXVII, 1, 1979, p. 129, fig. 11. Also a *dupondius* issued by Trajan in 103-111 A.D. (*Mattingly, Coins*, II, p. 280, no. 507, pl. XI.197), a copper *as* minted in 71 A.D. under Vespasian (*ibid.*, p. 74, no. 493), an *as* issued in 80-81 A.D. during Titus' reign (*ibid.*, p. 148, no. 249) and *sestertii* struck during the reign of Domitian in 85 A.D. (*ibid.*, p. 186, no. 254 and p. 190, no. 282).

100 Judson-Van de Velde, pp. 228-230, no. 51, fig. 174; J.S. Held, op. cit., p. 128, no. 152, pl. 150.

101 Judson-Van de Velde, pp. 344-348, no. 84, fig. 286; the text of the explanation is quoted in full on pp. 347-348, n. 5. Rubens's design was completed by March 1635, but the book was only published in 1666.

102 R. Baumstark, 'Ikonographische Studien zu Rubens Kriegs- und Friedensallegorien', *Aachener Kunstblätter*, XLV, 1974, pp. 144-145, fig. 11, depicting a coin of Caracalla; G.M.A. Hanfmann, *The Season Sarcophagus in Dumbarton Oaks*, Cambridge, Mass., 1951, I, pp. 163-170, II, nos. 318, 324-329, figs. 127-128; M.R. Alföldi, *Die constantinische Goldprägung*, Mainz, 1963, pp. 50-51, pl. 7, no. 108; pl. 24 showing coins issued from Antoninus Pius until Probus. In addition to the legend FELICITAS TEMPORVM the reverse of the coins with the genii picturing the *Four Seasons* also read FELICIA TEMPORVM and SAECVLI FELICITAS.

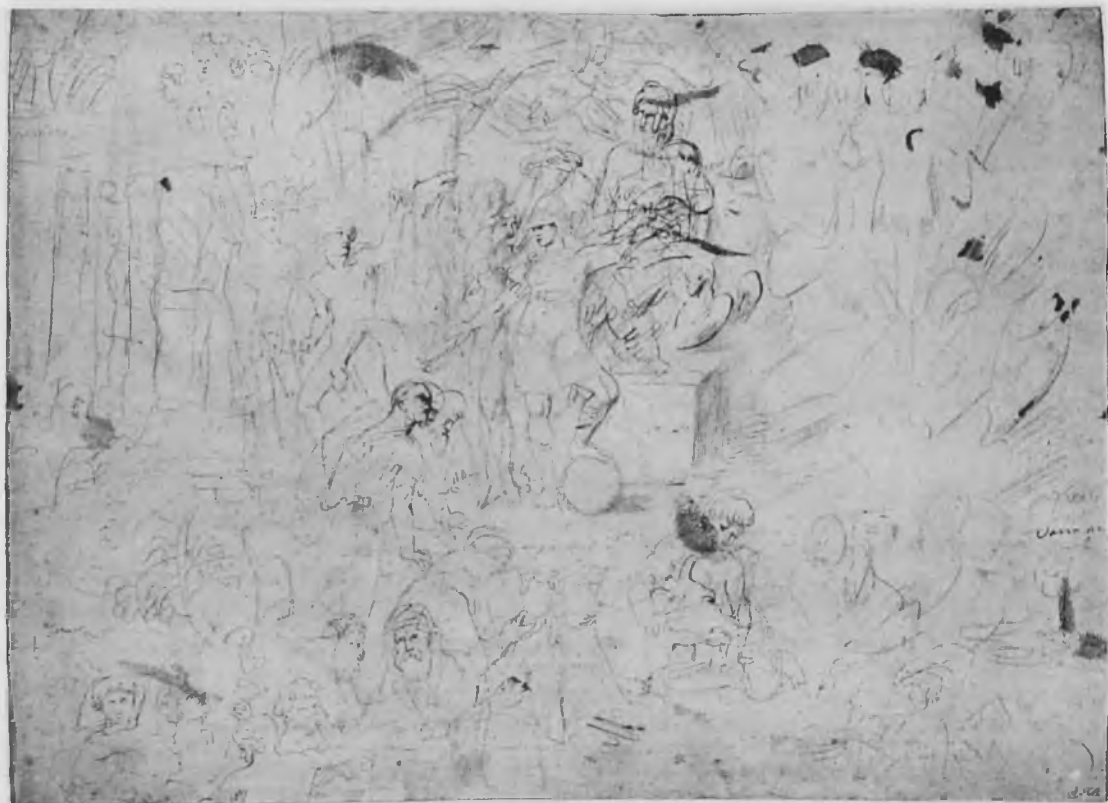




Text ill. 28. *Torso Belvedere*. Rome, Vatican Museum



Text ill. 29. *Borghese Fisherman*.  
Paris, Musée du Louvre



Text ill. 30. Rubens, *Studies for a Roman Triumph*, drawing. Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Kupferstichkabinett



Text ill. 31. Rubens, *The Baptism of Christ*, drawing. Paris, Musée du Louvre



Text ill. 32. *Seated Bacchus*, engraving in A.F. Gori, *Museum Florentinum*, III, Florence, 1740



Text ill. 33. *Spinario*.  
Rome, Palazzo dei Conservatori



Text ill. 34. *The Double Birth of Bacchus*, sarcophagus relief. Rome, Vatican Museum



Text ill. 35. *The Trojan War (Iliupersis)*, sarcophagus lid. Oxford, University Galleries



Text ill. 36. *The Death of Adonis*, sarcophagus relief. Rome, Casino Rospigliosi



Text ill. 37. *Trajan's Entry into Rome*, relief. Rome, Arch of Constantine



Text ill. 38. Rubens, *Virtue and Honour*, drawing. Antwerp, Stedelijk Prentenkabinet



Text ill. 39. *Bacchic Scene*, sarcophagus relief, detail left. Naples, Museo Nazionale



Text ill. 40. *Bacchic Scene*, sarcophagus relief, detail right. Naples, Museo Nazionale



Text ill. 41-42. After Rubens, *Physiognomical studies*, drawings.  
Formerly Paris, The Marquis de Ganay, MS de Ganay



Text ill. 43-44. P. Aveline, *Bacchic Scenes*, engravings in J.A. Jombert,  
*Théorie de la Figure Humaine*, Paris, 1773



Text ill. 45. Rubens, *The Council of the Gods*. Paris, Musée du Louvre







Text ill. 46. *Gemma Augustaea: The Triumph of Tiberius*, cameo.  
Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum



Text ill. 47. *Venus Chasing Cupids*, cameo.  
Naples, Museo Nazionale



Text ill. 48. *Venus Chariti*, cameo.  
St Petersburg, Hermitage



Text ill. 49. Rubens, *The Worship of Venus* (detail). Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum



Text ill. 50. *Chariot Races*, relief. Rome, Vatican Museum



Text ill. 51. C. Galle after Rubens, *The Lowering of the Cloth*, engraving in Ph. Rubens, *Electorum Libri II*, Antwerp, 1608



Text ill. 52. *Roma Victrix*. Rome, Palazzo dei Conservatori Text ill. 53. *Flora*. Naples, Museo Nazionale



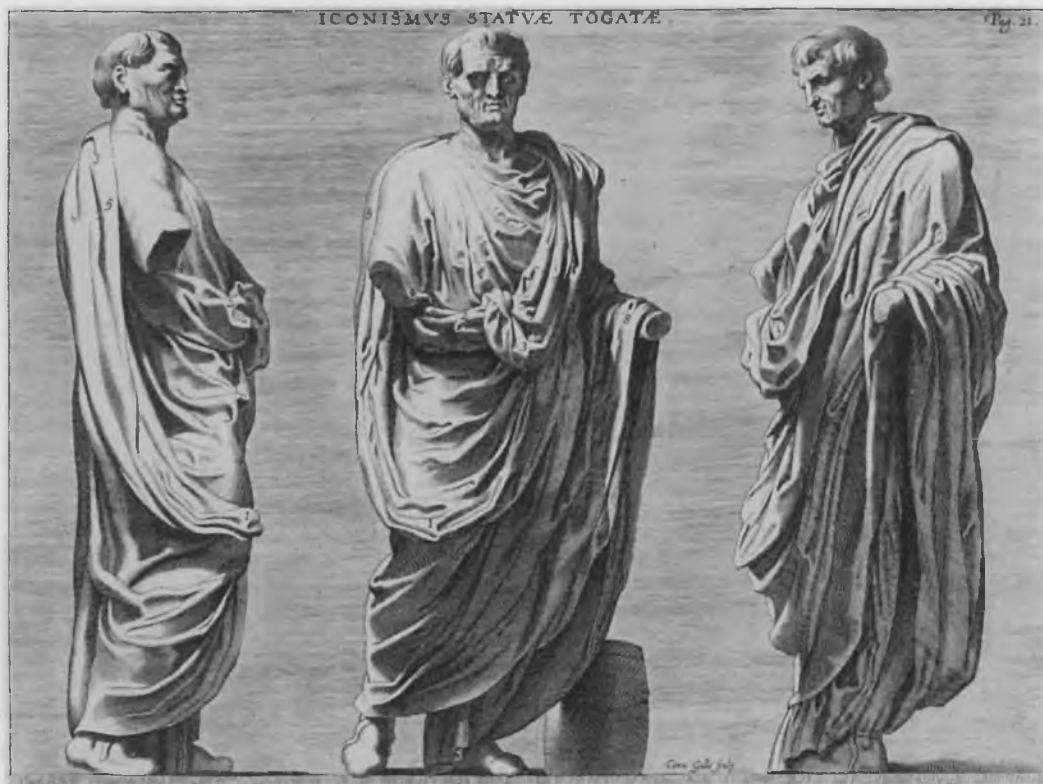
Text ill. 54. C. Galle after Rubens, *Two Statues wearing a Tunica*, engraving in Ph. Rubens, *Electorum Libri II*, Antwerp, 1608



Text ill. 55. *Togatus Statue*,  
from G.B. de Cavalleriis, *Antiquarum statuarum  
urbis Romae liber*, I-II, Rome, [before 1584]



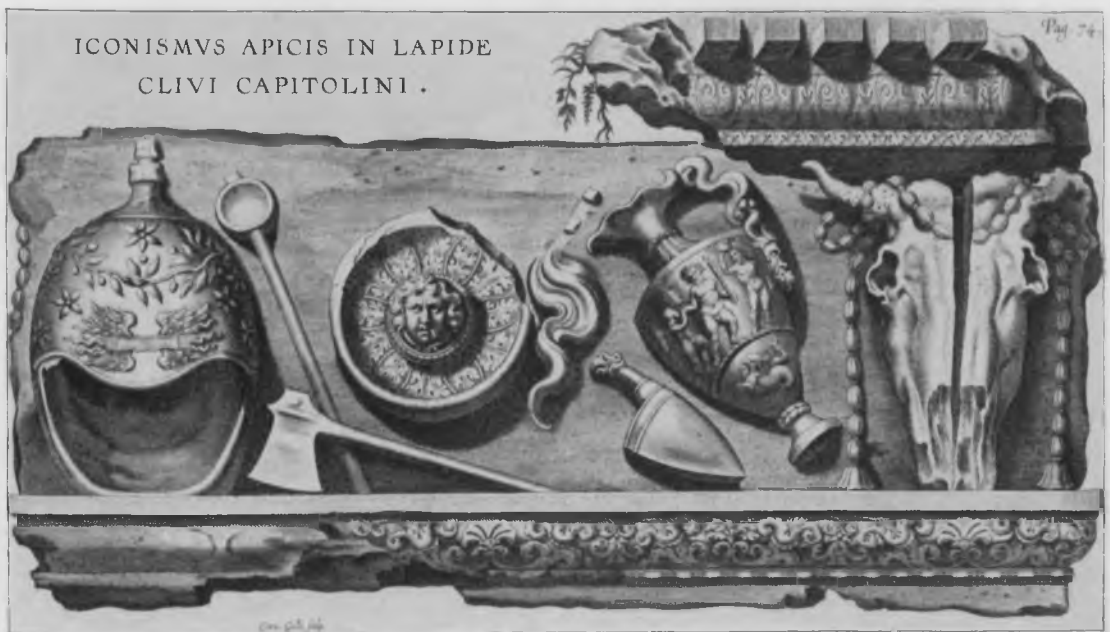
Text ill. 56. *Marcus Aurelius sacrificing*, relief.  
Rome, Palazzo dei Conservatori



Text ill. 57. C. Galle after Rubens, *Three Views of a Togatus Statue*,  
engraving in Ph. Rubens, *Electorum Libri II*, Antwerp, 1608



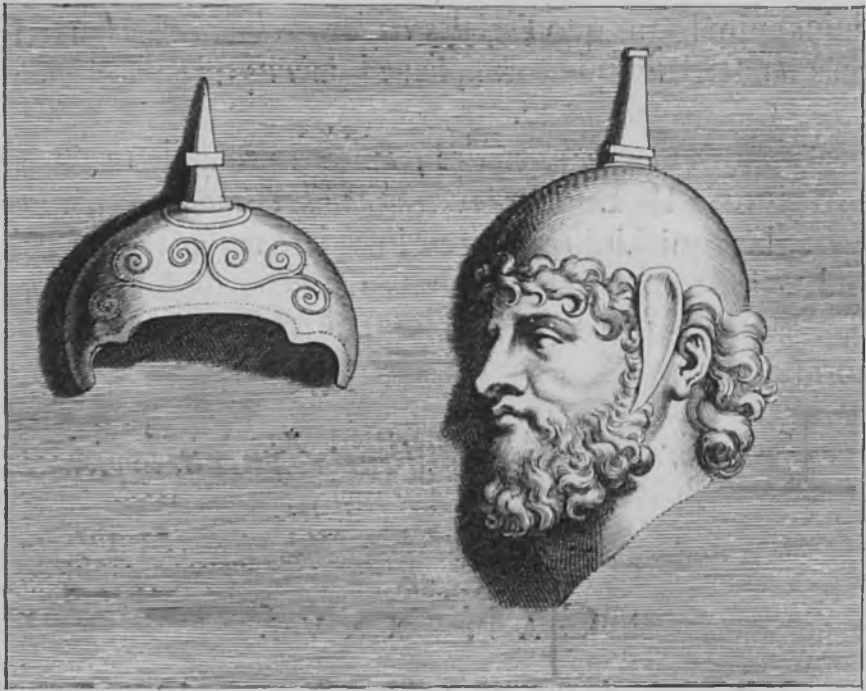
Text ill. 58. *Relief with Sacrificial Paraphernalia.*  
Rome, Architrave of the Temple of Vespasian



Text ill. 59. C. Galle after Rubens, *Architrave of the Temple of Vespasian,*  
engraving in Ph. Rubens, *Electorum Libri II,* Antwerp, 1608



Text ill. 60. *Sacrificial Paraphernalia*, relief. Rome, Arch of the Moneyhandlers



Text ill. 61. C. Galle after Rubens, *Two Priests' Caps*, engraving in Ph. Rubens, *Electorum Libri II*, Antwerp, 1608



the new Governor Ferdinand. The text on the cartouche, held by the putti in the centre, reads 'SPERATA TEMPORVM FELICITAS'. This is directly derived from legends on coins, though in other respects the frieze is a free interpretation.<sup>103</sup>

A letter from Balthasar Moretus to Philip Chifflet dated 29 January 1634 clarifies the conception of Rubens's title-page for F. Tristan, *La Peinture de la sérénissime Princesse Isabella Claire Eugénie*, that had appeared earlier that month.<sup>104</sup> It honours the Infanta Isabella, who governed the Southern Netherlands after the death of her husband Albert in 1621, until her death in 1633. The portrait of Isabella, framed by a Zodiac, is placed on the round altar of public safety flanked by two serpents. Serpents also occur on Roman coins, for instance on the reverse of a *quinarius* minted after Augustus's victory at Actium in 31 B.C. This coin was probably in Rubens's own collection, since it was later discussed in an essay by his son Albert, who disagreed with the traditional identification of the cylindrical object as an altar. Pointing to cistophoric coins with serpents emerging from baskets, he concluded that the object was a basket (see under No. 132).

The composition of Rubens's title-page for H. Goltzius, *Graeciae Universae Asiaeque Minoris et Insularum Nomismata*, 1618, is an excellent example of Roman imagery, funereal in particular, combined with symbols from Greek coins discussed and illustrated in Goltzius' book.<sup>105</sup> The main piece consists of a Roman sepulchral altar decorated with rams' heads and garlands of fruit, capped by a scrolled lid with the portrait of Alexander the Great inserted on the gable. The effigy of the ruler, facing right, occurs on many silver *tetradrachms* issued in Hellenistic times, and was featured in Goltzius' book on pl. XXXI. Rubens seems to have harboured a special interest in portraits of Alexander (see p. 140). A drawing in the Pierpont Morgan Library may be drawn from a similar coin (No. 178; Fig. 348).

On the obverse of the same *tetradrachm* we find a semi-draped Jupiter, seated with a sceptre in his left hand and balancing an eagle and thunderbolt on his right hand. A copy of Rubens's sketch of this figure occurs in the so-called *Van Dyck Antwerp Sketchbook* (fol. 31r).<sup>106</sup> Albert Rubens referred to the figure in discussing the *Gemma Augustaea*.<sup>107</sup>

103 R. Baumstark, op. cit., fig. 12; J.R. Martin, *The Decorations for the Pompa Introitus Ferdinandi* (*Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard*, XVI), Brussels-London-New York, 1972, fig. 2.

104 Judson-Van de Velde, I, pp. 277-280, no. 66, fig. 222; the letter by Chifflet is quoted in II, p. 371, appendix I(19).

105 Ibid., pp. 201-203, no. 43, fig. 148.

106 Jaffé, *Antwerp Sketchbook*, II, pp. 226-227 (repr.) and I, pl. CXLVI.

107 Rubenius, *De Re Vestiaria*, p. 214.

A silver *denarius* with the effigy of Numa Pompilius<sup>108</sup> is featured in mirror image on the title-page of C. Neapolis, *Anaptyxis ad Fastos P. Ovidii Nasonis*, 1639.<sup>109</sup> The drawing by Erasmus Quellin clearly reflects Rubens's ideas. A similar coin is illustrated on an engraving by T. Galle in his *Illustrium Imagines* (Fig. 459) and was later copied by L. Vorsterman I, who may have used a lost drawing by Rubens as a model (No. 220, Copy; Fig. 458).<sup>110</sup>

Another *denarius* of Pompeian times<sup>111</sup> may have been the model for the head of Roma wearing a crested Corinthian helmet facing right on Rubens's design for an illustration in J. Lipsius, *L.A. Senecae Opera Omnia*, 1615,<sup>112</sup> while the figure of Virtue on the other side could have been inspired by a coin of Vespasian.<sup>113</sup>

In 1644, a reprint appeared of H. Goltzius, *Icones Imperatorum Romanorum*, edited by Caspar Gevaerts. The design for the new title-page was created by Rubens, although the preparatory drawing was again executed by Erasmus Quellin.<sup>114</sup> It is not surprising to find the figure of Gaius Julius Caesar as the central person: in 54 B.C., the emperor had been the first to inscribe coinage with his name and in 44 B.C. his portrait was the first contemporary effigy to be introduced on coins.<sup>115</sup> The laureate emperor is pictured seated at the top of the page and, in character with the nature of the book, his name is given in the form of a legend on a coin as 'C. IVL. CAESAR,' on his coinage although this legend as such does not occur.<sup>116</sup> Rubens knew the effigy of Julius Caesar well. A drawing among the series of pen sketches picturing

108 E.A. Sydenham, *The Coinage of the Roman Republic*, London, 1952 (reprint 1975), p. 172, no. 1032, pl. 27. The diadem is inscribed NUMA. The name is omitted on the title-page and on Vorsterman's drawing after Galle's print (see No. 220, Copy; Fig. 458).

109 J.S. Held, [Cat. Exh.] *Rubens and the Book. Title Pages by Peter Paul Rubens*, (Chapin Library, Stetson Hall, Williamstown, Mass., 1977), pp. 135-136, no. 34, fig. 73; *Judson-Van de Velde*, pp. 61, 68, fig. 283.

110 *Van der Meulen, Antiquarius*, p. 184, no. C.19a, fig. XX,A.

111 E.A. Sydenham, op. cit., p. 172, no. 1035, pl. 27. The coin does not bear a legend *Roma*.

112 *Held, Drawings*, 1986, pp. 111-112, no. 107, pl. 102; *Judson-Van de Velde*, pp. 156-159, no. 30, fig. 107. The engraving pictures the coin in reverse (*ibid.*, fig. 106).

113 M. Bieber, 'Honos and Virtus', *American Journal of Archaeology*, XLIX, 1945, pp. 25-34, fig. 10. The coin was issued in 69-79 A.D. (*Mattingly, Coins*, II, p. 114, nos. 530-531, pl. XX.2). The pose is identical, but the sceptre is held in the right hand and the *parazonium* (sword) in the left.

114 *Judson-Van de Velde*, pp. 340-343, no. 83, fig. 279.

115 E.A. Sydenham, op. cit. (note 108), pp. xxxviii, 167, 176; *Mattingly, Coins*, I, p. xiv.

116 *Mattingly, Coins*, I, Index of legends, p. 432, C. CAESAR...; p. 433, CAESAR...; p. 438, IMP. CAESAR.

Roman emperors show his portrait (No. 188; Fig. 365), but the legend identifying the portrait was omitted.

On the same title-page, the left figure with *labarum* and orb is identified as 'IMP. CAES. CONSTANTINVS AVG.', the last pagan emperor. This legend is a variation of the ancient one.<sup>117</sup> On the right, Rudolph I, the first emperor of the House of Hapsburg is pictured, his name phrased *all'antica* as 'IMP. CAES. RVDOLPHVS I AVG.'. The book came off the press in 1644, but the drawing was already finished in 1637 when Quellin received payment for it.

In 1638, Rubens's series of '*Uomini Illustri*' was completed (see p. 145). Among them is a bust of *Julius Caesar* (No. 109; Fig. 191). The legends identifying this marble and those for *Brutus* (No. 108; Fig. 189), *Cicero* (No. 110; Fig. 196) and *Nero* (No. 114; Fig. 211) were copied quite literally from coins.

### *Engraved Gems and Cameos*

Engraved gems and cameos also influenced Rubens's designs. These miniature reliefs often picture commemorative events such as triumphal processions, glorifications of emperors and their families, victories over barbaric nations and allegorical personifications. Rubens possessed an impressive glyptic collection and in the 1620s he drew a number of gemstones destined for a Gem Book (see pp. 132-142). During these years he was also working on an important commission, the paintings for the Medici cycle. Some of the paintings reflect these cameos.

*The Birth of Louis XIII* (K.d.K., p. 250) is based on the *Gemma Augustaea* in Vienna (*text ill. 46*; cf. No. 164), in the figure of the Queen leaning on her left elbow like the Goddess Roma; in Cybele with her turreted crown standing behind the Queen; and in Fecundity with her horn of plenty, who on the gem is seated on the other side of the throne. The horn of plenty with the heads of children emerging at the top was borrowed from a cameo of Messalina and her children in Rubens's own collection (Fig. 328; cf. No. 169).

Similar to the *Gemma Augustaea* (*text ill. 46*), the *Council of the Gods* (*text ill. 45*; K.d.K., p. 254) is composed on two levels. On the left is a peaceful scene where Jupiter and Juno sit next to each other, while the right half is full of tumultuous action.

For the *Death of Henry IV and the Proclamation of the Regency* (K.d.K., p. 253) the *Gemma Tiberiana* in Paris (Fig. 324; cf. No. 168) was a source of inspira-

117 P.M. Bruun, *The Roman Imperial Coinage*, London, 1966, VII, p. 731. The legends on the obverse of Constantinus' coins read CONSTANTINVS AVG and CONSTANTINVS CAES.

tion, in representation as well as composition. Again, the composition consists of two parts. On the left is the deceased King who resembles Augustus, floating up towards the sky and received in Heaven; on the right, Maria de' Medici seated on the throne is derived from the middle tier of the gem with Tiberius receiving Germanicus.

A cameo with Claudius and his wife on a scrolled chariot (Fig. 311; cf. No. 165) served as the model for King Henry standing in military attire on his triumphal chariot (Florence, Uffizi; *K.d.K.*, p. 317). The Victory floating overhead was derived from a cameo with Constantine, his wife and son (Fig. 316; cf. No. 166).

The central group in the *Feast of Venus* (Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum; *text ill.* 49) painted c.1630, may have been inspired by a large cameo in Rubens's possession, which Peiresc believed to picture *Venus Chariti*.<sup>118</sup> De Grummond first suggested this possibility, but did not know the gem.<sup>119</sup> The cameo has recently been located in the Hermitage in St Petersburg (*text ill.* 48)<sup>120</sup> and shows two women flanking a statue of Venus on a pedestal. Although Venus is nude with drapery hanging down her back, her pose is very different from the *Venus Pudica* statue on the Viennese painting. Cupids playfully flying around the branches of a large tree recall a cameo of *Venus Chasing Cupids* that Rubens had seen in Rome (*text ill.* 47).<sup>121</sup> This motif recurs several times on his paintings.<sup>122</sup>

Ancient art was often a starting point for Rubens's own inventions and creative ideas. He borrowed themes and motifs from ancient imagery, adapt-

118 The cameo is listed on Rubens's Index as *Scene from a Tragedy* (Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS Fr. 9530, fol. 249r, no. 45; see Appendix V.1). But Peiresc's note in the margin identified the scene as *Venus Chariti*, referring to Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, XXXVI: 10. He also wrote an extensive description of the unusual cameo (Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS Fr. 9530, fols. 193r-v; see Appendix V.3) and discussed the representation with Rubens (Peiresc to Rubens, 28 May 1628; *Roses-Ruelens*, IV, p. 411).

119 N.T. de Grummond, 'Helena Fourment and Rubens, Venus and Apelles', *Southeastern College Art Review*, IX, 1, 1976, p. 32.

120 *Neverov, Gems*, p. 431, fig. 31.

121 Rubens had seen the cameo in Rome in the collection of Lelio Pasqualino (cf. Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS Fr. 9530, fol. 199r, no. 1; see Appendix I.1). The cameo is now in Naples, Museo Nazionale (Inv. No. 25858; *Richter, Gems of the Romans*, p. 40, no. 144, repr.; *Van der Meulen, Antiquarius*, p. 124, no. \*G.41, fig. XII,C). It pictures a Hellenistic scene after Anacreon, as Rubens correctly informs us (cf. *Elegy and Iambus with the Anacreonta*, trans. J.M. Edmonds, Cambridge, Mass.-London, 1954, II, no. 25, pp. 52-53). Lelio Pasqualino's gems are further discussed in Chapter IV, notes 7 and 20.

122 The cameo is reflected in *Nymphs Crowning the Goddess of Plenty*, Rome, Accademia di San Luca (*P.P. Rubens. Des Meisters Gemälde [Klassiker der Kunst]*, VI, 2nd edn, ed. A. Rosenberg, Stuttgart-Leipzig, 1906, p. 49) and *Nymphs Filling Horns of Plenty*, The Hague, Mauritshuis (*ibid.*, p. 221).

ing them to suit his needs, and he used ancient art for different purposes: the classical large sculptures as educative paradigms, the decorative minor objects as narrative sources for subject matter and representations. Rubens imitated classical postures, giving his figures statuary grandeur. Yet, when it came to illustrating an event from ancient history or a mythological story, he also revealed a profound knowledge and understanding of the life and customs of the Ancients.



# III. Philip and Peter Paul Rubens as Antiquarians

## I. PHILIP RUBENS'S 'ELECTORUM LIBRI DUO'

In 1608, Philip Rubens published his *Electorum Libri II* (*Two Books of Selections*), a collection of random notes and contemplations, in which the erudite philologist presented critical readings and clarifications of ancient texts.<sup>1</sup> A variety of topics are dealt with, as 'green herbs arranged together with flowers mix the sweetest fragrances and delight the sense of sight at its utmost'.<sup>2</sup> Much of the preparatory research was done in Louvain, in 1601 and 1604, before and after a trip to Italy.<sup>3</sup> Towards the end of 1605 (or in early 1606) Philip returned to Rome as librarian and secretary in the service of Cardinal Colonna, and while there continued his studies.<sup>4</sup> Seeing the actual works of art was essential, as Philip remarked: 'It is incredible how much the observation of coins, stones and other old monuments contributes to a fuller understanding of Antiquity. Indeed, I would dare to assert that there are not a few things in [ancient] authors that can scarcely be both understood and explained rightly other than from these [monuments]'.<sup>5</sup>

1 *Rubenius, Electorum Libri II*, I: I, p. 1: 'Diversa sunt hominum studia... [in the margin: Et aliae res alij voluptatem creat] Me quidem, vt verum proloquar, antiqua delectant. Quippini? inter vetera tot monumenta, quae passim in oculos incurrunt, [in the margin: habet stupor aspicientem]. Itaque paullatim è Scriptoribus collectum imus, quae maximè eò facere videntur, vt varijs inter se locis comparatis & quasi collis abstrusum veritatis lumen effulgeat'. (The interests of men are diverse, and one thing creates pleasure for one man, another thing for another man. To tell the truth, antiquities please me. Why not? Amid so many old monuments that come into sight here and there, amazement grips the beholder. And so gradually we have made a selection from authors [of passages] that seem to accomplish this especially—that when the various passages have been united with each other and as it were struck together, the light of truth [formerly] hidden may shine forth.) I am much obliged to Dr Nancy T. de Grummond for providing the translations of Philip's texts (see also notes 5 and 38).

2 *Ibid.*, p. \*\*2, 'Ad Lectorem': 'Vt enim— contextae viridantes floribus herbae suauissimos miscent odores: vt sensum oculorum maximè permulcent...'

3 *Ibid.*, p. \*\*2: 'Quòd ad membranas & scriptos, quos cito, codices attinet, eor[um] usura partim Louanij, partim Romae mihi fuit, cum in Bibliothecâ Vaticanâ, tum eâ quam impenso pretio comparatam, & omni genere librorum benè instructam, nobilitatis Romanae planè princeps & inter lumina purpuratorum Patrum ASCANIVS COLVMNA fidei curae[que] meae liberaliter commiserat...'

4 See note 3. Philip had spent much of the years 1601-1604 travelling through Italy with Guillaume Richardot (cf. *Rooses-Ruelens* I, p. 9). *Judson-Van de Velde*, p. 77 suggested that during this time he was employed by Cardinal Ascanio Colonna.

5 *Rubenius, Electorum Libri II*, I: XVII, p. 20: 'Incredibile est, quantum ad pleniorē antiquitatis

Philip's vast and thorough knowledge of ancient literature enabled him to comprehend the pictorial sources, tangible remains of a glorious past.<sup>6</sup> However, he observed that ancient writers had often provided confusing or conflicting information that did not always agree with the visual evidence, and he added several reproductions of ancient marbles to his book when he judged the literary evidence deficient or inadequate. Rubens was with his brother Philip in Rome, and he copied for him the material selected. In Philip's book the artist's assistance is acknowledged, albeit briefly and in a rather casual manner.<sup>7</sup>

After Philip returned to Antwerp in May 1607 he completed the manuscript.<sup>8</sup> The censor L. Beyerlinck and the Archduke granted their privileges on 13 and 15 November, respectively. The book was printed at the Plantin Press in Antwerp in early 1608. Six engravings by Cornelis Galle I illustrate the text.<sup>9</sup>

Philip's book has now sunk into oblivion,<sup>10</sup> yet it represents a conscientious effort in Humanist textual criticism and 'Realphilologie', with its interest in objects.<sup>11</sup> Unfortunately, there is no logical organisation to the subject matter or systematic grouping of the material, and it also lacks an index. Yet the wealth of information assembled here demonstrates Philip's profound knowledge and keen observation. Of the seventy-seven chapters in the book, the majority concern emendations and corrections of classical writings, among them texts by Cicero, Livy, Plautus, Caesar, Hirtius, Quintilian, Aulus

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notitiam valeat obseruatio numorum, lapidum, aliorumque veterum monumentorum. Equidem affirmare ausim, haud parum multa in scriptoribus esse, quae vix aliter, quam ex illis cum intelligi tum explicari rectè possint'.

6 See note 1.

7 *Rubenius, Electorum Libri II*, pp. 121-122: 'Corollarij tamen vice atexam Elegeidon ad suauiſſimum & optatiſſimum fratrem meum... Discupio enim aliquod hinc exstare amoris & grati in ipſum animi monumentum, qui tum artificio manu, tum acri certoque iudicio non parum in Electis me iuuit'. (I have added as an appendix an elegy to my most delightful and dearest brother... I greatly desire to place here a tribute of affection and gratitude to him who with his skilful hand as well as with his keen and unerring judgment assisted me considerably with my *Electorum Libri II*.) Cf. *Rooses-Ruelens*, I, p. 13; II, p. 81.

8 Philip's letter of 11 June 1607 to G. Uwens is written in Antwerp (*Rooses-Ruelens*, I, pp. 383-384).

9 Theodoor Galle presented the bill on behalf of Cornelis for six engravings on 9 August 1608 (cf. M. Rooses, 'Petrus-Paulus Rubens en Balthasar Moretus, III', *Rubens-Bulletijn*, II, 1, 1885, pp. 51-52, n. 1; *Judson-Van de Velde*, p. 77).

10 This might explain the rather belittling comments on it by C. Ruelens, in *Rooses-Ruelens*, I, p. 11. Cf. *Van den Wijngaert, Prentkunst*, p. 8: '...tenslotte weinig belangrijke illustraties'.

11 A. Ellenius, *De Arte Pingendi. Latin Art Literature in Seventeenth-Century Sweden and its International Background*, Uppsala-Stockholm, 1960, pp. 46, n. 9, and 50, n. 3. Cf. E. Mandowsky and C. Mitchell, *Pirro Ligorio's Roman Antiquities*, London, 1963, p. 30.



Gellius and Frontinus. But there are also a number of essays that focus on obscure meanings of a word or provide the historical background to an ancient custom. These are written as a complete encyclopaedic entry or as a concise footnote, although they often treat a specific detail only. Several deserve closer attention as they deal with daily life, with public entertainment, clothing, religion, and social provisions.

### *Public Entertainment*

Chariot races (*ludi circenses*) were extremely popular in Rome. In a large circus, four chariots each led by four horses (*quadriga*) had seven times to circle the arena, divided down the centre by a *spina*. A magistrate gave the signal to the charioteers to leave the *carceres* by lowering a *mappa*, or cloth. In discussing these races, Pirro Ligorio had assumed that this *mappa* was very large and held in both hands.<sup>12</sup> But Philip discovered a marble relief on Via Nomentana that shows a *praetor* lowering a *mappa*, the size of a handkerchief, with his left hand only. To prove his point, Philip included a reproduction of the relief 'so that we can see with our eyes more exactly than words can explain' (*text ill. 51*).<sup>13</sup>

The marble is now in the store of the Vatican Museum, preserved in fragments, its centre section heavily damaged (*text ill. 50*).<sup>14</sup> Galle's print shows the relief in its original direction in a quite handsome and exact

12 *Paradosse, Libro di M. Pyrrho Ligorio delle antichità di Roma, nelquale si tratta de' circi...*, Venice, 1553.

13 *Rubenius, Electorum Libri II*, I: XXX, pp. 32-33. The print is titled *ICONISMVS CIRCENSIVM ET MISSIONIS MAPPAE*, inscribed top right *Pag. 33.*, bottom centre *Corn. Galle sculp.* (cf. *Judson-Van de Velde*, pp. 80-81, no. 2, fig. 42). *Rubenius, De Re Vestiaria*, II: III, p. 147, referred to Galle's print for the representation of the shoes worn by the magistrates (*calceus patricius*).

14 G. Kaschnitz-Weinberg, *Sculture del magazzino di Vaticano*, Vatican City, 1936, pp. 188-189, no. 416, pl. LXXVI, dating the relief to the time of Julius Caesar, but the *toga* worn by the magistrate points to early imperial times. The *mappa* was mentioned by Suetonius, VI, *Nero*, 22 (trans. J.C. Rolfe, Cambridge, Mass.-London, 1951, II, pp. 120-121); cf. *Daremberg-Saglio*, III, 2, p. 1594, n. 6, and II, 2, p. 1195, n. 47. A drawing of the relief is found in Dal Pozzo album, Windsor, VIII, fol. 48 (*Vermeule, Dal Pozzo-Albani*, 1966, p. 52, no. 8750). It shows the relief more completely as it includes part of a second group of horses and a *desultor* plus a person lying on the ground. On Galle's print only the rear legs of the horses and feet of the reclining person are rendered. Poussin copied the left half of the relief only; cf. W. Friedlaender and A. Blunt, *The Drawings of Nicolas Poussin*, V (*Studies of the Warburg Institute*, V, 5), London, 1974, pp. 40-41, no. 343, pl. 264. The engraving by P.S. Bartoli, in *Admiranda romanarum antiquitatum*, Rome, 1693, pl. 23 does not picture the relief very accurately: the *praetor* is barefoot, the carriage is decorated with putti and the charioteer wears a woollen cap. The caption below informs us that the relief was now with the Barberini family (cf. G. Kaschnitz-Weinberg, op. cit., tav. d'aggiunta; *Van der Meulen, Antiquarius*, p. 80, n. 31).

rendering. Rubens's drawing of the marble is now lost, but he used the composition for one of the scenes on the façade of his house in Antwerp.<sup>15</sup>

Four chariots competed in each race. The charioteers wore outfits of different colours, so that they could be easily recognized during the race. The charioteers were organized in companies (*factiones*) which were represented by their own colour. To the existing four colours (green, blue, red and white) another two were added during the reign of Domitian. However, due to a corruption in the ancient text, it was unclear which new colours were selected. Philip discovered the error, and concluded that purple and gold were introduced at that time.<sup>16</sup>

The meaning of the word *sparsio* (sprinkling) used by Ulpianus in connection with the games was also not clear, but Philip identified it with a ritual to purify the horses before the races to expel any demonic spirits.<sup>17</sup> However, it may simply refer to the wetting of the horses to refresh them.

### *Clothing*

The use of clothing in Antiquity has provided a challenge to archaeologists since the Renaissance, and in Philip's time the usage of various garments was the subject of much conjecture. Philip could not resist giving an opinion on the use of the *tunica* different from the view espoused by Lazare de Baif (1496-1547) in a publication on ancient dress.<sup>18</sup> The *tunica*, adapted by the Romans from the Greek *chiton*, consisted of two rectangular pieces of fabric sewn together along the selvages. It was fastened at the shoulders with pins,

15 McGrath, *Painted Decoration*, pp. 261-262, figs. 28b and 33a. The Vatican relief presumably inspired Rubens for the design on the socle in his *Hercules and Omphale* (Paris, Louvre). This seems possible if indeed the painting was not made before 1606; see J.M. Muller, 'The Phaedran Charioteer and Two Early Paintings by Rubens', in *Essays in Northern European Art presented to E. Haverkamp-Begemann*, Doornspijk, 1983, p. 191, figs. 1-2.

16 Rubenius, *Electorum Libri II*, II: XXVII, p. 75.

On the *factiones* see: Daremberg-Saglio, I, 2, pp. 1198-1199; L. Friedländer, *Roman Life and Manners under the Early Empire*, trans. J.H. Freese and L.A. Magnus, 2nd edn, London, 1936 (reprint 1979), II, pp. 27-28; J.P.V.D. Balsdon, *Life and Leisure in Ancient Rome*, New York, [1969], pp. 314-323. For the cosmic interpretation of the Roman circus see G.M.A. Hanfmann, *The Season Sarcophagus in Dumbarton Oaks*, Cambridge, Mass., 1951, I, pp. 159-163.

17 Rubenius, *Electorum Libri II*, II: XVIII, p. 64. A *sparsor* presumably sprinkled water on the horses (Daremberg-Saglio, I, 2, p. 1199, n. 144), but on sarcophagi they are shown strewing sand on the track (Helbig, *Führer*, 1963-72, I, pp. 393-395, no. 497).

18 L. Bayfius, *Annotationum in L. vestis ff. de auro et argento leg. seu de re vestiaria liber*, Basel, 1526 (reprinted in J.G. Graevius, *Thesaurus romanarum antiquitatum*, Venice, 1732, VI, cols. 553 ff.); L. Bayfius, *De re vestiaria libellus*, Basel, 1531; Paris, 1536 (reprinted in J.G. Graevius, op. cit., cols. 561-804). Lazare de Baif was the French ambassador residing in Venice.

and sleeves were formed by pinning the fabric further along the top, leaving open spaces between the pins.<sup>19</sup> When the pins were unfastened, the entire garment would fall down, an advantage, Philip noted, as the mouth and nose could not besmear clothing this way.<sup>20</sup> Quoting Aulus Gellius, *Noctes Atticae* (VII: XII),<sup>21</sup> Philip argued that decorum required Roman women to wear 'long, flowing garments, to hide their arms and legs from sight'. Roman matrons usually wore the *tunica* under the *palla* (mantle).<sup>22</sup> Greek women wore the *chiton* differently: it was often unsewn along the sides, allowing their legs to be visible while moving around.

Of the many sculptures that were available to him, Philip selected two to illustrate his essay (*text ill. 54*). The left half of Galle's engraving on two full pages shows a seated woman wearing a belted *chiton* with long, buttoned sleeves. A *himatio* (mantle) covers her left shoulder, back and knees. It is a Hadrianic copy of a Greek statue from the school of Phidias, now in the Palazzo dei Conservatori in Rome (*text ill. 52*).<sup>23</sup> Restored as the Goddess Roma, Galle's engraving shows the sculpture from the right side (an unusual angle), from below in profile to the right. Thus the buttoned sleeve is well visible, which served a purpose for Philip's text.

Peter Paul's drawing for the engraving is lost, but the marble left traces in his *oeuvre*. Roma's buttoned sleeves are found in the undergarment of *St Domitilla* on his painting in Berlin,<sup>24</sup> and in the undergarment worn by Maria de' Medici in his sketch for the *Capture of Juliers*; the helmet of the Goddess served as model for the crested helmet worn by Maria de' Medici in the same design (Munich, Alte Pinakothek).<sup>25</sup> The belted *chiton* of the Victory on the title-page for Aedo y Gallart, *El memorable y glorioso Viaje* (Antwerp, 1635) is curiously enough buttoned up along the side seam.<sup>26</sup>

19 M. Bieber, *Griechische Kleidung*, Berlin-Leipzig, 1928 (reprint 1977), pp. 13-16.

20 Rubenius, *Electorum Libri II*, II: XX, pp. 65-67. Galle's print is titled *ICONISMVS DVPLICIS STATVAE TVNICATAE* ('Illustration of two Statues in Tunica'); inscribed top right *Pag.67*, bottom centre *Corh. Galle sculp.* (cf. Judson-Van de Velde, pp. 81-82, no. 3, fig. 43).

21 Aulus Gellius, *Noctes Atticae* (*The Attic Nights*), VI: XII, 1-2, trans. J.C. Rolfe, Cambridge, Mass.-London, 1954, pp. 56-57.

22 Wilson, *Clothing Ancient Romans*, pp. 152-162, figs. 99 and 103, identified the garment as a *stola*; Bieber, *Ancient Copies*, p. 23, recognized the dress to be the *tunica*.

23 Stuart Jones, *Palazzo dei Conservatori*, pp. 16-17, Secondo portico, no. 5 (Inv. No. 773), pl. 6; Helbig, *Führer*, 1963-72, II, pp. 250-252, no. 1440. According to P. Ligorio, the statue was found on Via Appia. It was acquired by Cardinal Cesi; see p. 50 above.

24 Jaffé, *Rubens and Italy*, p. 95, fig. 323. See above, p. 50 and p. 78, n. 49.

25 Held, *Oil Sketches*, pp. 114-115, no. 72, pl. 73.

26 Judson-Van de Velde, pp. 296-298, no. 72, fig. 244.

It is likely that Rubens also drew the *Roma* statue in frontal view. His title-page for J. de Bie, *Nomismata Imperatorum Romanorum*, (1617) shows *Roma* seen from the front.<sup>27</sup> The same sculpture is featured on a drawing in the Albertina and on an oil sketch in the Mauritshuis in the Hague.<sup>28</sup>

On the right of Galle's print stands a woman wearing a thin *chiton*, fastened on each shoulder with a button and tied around the hips with a low Roman belt (*text ill.* 54). The model was another statue, now restored as *Flora* in the Museo Nazionale in Naples (*text ill.* 53).<sup>29</sup> It is a Roman copy of the third century A.D. of a Greek original dating from the fourth century B.C. The diaphanous, clinging drapery is faithfully rendered on Galle's print, but the heavy posture of the woman in *contrapposto* is slightly exaggerated.<sup>30</sup>

The *Flora* also figures several times in Rubens's work. The guarding angel on the outside of the left door of the Resurrection Triptych (*text ill.* 21; Antwerp, Cathedral) is derived from the torso of the statue.<sup>31</sup> The figure of *Generositas* in the *Capture of Juliers* (Paris, Louvre, Medici cycle; *K.d.K.*, p. 255) is based on this marble, as are the *Bona Spes* on the *Stage of Welcome* for the *Pompa Introitus Ferdinandi*,<sup>32</sup> and the *Victory* on his cartoon of *Victory and Virtue*, one in the *Decius Mus* series.<sup>33</sup>

Both sculptures are Roman copies of Greek originals and feature Greek dress: the thin Ionic *chiton*, tubular of shape, sleeves made with pins. A girth around the waist enabled the dress to be drawn up at the desired length.

The garment worn by Roman citizens for official occasions was the toga. It was often draped like a mantle over the *tunica*. Heavy pleats suggest the

27 *Ibid.*, pp. 189-193, no. 39a, fig. 131.

28 Burchard-d'Hulst, *Drawings*, pp. 156-159, no. 94, repr.; pp. 208-211, no. 133, repr.

29 Ruesch, *Museo Nazionale*, 1911, pp. 71-72, no. 242 (Inv. No. 6409). The statue found in the Baths of Caracalla in the mid 1640s belonged to the Farnese collection. See Chapter I, p. 55. An anonymous 16th-century drawing (Uffizi, Gabinetto delle Stampe, Inv. No. 1160) shows the sculpture in unrestored condition.

30 K. van Mander, *Den grondt der edel vry Schilder-Const*, Haarlem, 1603, ch. X, 29 (edn H. Miedema, Utrecht, 1973, II, p. 582) stated that in general Greek drapery was ugly, as it had too many folds and looked like wet linen. One of the few exceptions was the statue of *Flora*. See note 128 below. Cf. F. Algarotti, *Essai sur la peinture*, 1769, pp. 87-88: 'Les anciens Sculpteurs draperent non seulement leurs figures avec beaucoup d'intelligence, mais encore avec beaucoup de grace, comme on peut le remarquer dans leurs ouvrages, surtout dans cette statue de Flore nouvellement découverte à Rome'.

31 Freedberg, *Epitaphs*, p. 55, fig. 4; Freedberg, *After the Passion*, p. 37, under no. 4.

32 J.R. Martin, *The Decorations for the Pompa Introitus Ferdinandi* (*Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard*, XVI), Brussels-London-New York, 1972, p. 39, under no. 1, fig. 2.

33 R. Baumstark, in [Cat. Exh.] *Liechtenstein. The Princely Collections*, (Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 1985), pp. 354-355, no. 216, repr.; the antique model was not identified.

use of a thick woollen fabric. Spread out it was semicircular in shape, with one straight and one round edge. It was placed over the left shoulder with a corner of the fabric hanging down in front to calf level. The remainder of the fabric was brought across the back, swung under the right arm and circled the waist like a belt (*balteus*), back up to the left shoulder with the other corner hanging down at the back.<sup>34</sup> It is pictured on the engraving illustrating the *praetor* giving the starting sign to charioteers (*text ill. 51*). The cut of this toga is small and skimpy.

In the early years of the Roman empire, the toga became much larger with more pleats. Consequently, its draping became more complex and is not easily understood, although it is eloquently described by Quintilian. Philip focused on the arrangement of the imperial toga and on one detail in particular, the *sinus* (fold).<sup>35</sup> In discussions by sixteenth-century authors, such as Lazare de Baif and Manutius, the *sinus* was either not mentioned or incorrectly described.<sup>36</sup> Yet it is clearly discernible on statues. Philip indicated the numerous *togati* statues as more instructive than the written text, and included an illustration in his book (*text ill. 57*). A *togatus* statue seen from three different angles is pictured on a double-page engraving. A *scrinium* (bookroll case) to the left of the *togatus* was omitted on the right, to improve the view of the drapery folds. The exact sculpture Philip chose to publish is not named. The toga illustrated is of the mid first century A.D. (*text ill. 55*).<sup>37</sup>

Quoting Quintilian, *Institutio Oratoria*, Philip marked each sentence with a number corresponding to the drapery on the engraving.<sup>38</sup> The larger imperial toga was folded over at the back (marked 5) and came down in a

34 F.W. Goethert, in *Pauly-Wissowa*, VI A, 1937, cols. 1651-1657.

35 Rubenius, *Electorum Libri II*, I: XVII, pp. 20-21.

36 L. Bayfius, op. cit. (note 18); A. Manutius, *Dissertationes tres epistolicae*, I, *De toga romanorum* (reprinted in J.G. Graevius, as in note 18, cols. 1185-1203).

37 The statue on Calle's engraving resembles a *togatus* with a portrait head of Drusus from Caere, now in Rome, Lateran Museum. The Drusus standing in an elegant pose with a flexed right leg, its rich drapery and low falling sinus with deep pleats resulting in strong light effects, is dated to the late Claudian-Neronian period (F.W. Goethert, 'Studien zur Kopienforschung I', *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Römische Abteilung*, LIV, 1939, pp. 203-206, pl. 46,1. The statue Rubens drew may have been identical with a *togatus* in the Cesi collection (*De Cavalleriis, Antiquarum statuarum*, I, pl. 7; I-II, pl. 23; see *text ill. 55*; cf. *Van der Meulen, Antiquarius*, p. 79, n. 31). However, this lacked a *scrinium*.

38 M. Fabius Quintilianus, *Institutio Oratoria*, XI: III, lines 140-141 (trans. H.E. Butler, Cambridge, Mass.-London, 1953, IV, pp. 321-323). Philip's chapter on the complex arrangement of the toga starts with the paragraph quoted above in note 5 and continues with: 'Et inter ea, meo quidem animo, quae ex M. Fabio Quintiliano, quae vestis modum Oratori praescribit, hic subieci'. (And among these, according to my own opinion, I have submitted here [the passage] that comes from M. Fabius Quintilian, in which he prescribes the mode of dress for an orator).

loop, called the *sinus*, which reached down to the right knee (marked 1). A second loop, the *umbo* (boss) or *nodus* (marked 3), was created by pulling the left side of the toga up over the *balteus* (marked 2). The *umbo* is well visible on the print.

Galle's lucid engraving was never surpassed, and was reprinted on several occasions by authors dealing with Roman clothing.<sup>39</sup> Peter Paul's preparatory drawing is now lost. Rubens's historic figures often wear the toga, and it has been frequently noted that *togatus* statues influenced St Nereus and St Achilleus on the side panel of the altarpiece for Santa Maria in Vallicella of 1608 (*K.d.K.*, p. 25). St Nereus is wearing an older type of toga from the Republican period. As de Grummond observed, Rubens's sketch for *Constantine Investing His Son Crispus with the Command over the Fleet* (Bognor Regis) shows a perfect example of the imperial toga.<sup>40</sup> However, more often than not the artist strayed away from the correct way of draping the toga to a less complicated arrangement.

Philip also discussed a later fashion of the toga. Ornamental borders on clothing were not uncommon in early Antiquity; later, under Oriental influence, the so-called *toga picta* decorated with embroidery and appliqué became fashionable. The *tunica* too was enriched with figurative and floral designs.<sup>41</sup>

The wearing of purple-coloured garments was limited to emperors. Thus, Philip observed, the expression '*adorare purpura*', introduced by Ammianus Marcellinus, meant 'to show respect to the emperor' by touching the purple

39 The engraving is titled *ICONISMVS STATVAE TOGATAE*; inscribed top right *Pag.21.*, bottom centre *Corn. Galle sculp.* (cf. *Judson-Van de Velde*, pp. 78-79, no. 1, fig. 41).

Galle's plate was reused in Albert Rubens's *De Re Vestiarum Veterum*, where the numbers are replaced with letters (*Rubenius, De Re Vestiarum*, II: VIII, p. 168: 'statuam togatam a patruo meo publicatam'; cf. *De Grummond, Classical Costume*, p. 82, fig. 4).

O. Ferrarius, *De re vestiarum libri septem*, Padua, 1654, p. 18, pl. VI-III was copied by Jo. Georgius after Galle's engraving which he judged to be 'quo res tota clarius sub aspectu[m] caderet'. In H. Bossius, *De toga romana commentarius*, Amsterdam, 1671, pp. 82-83, Galle's print is copied and Albert Rubens's text and numbers reprinted. In A. Solerius, *De pileo*, Amsterdam, 1671, p. 158, only the centre figure of Galle's engraving is pictured.

40 *De Grummond, Classical Costume*, p. 83, n. 34; *Held, Oil Sketches*, pp. 79-80, no. 46, pl. 47.

41 *Rubenius, Electorum Libri II*, II: I, pp. 45-47. Philip consulted an unpublished manuscript of the orations of Asterius, Bishop of Amaseia, in the Vatican Library. Cf. Claudian, *The fourth Consulship of Honorius* (396 A.D.), lines 585-592 (trans. M. Platnauer, Cambridge, Mass.-London, 1956, I, pp. 328-331). For embroidered clothing see *Daremberg-Saglio*, I, 2, p. 1478, fig. 1913; V, p. 349; L.M. Wilson, *The Roman Toga* (*The Johns Hopkins University Studies in Archaeology*, I), Baltimore, 1924, pp. 84-86, 112; M. Bieber, 'Charakter und Unterschiede der griechischen und römischen Kleidung', *Archäologischer Anzeiger*, LXXXVIII, 1973, pp. 442-443; *Bieber, Ancient Copies*, p. 221.

robe and bringing it to the mouth—a custom still fashionable in his own day.<sup>42</sup>

As Philip discovered, many authors had written about clothing worn in the home and outside, but except for material on the costume of commanders and generals, only scant and cursory literature existed on military dress. For this reason, he devoted a chapter to the subject.<sup>43</sup> According to Livy, togas and *tunicae* were sent to the army when it was in need of clothing—togas for the cavalry and centurions, *tunicae* for the common soldiers. The *tunica* was shortened by pulling it over the belt, and in inclement weather a warm cloak was worn over it. Philip discussed several varieties of these coats, but made no attempt to identify them on ancient monuments.

The *sagum* was a favourite cloak and worn by all ranks in the army.<sup>44</sup> This coarse woollen military cloak was of Gallic origin and probably red. Many literary passages refer to the glowing, brilliant or purple *saga* in military displays. Its popularity is reflected in the expression 'ad *saga* ire' (to prepare for war) and 'depositus *sagulum*' (making peace). Philip also wrote about the *lacerna*, a lightweight cloak with rounded corners and a fringed edge, fastened at the shoulder. Worn by all ranks for all occasions it remained fashionable for centuries and was worn over the toga.<sup>45</sup> For protection against cold and rain a heavier covering, the *paenula* of shaggy wool or leather was used. It was close-fitting and hooded. Also reddish in colour, it served centurions and slaves alike, and was adopted later for general use.<sup>46</sup> From post-classical times was the *armilauca*, a green covering that protected mainly the arms and shoulders.<sup>47</sup>

42 Rubenius, *Electorum Libri II*, II: XXX, pp. 79-80; reference is made to Ammianus Marcellinus, writing about Emperor Constantius (XV: 5,18 and XXI: 9, 8; trans. J.C. Rolfe, Cambridge, Mass.-London, 1956, II, pp. 145 and 153). For this Roman custom see *Daremberg-Saglio*, IV, 1, p. 778, n. 8.

43 Rubenius, *Electorum Libri II*, II: XII, pp. 55-58.

44 The *sagum* is pictured on the Column of Trajan. It was of rectangular shape, fastened on the shoulder with a brooch. In 176 A.D. Marcus Aurelius ordered that the *sagum* would no longer be worn. Cf. *Daremberg-Saglio*, IV, 2, p. 1008; *Wilson, Clothing Ancient Romans*, pp. 104-108, figs. 65-66.

45 The *lacerna* was in fashion from the last century of the Republic until the fourth century A.D. It came in all different colours and is illustrated on the Trajanic reliefs of the Arch of Constantine. Cf. *Daremberg-Saglio*, III, 2, pp. 901-902; *Wilson, Clothing Ancient Romans*, pp. 117-125, figs. 74-75.

46 The *paenula* resembled our hooded cape. Examples of it can be seen on the Column of Trajan and the Arch of Septimius Severus. Cf. *Wilson, Clothing Ancient Romans*, pp. 87-92, figs. 52a, b.

47 The *armilauca* cannot be understood without illustrations on monuments. Cf. *Daremberg-*

To avoid repetition Philip did not examine footwear, a subject explored by earlier writers. However, he noted that the *calceus clavatus* was well illustrated on the Arch of Constantine. Strengthened with a few nails, these shoes were useful for many purposes, including marching.<sup>48</sup> The *tondi* on the Arch of Constantine depict Hadrian wearing *calcei equestri*, a plain tight-fitting leather shoe without laces. The sole of the *calceus equestris* is not known to have had nails driven into it. Nails are, however, mentioned by ancient sources describing the *caliga*—a laced-up boot often with open toes, covering part of the lower leg and ending in lions' scalps at the top (see p. 127 below). Thus Peter Paul fittingly added nails to the sole of the boots worn by the horseman in his *Collapse of the Milvian Bridge* (Constantine cycle; sketch; London, Wallace Collection. This detail appears more clearly in the tapestry in the Philadelphia Museum of Art, S.H. Kress Collection).<sup>49</sup>

Much had been written about male civilian footwear, but not on shoes for women. In a separate chapter, Philip went into details about the '*calceus clavatus insertus*', as he called a soft shoe studded with gold ornaments and precious stones. In later times, people went about in slippers with gems, and footwear became so extravagant and cumbersome that it was faster to go barefoot like a letter carrier.<sup>50</sup>

In a previous essay, Philip had written on *armillae* (arm ornaments) awarded to soldiers and centurions for bravery. These bracelets were usually made of silver, and occasionally of gold. Gold bracelets went as far back as the Sabines who wore them on their left arm. Tertullian, in *De Pallio*, IV, spoke rather condescendingly of this fashion, and argued that it should be limited to matrons.<sup>51</sup>

Saglio, I, 1, p. 435, fig. 526.

48 Rubenius, *Electorum Libri II*, II: XII, p. 58. The term *calceus clavatus* is rather confusing, as the *calceus* was worn by civilians with the toga, as illustrated on Galle's engraving (*text ill.* 57). The *calceus equestris* is pictured on the Arch of Constantine showing Hadrian sacrificing. The Hadrianic *tondi* are illustrated in A. Giuliano, *Arco di Costantino*, Milan, [1955], figs. 9-15. Cf. Bober-Rubinstein, *Handbook*, pp. 214-216, nos. 182e-v, repr. On the *calceus equestris* see Daremberg-Saglio, I, 2, p. 850, fig. 1036; A. Rumpf, 'Römische historische Reliefs', *Bonner Jahrbücher*, CLV-CLVI, 1955-1956, p. 116; H.R. Goette, 'Mulleus-Embas-Calceus', *Jahrbuch des kaiserlich deutschen Archäologischen Instituts*, CIII, 1988, pp. 459-464, fig. 35c. Cf. Daremberg-Saglio, I, 2, p. 850, fig. 1034.

49 De Grummond, *Classical Costume*, p. 78, fig. 2; see also notes 140-141 below. The *caliga* is discussed by Mau, in *Pauly-Wissowa*, III, 1899, col. 1355. For discussion of the laced boots topped by lion's scalps see notes 147-148 below.

50 Rubenius, *Electorum Libri II*, II: XIV, pp. 59-61. This kind of footwear is discussed by Hug in *Pauly-Wissowa*, II A, col. 756. They were not 'clavatus' however.

51 Rubenius, *Electorum Libri II*, I: XXXIIX, pp. 40-42. Cf. S.P. Festus, *De verborum significatu*, edn W.M. Lindsay, Leipzig, 1913, p. 23. On the *armilla* see Daremberg-Saglio, I, 1 pp. 435-438. Philip gave as synonyms *galbeos*, *bracchiales*, *veriolas*, *dextrocheria* and *spinther*.



## Religion

Religion played an important role in daily life in Antiquity. For example, the Romans celebrated the birth of a child with a purification ceremony (*dies lustricus*) on the eighth day following the birth of a girl, on the ninth for a boy. Greek society adhered to a later date for this ritual, Philip noted.<sup>52</sup>

Before a campaign or after a victory, expiatory sacrifices were offered to Mars by the emperor. Various animals were offered at this occasion: a *sus* (pig), *ovis* (ram) and *taurus* (bull). The sacrifice was termed *suovetaurilia*. Ancient literature presented contradictory information on this sacrifice. Philip resolved the issue by pointing to the Arch of Constantine where several reliefs illustrate the *suovetaurilia*.<sup>53</sup>

A Roman priest (*flamen*) wore a special head covering, an *apex* (a word which in fact denotes the spike of olive wood crowning the cap of the *flamines*, but which came to be used as a *pars pro toto* for that *pileus sacerdotalis*). Various ancient sources described the priest's cap as cone-shaped and sewn together from undressed hides. This information seemed at odds with the pictorial evidence showing the cap to be smooth and semicircular.<sup>54</sup> Intrigued by this discrepancy, Philip gave a critical discussion of the ancient sources in a lengthy treatise. Uncertain about the exact shape and the material of the cap, he decided to show three illustrations from actual monuments.<sup>55</sup>

Among the monuments on the Forum Romanum, an architrave on top of three columns is decorated with sacrificial objects together with an elegantly shaped priestly cap. This architrave is illustrated on a double-page engraving in Philip's book (*text ill.* 59). It shows from left to right a *galerus* (helmet), richly decorated with a branch of laurel, stars and a thunderbolt, its *apex* (top) or *virgula* partially broken off; a wooden *malleus* (hammer); a *securis* (single-blade axe); above this a *patera* (libation dish) with an *umbellicus*

52 Rubenius, *Electorum Libri II*, I: V, pp. 6-7. Cf. J.P.V.D. Balsdon, *op. cit.* (note 16), pp. 90-91.

53 Rubenius, *Electorum Libri II*, I: XI, pp. 14-15. For a Trajan relief with *suovetaurilia* on the Arch of Constantine see Daremberg-Saglio, IV, 2, pp. 1563-1564; Bober-Rubinstein, *Handbook*, figs. 182e-iv.

54 Cf. S.P. Festus, *op. cit.* (note 51), p. 9. For the priestly cap see Daremberg-Saglio, II, 2, pp. 1167-1170; G. Körte, 'Die römische Priestertracht', *Abhandlungen der königl. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Phil.-Hist. Klasse*, N.F. XVI, 4, Berlin, 1917, pp. 22-35, pls. VI-VII; R. von Schaewen, *Römische Opfergeräte, ihre Verwendung im Kultus und in der Kunst (Archäologische Studien, I)*, Berlin, 1940, pp. 59-64; T. Schäfer, 'Zur Ikonographie der Salier', *Jahrbuch des kaiserlich deutschen Archäologischen Instituts*, XCV, 1980, pp. 352-356.

55 Rubenius, *Electorum Libri II*, II: XXV, pp. 71-74. Cf. G. du Choul, *Discorso della religione antica de' romani*, Lyons, 1559, p. 196: only the *albogalerus* is briefly discussed and illustrated.

shaped like a head of Medusa; an *aspergillum* (sprinkler), its missing handle indicated by two dowels; below it a *culter* or *secespita* (knife) with a knob shaped as a ram's head; diagonally below a *guttus* (pitcher), decorated with reliefs; finally a *bucranium* (ox's skull) with *vittae* (woollen bands) hung around the horns. Of a second *bucranium* on the far left only the *vittae* remain.<sup>56</sup> A large part of the top moulding with an egg and dart motif has crumbled off; the bottom edge with a floral design is also badly chipped. Peter Paul drew the relief for his brother; his drawing was used for the engraving by Cornelis Galle and is now lost.

The legend on Galle's print informs us that the relief is an illustration of an *apex* (the priest's cap, see above) on a stone on 'the Capitoline Hill,' that is, the remains of the architrave of the Temple of Vespasian rendered in mirror image (*text ill.* 58).<sup>57</sup> In a book on ancient buildings on the Roman Capitol Justus Rycquius referred his readers to Philip's book for its 'most charming reproduction' of the architrave.<sup>58</sup> Galle's plate was later reused for Anselmus Solerius' monograph on Roman headgear, together with a reprint of Philip's treatise.<sup>59</sup>

A *bucranium* on Peter Paul's design for the Emblem of the Plantin Press (Antwerp, Museum Plantin-Moretus) is similar to the one on the archi-

56 I. Rycquius, *De capitolio romano commentarius*, Ghent, 1617, p. 142, described the relief as '...in quarum Zophoro Albogalerus, siue, Apex Flaminis Dialis, secespita, malleus, securis, aquiminarium, siue, cantharus, capedunculus, aliaque Sacrorum instrumenta adhuc spectantur, summâ elegantiâ & exquisitissimo artificio expressa'. The *malleus* just mentioned consists of a cylindrical head through which a long handle is placed. Galle's engraving suggests the round part to be concave. As a consequence *Judson-Van de Velde* (see note 57) took it for a spoon, but its function as such in a sacrifice is not clear. Cf. P.M. Felini, *Trattato nuovo delle cose maravigliose dell' Alma Città di Roma*, Rome, 1610, p. 408 (repr. p. 410), discusses sacrificial utensils. The *malleus* (hammer) is pictured together with a *securis* (axe) in a similar position. See *Daremberg-Saglio*, II, 3, p. 1562, fig. 4803.

57 The engraving is titled *ICONISMVS APICIS IN LAPIDE/ CLIVI CAPITOLINI*; inscribed top right *Pag.74.*, bottom centre left *Corn. Galle sculp.* (cf. *Judson-Van de Velde*, pp. 84-85, no. 5, fig. 46). The model for the engraving is part of the frieze that is still *in situ* on the Temple of Vespasian, but it is pictured in reverse (cf. E. Nash, *Bildlexikon zur Topographie des antiken Roms*, Tübingen, 1962, II, p. 501, repr.). *Judson-Van de Velde* incorrectly identified it as a segment of the architrave kept in the Museum (R. Lanciani, *Das Forum Romanum*, Rome, 1910, p. 37, fig. XIII). On this part of the frieze the sacrificial instruments and their sequence are not the same as on the print.

58 I. Rycquius, op. cit. (note 56), p. 142: 'Cuius Zophori imaginem effectissimè elaboratam, quia amicus noster Philippus Rubenius in Electis suis nuper publicauit, eò Lectorem meum volans remittam, vt defatigatos nugarum nostrarum lectione oculos amoenissimâ picturâ reficiat'. Cf. also J. Oiselius, *Thesaurus numismatum antiquorum*, Amsterdam, 1677, p. 541, referring to the illustration in Philip's book in a discussion of a coin with sacrificial instruments.

59 A. Solerius, *De pileo*, Amsterdam, 1671, facing p. 252; only the *albogalerus* is reproduced. In his Foreword to the book A. Frisius remarked 'quòd illud illustrando libello quàm maximè inserviret'.

trave.<sup>60</sup> The *guttus* (pitcher) lying on its side on Rubens's sketch *The Victory of the Eucharist over Pagan Sacrifice* (Madrid, Prado) may have been inspired by the one on the relief with its fluted edge and undulating handles.<sup>61</sup>

Two other examples of priestly caps are rendered on p. 73 in a second engraving (*text ill. 61*). On the right side of the print we see a bearded head of a priest in side view wearing an *albogalerus* with an *apex* (spike) of olive wood fastened by a chin band. The head of the *flamen dialis* (priest of Jupiter Maximus) is derived from a relief of *Marcus Aurelius Sacrificing to Jupiter Maximus* in the stairwell of the Palazzo dei Conservatori in Rome (*text ill. 56*).<sup>62</sup>

Galle's print contains only the head of the priest, in mirror image to the original. It is very likely that the artist had copied the entire relief, because the *Sacrifice of Iphigenia* which decorated the façade of Rubens's house is strongly reminiscent of the marble relief in the figures of the priest, the *camillus* (attendant) holding the *acerra* (box with incense), the *tibicen* (flute player) and white oxen.<sup>63</sup> Rubens's *Interpretation of the Victim* (Vaduz, Liechtenstein Collection), one of the paintings in the *Decius Mus* series, again brings this relief with Marcus Aurelius to mind, although the sequence of the figures has been changed. The pose of the priest, his head veiled like that of the emperor resembles Marcus Aurelius; to his side are the *tibicen* and *camillus*.<sup>64</sup>

On the left side of the print is a head-dress in frontal view decorated with a tendril and two curls (*text ill. 61*). The cap is singled out from a relief with sacrificial instruments (*text ill. 60*) located below portraits of Septimius Severus and Julia Domna on the Arch of the Moneyhandlers in Rome.<sup>65</sup> Only

60 Held, *Drawings*, 1986, pp. 142-143, no. 186, pl. 181.

61 Held, *Oil Sketches*, pp. 150-151, no. 98, pl. 101.

62 Stuart Jones, *Palazzo dei Conservatori*, pp. 22-25, Scala II, no. 4, pl. 12, fig. 1; Helbig, *Führer*, 1963-72, II, pp. 260-261, no. 1444C. See also Chapter I, note 14. Well preserved, the reliefs were often drawn by artists (cf. Bober-Rubinstein, *Handbook*, pp. 223-224, no. 191, repr.). For Galle's engraving see Judson-Van de Velde, p. 83, no. 4, fig. 44; it was reprinted in A. Solerius, *De pileo*, Amsterdam, 1671, facing p. 251. See also note 65.

63 McGrath, *Painted Decoration*, pp. 256-259, figs. 28b and 32a.

64 K.d.K., p. 143; R. Baumstark, *Peter Paul Rubens. The Decius Mus Cycle*, New York, 1985, p. 6. For the sketch see Held, *Oil Sketches*, pp. 26-27, no. 2, pl. 2.

65 J.J. Boissard, *Pars Romanae Urbis Topographia et Antiquitatum*, I, Frankfurt, 1597, p. 95, cap. LIV, referred to the arch as *Arcus boarius*, on which 'autem visuntur... instrumenta... ad sacrificia ipsa peragenda...'. For the Arch of the Moneyhandlers see D.E.L. Haynes and P.E.D. Hirst, *Porta Argentariorum*, London, 1939, pp. 35-36; L. Franchi, 'Ricerche sull'arte di età severiana in Roma', *Studi Miscellanei*, IV, 1964, pp. 8-9. The relief attracted quite a few draughtsmen; cf. D.E.L. Haynes and P.E.D. Hirst, op. cit., pp. 2-3; Bober-Rubinstein, *Handbook*, pp. 213-214, no. 180a, repr. For Galle's engraving see Judson-Van de Velde, p. 83, no. 4, fig. 44; it was reprinted

the detail with the *albogalerus* and its *apex* was selected for engraving, yet again, it seems likely that Rubens copied the relief in its entirety, since several of the religious objects are used in his designs. A similar *patera* (libation dish) and *guttus* (pitcher) are found on his design for the title-page of J. Bidermanus, *Heroum Epistolae*, 1634 (Antwerp, Museum Plantin-Moretus). In an annotation below the sketch, Rubens referred to the dish and pitcher as symbolic allusions to the contents of Bidermannus' book: 'The *ara*, *patera* and *simpulum* represent piety and religion'.<sup>66</sup>

Rubens incorrectly labelled the pitcher, or *guttus*, a *simpulum*. The *simpulum*, however, was a long-stemmed ladle with a looped handle used for libations. Rubens's error is noteworthy, because in his *Electorum Libri II* Philip had discussed the *simpulum*, which he correctly concluded to be exactly the same as a *simpvium*.<sup>67</sup>

### *Social Provisions*

In a lengthy discourse Philip traced the history of the Roman social provisions, the *alimenta*, subsistence payments to poor or orphaned children.<sup>68</sup> Initiated possibly by Nerva, these were fully established by Trajan (98-117 A.D.) and continued by his successors. Philip pointed to the sexual discrimination, as presumably only boys received food and education.<sup>69</sup> Antoninus Pius, however, endowed free education to orphaned girls in honour of his deceased wife Faustina (died 141 A.D.). They became known as the *puellae Faustinianae*. His initiative was followed by Marcus Aurelius, celebrating the marriage of his daughter, and Septimius Severus who founded the *Mammaeani puellae* in memory of his aunt. Philip culled his information from

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in A. Solerius, op. cit. (note 62), facing p. 251 (the *albogalerus* is placed below the head of a priest). See also note 62.

66 Judson-Van de Velde, pp. 282-283, no. 67a, fig. 226: 'Ara, Patera et Simpulum Pietatem Religionem et Sacra indicant'; [Cat. Exh.] *Rubens and the Book*, Chapin Library, Williamstown, Mass., p. 66, under no. 8, fig. 47.

67 Rubenius, *Electorum Libri II*, II: VIII, pp. 52-53. Cf. S.P. Festus, op. cit. (note 51), p. 455. For the *simpulum* see Daremberg-Saglio, IV, 2, pp. 1345-1346; R. von Schaewen, op. cit. (note 54), pp. 35-36, also noted the confusing terms.

68 Rubenius, *Electorum Libri II*, II: XXXVI, pp. 86-89.

69 At the age of three, poor and orphaned children received an allowance: boys were supported until they became eighteen, but girls until the age of fourteen. On the *alimenta* see: Daremberg-Saglio, I, 1, pp. 182-184; Kubitschek, in *Pauly-Wissowa*, I, 1894, cols. 1484-1489; R. Duncan-Jones, 'The Purpose and Organisation of the *Alimenta*', *Papers of the British School in Rome*, XXXII, 1964, pp. 123-147; J.P.V.D. Balsdon, op. cit. (note 16), p. 89.

literary and from epigraphic and numismatic sources,<sup>70</sup> and illustrated it with a coin of the *puellae Faustinianae* (text ill. 64). This *aureus*, issued by Antoninus Pius to commemorate the event, bears the effigy of Faustina on the obverse and the *puellae* received by the emperor on the reverse (text ill. 63).<sup>71</sup>

Philip published the coin to correct information given by Adolphus Occo,<sup>72</sup> and added that the original belonged to the coin cabinet of Nicolaas Rockox, Antwerp's burgomaster who had just acquired a large number of gold coins found in Mespelaere in 1607.<sup>73</sup> It is evident from his correspondence with Peiresc that the Faustina coin was among his new treasures.<sup>74</sup> In his letter of 6 May 1609, Peiresc referred to the exquisite, rare piece, as well as to 'an impression engraved on copper', which Rockox had commissioned.<sup>75</sup> When Peiresc's brother, Palamède de Valavez, toured the Low Countries later that year, he paid a visit to Rockox's coin cabinet for the sole purpose of seeing the coin.<sup>76</sup> Peiresc apparently requested a cast of the piece, and when he received it, the object was forwarded to Lelio Pasqualino in Rome.<sup>77</sup>

The engraving in Philip's *Electorum Libri II* (p. 87) pictures both sides of the coin; it was undoubtedly engraved by Cornelis Galle I, who received

70 Few literary sources were extant on the *alimenta*. With the discovery of the Table of Veleia (in the 18th century) and the Table of Ligures Baebiani (in 1831) considerable information has come to light. See P.P. Veyne, 'La Table des Ligures Baebiani et l'institution alimentaire de Trajan', *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire, école française de Rome*, LXIX, 1957 pp. 81-135 and *ibid.*, LXX, 1958, pp. 177-241; R. Duncan-Jones, *op. cit.*, pp. 124-126.

71 Rubenius, *Electorum Libri II*, p. 87: 'Et de his vetus exstat nummus, quem videre fuit in Musaeo viri nobilis & tertium Antuerpiae iam Consulis Nicolai Rokoxi; tum etiam omnibus hoc loci videndum dare'. Cf. H. Mattingly and E.A. Sydenham, *The Roman Imperial Coinage*, London, 1930, III, p. 75, no. 398b; *Mattingly, Coins*, IV, p. 48, no. 324, pl. 8.3: *aureus* with obverse DIVA AVG / FAVSTINA, reverse PVELLAE / FAVSTI / NIANAE; cf. *Richter, Gems of the Romans*, fig. 553a (minted in 141 A.D.; the legends on the coins vary).

72 A. Occo, *Imp. romanorum numismata, a Pompeio Magno ad Heraclium; quibus insuper additae sunt inscriptiones quaedam veteres, arcus triumphales, et alia*, Antwerp, 1579; silver coins of Faustina are discussed on pp. 184-185 and 200-201. No *aureus* with the legend mentioned above is among them.

73 Scheller, *Rockox*, pp. 40-41.

74 M. Rooses, 'Les amis de Rubens, I, Nicolaas Rockox, II', *Rubens-Bulletijn*, II, 1885, p. 97.

75 *Ibid.*, p. 95.

76 *Ibid.*, p. 100. Peiresc himself had visited Rockox in Antwerp in 1606, but the *aureus* was apparently not yet in Rockox's possession at that time. Thus Peiresc asked his brother to go and take a look at the new acquisition.

77 Cf. The Hague, Museum Meermanno Westreenianum, MS 10 C 30, fol. 367: '[no.] 14, aur. M. Roccox PVELLAE FAUSTINIANAE.' (on a list of casts of coins and gems sent to Pasqualino in Rome by Peiresc. In my opinion this happened no sooner than 1609.

payment for his work in 1608.<sup>78</sup> In the light of the events it seems unlikely that Rubens, who was still in Rome when the engravings for Philip's book were made, supplied the drawing. Julius Held, however, pointed out that Galle's print has definite Rubensian traits, which made him wonder whether Rubens could not have made the preparatory drawing.<sup>79</sup> Galle's print is hardly an accurate reproduction of the coin. On the *aureus* Faustina's hair is braided with the plait fastened on the crown of her head, five tresses of hair are folded over the plait in regular intervals, while the print only shows three tresses of hair. The diadem of the empress is also omitted on the engraving, and on the coin the drapery around the neck is quite different from the drapery rendered by Galle. His representation of the reverse of the coin is very schematic and shows little detail.<sup>80</sup> In this respect, a later engraving by Jacob de Bie for the 1615 publication of Rockox's coins is much closer to the original.<sup>81</sup>

If Peter Paul made the preparatory drawing in Rome, he could only have worked from a cast, since the original was not at his disposal. Details may not have been clearly visible on the cast, which may account for the discrepancies between original and engraving.

Philip's book was well received in archaeological circles, and its success owed much to the excellent illustrations.<sup>82</sup> Galle's engravings are of remarkable quality and picture the antique monuments in a reliable, clear and, above all, artistic way.

It has never been disputed that the preparatory drawings for the first five engravings were by Rubens. Rooses was the first to refute Rubens's authorship of the sixth print, picturing the gold coin from the collection of Nicolaas Rockox.<sup>83</sup>

Philip's *Electorum Libri II* became popular and was frequently referred to; but Peter Paul's name is never mentioned, and he was apparently not associated with the book. In his catalogue of prints made after drawings by

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78 See note 9.

79 Oral communication. Cf. Held, *Drawings*, 1986, p. 43, n. 9.

80 H. Mattingly and E.A. Sydenham, *The Roman Imperial Coinage*, London, 1930, III, p. 75, nos. 398a and b.

81 Scheller, *Rockox*, fig. 19.

82 I. Rycquius, op. cit. (note 56), p. 142, quoted above; O. Ferrarius, *De re vestiaria libri VII*, Padua, 1654, p. 18: 'Doctissimi Rubenij Electa multum quaesita...'; G.J. Vossius, *Epistolae*, London, 1690, I, p. 252, CCXLIII: reference is made to Philip's book in his letter to C. Salmasius of 4 December 1634.

83 Rooses, V, p. 116, no. 6.

Rubens (1751), Hecquet is the first to point to the illustrations, but he confused Philip's book with that of Albert Rubens, Peter Paul's son.<sup>84</sup> Basan corrected this error and listed all six prints separately, remarking 'although Peter Paul's name does not occur on the engravings, it is clear that they are made after his drawings'.<sup>85</sup> None of these preliminary sketches survive. Julius Held noted that 'they would probably be... not much different from the various chalk drawings after classical sculptures that are still extant...'.<sup>86</sup> It is indeed likely that they were executed in black chalk, or in pen and ink.

The illustrations are closely related to Philip's text and they picture details discussed by Philip, which suggests that the artist catered to his brother's requests and provided him with specific drawings. They must have dated from before Philip's return to Antwerp in May 1607.<sup>87</sup>

## II. RUBENS AS AN ANTIQUARIAN ARTIST

On page 121 of his *Electorum Libri II*, Philip Rubens briefly alluded to the assistance of his brother when he wrote that Peter Paul provided him with the illustrations, as well as with his 'keen and unerring judgement' on antiquarian matters. The extent of their collaboration is not exactly clear, but de Grummond assumed that the chapters on clothing very much reflect Peter Paul's interests.<sup>88</sup> A cursory reading of the book shows that Philip was widely read and was very interested in ancient monuments (see pp. 97-112). He discussed his topics from a philologist's point of view and demonstrated his critical reading of ancient sources. On the other hand, because of his antiquarian interests, Peter Paul proved a worthy partner for his brother. During the fifteen months or so they spent together in Rome, they cooperated closely and benefited from a mutual exchange of ideas.<sup>89</sup> The two

84 Hecquet, *Rubens*, p. 90, no. 5: the *Electorum Libri II* are confused with Albert Rubens's *De Re Vestiarum Veterum*.

85 Basan, pp. 164-166, no. \*7: '& y inséra six Estampes qui ont été gravées sur les Dessesins que fit le Peintre, son frère, pendant son séjour à Rome...'

86 J.S. Held, 'Rubens and the "Vita Beati P. Ignatii Loiolae" of 1609', in *Rubens before 1620*, ed. J.R. Martin, Princeton, N.J., 1972, p. 98.

87 Judson-Van de Velde, p. 80; Held, *Drawings*, 1986, p. 50, dated the drawings to Peter Paul's first Roman period.

88 De Grummond, *Classical Costume*, p. 81.

89 Cf. C. Scioppius, *Oporini Grubini Medici ac Philosophi Mantissa Amphotidum Scioppianarum*, Ingolstadt, 1611, p. 4, describes a trip to Frascati in 1606 made by a group of erudite gentlemen eager to study Roman antiquities. The Rubens brothers were among them. (See n. 10 under No. 132). Rubens claimed to have studied art all that summer; cf. Rubens to A. Chieppio,

brothers obviously toured the city in each other's company with a shared purpose: to learn about Antiquity in all its aspects by studying its visual remains. As a philologist, Philip approached antique monuments from a theoretical point of view, while Peter Paul viewed the works of art with the practised eye of an artist.

In Peter Paul's *Roman Itinerary*, the verso of the page with sarcophagi descriptions reveals the artist as a serious student. The page contains random notes the artist jotted down while he was engaged in a conversation with an expert on antiquarian matters (see Appendix I. 3).<sup>90</sup> This person might have been a collector whose antique *objets d'art* were being discussed. A variety of subjects are reviewed, all dealing with Roman life: clothing, nuptial rituals, public entertainment and household objects. In two instances the artist doubted the information. Although some topics on this page of the *Itinerary* correspond to subjects discussed in Philip's *Electorum Libri II*, others concern different issues. I will review these notes here with reference to Rubens's drawings after ancient statues, and will treat the notes according to subject, rather than following the original sequence.

A number of entries relate to Roman nuptial rituals. On the day of her marriage, the bride wore a white toga and a red bridal veil, the *flammeum*. This *flammeum*, Rubens noted, was much larger than the ordinary *velum* and hid a large part of the face.<sup>91</sup> The bride's hair was made up into *sex crines* (six tresses) by parting it down the middle and braiding three tresses on each side, as Rubens wrote.<sup>92</sup> Ribbons were wound around them. This coif-

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2December 1606: 'haver impiegato tutta l'estate ne i studij dell'arte' (*Rooses-Ruelens I*, p. 354; cf. *Magurn, Letters*, no. 14 p. 39).

90 Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS Fr. 9530, fol. 200r.

91 A. Roszbach, *Römische Hochzeits- und Ehedenkmäler*, Leipzig, 1871 (reprint 1973), p. 16, assumed that the *flammeum* was rather small and part of the *pallium* (mantle) which was drawn over the head, and not a special head scarf. Thus Roszbach concluded (p. 96) that the bride, pictured on wedding sarcophagi with a large low-falling veil, was not wearing the *flammeum*. *Wilson, Clothing Ancient Romans*, pp. 141-142, figs. 93-94, argued that ancient sources suggested that the *flammeum* was of large dimensions. See also D. Balsdon, *Die Frau in der römischen Antike*, Munich, [1979], p. 203. Cf. S.P. Festus, op. cit. (note 51), p. 79: 'The bride is wrapped in [the *flammeum*] on account of the good omen, because it is always worn by the wife of a flamen, to whom it is not allowed to get a divorce' (quoted from Wilson, loc. cit.). The colour and the usage of the veil are mentioned by M.A. Lucan, *Bellum Civile*, II, line 361 (trans. J.D. Duff, Cambridge, Mass.-London, 1957, pp. 82-83). An entry by Cassiano dal Pozzo (1588-1657) in his *Diarium* (c.1639; cf. F. Matz, 'Das neapler Diarium des Cassiano Dal Pozzo', *Berichte über die Verhandlungen der königlich Sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig, Phil.-Hist. Klasse*, 1885, p. 101, no. 11) mentions a bride wearing a *flammeum* on a marriage sarcophagus then in the *cortile* of the Villa Giulia (now Vatican Museum, *cortile del Belvedere; Amelung, Skulpturen*, II, 2, pp. 290-294, no. 102n, pl. 27; see note 99).

92 Claudian, *Epithalamium*, lines 284-285 (trans. M. Platnauer, Cambridge, Mass.-London, 1956, I, pp. 262-263). On the *sex crines* see *Wilson, Clothing Ancient Romans*, p. 140, figs. 92a and b;



ture, a sign of purity, was similar to that of Vestal virgins.<sup>93</sup> Rubens's painting of *Mars and Rhea Silvia* (Vaduz, Liechtenstein Collection; *text ill.* 67) pictures the priestess with braided hair and the *vittae* (ribbons) hanging down on her breasts while she guards the eternal flame and the altar with the Palladium.<sup>94</sup> The hairstyle was not visible once the bride was dressed up with the *flammeum* draped over her head. A cameo in Boston with the *Marriage of Cupid and Psyche*, formerly in Rubens's glyptic collection, shows a bride in toga with veil, although it covers not only the head of the bride but also of the groom (*text ill.* 66).<sup>95</sup>

An entry at the bottom of this page of the *Itinerary* refers to 'a wreath, consisting of a single band to which roses are fastened' and is possibly related to the wedding attire, as brides wore floral wreaths.<sup>96</sup> A relief in Naples, unique in its representation, pictures an attendant placing such a wreath on the bride's head.<sup>97</sup>

In describing the wedding ceremony, Rubens noted that 'the bride is led and supported under the arms by two good old women, whose first and only elderly husbands are still alive', a good omen. This probably refers to the *domum deductio*, the leading away of the bride to the house of the groom, where she is undressed by *univirae*, women united in their first marriage.<sup>98</sup>

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*Daremberg-Saglio*, III, 2, p. 1655.

93 For the vestal virgins see *Daremberg-Saglio*, III, 1, p. 515; *Bieber*, *Ancient Copies*, p. 122, figs. 548-550; p. 169, figs. 753-755.

94 *Evers*, *Neue Forschungen*, pp. 255-257, fig. 271: the painting was formerly known as *Ajax and Cassandra*.

95 In the entry to his cameo, *The Marriage of Cupid and Psyche*, Rubens pointed to the use of the *flammeum* (Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS Fr. 9530, fol. 248v, no. 35; see Appendix V.1). Peiresc also mentioned the veil in his description of Rubens's cameo (*ibid.*, MS Fr. 9530, fol. 194r; see Appendix V.4; cf. *Van der Meulen*, *Antiquarius*, pp. 31, 107-108, no. G.7, fig. XIV.A).

96 S.P. Festus, *op. cit.* (note 51), p. 56, calls the wreath a *corolla*. For the bridal wreath see A. Rossbach, *op. cit.* (note 91), pp. 16 and 156; K. Baus, *Der Kranz in Antike und Christentum*, Dissertation, Bonn, 1940, pp. 93-95, n. 10.

97 A. Rossbach, *op. cit.* (note 91), pp. 16 and 156; *Daremberg-Saglio*, III, 2, p. 1655, fig. 4871; *Wilson*, *Clothing Ancient Romans*, pp. 143-144, fig. 95; N. Himmelmann-Wildschütz, 'Sarkophag eines gallienischen Konsuls', *Festschrift für F. Matz*, Mainz, 1962, pp. 114-115, fig. 32. The early history of the relief is not known: it may have already belonged to the Farnese collection in the early 17th century. Drawings occur in the Dal Pozzo album at Windsor, X, fol. 34, made between 1590-1615 (*Vermeule*, *Dal Pozzo-Albani*, 1966, p. 63, no. 8027) and V, fol. 32 (*ibid.*, p. 34, no. 8515). See further V.M. Strocka, 'Zum Neapler Konsulsarkophag', *Jahrbuch des deutschen Instituts*, LXXXIII, 1968, pp. 225-230; A. Geyer, 'Ikonographische Bemerkungen zum Neapler Brüdersarkophag', *ibid.*, XCIII, 1978, p. 381, fig. 5 (detail with head of bride in frontal view).

98 On the *domum deductio* see *Digesta; libri Pandectarum*, XXIII: 2, 5 (*The Digest of Justinian*, edn T. Mommsen, trans. A. Watson, Philadelphia, Pa., [1985], II, pp. 657-658). Rubens's entry matches Servius' commentary on Virgil, *Aeneid*, IV, 166: 'Varro pronubam dicit quae ante nupsit et quae uni tantum nupta est; ideoque auspices deliguntur ad nuptias' (*Servianorum*

However, on sarcophagi the ceremony is usually pictured with the bridal couple clasping each other's right hand, the *iunctio dextrarum*.<sup>99</sup> The *pronuba*, symbolizing the marital unity, stands behind the couple embracing them.<sup>100</sup> She often wears a diadem of Juno, goddess of Marriage, on her head. Rubens closely observed such representations, and his composition of *The Marriages of Constantine and Fausta and of Constantia and Licinius* strongly adheres to the traditional Roman nuptial imagery (*text ill.* 68): the newly married couples look on as a white bull is brought in for the nuptial sacrifice.<sup>101</sup> However, Rubens's brides do not wear the low-falling *flammeum*, but instead a diadem with attached veil, reminiscent of Juno.

Elsewhere on the page, different types of beds are mentioned. Commenting on the bridal bed, *lectus genialis*, Rubens remarked that there was no *mensa* (table) standing next to it.<sup>102</sup> On the cameo in Boston a Cupid is preparing the bridal bed (*text ill.* 66). Described in a later entry are the 'bronzes on the side of the *sponda* (bed), decorated with donkey and panther heads', which were probably finials decorating the head and footboard (*fulcra*) of beds with elaborate decorations.<sup>103</sup> Rubens thought these figures to be part of the overall ornamentation of the bed, rather than pins (*fibulae*)

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in Vergilii Carmina Commentariorum, edn Harvard-Oxford, 1965, III, p. 307). Cf. Weinstock, in *Pauly-Wissowa*, XXIII, 1957, col. 750; D. Balsdon, *op. cit.* (note 91), p. 205. I owe this reference to J.J. Feye.

99 Cf. Claudian, XXXI *Epistula ad Serenam*, 54 (edn M. Platnauer, as in note 92, II, p. 260). Some sarcophagi picture the wedding ceremony as the central theme with an allegorical-symbolic meaning. A *paranympha* (attendant) often accompanies the bride, while a *paranymphus* stands next to the groom. E.g., Rome, San Lorenzo fuori le mura (Bober-Rubinstein, *Handbook*, pp. 229-230, no. 196, repr.) and Vatican Museum, *cortile del Belvedere* (see note 91). The *sacrificium nuptiale* is the main scene on a sarcophagus in Rome, Vatican Museum, *Sala delle Muse* (Lippold, *Skulpturen*, III, 1, pp. 79-82, no. 522, pl. 30; Helbig, *Führer*, 1963-72, I, pp. 56-57, no. 72). Other sarcophagi show the *iunctio dextrarum* and the *sacrificium nuptiale* as one of three biographical scenes. Cf. N. Boymel-Kampen, 'Biographical Narration and Roman Funerary Art', *American Journal of Archaeology*, LXXXV, 1981, pp. 47-58: sarcophagus in Los Angeles County Museum (from Rome, St Peter; *ibid.*, pl. 7, fig. 1); Florence, Uffizi (from Rome, della Valle Collection; *ibid.*, pl. 8, fig. 8); Mantua, Palazzo Ducale (*ibid.*, pl. 9, fig. 12) and Paris, Louvre (from Frascati; *ibid.*, pl. 9, fig. 10).

100 On the *pronuba* see S. Weinstock, 'Pronuba', in *Pauly-Wissowa*, XXIII, 1957, cols. 750-755; C. Reinsberg, in [Cat. Exh.] *Spätantike und Frühes Christentum*, (Liebighaus Museum alter Plastik, Frankfurt, 1983), pp. 312-317, n. 4: the *pronuba* is later identical to *Concordia*. (J.J. Feye kindly brought this catalogue to my attention).

101 D. Dubon, *The History of Constantine the Great... Tapestries from the Samuel H. Kress Collection at the Philadelphia Museum of Art*, [London], 1964, p. 108, no. 1, fig. II; Held, *Oil Sketches*, pp. 70-72, no. 39, pl. 40. Juno is seated in a niche in the background.

102 The *lectus genialis* stood in the atrium on the wedding day and was prepared by the *pronuba*; cf. *Daremberg-Saglio*, III, 2, p. 1656, n. 22; A. Rossbach, *op. cit.* (note 91), p. 43.

103 G. Rodenwaldt, in *Pauly-Wissowa*, XI, 1922, col. 861; G.M.A. Richter, *The Furniture of the Greeks, Etruscans and Romans*, London, [1966], p. 107.

meant to hold the mattress in place, as suggested by his spokesman. The mattress cover (*stragulae*) bore woven designs, Rubens noted.<sup>104</sup>

Rubens also referred to a '*sponda* with three sides more or less raised'. The plain three-sided couch is an adaptation of the Hellenistic *klinè* and appears on Roman sarcophagi with banquet scenes.<sup>105</sup> Peter Paul's observation that children were supposed to stand between the feet of their parents at the end of the couch, is illustrated on sarcophagi and funerary altars, where the deceased, as if still alive, recline on a couch at a banquet with children at the foot of the bed.<sup>106</sup> The food is being served on a round, three-legged table, the *delphica*, placed at the side of the bed.<sup>107</sup> Philip had investigated the use of this table of Greek origin in his *Electorum Libri II*.<sup>108</sup>

Roman sepulchral banquet scenes influenced Rubens's design for the *Death of Constantine* (text ill. 69), where the emperor is propped up on a couch with a three-legged table next to him, his three sons standing at his feet.<sup>109</sup> A veiled woman on the right is derived from the *conclamatio* (calling of the name) or *prothesis* (lying in state) scenes on sarcophagi, where veiled mourning women (head resting on the right hand) flank the deceased, who lies on a *klinè*.<sup>110</sup> The peaceful, intimate gathering pictured on the *Death of Constantine* contrasts sharply with the crowded composition of the *Burial of Decius Mus*, which is full of action. The dead commander is lying in state on a

104 For the *stragulae* see *Daremberg-Saglio*, III, 2, p. 1021; F. Cumont, *Recherches sur le symbolisme funéraire des Romains*, Paris, 1942, pp. 414-420, p. 416, n. 4, pl. XLIII, 1.

105 G.M.A. Richter, op. cit. (note 103), p. 109, figs. 551-552, 556, 584.

106 Suetonius, *The Lives of the Caesars*, V, *Claudius*, 32 (trans. J.C. Rolfe, Cambridge, Mass.-London, 1952, II, pp. 62-63). For the *klinè* see *Daremberg-Saglio*, I, 2, p. 1273, fig. 1693; III, 2, p. 1022; W. Altmann, *Die römischen Grabaltäre der Kaiserzeit*, Berlin, 1905, pp. 188-190; F. Cumont, op. cit. (note 104), p. 417; H. Wrede, 'Klinenprobleme', *Archäologischer Anzeiger*, 1981, pp. 112-113, n. 69.

107 *Daremberg-Saglio*, III, 2, p. 1723, fig. 4908; G.M.A. Richter, op. cit. (note 103), pp. 111-112. It was used to display dishes and silverware. The *mensa* had an oblong top resting on four legs (*Daremberg-Saglio*, III, 2, p. 1720).

108 *Rubenus*, *Electorum Libri II*, I: XXXIV, pp. 36-37.

109 D. Dubon, op. cit. (note 101), pp. 26-27, fig. 10 (Roman relief), and p. 116, fig. 17 (tapestry); *Held*, *Oil Sketches*, pp. 83-84, no. 50, pl. 51.

110 J.M.C. Toynbee, *Death and Burial in the Roman World (Aspects of Greek and Roman Life*, ed. by H.H. Scullard), Ithaca, N.Y., [1971], pp. 43-45, n. 119, fig. 10. The *conclamatio* is rarely rendered on sarcophagi (e.g. *Daremberg-Saglio*, II, 2, p. 1387, fig. 3357; H.R. Goette, 'Beobachtung zu römischen Kinderporträts', *Archäologischer Anzeiger*, III, 1989, pp. 470-471, fig. 25). The *prothesis* is more often pictured: e.g. sarcophagus Rome, Museo Torlonia (N. Boymel-Kampen, op. cit. (note 99), p. 53, pl. 8, fig. 7); Paris, Louvre (from Rome, della Valle Collection; *ibid.*, p. 54, pl. 10, fig. 15); London, British Museum (K. Schauenburg, 'Die Lupa Romana als sepulkrales Motiv', *Jahrbuch des kaiserlich deutschen Archäologischen Instituts*, LXXXI, 1966, p. 285, fig. 29); fragment, Copenhagen, Nationalmuseum (*ibid.*, p. 285, fig. 30).

scrolled *lectus* (bier) while servants bring in vessels for a libation and a Roman soldier drags shackled prisoners along.<sup>111</sup>

Another subject that Rubens considered was the attire of a gladiator, a professional fighter. The upper part of the body plus the left arm was not covered, but protected by a shield held in the left hand. The right hand held a curved scythe-like sword, while the legs were covered by *ocreae* (greaves). These *ocreae* concealed the front of the leg from the knee down, and were fastened with laces at the knee, as Rubens's detailed account reveals (see Appendix I. 3). From this description we can identify the fighter as a *thraex* (Thracian), whose weapons included a *sica* (curved sword), *parma* (shield) and two greaves. Rubens does not discuss his crested helm (*galea*).<sup>112</sup>

The remaining entries pertain to clothing. First, the use of the Roman *pallium* is investigated. The *pallium*, a rectangular piece of fabric, could be draped over the left shoulder and passed under the right arm, thus 'leaving the right shoulder and the entire arm bare, as Diogenes and Socrates wore it', Rubens noted (see Appendix I. 3). The short *pallium* was indeed worn without an undergarment.<sup>113</sup> The artist apparently had two specific examples in mind as he referred to Diogenes and Socrates by name. In my opinion, the first allusion may refer to a seated figure on a bronze contorniate (a medal issued in the late Empire). It is inscribed 'Diogenes', and formerly belonged to Fulvio Orsini. Rubens knew the contorniate, if not the original, at least from a copy of a drawing by Theodoor Galle which he owned (No. 218; cf. Fig. 453). The reference to Socrates could allude to the central figure on a side relief of a Muse sarcophagus, drawn by the artist in the Mattei sculpture garden (No. 138; Fig. 269). As the annotation indicates, Rubens believed the elderly man to represent the Greek philosopher. On Roman sarcophagi of the third century A.D. philosophers are usually clad in the *pallium*, leaving the right arm free.<sup>114</sup> Socrates' mantle is indeed arranged in the fashion described.

Orators on the other hand, wrapped the *pallium* tightly around both

111 Held, *Oil Sketches*, pp. 29-30, no. 4, pl. 5 (Decius Mus) and pp. 83-84, no. 50, pl. 51 (Constantine).

112 For the attire of the gladiator see *Daremberg-Saglio*, II, 2, p. 1586, figs. 3583-3585; J.P.V.D. Balsdon, *op. cit.* (note 16), pp. 288-299.

113 Wilson, *Clothing Ancient Romans*, pp. 78-83, figs. 51a and b.

114 Cf. Bieber, *Ancient Copies*, pp. 136, 246; Wilson, *Clothing Ancient Romans*, pp. 78-80, fig. 50; F. Gerke, *Christliche Sarkophage der vorconstantinischen Zeit*, Berlin, 1904 (reprint 1978), pp. 227, n. 4, 272, n. 4, pl. 49: on sarcophagi of the third century A.D., Christ and philosophers are frequently represented wearing the *pallium duplex*, a heavy mantle worn by cynic philosophers leaving the right arm uncovered (R. Kreis-von Schaeuwen, in *Pauly-Wissowa*, XXXVI, 2, 1949, cols. 252-253). See No. 218.

shoulders, although, as Quintilian remarked, this arrangement confined their movements.<sup>115</sup> Towards the end of the republic and in the early years of the empire, the toga was draped in a similar fashion, resembling the *pallium*.<sup>116</sup> Rubens probably described this kind of 'Manteltoga', when he wrote 'the other *pallium* which envelops both arms is rather the *toga stricta*' (see Appendix I. 3). The term *toga stricta* does not exist as such, but merely implies a toga drawn closely around the body like a mantle.

The *pallium* was derived from the Greek *himation*, a mantle of rectangular shape.<sup>117</sup> The Greeks often wore it over an undergarment, the *chiton*, leaving the right arm free.<sup>118</sup> Rubens's drawing in Berlin (No. 50; Fig. 93) is copied after a recently recovered Greek marble. It pictures a philosopher, known as Homer since the seventeenth century, clad in a short *chiton* under a *himation*. The mantle is arranged in a similar way on a sculpture of an actor (*histrion*) of the New Comedy, known from a copy after Rubens in the collection of the Earl of Plymouth (No. 52; cf. Fig. 96). The young boy is dressed in a tight, long-sleeved undergarment reaching to the knee, and the short mantle is pulled tightly around his chest. The *larva* (mask) with stiff tresses and a floral wreath identifies him as a slave. Rubens repeated the *larva* in an enlarged detail drawing.

Greek women wore garments similar to those of men, but the female *chiton* was often floor length, and made of thin, supple linen. It was worn with or without a belt.<sup>119</sup> Earlier, we discussed the selection for Philip's book of the statues of *Flora* and *Roma*, both dressed in a *chiton*, but the artist drew several more. A rather wide *chiton* with buttoned-up sleeves dresses a *Venus* (No. 99; Fig. 175). A very sheer *chiton* with many pleats, belted high under the breasts clothes a *Hermaphrodite Anasyrma*, as seen on a copy in Copenhagen (No. 64; Fig. 123). A chubby little infant, who holds up a similar frock gathered at the neck, is standing in the same pose as the *Hermaphrodite*, and he is also known only from a Copenhagen copy (No. 53; Fig. 97). Rubens

115 M.F. Quintilianus, *Institutio Oratoria*, XI: III, line 138. (See note 38). For the use of the *pallium* see F.W. Goethert, in *Pauly-Wissowa*, VI A, 1937, col. 1655: *toga exigua*.

116 The arrangement is derived from a Greek type of the fourth century B.C. The Roman version shows the *togatus* with the toga wrapped around both arms, the right arm is bent and protrudes from a sling-like fold, while the left arm hangs down along the side of the body (Bieber, *Ancient Copies*, pp. 129-130, figs. 581-582; D.E.E. Kleiner and F.S. Kleiner, 'Early Roman Togate Statuary', *Bullettino commissione archeologica*, LXXXVII, 1980-1981, pp. 125-133; G. Hafner, 'Etruskische Togati', *Antike Plastik*, IX, 1969, pp. 40-42).

117 Bieber, *Ancient Copies*, pp. 118-120.

118 M. Bieber, *Griechische Kleidung*, Berlin-Leipzig, 1928 (reprint 1977), pp. 20-21.

119 *Ibid.*, pp. 19-20.

evidently had a preference for this dress, and enjoyed clothing his female figures in light, diaphanous garments.

Of a thicker material was the Greek woollen *peplos*. Its tubular shape could be shortened by folding the fabric over at the top, forming the so-called overfold. It was fastened with pins on the shoulders, and could also be worn with a belt.<sup>120</sup> A Caryatid statue, a copy of the second century A.D. after a Greek original of the fourth century B.C., clad in an unbelted *peplos* with large overfold, is shown on a copy in Oxford (No. 60; Fig. 113). Her shoulder mantle is turned up into a *kalathos* (basket) balanced on her head. Annotations to the left of this sketch identify her robe as a *stola*, the dress of honour for Roman matrons. In drawing the marble the artist connected the slip held by the left hand to the robe, creating the impression that the dress has a train. The inscription continues with the conjecture that the dress is rather a *syрма*, the long gown with a train.<sup>121</sup> In 1622, Peiresc sought Rubens's advice on the appropriate clothing for a female statue *all'antica*, and the artist may have had this particular sculpture in mind, when he suggested the *syрма*.<sup>122</sup> Another annotation (in the bottom left) identifies the statue as 'a Vestal virgin, which does not seem at odds with the function of this statue which could have served as a guardian'. Thus, it is not surprising to find the Caryatid transposed into a guarding angel on the Resurrection Triptych in Antwerp Cathedral (*text ill.* 22).

Roman women wore over their undergarments a mantle, the *palla*, that could be draped in different ways.<sup>123</sup> The *palla*, also rectangular in shape, was drawn over the head by Roman matrons portrayed as *Pudicitia*. Much admired was a statue of this type in the Mattei collection (*text ill.* 23). Although no drawing by the master's hand after this sculpture remains, he certainly knew the Mattei copy (see p. 61) and used it for the *Three Marias at the Holy Sepulchre* (Pasadena, Calif., Norton Simon Museum of Art).

A variation in the arrangement of the mantle is worn by a *Ceres* (No. 61; Fig. 115), another favourite statue for portraying Roman women. The right hand reaches up to the veil, while the left one holds the gathered seam of the *palla* together with a bunch of poppies and ears of wheat. A reference in Rubens's *Roman Itinerary* to images of *Divae Augustae* describes the wheat

120 *Ibid.*, pp. 17-18.

121 *Daremborg-Saglio*, IV, 2, p. 1600.

122 Peiresc to Rubens, 26 May 1622 (*Rooses-Ruelens*, II, p. 417); Peiresc to Rubens, 9 June 1622 (*Rooses-Ruelens* II, p. 435).

123 *Wilson, Clothing Ancient Romans*, pp. 148-150; M. Bieber, 'Character und Unterschiede der griechischen und römischen Kleidung', *Archäologischer Anzeiger*, LXXXVIII, 1973, p. 433.

as a 'symbol of fertility' (see Appendix I. 3). A *Ceres* statue of this type is pictured on the painting by the same name in St Petersburg (Fig. 117). Another entry in the *Itinerary* refers to the 'tassel or tuft on the corners of the garments of women', a remark also applicable to this statue.<sup>124</sup> A more complicated, elegant draping of the mantle can be found on another type of *Ceres*, where the thin *chiton* is held in place by a strap at the top and the contours of the body are visible through two layers of clothing. This is not the case with the figure on a drawing in London copied after a marble in the Mattei collection (No. 62; Fig. 119) and unconvincingly attributed to Rubens.

Rubens's interest in ancient jewellery is well known. The artist possessed a collection of engraved gems and cameos that he appreciated for the material as well as for their carvings (see Chapter IV). During his visit to Lelio Pasqualino (see Appendix I. 1), his attention was not only caught by Pasqualino's gems, but also by a gold *torques* (necklace).<sup>125</sup> This necklace is pictured around the neck of the herm of Politics on the title-page of F. de Marselaer, *Legatus*. In his explanation of the title-page, Rubens dwelt on the *torques* shaped like a snake biting its own tail and very skilfully braided in gold.<sup>126</sup>

On the sheet in Oxford (No. 60, Copy; Fig. 113), the jewellery worn by the Caryatid is featured in detail studies. Rubens drew each piece either in part or complete in its actual size. A segment of the intricate gold necklace is marked as *monile*, the bracelet is indicated as an *armilla*, and the brooch holding the gown together is sketched in contour. In the annotation the brooch is called a *bullâ*, but it is a *fibula* (pin) rather than a *bullâ*, which is a pendant worn on a chain around the neck.<sup>127</sup>

Many figures on Rubens's paintings wear a comfortable mantle based on the *pallium*. It required little time or skill in arranging, in contrast with the

124 Bieber, *Ancient Copies*, pp. 153, 165.

125 The *torques* consisted of two snakes attached to each other by their tails, their mouths holding a chain to which a gold coin of Augustus was fastened. The snakes were made of flexible gold links (Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS Fr. 9530, fol. 199r, no. 7; see Appendix I.1). See also note 126.

126 Judson-Van de Velde, I, pp. 344-348, no. 84, fig. 286; II, pp. 501-503; text quoted in full on pp. 347-348, n. 5: 'Torquis Anguineus collo eius circumuolatus circulum siue AËternitatem exprimit, ab hoc ornatu non alienus: nam torques Romanorum eam reddebant figuram; vt videre licet apud Antonium Augustinum, & egomet in Musaeo Laelij Pasqualini Romae, Torquem, inquam, aureum antiquum, subtiliter meherclè intextum hac formâ vidi, et manibus meis tractauî'. On the title-page of de Marselaer's book the bust of Politics wears a necklace with a snake biting its own tail, inspired by Pasqualino's necklace. Rubens reused this motif several times in his designs for title-pages: D. Mutzaert, *De kerckelycke Historie*, 1622; F. Haraeus, *Annales Ducum*, I-II, 1623; portrait of Olivares in Luitprandus, *Opera*, 1640; H. Goltzius, *Icones imperatorum romanorum*, 1645 (Judson-Van de Velde, nos. 49, 51, 78, 83, figs. 166, 174, 265, 279).

127 On the *bullâ* see Daremberg-Saglio, I, 1, pp. 754-755; on the *fibula*, *ibid.*, II, 2, p. 1103.

Roman toga, the dress for magistrates and other Roman citizens, for which the assistance of a slave was needed. The intricate arrangement of the toga has been discussed earlier in connection with Philip Rubens's *Electorum Libri II* (see pp. 102-104). In addition to the drawing (now lost) used for Galle's engraving (*text ill.* 57), another drawing by the master's hand exists depicting a *togatus* statue with a voluminous toga falling down in a large *sinus* and then gathered on the left shoulder (No. 51; Fig. 95). There is no trace of an *umbo*, which is well visible on the *togatus* in Philip's book.

The number of drawings after draped statues is substantial. And it is interesting to discover that art theorists of the period advocated the study of real fabric, plain and without many folds, as opposed to the drapery of classical statuary. Karel van Mander took an uncompromising approach to this aspect of ancient art, and remarked in his *Grondt der edel vry schilder-const* (X: 27-29):

'To take fabrics of the ancients as model, I don't want to waste any words on that, for they cannot compete with those of our time. They resemble nothing other than wet linen, and hang down like ropes. To be worthy of imitation such figures should have shown quite different drapery, and many have voiced their amazement on the poor quality of these... In Rome (if my too short memory does not fail me) I never saw ancient drapery that was of any importance except for drapery stirred by the wind, as shown on bronze statues. These were— let us say— goddesses and their drapery would carry away the prizes of all the ancients. In the new Palazzo Farnese I saw some, in a gallery upstairs. In the same place I also saw the Flora; the representation of her drapery is really not bad'.<sup>128</sup>

128 K. van Mander, *Den Grondt der edel vry Schilder-Const*, Haarlem, 1603, X: 27-29 (edn H. Miedema, Utrecht, 1973, I, p. 245: 'Om je nu stoffen van de antieken als voorbeeld voor te houden, daaraan wil ik geen woorden vuilmaken, want ze leggen het af tegen die van onze tijd. Ze lijken op niets anders dan nat linnen, en ze hangen als touwen. Om navolging [te verdienen] hoorden zulke figuren wel heel andere draperie te vertonen; over de slechtheid [van deze] heeft menigeen zijn verwondering geuit. Nooit zag ik— als mij een te kort geheugen niet bedriegt— antieke stof binnen Rome die iets te betekenen had, behalve wat door de wind bewogen [stof] aan bronzen beelden— of het zou mij aan oordeel ontbreken. Dit waren, zeg maar, godinnen, en hun draperie zou van [alle] antieke de prijs wel kunnen winnen. In het nieuwe Palazzo Farnese zag ik die, boven op een galerij. In hetzelfde paleis [zag ik] ook de Flora staan; haar uitgebeelde draperie is waarachtig niet lelijk'; *ibid.*, II, p. 582, figs. 97-98). Cf. *Vasari, edn Milanese*, I, p. 150: 'il buon giudizio nelle falde de' panni con poche pieghe, perchè nella semplicità del poco si mostra l'acutezza dell'ingegno'. However, he also stated on pp. 170-171: 'qualche bella statua antica,... che servono per panni e vestimenti: perciocche tutte queste cose, essendo immobili e senza sentimento, fanno grande agevolezza, stano ferme, a colui che disegna; il che non avviene nelle cose vive che si muovono'. Cf. W. Aglionby, *Painting Illustrated in Three Dialogues*, London, 1685, pp. 110-111: 'They that follow the Drapery of the Antients in Statues, will always be Stiff, as Raphael was at first, because that they used little Foldings, often repeated, which do best in Marble or Brass...'





Text ill. 62. *Drunken Silenus with Faun and Maenad*,  
Borghese Vase, Paris, Musée du Louvre



Text ill. 63. *Faustina's Effigy*, coin (aureus):  
obverse and reverse. London, British Museum



Text ill. 64. C. Galle,  
*Portrait of Empress Faustina*,  
obverse and reverse of a coin,  
engraving in Ph. Rubens,  
*Electorum Libri II*,  
Antwerp, 1608



Text ill. 65. *Phaedra  
and Hippolytus*, cameo.  
New York, Metropolitan  
Museum of Art



Text ill. 66.  
*The Marriage of  
Cupid and Psyche*,  
cameo. Boston,  
Museum of Fine Arts



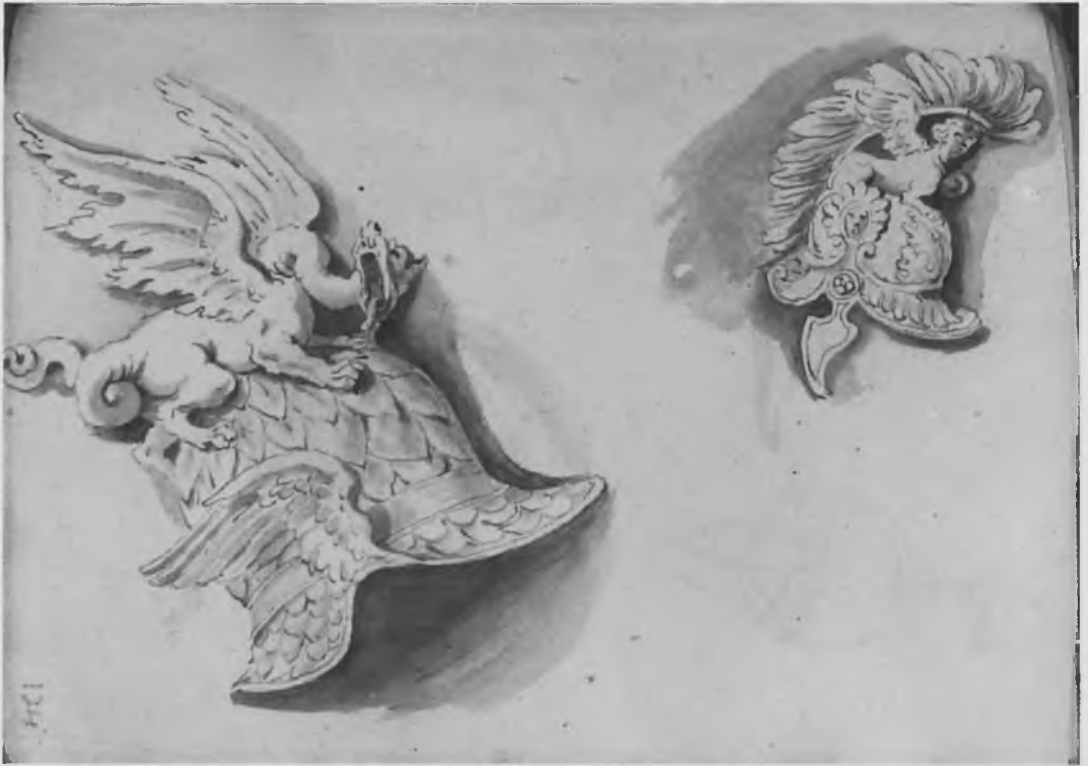
Text ill. 67. Rubens, *Mars and Rhea Silvia*. Vaduz, Liechtenstein Collection



Text ill. 68. Rubens, *Marriages of Constantine and Fausta and of Constantia and Licinius*, oil sketch.  
Whereabouts unknown



Text ill. 69. Rubens, *Death of Constantine*, oil sketch.  
Whereabouts unknown



Text ill. 70. Rubens Copyist, *Two Studies of Parade Helmets*, drawing. London, Courtauld Institute Galleries, Princes Gate Collection, MS Johnson



Text ill. 71. Rubens Copyist, *Four Studies of Parade Helmets*, drawing. London, Courtauld Institute Galleries, Princes Gate Collection, MS Johnson



Text ill. 72. Rubens Copyist, *Studies of Cuirasses and Helmets*, drawing. London, Courtauld Institute Galleries, Princes Gate Collection, MS Johnson

Text ill. 73. Rubens Copyist, *Studies of a Helmet and Cuirass*, drawing. London, Courtauld Institute Galleries, Princes Gate Collection, MS Johnson



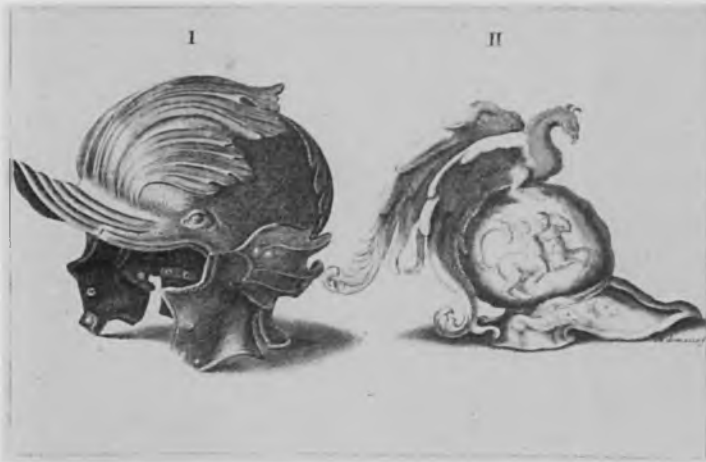
Text ill. 74. Rubens Copyist, *Studies of Laced Boots*, drawing. London, Courtauld Institute Galleries, Princes Gate Collection, MS Johnson



Text ill. 75. Rubens Copyist, *Studies of Boots and Sandals*, drawing. London, Courtauld Institute Galleries, Princes Gate Collection, MS Johnson



Text ill. 76. Rubens assistant, *Rubens's Helmet*, drawing, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS Dupuy 667



Text ill. 77. M. Demasso after Rubens, *Rubens's Helmet*, engraving in J. Spon, *Miscellanea Eruditae Antiquitates*, Lyons, 1685



Text ill. 78. Rubens, *A Soldier wearing Rubens's Helmet*, detail from *Christ Bearing the Cross*, Brussels, Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts





Text ill. 79. Rubens, *Mars*. Private Collection, USA



Text ill. 80. Rubens, *Germanicus and Agrippina*. Chapel Hill, Ackland Art Museum



Text ill. 81. Rubens, *Germanicus and Agrippina*. Washington, National Gallery of Art



Text ill. 82. J. Harrewyn, *The Courtyard of Rubens's House*, engraving, 1684



Text ill. 83. J. Harrewyn, *Views of Rubens's House*, engraving, 1692



Text ill. 84. J. Brueghel and Rubens, *Sense of Sight* (detail), Madrid, Prado



Text ill. 85. Rubens, *Head of Marcus Aurelius*,  
detail from the *Portrait of Jan Caspar Gevartius*.  
Antwerp, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten



Text ill. 86. J. Brueghel II, *Venus and Cupid in an Art Collector's Cabinet*, Philadelphia, J.J. Johnson Collection



Text ill. 87. F. Francken II, *A Banquet at the House of Burgomaster Rockox*. Munich, Alte Pinakothek

The admiration for windswept drapery clinging to the body and thus revealing its limbs and contours had been expressed already by Leonardo da Vinci.<sup>129</sup> The transposition of classical ecstatic Maenads and dancing nymphs wearing thin, belted *chitons* with billowing veils is clearly detectable in quattrocento Italian art,<sup>130</sup> although in the cinquecento monumental mantles with simple folds were much preferred.<sup>131</sup> Nevertheless, the sketch-books of antiquarian artists, such as Maerten van Heemskerck, Frans Floris and Girolamo da Carpi, to name just a few, contain many studies of draped marbles. The full-page drawings of Hendrik Goltzius render several monumental, clothed sculptures, and Rubens too copied several of the innumerable statues available to him. But the number of his drawings after dressed marbles is small compared to those after nude statues.

Another aspect of ancient costume is military attire. Roman defensive armour could be observed on numerous reliefs on the Columns of Trajan and Marcus Aurelius, as well as on triumphal arches. The reliefs on both columns, not easily visible from the ground level, were reproduced in sixteenth-century publications (see catalogue, introduction to Nos. 143-162).

There is no shortage of cuirassed soldiers and commanders in Rubens's work, although in his own graphic *oeuvre* no copies after cuirassed statues or reliefs exist.<sup>132</sup> He may have consulted engravings and other secondary

129 C. Pedretti, *The Literary Works of Leonardo da Vinci*, Oxford, 1977, I, p. 290 (Codex Urbinas, 167b-168a).

130 A. Meyer-Weinschel, *Renaissance und Antike. Beobachtungen über das Aufkommen der antikisierenden Gewandgebung in der Kunst der italienischen Renaissance*, (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Tübingen), Stuttgart, 1933, pp. 34-43.

131 *Ibid.*, pp. 44-82.

132 A drawing of *Mars Ultor* in Christ Church in Oxford (J. Byam Shaw, *Drawings by Old Masters at Christ Church*, Oxford, 1976, no. 1371, pl. 811) and a copy after it in Berlin (KdZ.20714; *Mielke-Winner*, pp. 124-125, no. 53, repr.) were drawn after a Renaissance bronze statuette.

Pen sketches in *MS Johnson* picture parts of military costumes:

Fol. 124r (*text ill. 70*): two unidentified parade helmets, probably of Renaissance workmanship.

Fol. 125r (*text ill. 71*): four unidentified parade helmets.

Fol. 126r (*text ill. 72*): two unidentified Roman moulded breastplates with lapets and *cingulum* decorated with griffins and tendrils. Two unidentified parade helmets, probably of Renaissance workmanship.

Fol. 127r (*text ill. 73*): a plumed parade helmet, and a scaled chainmail breastplate, possibly of Antonine workmanship. Part of a moulded breastplate.

Fol. 128r: a strapped cuirass inscribed 'de middel banden wat breeder' (the centre straps a little broader); cf. a Maerten van Heemskerck drawing, in reverse (*Hülsen-Egger, Heemskerck*, II, fol. 64r, centre, second from the top).

Fol. 129r: a strapped cuirass; cf. Maerten van Heemskerck (*ibid.*, II, fol. 64r, centre, third from the top).

Fol. 130r: two strapped cuirasses; cf. Maerten van Heemskerck, in reverse (*ibid.*, II, fol. 64r, centre bottom and centre top).



sources instead. Howard Rodee has investigated the artist's use of genuine Roman armour and pointed to the hybrid mixture worn by Rubens's cuirassed figures, even on paintings of his Italian period.<sup>133</sup> The artist had a preference for the ceremonial, moulded cuirass worn by the emperor and high ranking officers, the *thorax* (pictured for instance on *Mars Ultor* in Rome, Capitoline Museum) rather than the *lorica segmentata*, armour consisting of metal strips, the attire of common soldiers, best known from the Column of Trajan.<sup>134</sup>

Similarly, the plain helmet with a small crest or ring worn by legionarii on the same monument, copied on the sketches with heads of Roman soldiers (Nos. 143-160; Figs. 289-306), were apparently too simple in appearance. Elaborate parade helmets with fanciful crests were preferred by Rubens. The helmet with a griffin topped by a large plume on the head of the Cesi Roma Victrix (text ill. 52), drawn by the artist for Philip's book (text ill. 54), is reflected in the *cassis* (metal helmet) held by a putto in Mars and Rhea Silvia (Vaduz, Liechtenstein Collection; text ill. 67; K.d.K., p. 148). A similar helmet covers the head of Mars on the drawing in St Petersburg of a statue group of a Roman Couple in the Disguise of Mars and Venus (No. 99; Fig. 175).<sup>135</sup>

For inspiration on parade helmets the artist could have used contemporary publications. In his *De Militia Romana*, Justus Lipsius discussed the *galea* (leather helmet) and the *cassis* (metal helmet). The latter, worn by officers with a *crista* (crest), was 'horridus, squamis & equina'.<sup>136</sup> A cross sampling

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Fol. 131r (text ill. 74): four unidentified laced boots inscribed at top 'calcey statue togate ex lapide porphir / in hortus medicis rom[ae]'. The top boot seen from two different angles, the left one inscribed 'interior', the right one 'exterior'. Below two unidentified laced boots inscribed at bottom 'calc: statue togate, marmor[ae] in medicis'.

Fol. 132r (text ill. 75): top left, a laced boot (*caliga*) with a lion's scalp. Top right, an open-toed boot (*caliga*), ending in a lion's scalp; cf. Maerten van Heemskerck, in reverse (ibid., II, fol. 91r, top row, extreme right). Bottom left, an unidentified open-toed sandal, *crepida*; cf. Maerten van Heemskerck, in reverse (ibid., II, fol. 91r, top row, second from left); cf. a drawing by Da Ollanda (E. Tormo y Monzó, *Os desenhos das antigualhas que vio Francisco d'Ollanda*, Madrid, 1940, fol. 16v, centre row, third from left). Bottom right, an open-toed sandal; cf. Maerten van Heemskerck (*Hülsen-Egger, Heemskerck*, II, fol. 91r, top row, second from right); cf. Da Ollanda (E. Tormo y Monzó, op. cit., fol. 16v, centre row, second from left).

133 H. Rodee, 'Rubens' Treatment of Antique Armor', *The Art Bulletin*, XLIX, 1967, pp. 223-230. E.g. *St George* (Madrid, Prado; K.d.K., p. 22) and *St Gregory, Maurus and Pappianus* (Rome, Santa Maria in Vallicella; K.d.K., p. 25).

134 For the *lorica segmentata* see *Daremberg-Saglio*, II, 2, p. 1314, figs. 4547-4548. It is worn by soldiers on the Column of Trajan.

135 The helmet is also used for *Virtue* on the cartoon from the *Decius Mus* series with *Victory and Virtue*; cf. R. Baumstark, in [Cat. Exh.] *Liechtenstein. The Princely Collection*, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 1985, pp. 354-355, no. 216, repr. For the statue of *Roma* see also pp. 50 and 102 above.

136 J. Lipsius, *De Militia Romana Libri V* [Antwerp, 1598], in his *Opera Omnia*, Vesalia, 1685, III: V,

of these ‘monstrous, scaled and equine crest ornaments’ is given on accompanying illustrations, which he claimed to have derived from ancient monuments. A similar array of burgonets, or visored helmets, was pictured in G. du Choul, *Discours sur la Castrame[n]tation et discipline militaire des anciens romains*.<sup>137</sup> Rubens owned both books.<sup>138</sup> Sixteenth-century armour was copied after ancient models, and it was not easy to distinguish between old and new. Sometime in 1628, Rubens came across a gilt steel helmet decorated with fins and scales and resembling the head of a dolphin. He bought the piece, which he thought to be an ancient Roman *cassis*. His enthusiasm was shared by Peiresc who after receiving two drawings of the treasured object (*text ill.* 76 and cf. *text ill.* 77) stated that he had never seen such a thing before. In reality, the helmet was a sixteenth-century Italian burgonet of Milanese workmanship.<sup>139</sup>

pp. 139-143.

137 G. du Choul, *Discours sur la castrame[n]tation et discipline militaire des anciens romains. Des bains & antiques exercitations grecques et romains*, [Lyons, 1556], edn Lyons, 1581, pp. 97-98, figs. on pp. 99-100.

The sketchbooks of Maerten van Heemskerck (*Hülsen-Egger, Heemskerck*, II, fols. 15r and 17r), of so-called A. Coner (T. Ashby, ‘Sixteenth-Century Drawings of Roman Buildings attributed to Andreas Coner’, *Papers of the British School at Rome*, II, 1904, fol. 160r) and of A. Aspertini at Schloss Wolfegg (C. Robert, ‘Über ein dem Michelangelo zugeschriebenes Skizzenbuch auf Schloss Wolfegg’, *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Römische Abteilung*, XVI, 1901, pp. 235-236, fols. 44v-45r) contain drawings of helmets both of ancient and Renaissance workmanship.

138 *Catalogus A. Rubens*, p. 13: ‘Iusti Lipsii De Militia Romana bis’ (see note 136); *ibid.*, p. 9: ‘Castrametation de Symon Shevin’ (this is probably a garbled reference to Symeoni’s edition of Du Choul’s book in an Italian translation; see note 137).

139 Peiresc to Dupuy, 19 December 1628 (*Rooses-Ruelens*, V, p. 14); Rubens to Peiresc, 16 March 1636 (*Rooses-Ruelens*, VI, p. 155; *Magurn, Letters*, no. 238, p. 404). Included with the drawings of the helmet was one of a sarcophagus cover picturing the Trojan War (see Introduction, note 12). A drawing in black chalk with corrections in pen and ink shows the gilt helmet drawn in its actual size seen from the left side (*text ill.* 76; Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS Dupuy 667, fol. 159r; 275 × 300mm.). The burgonet was shaped like a dolphin; the spherical bowl was covered with scales and had a large fin in front and back; the hinged cheek-pieces were formed like fins, with a watchful eye above them. The bill was curved like the mouth of a dolphin. The drawing is not very refined and is possibly by the hand of a student, but Rubens corrected the contour of the helmet at the top and the bottom and added the scales. The drawing is annotated in Rubens’s handwriting: *Il disegno e caelatura de questa Galea sono bellissimi / et de singular arteificio de maniera che deue esser fatta / admodum florente Imperio Romano* (see *Van der Meulen, Antiquarius*, p. 19 n. 21, fig. XXVII, A). The artist considered the piece to be of Roman workmanship dating back to the peak of the Roman Empire. The drawing was sent to Peiresc on 16 March 1636; cf. Rubens to Peiresc, 16 March 1636 (*Rooses-Ruelens*, VI, p. 155; *Magurn, Letters*, no. 238, p. 404).

In his letter the artist referred to ‘dissegni’, but only this sheet is known. An engraving by Demasso (*text ill.* 77), published by Spon, illustrates Rubens’s helmet from a slightly more frontal view. In his text Spon confirms the owner to have been ‘Peter Paul Rubens, antiquary and famous painter, who drew the helmet by his own hand and sent [the drawings] to Peiresc, from whose papers we have now culled it’ (J. Spon, *Miscellanea Eruditae Antiquitates*, Lyons,

When Peiresc referred to the tapestry designs for the Constantine series, he praised Rubens's sense for authenticity in dressing the figures in scenes from Roman history *all'antica*.<sup>140</sup> The French scholar pointed to the nailed boots worn by Maxentius in the *Combat on the Milvian Bridge*.<sup>141</sup>

Rubens's keen interest in ancient footwear is also documented by the drawing in Berlin (No. 50; Fig. 93) where the strapped sandal, *crepida*, the traditional footcovering worn by philosophers and orators, is repeated in an enlarged detail sketch.<sup>142</sup> One of the nymphs in *Diana Setting Out for the Hunt* (Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum) wears this kind of sandal.<sup>143</sup> A sandal with laces tied at the instep, *gallica*, is worn by the *Comic Actor* (No. 52, Copy; Fig. 96).<sup>144</sup> Rubens would later use it for one of the sons of Constantine standing at the deathbed of his father (*text ill.* 69).<sup>145</sup>

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1685, p. 254: 'Ecce duas Cassides antiquas, quarum priorem ferream deauratam possidebat olim in Musaeo suo Petrus Paulus Rubens Antiquarius & Pictor celeberrimus, ipsemet à se delineatam ad Peireskium misit, ex cujus schedis nunc depromimus'; see M. Holmes, 'Two Helmets painted by Rubens', *The Connoisseur Yearbook*, 1964, pp. 67-68, fig. 1; *Van der Meulen, Antiquarius*, p. 84, n. 21, pl. XXVII, B). The engraving shows the original drawing in reverse. The helmet has not been traced, but certainly was an Italian piece of the 16th century and closely resembled a cuirass made by the Negroli brothers in 1529 for Guidobaldi da Rovere (now Florence, Bargello, Museo Nazionale; see L.G. Boccia and E.T. Coelho, *L'arte dell'armatura in Italia*, Milan, 1967, p. 242, figs. 244 and 246). (I am most grateful to Dr R.W. Scheller for pointing this out to me).

A soldier at the bottom right on Rubens's *Christ Bearing the Cross* of 1636 (*text ill.* 78; Brussels, Musées Royaux) shows the artist's treasure. The fin covering the front half of the helmet now protrudes like a crest. A painting formerly in the collection of Mrs Ruth H. Kress in New York, titled *Mars*, shows a man in cuirass and chain mail wearing Rubens's helmet (*text ill.* 79; C. Eisler, *Paintings from the Samuel H. Kress Collection. European Schools excluding Titian*, Oxford, 1977, pp. 109-110, no. KX 5, fig. 97; Private Collection). The physiognomical features of the sitter with an aquiline nose resemble those of the soldier in the Brussels painting. Ludwig Burchard suggested that the unknown sitter may have been a fellow artist (Burchard, [Cat. Exh.] *A Loan Exhibition of Rubens*, Wildenstein Gallery, New York, 1951, p. 16, no. 11, repr. p. 35).

140 Peiresc to Rubens, 1 December 1622: 'non senza ammirazione dell'esatezza di V.S. in esprimere gli abiti antiqui, sino alle clavi delle calighe ch'io vidi con grandissimo gusto, sotto il piede d'un cavaliere seguitante Maxentio' (*Rooses-Ruelens*, III, p. 85); 'L'allocatione che era molto a mio gusto per esatezza degli abiti militari antiqui' (*ibid.*, p. 86).

141 *De Grummond, Classical Costume*, p. 78, fig. 2; *Held, Oil Sketches*, pp. 74-75, no. 42, pl. 43. See p. 106 above.

142 For the *crepida* see *Daremberg-Saglio*, I, 2, p. 1559, figs. 2056, 2060; Bieber, in *Pauly-Wissowa*, XI, 1922, cols. 1711-1714.

143 B.B. Fredericksen, *Catalogue of the Paintings in the J. Paul Getty Museum*, Malibu, Calif., 1972, p. 66, no. 83; a lesser version is in Kassel, Gemäldegalerie (P.P. Rubens. *Des Meisters Gemälde [Klassiker der Kunst]*, V), 2nd edn, ed. A. Rosenberg, Stuttgart-Leipzig, 1906, p. 336). In the version of the same composition at Cleveland (Museum), the nymph has bare feet.

144 For the *gallica* see Mau, in *Pauly-Wissowa*, VII, 1912, cols. 667-668.

145 *Held, Oil Sketches*, pp. 83-84, no. 50, pl. 51.

The *calceus*, a shoe covering the entire foot, was generally worn by Roman citizens when dressed in a toga, as shown on Galle's engraving of a *togatus* statue (*text ill.* 57).<sup>146</sup> Rubens's figures in togas, however, often go barefoot or wear low sandals with a thong between the toes.

Women in Antiquity went about on high-soled sandals of the kind worn by the *Caryatid* (No. 60, Copy; Fig. 113) and adopted by the artist for his *St Domitilla* (Rome, Santa Maria in Vallicella; *K.d.K.*, p. 25) and for one of the *Three Maries at the Holy Sepulchre* (Pasadena, Calif., Norton Simon Museum of Art).

Rubens's soldiers usually wear boots of mid-calf length, often open-toed and made of a tight-fitting buckskin through which their leg muscles can be seen (the *caliga*). To avoid monotony, some boots are tied at the instep with laces, some resemble present-day shoes; other boots are laced up to mid-calf. They usually end in a lion's scalp with paws hanging down along the sides. The *Decius Mus* series offers an assortment of these footcoverings. Front and rear views are clearly rendered on *Mars and Rhea Silvia* (Vaduz, Liechtenstein Collection; *text ill.* 67). Rubens's boots are a free interpretation of the imperial military footwear, buckskin boots, which reached mid-calf, were laced right up to the lion's scalp, and sometimes have open toes.<sup>147</sup> He correctly used the boots for Roman emperors and for Greek and Roman gods and heroes.<sup>148</sup>

Rubens's extensive use of ancient costume is remarkable, though not surprising, since he was genuinely interested in clothing. He studied orien-

146 The *togatus* wears the *calceus patricius* with four laces tied in 2 knots (Daremborg-Saglio, I, 2, p. 817, fig. 1016; H.R. Goette, 'Mulleus-Embas-Calceus', *Jahrbuch des kaiserlich deutschen Archäologischen Instituts*, CIII, 1988, pp. 451-457, fig. 35a).

147 The Roman name for this boot was probably *caliga*, worn by Roman soldiers. See Daremborg-Saglio, I, 2, p. 863, fig. 1064, as a *campagus*; Mau, in *Pauly-Wissowa*, III, 1899, col. 1355; Hug, in *Pauly-Wissowa*, II A, 1923, col. 757, as a *caliga* 'Sandalenstiefel'; H.R. Goette, op. cit. (note 146), pp. 401-448, as the Greek *embas* or Roman *mulleus*. In Greek art, generals and several gods such as Artemis, the Amazons, Dionysos and his friends wear this kind of boot. It was worn by emperors in military costume as well as by Mars, Genii, Lares Honor, Roma, Virtus, Diana and Silvanus. A statue of a Genius, formerly in the Madama collection in Rome (Naples, Museo Nazionale), wears this type of boot. It could have inspired Rubens, although his boots usually lack the foliage decorations (Bober-Rubinstein, *Handbook*, pp. 221-222, no. 188, repr.). Cf. a marble fragment of a *Right Foot with Boot* (Vatican Museum; Lippold, *Skulpturen*, III, 2, p. 137, no. 46, pl. 63) and a fragment of a *Left Foot With Boot* (*ibid.*, p. 233, no. 6, pl. 110).

148 H.R. Goette, op. cit., p. 448. Four sketches on fol. 131r and the top two on fol. 132 in *MS Johnson* picture the boot under discussion (*text ill.* 74 and 75). (See note 132). High-laced Roman boots are worn in the *Triumph of the Victor* (Kassel, Gemäldegalerie; *K.d.K.*, p. 57) and *A Hero Crowned by the Victory* (Munich, Alte Pinakothek; *K.d.K.*, p. 56). Rubens's buckskin boots are always open-toed and often laced up to the instep and end in a tight-fitting 'stocking'. In addition to Roman heroes and soldiers, his Achilles, Diana, Orpheus and Minerva are shod with these elegant boots.

tal dress, medieval costumes and courtly fashions, in order to dress his figures appropriately in historical paintings.<sup>149</sup> His compositions with mythological themes or subjects from Antiquity required knowledge of ancient dress and customs.

Rubens's drawings of classical statuary (or copies thereof) are valuable from an archaeological point of view, as they often render a sculpture in its early seventeenth-century condition, whether restored or not. Some document marbles now lost, and others represent the oldest or only record of a work of art, advancing the date of discovery or supplementing its history.

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149 Held, *Drawings*, 1986, pp. 42-49, ch. III; K. Belkin, *The Costume Book (Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard, XXIV)*, Brussels-London, 1980, pp. 51-59.

## IV. Rubens and Ancient Portraiture

RUBENS'S STAY IN ITALY increased his interest in ancient portraiture, an interest that would manifest itself in several ways in his career. Not only did he collect a considerable number of coins, gems and ancient portrait sculptures, but he also occupied himself with identifying portraits of the Ancients. His contribution in this sphere was remarkable for the era.

When Rubens returned to Rome in late 1605 (or early 1606), he was soon joined by his brother Philip with whom he would spend the summer of 1606, studying many works of art. Some of their activities focused on preparations for Philip's *Electorum Libri II* for which the artist would supply the illustrations (see pp. 97-113). Rubens was introduced by Philip to antiquarian scholars, among them Johannes Faber, a native of Bamberg, Professor of Botany at the University La Sapienza in Rome. Faber was also a physician and cured Peter Paul's pleurisy in the summer of 1606. At the time Faber was involved in a new edition of Theodoor Galle's *Illustrium Imagines*, first published in Antwerp in 1598 by the Plantin Press (see below, p. 148). The popular iconographic book would be expanded by adding another seventeen engravings to its 151 illustrations, and Faber was to write a scholarly commentary to all the entries. Philip acted as intermediary between the author and the publisher, the Plantin Press. The progress of the book can be followed in his correspondence until August 1606, when it was printed and when several copies were sent to Rome.<sup>1</sup> Faber's iconographical activities must have been a topic of frequent discussions with his friends.<sup>2</sup>

It was apparently through Faber that Rubens discovered Galle's codex of 246 drawings, only part of which had been reproduced in the 1598 edition. He selected eighteen sheets that were also not used for the new edition, and had them copied (Nos. 201-218). The drawings depict Greek sculptures and coins, mainly from Fulvio Orsini's collection. When Orsini died in May 1600, his collections were bequeathed to Odoardo Farnese and thus remained in the Palazzo Farnese where Orsini had lived on the second floor. It is odd that Rubens did not use the originals, but as the estate took several years to

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1 B. Moretus to Ph. Rubens, 7 April 1606 (*Rooses-Ruelens*, I, p. 330); B. Moretus to Ph. Rubens, 28 July 1606 (*ibid.*, p. 344; dispatch of copies of the *Illustrium Imagines* to Rome); Ph. Rubens to B. Moretus, 9 September 1606 (*ibid.*, p. 349). The Preface is dated July 1606. For the history of the 1606 edition of Faber, *Illustrium Imagines*, see Jongkees, *Fulvio Orsini*, pp. 10-12.

2 K. Gerstenberg, 'Rubens im Kreise seiner römischen Gefährten', *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, I, 1932, pp. 107-108.

be settled, they may not have been on display in the Farnese galleries at the time. It is also surprising that Rubens did not do the copying of Galle's drawings himself, but left this to another draughtsman, probably an assistant. Lack of time may have been one reason, but another explanation could be that the importance of the drawings to Rubens lay solely in the subject matter, the iconography of Famous Men in Antiquity.

Fulvio Orsini, the leading iconographist of his day, had used different models to certify ancient portraiture: sculptures, coins and gems.<sup>3</sup> Rubens too followed this approach. Several of his Italian drawings have portrait sculptures as their subject: a *Bust of a Hellenistic Ruler* in the Mattei gallery (No. 127; Fig. 248) and a *Head of a Young Man* (Gallienus?) in an unknown location (No. 128; Fig. 249). A sheet in Chicago, *Three Figures from the Side Relief of a Muse Sarcophagus*, is of particular interest (No. 138; Fig. 269). An annotation identifies one of the figures, an elderly man leaning on a stick, as 'Socrates beyond any doubt'. Rubens gave the woman next to the man the appropriate label of Xantippe, the philosopher's ill-tempered wife. These inscriptions have been taken as purely jocular, largely based on the attitude of the woman looking directly past the man. However, the identification of the man as Socrates is not as fortuitous as it may appear at first sight. Not only is he wearing the typical dress of a philosopher, namely the Greek mantle (*himation*), but his balding head with short, fluffy beard (of which a larger detail drawing was added) resembles portraits then identified as Socrates in Galle's *Illustrium Imagines*, pls. 133-134 (Figs. 455, 461; cf. Nos. 219 and 222). Thus, the book may well have been instrumental in the identification of the philosopher on the sarcophagus.

A series of pen drawings of imperial coins in the Duke of Devonshire's collection at Chatsworth probably dates from Rubens's stay in Italy. They picture Julio-Claudian and Flavian emperors. Legends identifying the emperors were omitted on this set, which in my opinion are originals by Rubens. A second set, in London, that I consider to be copied after the Chatsworth sketches, does bear some identifying legends (Nos. 186-199). A sheet in Berlin shows three-quarter figures of the same Roman emperors; their countenances resemble the coins studied years before (Figs. 401, 402).<sup>4</sup>

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3 On the importance of Orsini as an iconographic scholar see Jongkees, Fulvio Orsini, and C. Riebesell, *Die Sammlung des Kardinal Alessandro Farnese. Ein 'Studio' für Künstler und Gelehrte (Acta humaniora)*, Weinheim, 1990, pp. 151-159.

4 Mielke-Winner, pp. 77-81, no. 28, repr.; E. McGrath, "'Not even a Fly". Rubens and the Mad Emperors', *The Burlington Magazine*, CXXXIII, 1991, pp. 699-703, figs. 40, 42.

The artist owned a coin cabinet and possibly acquired his first specimens in Rome.<sup>5</sup> His numismatic knowledge later helped him identify imperial portraits on engraved gems and cameos, of which he would assemble a noteworthy collection.<sup>6</sup> Rubens's interest in gems is first documented in his *Roman Itinerary* where he recorded a visit to Lelio Pasqualino. Of the six gems described three bore portraits, one with a so-called Arrius engraved by Dioskourides.<sup>7</sup> Apparently, the artist did not make drawings of the gems at the time, because in 1622 casts had to be ordered for that very purpose (see note 13). He also knew the Gonzaga cameo (Fig. 435), and decades later he recalled having held the precious object in his hands.<sup>8</sup>

Rubens became a passionate collector of engraved gems. He enjoyed these unique and valuable objects for their exquisite craftsmanship. His profound appreciation is expressed in a letter describing a cameo with the portrait of Octavius Augustus cut by Sostratos: the head of the emperor was skilfully cut in white onyx against a dark background of sardonyx, and a wreath on his head was carved in a contrasting top layer of sardonyx

5 Van der Meulen, *Antiquarius*, pp. 21-23.

6 Ibid., pp. 24-35; *Neaerov, Gems*, pp. 424-432.

7 Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS Fr. 9530, fol. 199r, no. 4 (see Appendix I.1). Cf. The Hague, Museum Meermanno-Westreenianum, MS 10 C 30, fol. 290: 'Apud Laelium Pasqualinum Romae Amethystus cum capite barbato e pectore seminudo, e Inscr ΔΙΟΚΚΟΠΙΔΟΥ' (note written by Peiresc). The gem is possibly identical to an amethyst intaglio now identified as *Demosthenes* and inscribed *Dioskourides* (Rome, formerly Collection Piombino; Richter, *Gems of the Romans*, p. 143, no. 672, rept.). Another of Pasqualino's gems, described by Peiresc (ibid.) as 'Amethystus cum capite Antisthenis' (an amethyst with the effigy of *Antisthenes*), is published in *Faber, Illustrium Imagines*, p. 13, pl. 20 (engraved by T. Galle). An amethyst ringstone with the bust of a balding man from the Buoncompagni collection may also have belonged formerly to Pasqualino (New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art; G.M.A. Richter, *Catalogue of Engraved Gems, Greek, Etruscan and Roman, New York, Metropolitan Museum, New York, 1956*, p. 103, no. 469, pl. LVII as *Julius Caesar*; cf. Richter, *Gems of the Romans*, nos. 447-449, as *Menander*). Lelio Pasqualino's glyptic collection was acquired by Francesco Buoncompagno (see note 20). A dozen of his Roman imperial coins were published by C. Baronius, *Annales Ecclesiastici*, I-II, Antwerp, 1597. For Pasqualino's coin collection see A. Herz, 'Lelio Pasqualini, A Late Sixteenth-Century Antiquarian', in *Il 60. Essays Honoring Irving Lavin on his Sixtieth Birthday*, ed. M.A. Lavin, New York, 1990, pp. 191-206, fig. 1. Pasqualino also owned a Roman sarcophagus from the first century A.D. Its inscription is considered to be spurious (now Palazzo Mattei di Giove in Rome; cf. L. Guerrini, *Palazzo Mattei di Giove. Le Antichità*, Rome, 1982, pp. 258-260, no. 102, pl. LXXIII); Lelio Pasqualino, Canon of Santa Maria Maggiore, died in 1611 at the age of sixty-two. His nephew, Pompeo, honoured him by placing an epitaph with a marble bust in Santa Maria Maggiore, the church where he had served. Cf. V. Forcella, *Iscrizione delle chiese e d'altri edifici di Roma dal secolo XI fino ai giorni nostri*, Rome, 1877, XI, p. 59, no. 119. At the time of publication, D. Jaffé, 'Aspects of Gem Collecting in the Early Seventeenth Century, Nicolas-Claude Peiresc and Lelio Pasqualini', *The Burlington Magazine*, CXXXV, 1993, pp. 103-120 appeared, identifying several other engraved gems in Pasqualino's collection.

8 Rubens to P. Dupuy, 9 September 1627 (*Roozes-Ruelens*, IV, p. 303; *Magurn, Letters*, no. 123, pp. 200-201).



resembling gold. The gemcutter signed his name behind the head. It was Rubens's favourite gem, its exquisite workmanship unmatched by any other stone. For that reason he would never part with it.<sup>9</sup> Another beautifully carved stone pictured the head of Augustus laurelled with long curling hair like Apollo, as described in Suetonius' biography of the emperor.<sup>10</sup> Although neither gem has been traced so far, the clear descriptions make it possible to visualize the originals. As we will see, the artist owned several more of these cameos with portraits carved into a multi-layered sardonyx.

### *The Gem Book*

In the summer of 1620, the French scholar Claude Nicolas Fabri de Peiresc happened to come upon a large cameo of sardonyx tucked away safely in the Sacristy of the Sainte Chapelle in Paris (*text ill. 46*):

'I have discovered in a strange and rarely accessible place an antique gem stone, the largest and most beautiful I have ever seen. It is oval-shaped and in size equal to this sheet of paper completely unfolded, and on it one sees twenty-four figures carved, most of them as large as a hand. The gem is made of oriental agate, with a black and reddish brown background, the figures cut in white cameo of varying shades of white and the very top layer in some areas verging on a brownish colour'.

Realizing the uniqueness and importance of his discovery Peiresc immediately started to decipher the representation. He reported his find to archaeological friends in Italy, soliciting their suggestions on the representation. 'The subject of the carving is the Apotheosis of the Emperor Augustus, of good workmanship, and it conforms entirely to the ancient...'

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9 Rubens's note is written as a postscript to his letter to Peiresc of [1] August 1630 (Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS Fr. 9530, fol. 290r; see Appendix V.9. Cf. *Van der Meulen, Antiquarius*, p. 132, no. G51; M. van der Meulen, 'A Note on Rubens's Letter on Tripods', *The Burlington Magazine*, CXIX, 1977, pp. 647-651, repr.). The artist first referred to a gem by Sostratos which Peiresc was hoping to acquire from Menestrier. Cf. Peiresc to C. Menestrier, 24 June 1630 (Montpellier, Bibliothèque de l'École de Médecine, MS H 271, I, fol. 62r; see Appendix V.10; cf. *Van der Meulen, Antiquarius*, p. 88, n. 1). *Neverov, Gems*, p. 428, figs. 33 and 35, identified Menestrier's cameo with a stone now in St Petersburg, but concluded erroneously that this cameo formerly belonged to Rubens's collection. There is no evidence to support this.

10 Peiresc described Rubens's unidentified cameo in detail. In spite of the fact that the portrait resembled Augustus he hesitated to accept Rubens's identification (Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS Fr. 9530, fol. 196r; see Appendix V.8). He alluded to the gem in a letter to Rubens (Peiresc to Rubens, 8 July 1622; *Rooses-Ruelens*, II, p. 456; cf. *Van der Meulen, Antiquarius*, p. 132, no. G.52.). On Augustus as son of Apollo see E. Simon, *Die Portlandvase*, Mainz, 1957, pp. 30-44.

Peiresc recognized the gem as a masterpiece of Roman glyptic art, and informed them of his decision to publish it: 'I will have an exact drawing made of the gem, and I am intending to have it engraved and printed. If Villamena [in Rome] wants to make the engraving, I would very much appreciate this, if not I will have it engraved by Cornelius Galle or some other capable person who would do it with care, because I do not want to have it done by an ordinary engraver for it is such a special piece, and requires the faithful reproduction of all the beautiful portraits of the entire family of Augustus'.<sup>11</sup>

Upon receiving the news, the Roman archaeologist, Girolamo Aleandro, was greatly impressed with Peiresc's find. However, in his reply to Peiresc's erudite, but lengthy description, he offered a differing opinion on the identification. Peiresc believed that the cameo depicted the glorification of the deceased Emperor Augustus, while Aleandro reasoned that the subject was the adoration of the living Emperor Tiberius who, disguised as Jupiter, is the central figure of the representation. He also urged Peiresc to write a scholarly, explanatory essay on the engraving.<sup>12</sup>

One discovery led to another. During his trip to Italy, Peiresc had seen a second large cameo whose subject he believed was related to the Parisian stone (Fig. 324).<sup>13</sup> However, this cameo had since been acquired by Emperor Rudolph II of Hapsburg and was therefore out of reach. Peiresc did possess a cast, but it was incomplete. Having heard that Rubens owned a drawing

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11 Peiresc to Aleandro, 23 September 1620 (Aix-en-Provence, Bibl. Méjanés, MS 1032, fols. 167, 170; see Appendix II.6; Carpentras, Bibl. Inguimbertaine, MS 1809, fols. 232-234; *Rooses-Ruelens*, II, pp. 302-306, in French translation by de Mazaugues).

Cf. Peiresc to Aleandro, 18 November 1620 (Aix-en-Provence, Bibl. Méjanés, MS 1032, fols. 177-180; Carpentras, Bibl. Inguimbertaine, MS 1809, fols. 215-217v; *Rooses-Ruelens*, II, pp. 307-309, in French translation by de Mazaugues).

Peiresc to Aleandro, 17 November/16 December 1620 (Aix-en-Provence, Bibl. Méjanés, MS 1032, fols. 181-185; Carpentras, Bibl. Inguimbertaine, MS 1809, fols. 236-237v; *Rooses-Ruelens*, II, pp. 309-312 [as 16 December 1620], in French translation by de Mazaugues).

12 Aleandro to Peiresc, 17 October 1620 (Aix-en-Provence, Bibl. Méjanés, MS 1019, fols. 96-98; see Appendix II.7).

13 Peiresc to Aleandro, 17 November 1620 (Aix-en-Provence, Bibl. Méjanés, MS 1032, fol. 181, Italian text in copy; *Rooses-Ruelens*, II, p. 310 [as 16 December 1620], in French translation by de Mazaugues); Peiresc to Pignoria, 10 November 1620 (Aix-en-Provence, Bibl. Méjanés, MS 1027, fols. 439-441; Carpentras, Bibl. Inguimbertaine, MS 1809, fols. 218r-219v, Italian text in copy); Peiresc to Pignoria, 8 December 1620 (Aix-en-Provence, Bibl. Méjanés, MS 1027, fols. 443-446): Peiresc was annoyed, as Pignoria had not answered his previous letter. Pignoria's letter of 30 December 1620 to Peiresc explains his lack of interest in Peiresc's find: without an illustration at hand Peiresc's detailed discourses on both gems were too difficult to understand (Aix-en-Provence, Bibl. Méjanés, MS 1027, fol. 395; see Appendix II.8).

of the gem, he contacted the artist and informed him of his intention to publish both cameos.<sup>14</sup>

Rubens responded enthusiastically to Peiresc's proposal. He had apparently thought of publishing his own gems and thus the idea for a joint publication evolved.<sup>15</sup> He promptly sent drawings and casts of the most important gems in his possession to Peiresc.<sup>16</sup> During Rubens's visit to Paris in January 1622 the project was further discussed. The book was to contain about 25-30 gems; and in addition to the two large cameos, some of Rubens's own gems as well as several from other collections were to be included, perhaps together with some of the material from his stay in Mantua.<sup>17</sup> The artistic side of the project was assigned to Rubens who had already started copying gems while in Paris.<sup>18</sup> The cameos were to be reproduced as accurately as possible, showing the contrasting layers of the stone.

As a historian, Peiresc was primarily challenged by the scientific aspects of the publication. He researched the interpretation of historical scenes and mythological subjects, and attempted the identification of imperial portraits. It was not easy to interpret the representations on the gems—as is shown by the detailed discussions in the correspondence, often lengthy and exhaustive exchanges between both scholars. Peiresc's files show that he was busy collecting information on gems. They contain descriptions of engraved intaglios and carved cameos belonging to Rubens (whose portrait identifications he did not always agree with), annotations on other gems selected for the Gem Book, as well as essays with various analyses of the *Gemma Tiberiana* and *Gemma Augustaea*.<sup>19</sup> This material, we may assume, would have served him for his scholarly commentary to the illustrations. The text was never

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14 Peiresc to Rubens, 27 October 1621 (*Roses-Ruelens*, II, pp. 290-291). For the history and contents of the Gem Book see *Van der Meulen, Antiquarius*, pp. 36-42.

15 Peiresc to Rubens, 26 November 1621 (*Roses-Ruelens*, II, pp. 294-295).

16 Peiresc to Rubens, 23 December 1621 (*ibid.*, p. 316).

17 Peiresc to R. Schilder, 26 January 1622 (*Van der Meulen, Antiquarius*, pp. 92-93, n. 13). The scope of the Gem Book was outlined by Peiresc in his letter to Pompeo Pasqualino of 26 January 1622 (Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS Fr. N. Acq. 5172, fols. 96r-v; see Appendix III.1; cf. *Van der Meulen, Antiquarius*, p. 39, n. 15).

18 Peiresc to Aleandro, 7 March 1622 (*Roses-Ruelens*, II, p. 340).

19 Two essays discuss the *Gemma Tiberiana*: Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS Fr. N. Acq. 1209, fols. 14r-v (see Appendix II.1); Carpentras, Bibl. Inguimbertaine, MS 1869, fols. 114r-v (see Appendix II.2). Two essays discuss the *Gemma Augustaea*: Carpentras, Bibl. Inguimbertaine, MS 1869, fols. 112r-v (see Appendix II.3); *ibid.*, MS 1869, fols. 117r-118r (see Appendix II.4). A letter from Peiresc discusses the *Gemma Tiberiana* and *Gemma Augustaea* (Peiresc to de Roissy, 6/7 February 1633; Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS Fr. N. Acq. 1209, fols. 12r-v; cf. Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS Fr. 9532, fols. 318-319; see Appendix II.5).

written, and the unique project was never brought to a successful completion.

While Rubens was working on the illustrations, Peiresc acted as coordinator of the undertaking. He tried to obtain casts and drawings of gems to be published in the book. He contacted Pompeo Pasqualino in Rome asking him for coloured casts of gems with portraits signed by Dioscourides and Diogenes, as well as of cameos with *Venus Chasing Cupids* (text ill. 47) and the *Combat of Alexander* (cf. Fig. 309).<sup>20</sup> He enlisted the cooperation of Girolamo Aleandro, asking him to visit Roman gem cabinets, in particular that of Cardinal Farnese, in search of inscribed and signed gems. After all, Aleandro had initiated the project ('l'impresa della quale V.S. è stato il primo motore').<sup>21</sup> Peiresc tried to trace the whereabouts of a ring with the *Waxing and Waning of the Moon*, formerly belonging to Natalio Benedetti in Fo-

20 In the letter to Lelio Pasqualino's nephew Peiresc mentioned the gems he was interested in and asked for coloured casts (Peiresc to P. Pasqualino, 26 January 1622; Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS Fr. N. Acq. 5172, fols. 96r-v; see Appendix III.1). Peiresc had second thoughts about his letter (Peiresc to Aleandro, 8 February 1622; Aix-en-Provence, Bibl. Méjanes, MS 1032, fol. 248r; see Appendix III.2). His misgivings appear to have been well justified. Pompeo apparently turned a deaf ear to Peiresc's request (Aleandro to Peiresc, 17 July 1623, promising to use his influence; *ibid.*, MS 1019, fol. 104; see Appendix III.3).

Even though Aleandro's optimism was not rewarded, his intervention proved successful in another way. He found out that the glyptic collection of the late Lelio Pasqualino 'had passed into the hands of Cardinal Buoncompagno' (Peiresc to Aleandro, 3 March 1624; Carpentras, Bibl. Inguimbertaine, MS 1871, fol. 179v; see Appendix III.4). Shortly thereafter Claude Menestrier offered his services to obtain drawings of rare objects formerly owned by Lelio Pasqualino (C. Menestrier to Peiresc, 19 April 1624; P. Tamizey de Larroque, *Lettres de Peiresc*, V, 1894, p. 492; see Appendix III.5). Peiresc must have been delighted with the offer and informed Aleandro that Menestrier had volunteered to make drawings. He recalled having seen a cameo with *Venus Chasing Cupids* as well as gems signed by Dioscourides (Peiresc to Aleandro, 10 March 1624; *Roeses-Ruelens*, III, p. 290). Peiresc's curiosity concerning the price was also satisfied as an undated note in his files reveals (Carpentras, Bibl. Inguimbertaine, MS 1864, fol. 279r; see Appendix III.6).

A page in Rubens's *Roman Itinerary* recording six of Lelio's gems, mentions the same four gems (Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS Fr. 9530, fol. 199r, nos. 1, 3, 4, 5; see Appendix I.1): no. 1, *Venus Chasing Cupids* (text ill. 47; now Naples, Museo Nazionale, Inv. No. 25858; Richter, *Gems of the Romans*, p. 40, no. 144, repr.; Van der Meulen, *Antiquarius*, p. 124, no. \*G.41, fig. XII,C); no. 3 *The Combat of Alexander Against the Indians* (present whereabouts unknown; see No. 163 and Fig. 309; Van der Meulen, *Antiquarius*, pp. 130-131, no. \*G.49, frontispiece repr.); no. 4 *The Head of a Philosopher* (see note 7); no. 5 [*Head of*] *Diogenes*. The cameo with the *Combat of Alexander* is described in detail by Peiresc with the information that it was sent to the East Indies (Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS Fr. N. Acq. 1209, fol. 20r, no. 2; see Appendix IV.3). Years later, Peiresc was still trying to obtain a cast of the cameo with *Venus Chasing Cupids* from Cardinal Francesco Buoncompagno in Rome, and expressed the hope that the Cardinal would be willing to part with the stone in exchange for an intaglio. Peiresc wanted to publish the stone in his treatise on his recently acquired tripod, unearthed in 1630 at the same place in Fréjus where the cameo was found in 1599 (*ibid.*, fol. 18r; see Appendix IV.1).

21 Peiresc to Aleandro, 8 February, 1622 (Aix-en-Provence, Bibl. Méjanes, MS 1032, fol. 248r; see Appendix III.2).

ligno.<sup>22</sup> One of the notes shows that the cameo of Mantua (The Gonzaga cameo) with the portraits of *Alexander and Olympias*, was also to be included (Fig. 435).<sup>23</sup>

The project for a Gem Book had started out as a purely glyptic work, centred around the two large cameos and some smaller ones, some of which were related in subject matter to the *Gemma Tiberiana* and *Gemma Augustaea*. Others were interesting for the signatures of the gemcutters or the quality of the carving. For the identification of the portraits, numismatics became a vital source of information, and it is not surprising to learn that Rubens had drawn ancient coins with the intention of having them engraved.<sup>24</sup> Rubens considered reproducing a Messalina coin of Tristan de St Amand, possibly because it helped to identify his cameo with the portrait of Messalina (No. 169; Fig. 330, bottom, and Fig. 328).<sup>25</sup>

The scope and subject matter of the Gem Book thus began to change, and Peiresc further proposed to include unpublished portraits of regal or famous persons, be it as a cameo, engraved gem, marble or metal sculpture. Rockox's herm of *Demosthenes* (Fig. 203) is mentioned by name.<sup>26</sup> Later Peiresc remarked that Rubens had drawn a good number of bas-reliefs and other valuable objects, and wanted to add the vase of Cardinal del Monte (London, British Museum). For this purpose he tried to obtain a cast of the vase.<sup>27</sup> Thanks to Peiresc's research on the vase, tentative identifications of the decorative friezes on both sides remain: the woman holding a snake seated on the ground between two male figures was interpreted as Helena with Paris and Menelaus; the reclining female figure on the other side as Hecuba with Juno seated behind her and Paris in front of her.<sup>28</sup> Because of

22 The unidentified stone is described by Peiresc (Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS Fr. N. Acq. 1209, fol. 19r; see Appendix IV.2; cf. *Van der Meulen, Antiquarius*, p. 120, no. \*G.33).

23 Peiresc's description of the Gonzaga cameo proves that the cameo in Vienna and not the one in St Petersburg is the piece (Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS Fr. N. Acq. 1209, fol. 20r, no. 1; see Appendix IV.3; cf. N.T. de Grummond, 'The Real Gonzaga Cameo', *American Journal of Archaeology*, LXXXVIII, 1974, pp. 427-429, repr.; *Van der Meulen, Antiquarius*, pp. 129-130, no. \*G.48, fig. XII,D). See also note 42.

24 Aleandro to Peiresc, 21 June 1624 (*Rooses-Ruelens*, III, p. 300).

25 Peiresc to Rubens, 20 July 1623 (*ibid.*, p. 202).

26 Peiresc to Aleandro, 10 May 1624 (*ibid.*, p. 292). See under No. 112.

27 Peiresc to Aleandro, 23 April 1626 (Aix-en-Provence, Bibl. Méjanés, MS 1032, fol. 387, Italian text in copy; *Rooses-Ruelens*, III, pp. 438-439); Peiresc to Aleandro, 19 June 1626 (Aix-en-Provence, Bibl. Méjanés, MS 1032, fol. 389; see Appendix IV.5).

28 The fragmentarily preserved, undated and unsigned letter discusses the scenes depicted on each side of the vase (Aix-en-Provence, Bibl. Méjanés, MS 1027, fol. 398; see Appendix IV.6). The letter, filed among copies of Peiresc's correspondence with the Paduan archaeologist

this addition, the book was now called 'your book on gems and other extraordinary objects of Antiquity'.<sup>29</sup> Peiresc in fact began referring to it as Rubens's project.<sup>30</sup> Thus, Peiresc's ambitious, but promising, endeavour to publish a scholarly treatise on gems turned into an open-ended plan for a volume of miscellaneous antiquities, with Rubens fully responsible for its implementation.

The correspondence between Rubens and Peiresc contains several progress reports on the project. Engravings of the two large cameos were nearly finished in June 1623 (Figs. 315 and 323),<sup>31</sup> the prints picturing Rubens's cameos were ready in July<sup>32</sup> and August 1623,<sup>33</sup> and in July 1625 the '*Triumphant Quadriga*' was completed (Fig. 320).<sup>34</sup> However, in April 1627 the artist had become disillusioned and considered the enterprise 'un parto abortivo'.<sup>35</sup> The receipt of a drawing of the so-called cameo of Mantua (the Gonzaga cameo; Fig. 435) was acknowledged in September 1627,<sup>36</sup> and Pei-

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Lorenzo Pignoria (1571-1631) is in my opinion certainly written by Peiresc. The French scholar wrote down his hypotheses on the frieze decorating the del Monte vase in the hope of eliciting the receiver's interpretation, which had apparently remained rather elusive so far.

This letter fits in with Peiresc's correspondence of 1635 on the del Monte vase. In this year Peiresc had also approached Rubens about the enigmatic figure on the disc under the vase, identified by Rubens as Paris (Rubens to Peiresc, 16 August 1635; *Roses-Ruelens*, VI, p. 128; *Magnum, Letters*, no. 237, p. 401). Peiresc's letter of 3 December 1635 to P. Gassendi does not contain any suggestions on the identifications of the figures (*Jaffé, Self-portrait*, p. 40, n. 2; D. Jaffé, 'Peiresc, Rubens, dal Pozzo and the "Portland Vase"', *The Burlington Magazine*, CXXXI, 1989, pp. 554-559, doc.28. D. Jaffé did not mention the letter quoted in Appendix IV.6). If my reconstruction is correct, the letter could not have been addressed to Pignoria, however, as he died in 1631. But perhaps the letter dates from earlier.

Interestingly enough, the most recent interpretation of the second scene as the birth of Paris with his mother Hecuba (centre) and Venus (on the right) agrees largely with Peiresc's identifications of the figures (D. Jaffé, loc. cit.).

29 Peiresc to Aleandro, 8 August 1624 (*Roses-Ruelens*, III, p. 301): 'la sua opera di Camei et altre cose piu singolari dell' Antiquita'. Cf. Peiresc to Aleandro, 23 April 1626 (*ibid.*, p. 439): 'l'imprese dell'editione di coteste belle cose'.

30 Peiresc to Aleandro, 10 March 1624 (*ibid.*, p. 290): 'questa raccolta del Sgr. Rubenio'. Cf. Peiresc to Aleandro, 10 May 1624 (*ibid.*, p. 292): 'istessa raccolta; della quale s'e presa la cura il Sr Pietro Paulo Rubenio intelligentissimo in queste cose'.

31 Peiresc to Aleandro, 23 June 1623 (*ibid.*, p. 182): 'molti de' quali sonno gia intagliati' should probably be read as 'many of which are in the process of being engraved'. Several prints are reported finished in July.

32 Peiresc to Rubens, 20 July 1623 (*ibid.*, p. 202).

33 Rubens to Peiresc, 3 August 1623 (*ibid.*, p. 216).

34 Rubens to Valavez, 3 July 1625 (*ibid.*, p. 372).

35 Rubens to P. Dupuy, 22 April 1627 (*Roses-Ruelens*, IV, p. 247).

36 Rubens to P. Dupuy, 9 September 1627 (*ibid.*, p. 303); P. Dupuy to Peiresc, 12 October 1627 (Aix-en-Provence, Bibl. Méjanas, MS 1028, fols. 326-327; see Appendix IV.4).

resc judged a cast of a cameo received in May 1628 still suitable for publication.<sup>37</sup> This was the last mention made of the Gem Book.

Nine engravings and a number of drawings are the surviving evidence of Rubens's involvement in the project for a Gem Book. Of the drawings, Peiresc's notes indicate that two large cameos drawn, but not engraved, were intended for publication (Nos. 163 and 165; Figs. 309 and 310). It is not at all certain whether the sketches after smaller gems were meant for the book (Nos. 174-183). The two largest cameos, the *Gemma Tiberiana* (No. 168; Fig. 323) and the *Gemma Augustaea* (No. 164; Fig. 315) were engraved, as well as about six gems from Rubens's collection (Nos. 169-171; Figs. 330, 335 and 336), and a few others of which the seventeenth-century location is not known (Nos. 166, 167; Figs. 317, 320). Seven engravings form a homogeneous group of prints, unsigned and undated, with the representation against a dark, contrasting background. The remaining two prints, signed by Lucas Vorsterman I and picturing *uomini illustri*, are quite different, and it is doubtful that they would have been acceptable to Rubens, although I think that they were made on his initiative (Nos. 172-173; Figs. 341, 342). Three of the portraits on the Vorsterman prints were in fact redone for one of the anonymous prints (No. 170; Fig. 336).<sup>38</sup>

Albert Rubens later used the engravings of the *Gemma Tiberiana* and the *Gemma Augustaea*, plus one of the head of a laurelled emperor (No. 170; Fig. 336, centre), to illustrate treatises on the two large cameos, published in 1665, after his death. The print with the *Gemma Tiberiana* (No. 168; Fig. 323) was frequently copied, in spite of the fact that it pictured the gem in mirror image, but the print with the *Gemma Augustaea* (No. 164; Fig. 315), less accurate, was not so well received, and a new engraving was made in 1666, based on the original stone.

The series of engravings was apparently rare and relatively unknown. P.J. Mariette owned a complete set and was the first to discuss them in his 1750 literature survey on ancient engraved gems. He elaborated on a print with *The Triumph of Licinius* (No. 167; Fig. 320), which he particularly liked. The engraving of an emperor and his family riding on a chariot drawn by centaurs (No. 166; Fig. 317) puzzled Mariette, since the print differed so much from a later publication featuring the same cameo. Pointing to other reproductions, he noted the remarkable quality of the Rubens engravings, which did not surprise him for an artist so erudite and interested in the

<sup>37</sup> Peiresc to Rubens, 19 May 1628 (*Rooses-Ruelens*, IV, p. 411).

<sup>38</sup> Van der Meulen, *Opgetekende Portretjes*, pp. 159-162.

Antique. However, Mariette also criticised Rubens, saying that he 'had drawn them too much in his own style'.<sup>39</sup>

The text of the Gem Book was never written, but the correspondence between Rubens and Peiresc on the subject was extensive. It is most revealing in its detailed accounts of their identifications of the portraits on the *Gemma Tiberiana* and the *Gemma Augustaea*, as well as their efforts to determine the events commemorated on the cameos. The representation on the *Gemma Tiberiana* (Fig. 324; cf. No. 168) was identified by Peiresc as the Apotheosis of Augustus for the central figure in the composition. Nowadays, it is generally interpreted as the Apotheosis of Germanicus, but the debate continues. Peiresc thought that the *Gemma Augustaea* (text ill. 46; cf. No. 164) pictured the same subject. The scene on the upper section with the emperor seated next to Roma was reidentified by Albert Rubens as the Triumph of Tiberius, an opinion still accepted.

The identity of the figure riding on the 'Triumphant Quadriga' was more difficult to establish (Fig. 319; cf. No. 167: *The Triumph of Licinius*). Rubens suggested that he was an emperor: Theodosius, Aurelian or Probus. Peiresc hesitated between Theodosius and Aurelian. A drawing in Berlin of a cameo with an emperor and his wife riding on a dragon chariot bears annotations labelling the couple as Claudius and Agrippina (No. 165; Fig. 310); the identification is close, as the woman is now considered to be Messalina, another of Claudius' wives. A cameo in Rubens's possession of an empress flanked by cornucopias (from each of which a child emerges) was correctly recognized as Messalina and her children (Fig. 328; cf. No. 169). Rubens identified another of his cameos bearing a bust of a middle-aged man with an aquiline nose and a laurel wreath on his head as Constantine the Great. Peiresc, however, noted that his face was 'rather old and wrinkled like a Galba' (Fig. 333; cf. No. 170, Fig. 336, bottom left).<sup>40</sup>

Basing himself on numismatic sources, Rubens correctly identified several of his smaller gemstones, a young prince as *C. Caesar Augusti Nepos* and a youth as *Germanicus* (both on No. 172; Fig. 341). The second cameo, now in St Petersburg, is reflected in two paintings with double portraits of Germanicus and his wife Agrippina. These differ: a painting in Chapel Hill

<sup>39</sup> Mariette, *Pierres Gravées*, pp. 299-301, 345-351, 376-377. Mariette raised the question for what purpose Rubens had the engravings made (see Introduction, note 51 for quote). Cf. C.T. de Murr, *Bibliothèque de peinture, de sculpture et de gravure*, Frankfurt-Leipzig, 1770, pp. 322, 385. This author apparently was well aware that Rubens had intended the prints for a publication of ancient gems.

<sup>40</sup> Peiresc described the cameo in detail (Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS Fr. N. Acq. 1209, fol. 17v, no. 8; see Appendix V.2).



shows Germanicus in front (*text ill. 80*), while another in Washington has Agrippina in the foreground (*text ill. 81*). Agrippina's portrait may refer to another cameo, known to have been in Rubens's collection.<sup>41</sup> The concept for the double portrait was derived from the famous Gonzaga cameo belonging to Vincenzo Gonzaga, Duke of Mantua. The cameo, much admired, pictures Alexander the Great with his mother Olympias (Fig. 435).<sup>42</sup> A similar gemstone would later be part of Rubens's glyptic collection, and was sold to the Duke of Buckingham in 1626.<sup>43</sup>

Rubens evidently entertained a special fondness for Alexander the Great, stemming perhaps from his days in Italy when he studied the Gonzaga cameo. In Rome, Rubens had seen a large onyx with a combat scene interpreted as the *Battle of Alexander the Great against the Indians* among the cameos in the possession of Lelio Pasqualino (cf. No. 163; Fig. 309; see note 20). In 1622, when he wanted to include it in the Gem Book, a cast was ordered. One of the drawings copied after Galle's originals shows a gold coin with a helmeted Alexander (albeit a Renaissance invention). This sketch, executed in pen and ink, is one of two in the series attributed to Rubens (No. 213; Fig. 439).

Rubens acquired a number of cameos with the likeness of Alexander the Great for his own collection. An Index of 1628 listing gems belonging to Rubens identified Alexander on three of the fifty-three stones mentioned.<sup>44</sup> All three were engraved for the Gem Book. Two are featured on a print *Three Heads in Profile* (No. 169; Fig. 330), the third is found on a separate print (No.

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41 The cameo is listed on Rubens's Index (Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS Fr. 9530, fol. 248r: 'No. 1 Agrippina Germanici'; see Appendix V.1; cf. *Van der Meulen, Antiquarius*, pp. 125-126, no. G.44). Both paintings by Rubens are discussed by M. Jaffé, 'Some Recent Acquisitions of Seventeenth-Century Flemish Painting', *Report and Studies in the History of Art, National Gallery of Art, Washington*, I, pp. 21-23, figs. 23-25, surmising that the Washington painting was made first (c.1614); cf. also *De Grummond, Coins and Gems*, pp. 237-238, figs. 39-40. In my opinion Rubens's paintings date to the late 1620s, to the time when he was involved with the Gem Book.

42 The cameo, first mounted on the Shrine of the Three Kings in Cologne, was stolen in 1574 (cf. R. Noll, *Neues zu alibekanntem Kunstwerken der Wiener Antikensammlung*, Vienna-Cologne-Graz, 1970, pp. 63-65). The stone resurfaced in Rome in 1586 and was offered for sale by a Flemish merchant (Fulvio Orsini to Cardinal Alessandro Farnese 7 October 1586; cf. F. Orsini, *Lettere ai Farnese (Atti e memorie delle deputazioni di storia patria dell' Emilia, N.S. IV, 2)*, Modena, 1879, p. 64, no. XIX.

43 The inventory of Albert Rubens's gems lists a box containing eight gems which are copies skilfully made after large cameos sold to the Duke of Buckingham, among them 'Alexander and Olympias with Jupiter Ammon in his sinus' (Besançon, Bibl. Municipale, MS Chifflet 189, fol. 7r, 'cista 14a', no. 2; see Appendix VIII; cf. *Van der Meulen, Antiquarius*, pp. 129-130, no. \*G.48, fig. XII,D).

44 Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS Fr. 9530, fols. 248r, nos. 2, 3, 4 (see Appendix V.1).

171; Fig. 335). This cameo is now renamed *Africa* (Fig. 334), an identification proposed by Peiresc. Not mentioned on the Index is a gem with Alexander wearing a lion's skin, which is illustrated on Lucas Vorsterman's engraving *Four Heads in Profile II* (No. 173; Fig. 342. See also No. 178, Fig. 348 for Rubens's pen sketch in New York). Also not listed is the gem with the double portrait of *Alexander and Olympias* referred to above (see note 43). A 1658 inventory of Albert Rubens's gem collection lists a statue of agate picturing Alexander, his name inscribed in Greek letters, which previously may have belonged to the artist.<sup>45</sup> The Macedonian king would inspire Rubens on several occasions.<sup>46</sup> For instance, a painting in Schloss Wörlitz (Dessau) of *Alexander Crowning Roxane* shows his characteristic facial features reflecting Rubens's cameo of *Alexander the Great as Jupiter Ammon* (Fig. 326).

The engraving *Five Heads in Profile* shows five portraits placed in two rows. The print is obviously unfinished, with a blank space on the left and a larger space at the bottom (No. 170; Fig. 336). As several of Rubens's cameos are pictured on the print, we may wonder whether some others of his were to be included. A possible addition was a cameo of Livilla, bearing in her *sinus* the twins from her marriage to Drusus. It was much admired and described in detail by Peiresc.<sup>47</sup> The cameo was sold to the Duke of Buckingham and is now in the Cabinet des Médailles in Paris.<sup>48</sup>

Only Peiresc's elaborate description attests to the beauty of a cameo of Cleopatra. Her head crowned with poppies and ears of wheat, she wore on a pale blue robe the effigy of Marc Anthony.<sup>49</sup> Last mentioned in the inventory of Albert Rubens, the stone is probably now lost.<sup>50</sup> Rubens had another remarkable stone depicting *The Marriage of Cupid and Psyche*, according to

45 Besançon, Bibl. Municipale, MS Chifflet 189, fol. 7r, 'Theca separata' (see Appendix VIII).

46 Evers, *Neue Forschungen*, p. 269, figs. 290-291; J.G. van Gelder, 'Rubens in Holland in de zeventiende eeuw', *Nederlands kunsthistorisch jaarboek*, III, 1950-1951, p. 111, fig. 3.

47 Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS Fr. N. Acq. 1209, fol. 17r, no. 5 (see Appendix V.2). The *Livilla* is listed on Rubens's Index (Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS Fr. 9530, fol. 248v, no. 31; see Appendix V.1). Peiresc had already referred to the gem in 1621 (Peiresc to Rubens, 23 December 1621; *Rooses-Ruelens*, II, p. 316) and praised it among the portraits in his letter of 1628 (Peiresc to Rubens, 19 May 1628; *Rooses-Ruelens*, IV, p. 409).

48 *Babelon, Catalogue*, p. 112, no. 243, pl. XXV, as a bust of *Julia*; *Van der Meulen, Antiquarius*, p. 149, no. G.69, fig. XIV,C.

49 Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS Fr. N. Acq. 1209, fol. 17r, no. 4 (see Appendix V.2). The unidentified cameo of *Cleopatra* is listed on Rubens's Index (*ibid.*, MS Fr. 9530, fol. 248r, no. 11; see Appendix V.1; cf. *Van der Meulen, Antiquarius*, p. 138, no. G.59). Peiresc praised it among the portraits in his letter of 1628 (Peiresc to Rubens, 19 May 1628; *Rooses-Ruelens*, IV, p. 409).

50 Besançon, Bibl. Municipale, MS Chifflet 189, fol. 2r, 'Cista 1<sup>a</sup>', no. 17 (see Appendix VIII).

the inscription a work of Tryphon. It was highly praised by Peiresc.<sup>51</sup> Later in the possession of the Duke of Arundel, it is now in the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston (*text ill.* 66). Another cameo, identified by Peiresc as *The Return of Odysseus*, was certainly worth engraving, in spite of its slightly damaged condition, as Peiresc remarked.<sup>52</sup> Known in several replicas, the cameo is possibly identical with a two-layered ancient glass paste in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York (*text ill.* 65).

Although the Gem Book was never completed, the documentation on the project shows Rubens to be a scholar of ancient history and a connoisseur of glyptic art.

### *Twelve Famous Greek and Roman Men*

Rubens's antique sculptures rivalled his glyptic collection in importance. He began his collection in Rome, and an early acquisition was a head of Seneca.<sup>53</sup> In Antwerp, the marbles were displayed in his Museum, a semi-circular edifice with herms and busts arranged in eight niches along a top tier and the larger sculptures below.<sup>54</sup> A print of 1692 by Jacob Harrewyn shows Rubens's house with a separate view of the interior of the Museum (*text ill.* 83). An engraving of 1684, also by Harrewyn, renders the entrance of Rubens's house as built in 1611, its façade decorated with four niches which also contained herms and busts (*text ill.* 82).

In June 1618, Rubens enlarged his collection considerably by an exchange of paintings and tapestries for antique sculptures belonging to Sir Dudley

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51 Peiresc's detailed description of the cameo does not mention the signature of Tryphon (Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS Fr. 9530, fol. 194r; see Appendix V.4). The cameo is listed on Rubens's Index with a brief description noting the use of the *flammeum* and the inscription (*ibid.*, fol. 248v, no. 35; see Appendix V.1; cf. *Van der Meulen, Antiquarius*, pp. 107-108, no. G.7, fig. XIV,A). See Chapter III, note 95 above.

52 Peiresc to Rubens, 19 May 1628 (*Rooses-Ruelens*, IV, pp. 410-411). Two detailed descriptions by Peiresc are extant (Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS Fr. 9530, fols. 194v and 240r; see Appendix V.5 and V.6). The stone is listed on Rubens's Index as 'Lares, if I am not mistaken...'. Peiresc's note in the margin reveals that he interpreted the scene as *The Return of Odysseus*, recognized by his dog, referring to Homer (Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS Fr. 9530, fol. 248v, no. 29; see Appendix V.1; cf. *Van der Meulen, Antiquarius*, pp. 120-121, no. G.35, fig. XIV,B). The cameo is now identified as *The Return of Orestes* (G.M.A. Richter, *Catalogue of Engraved Gems, Greek, Etruscan and Roman, New York, Metropolitan Museum, New York, 1956*, pp. 127-128, no. 635, pl. LXXI) or perhaps as *Phaedra and Hippolytus* (see *Van der Meulen, Antiquarius*, p. 121, under no. G.35).

53 *Van der Meulen, Antiquarius*, p. 17, n. 1.

54 *Muller, Rubens's Museum*, p. 576, figs. 3-5. It was built in c.1618 as an addition to the existing house.

Carleton, the Ambassador of England to the Hague.<sup>55</sup> A majority of these marbles were portrait sculptures. Similar portraits can be seen on the *Sense of Sight* by Jan Brueghel and Rubens (Madrid, Prado; *text ill.* 84) painted in 1617 in Antwerp.<sup>56</sup> One clearly recognizes the heads of Nero and Vitellius, next to each other on the left side of the top shelf. On the bottom shelf Seneca and Brutus are visible above a terrestrial globe. On the other side of the same shelf we see a head of Marcus Aurelius. In the background of the painting is another room with two bearded herms resembling Hippocrates and Plato standing on the floor. These may be seen more clearly on the painting by Jan Brueghel II, *Venus and Cupid in an Art Collector's Cabinet* (Philadelphia, J.J. Johnson Collection; *text ill.* 86), where they are placed on shelves.<sup>57</sup>

Rubens's collection of portrait sculptures was one of the oldest and the largest of its kind in the Low Countries. It was rivalled only later by the marbles that belonged to Gerard Reynst, who acquired them around 1629 from Andrea Vendramin in Venice.<sup>58</sup> The influence of Rubens's antique bust of Seneca in portrait paintings has been shown before,<sup>59</sup> but Rubens was also one of the first in the North to own a portrait bust of Vitellius of a type that was quite popular in Italy in the cinquecento (cf. No. 130; Fig. 251). Rubens's new sculptures soon gained international fame, and in 1619 Peiresc re-

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55 For the history of Rubens's marbles see Muller, *Rubens's Museum*, pp. 571-576. The list of the marbles purchased by Carleton and shipped from Venice to London in 1615 is provided, *ibid.*, pp. 581-582. The list of marbles shipped by Dudley Carleton from London to The Hague in 1617 is printed in N. Sainsbury, *Original Unpublished Papers, Illustrative of the Life of Sir Peter Paul Rubens, as an Artist and a Diplomat*, London, 1859, pp. 302-303. In 1616, Carleton had also acquired a chest with eighteen marbles which were sent from Antwerp to the Hague (Muller, *Rubens's Museum*, p. 571). They could have been painted on *Sense of Sight* by J. Brueghel and Rubens (*text ill.* 84; Madrid, Prado). See note 56.

56 Speth-Holterhoff, *Cabinets*, p. 53. The painting is dated 1617, but Rubens did not acquire the sculptures until June 1618. It is not known to which collection the portrait busts belonged that are pictured on Brueghel's painting, but it may well be an Antwerp collection.

57 *Ibid.*, p. 122. The painting is undated, but was possibly made in the 1620s.

58 A.M. Logan, *The 'Cabinet' of the Brothers Gerard and Jan Reynst (Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen. Verhandelingen, Afd. Letterkunde, N.R. XCIX)*, Amsterdam-Oxford-New York, 1979, pp. 45-55. A survey of the collections in the Northern Netherlands is given by Van Gelder-Jost, *Jan de Bisschop*, pp. 35-50. Little is known about the contents of collections of antique marbles in Antwerp. An exception is the collection of Burgomaster Nicolaas Rockox, who owned a number of portrait sculptures. A transcript and illustration of the page of Rockox's inventory listing his 'marmora antiqua' is given by Scheller, *Rockox*, pp. 17-38. Six of the busts are pictured on a painting by Frans Francken II, *A Banquet at the House of Burgomaster Rockox* (*text ill.* 87; Munich, Alte Pinakothek; Scheller, *Rockox*, p. 26, figs. 7, 8).

59 W. Prinz, 'The "Four Philosophers" by Rubens and the Pseudo-Seneca in Seventeenth-Century Painting', *The Art Bulletin*, LV, 3, 1973, pp. 410-428.

quested and received an inventory.<sup>60</sup> This document has not been preserved, but from Peiresc's reply we know that it listed busts of Cicero, Seneca and Chrysippus.<sup>61</sup>

The same marbles appear a number of times in Rubens's artistic *oeuvre*, for instance, when he used the heads of Galba, Julius Caesar and Seneca for physiognomical studies. He drew these marbles from an unconventional point of view: by tilting the sculpture backwards the head appears to be looking up, and its chin and throat become clearly visible. A drawing in St Petersburg shows the bust of Seneca in such a position with the focus on the ageing skin and sagging muscles (Fig. 225). The bust of Galba, drawn from a similar angle, served to compare the flabby skin of the human throat with the wattle of a cow (Fig. 247). The artist observed the equine features in Julius Caesar's countenance and equated the straight nose and bony structure of the face with the head of a horse (Figs. 192, 194).<sup>62</sup> The bust of Julius Caesar served as model for a painting of the Roman emperor (Berlin, Schloss Grunewald; Fig. 195) commissioned by Stadtholder Frederik Hendrik in 1618.<sup>63</sup>

Three of these marbles are featured on paintings portraying scholars and friends. The much cherished head of Seneca was placed in a niche above the figure of the neo-stoic scholar Justus Lipsius, posthumously portrayed with his disciples Philip Rubens and Jan van den Wouwer in c.1611 (Florence, Palazzo Pitti; Fig. 219). The marble is an allusion to Lipsius' 1605 edition of Seneca's *Opera Omnia*. In the background of his portrait of Ludovicus Nonnius (London, National Gallery) from c.1628 the inscribed herm of Hippocrates, the first Greek physician, was added (Fig. 206), fittingly, since the sitter himself was a Doctor of Medicine. When Rubens painted the portrait of his friend Jan Caspar Gevaerts, Secretary of the City of Antwerp, the bust of Emperor Marcus Aurelius was placed on the desk in front of him (Antwerp, Museum; *text ill.* 85; c. 1628).<sup>64</sup> This sculpture was deliberately

60 Peiresc to Gevaerts, 25 October 1619 (*Roses-Ruelens*, II, p. 231).

61 Peiresc to Gevaerts, 17 January 1620 (*ibid.*, p. 240).

62 See Chapter II, note 47.

63 J.G. van Gelder, *op. cit.* (note 46), p. 134, fig. 20.

64 The marble portrait of *Marcus Aurelius* was probably among the sculptures acquired from Dudley Carleton. The 1615 shipping list mentions such a head in chest no. 22 as no. 30 (*Muller, Rubens's Museum*, p. 582, no. 30). It was probably included in the sale to the Duke of Buckingham in 1626. The indenture of the Duke's estate of 1635 lists a *Marcus Aurelius* in the Gallery (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Rawlinson A 341, fol. 36r; see Appendix VII.1). A bust of *Marcus Aurelius Antoninus* was seen by Dubuisson Aubenay in the Gallery in 1637 (*Halkin, Dubuisson-Aubenay*, p. 184).

chosen, as Gevaerts had been working since 1623 on a commentary of Marcus Aurelius's book *Τὰ εἰς ἑαυτὸν*, (*Reflections on Oneself*). Gevaerts considered this book, written during the emperor's battle against the Teutonic tribes, the most exquisite writing of Antiquity.<sup>65</sup> With these portrait paintings, Rubens created a new genre: the scholar in his study, the bust subtly emphasizing his expertise.<sup>66</sup>

Several of these herms and busts also occur on engravings of a series of twelve sculptures of 'uomini illustri', Rubens's last archaeological project, finalized in 1638 towards the end of his life (Nos. 108-119). The prints picture famous men from Antiquity, half a dozen Greeks and an equal number of Romans. The format is uniform: the models were herms, cuirassed or draped busts, with heads truncated at the neck. All are seen at eye level but, interestingly, from different angles and with varying backgrounds. The unifying factor is formed by legends that were most likely the work of a single engraver. In spite of slight variations in size, the prints make a homogenous impression and undoubtedly belonged together.<sup>67</sup>

The plates were engraved by four artists: Boethius à Bolswert, Paul Pontius, Lucas Vorsterman I and Hans Witdoeck. Pontius engraved no less than five plates: *Hippocrates* (No. 113), *Nero* (No. 114), *Scipio Africanus* (No. 116), *Socrates* (No. 118) and *Sophocles* (No. 119), while Witdoeck engraved only two: *Cicero* (No. 110) and *Demosthenes* (No. 112). Their prints bear the date of 1638. Two of the four engravings by Vorsterman are undated: *Democritus* (No. 111) and *Plato* (No. 115). His *Brutus* (No. 108) and *Seneca* (No. 117) were finished in 1638. An undated plate of *Julius Caesar* (No. 109) is the only contribution of Bolswert, who died in 1633. Apparently the engraving process had started much earlier and took several years to finish. The legends

65 Gevaerts referred to his studies on the writings of the Antonine emperor in his letters. However, his *Commentarius in M. Aurelii Τῶν εἰς ἑαυτὸν, Libri XII*, was never completed. Cf. Gevaerts to Peiresc, 25 May 1625 (*Rooses-Ruelens*, III, p. 171); Rubens to Gevaerts, 29 December 1628 (*Rooses-Ruelens*, V, p. 14); Gevaerts to Peiresc, 15 January 1629 (*ibid.*, p. 22).

66 F. Baudouin, *Pietro Paolo Rubens*, New York, 1977, pp. 204-205. W. Prinz, *op. cit.* (note 59), p. 425, assumed that the artist rendered the state of mind of the sitter. An anonymous painting (St Petersburg, Hermitage) with Rubens and his son Albert pictures a Roman *Hekateion* standing in a niche in the background. The marble statuette of *Hecate Triformis* belonged to Rubens's collection (now Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden) and was possibly interpreted as the *Three Graces*. It may have been included in the painting as an allusion to the intellectual qualities (philosophy, rhetoric and mathematics) in which the father hoped his son would excel. Cf. F.L. Bastet, 'Oudheden uit Rubens' verzameling te Leiden', *Nederlands kunsthistorisch jaarboek*, XXXI, 1980, pp. 74-81, figs. 5-7.

67 Renger, *Rubens Dedit*, p. 163, because of the varying sizes, doubted that the twelve engravings were intended as a series. But, the round number of twelve prints (six Greek and six Roman *uomini illustri*) also supports the hypothesis of a series. See also the introduction to Nos. 108-119, note 4.

were evidently added after the entire set was completed. This position is supported by the copyright formula '*Cum priuilegiis Regis Christianissimi, Principum Belgarum et Ord. Batauiaie*' at the bottom right, dating from after 1635 when the Cardinal-Infante Ferdinand governed the Southern Netherlands.<sup>68</sup>

The legend in the bottom right credits Rubens with making the preparatory drawings. Not all of these are known. Work drawings are preserved for only six engravings, and one of them is certainly not by Rubens: a beautiful, detailed pen drawing in Paris (Fondation Custodia, F. Lugt Collection; No. 115a, Copy 2; Fig. 214), hitherto unknown and unpublished, was the model for Vorsterman's engraving of a herm of Plato and bears his monogram. Vorsterman had apparently made his own work drawing, probably using a rough sketch by Rubens as his model, which is now lost. The drawing in New York (Fig. 212) can only qualify as a copy, perhaps made by Vorsterman in preparation for his more finished drawing. The sheet in Paris is the only one signed. The remaining five preparatory drawings—those for the engravings of *Brutus* (No. 108a; Fig. 188), *Nero* (No. 114a; Fig. 208) *Seneca* (No. 117a; Fig. 224), *Democritus* (No. 111a, Copy; Fig. 199), and *Julius Caesar* (No. 109a; Fig. 190)—bear no signature. With the exception of the last one, they are also primarily pen drawings. The first three lack the very fine uniform lines of the Vorsterman drawing in Paris (Fig. 214) and they are drawn in vigorous, irregular, coarse pen strokes, probably by Rubens's hand. The drawing of *Democritus* (Fig. 199) is stylistically closer to Vorsterman's style. Rubens sketched heads of *Nero* (Fig. 208) and *Seneca* (Fig. 224) first with black chalk. That chalk sketch was later worked up with the pen, but probably not by Rubens himself. The fifth drawing (*Julius Caesar*; Fig. 190), worked up entirely with the brush, is quite different and in my opinion is not likely to be a work of the master.

Rubens must have supervised the project and given his engravers approval to go ahead and engrave the copper plates. After this, proof prints were made and revised by the master. Rubens was evidently not satisfied with the first results. Five proof impressions *avant la lettre* of *Cicero* (No. 110b; Fig. 198), *Demosthenes* (No. 112b; Fig. 204), *Nero* (No. 114b; Fig. 210), *Scipio Africanus* (No. 116b; Fig. 216) and *Seneca* (No. 117b; Fig. 222) are extant in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, and show corrections to be made on the engraved plates. Several of these modifications are clearly visible in the final state of the engravings. No touched-up proof print is known of *Sophocles*

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<sup>68</sup> Ibid.

(No. 119; Fig. 229), but the final engraving reveals a correction to the contour of the neck.

The series of *Twelve Famous Greek and Roman Men* has been included in all the catalogues dealing with prints after Rubens's designs, beginning with the *Cabinet des Singularitez* compiled by Florent le Comte in 1699.<sup>69</sup> In art historical literature on Rubens's engravings the prints have been widely discussed, most recently in Renger's extensive publication (see note 67). Yet the significance of the engravings does not lie so much in the relationship to Rubens's *oeuvre* (for which it is only of secondary importance) but in their iconographical meaning. As with the engravings after classical statues and reliefs in Philip Rubens, *Electorum Libri II* (1608), the two prints picturing sculptures of Seneca in Lipsius' *Opera Omnia* edition of 1615, and the series showing antique cameos for the planned Gem Book, the *raison d'être* of the twelve engravings after ancient portrait sculptures was to reproduce ancient iconography. In the past some attention has been given to the archaeological aspect of the series,<sup>70</sup> but the iconographical importance, which was probably Rubens's only motive for issuing the prints, has not been fully examined. Surprisingly, the series is not featured in studies on the history of classical portraits, nor is Rubens's name mentioned along with other early scholars contributing to ancient iconography. Yet he deserves a place among them.

Early studies of classical portraiture in the Renaissance evolved from the popularity of ancient coins. The first to reproduce such coins was Andrea Fulvio, whose *Illustrium Imagines* (Rome, 1517) pictures 120 small woodcuts of 'Imperatorum & Illustrium Virorum ac Mulierum Vultus' and includes a short *vita* with each coin. Only Roman effigies were represented, except in two cases.<sup>71</sup> His study of Roman iconography using contemporary sources was followed by many more numismatic publications.<sup>72</sup>

69 F. le Comte, *Cabinet des singularitez d'architecture, peinture, sculpture et graveure*, Paris, 1699, I, p. 110.

70 N.T. de Grummond, in [Cat. Exh.] *Rubens in Prints*, Williamsburg, Va.-Little Rock, Ark., 1977, no. 6; B. Gaehtgens, in [Cat. Exh.] *Rubens in der Grafik*, Göttingen, 1977, pp. 23-24, 78, 110-113, 119, 121-122, nos. 3, 50, 76, 77, 84 and 85, repr.; H.M. Zijlstra-Zweens, 'Antieke Karakterkoppen van Rubens', *Hermeneus*, XLIX, 1977, pp. 202-206.

71 P.O. Rave, 'Paolo Giovio und die Bildnisvitenbücher des Humanismus', *Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen*, I, 1959, pp. 127-128, figs. 6-7; R. Weiss, *The Renaissance Discovery of Classical Antiquity*, 2nd edn, Oxford, 1973, pp. 178-179.

72 P.O. Rave, op. cit., pp. 128-132; E. Babelon, *Traité des monnaies grecques et romaines*, Paris, 1901, I, cols. 89-164; Hülsen, *Hermeninschriften*, pp. 124-126.



Since the Renaissance, classical portrait sculptures were much in demand to decorate libraries and art galleries, yet scientific interest was aroused only after the middle of the sixteenth century by the discovery of a group of herms later acquired by Pope Julius III.<sup>73</sup> Achilles Staius (Estaço) was the first to publish a book with portrait sculpture, mainly Greek herms. Some of the busts reproduced on the fifty-two plates in his *Illustrium viror. ut exstant in Urbe expressi vultus* (Rome, 1569) are falsifications, and only nineteen are identified.<sup>74</sup> The sculptures, placed on a ledge against a uniform black background, seen at eye level from various angles, are all reproduced on full-page engravings (Fig. 230). The prints are reliable, but coarse and dry. The value of the publication lies in the information it provides on the whereabouts (including some points of discovery) and the correctly transcribed inscriptions on the shafts.

Working simultaneously on a similar project was Fulvio Orsini, whose *Imagines et elogia virorum illustrium et eruditor. ex antiquis lapidibus et nominatib. expressa cum annotationib. ex bibliotheca Fulvi Ursini*, was issued in Rome in 1570.<sup>75</sup> The title is deceptive, as portraits from other collections were also included. Many *vitae* were printed on the facing pages. The scope of the publication was expanded by including coins and gems, and a scholarly note is added by the literary references quoted in the text.

Orsini's antiquities supplied the majority of the models drawn and engraved by Dirk Galle (Theodoor Gallaeus) and published in Antwerp in 1598 as *Illustrium Imagines*.<sup>76</sup> The illustrations are faithful reproductions of sculptures, coins and gems, but they are rather monotonous. The sculptures are all seen in a three-quarter view against a dark background (Fig. 461). All 151 portraits are labelled, some with unlikely and fanciful names, while locations and models are given in the legends below.

Rubens undoubtedly knew these publications. For instance, the portrait of Plato on Vorsterman's print *Four Heads in Profile II* (No. 173; Fig. 342) is derived from an engraving by T. Galle (Fig. 460; see also No. 221). Several of these books are listed in the *catalogus librorum* of Albert Rubens, but they may have originally belonged to his father's library.<sup>77</sup> On page 11 is listed *Fulvii Ursinii Imagines Graecorum Illustrium*, and on page 13 *Fulvii Ursinii*,

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73 Hülsen, *Hermeninschriften*, pp. 126-128.

74 *Ibid.*, pp. 136-139.

75 *Ibid.*, pp. 139-143.

76 *Ibid.*, pp. 150-154.

77 For Albert Rubens's library see See Chapter I, note 7.

*Illustrium Imagines*. The first entry must refer to Orsini's book of 1570, the second one to Galle's publication of 1598 or the revised edition of 1606 (see above, p. 129). Stadius' book is not listed, but his illustrations were copied by Orsini.

Rubens's series of *Famous Greek and Roman Men* is strikingly similar in its format to Stadius' book, but the influence of Galle's engravings is also clear. The term '*in marmore*' on Rubens's captions must have been derived from Galle. It seems redundant, since it is obvious that only marble sculptures served as models. The inscriptions on the Greek herms of *Hippocrates* (No. 113; Fig. 207), *Demosthenes* (No. 112; Fig. 205), and possibly *Sophocles* (No. 119; Fig. 229) are omitted on Rubens's engravings and replaced by lengthy identifications '*more Graecorum praenomine*' in the captions.<sup>78</sup> The complete Roman names must have been taken from coins.

Several questions come to mind. How correct were Rubens's identifications of the *viri illustri*? And were the sculptures indeed antique, as the captions so explicitly claim?

We may assume that some sculptures were identified following Galle, but other portraits of the Rubens set cannot be found in any of the older publications. Unlike his predecessors he does not mention the locations of the models with the exception of the herm of *Demosthenes* which belonged to Burgomaster Nicolaas Rockox. This could imply that the remaining sculptures were all in one and the same collection—his own. He may have believed it redundant to add this information. Our knowledge of Rubens's collection is far from complete, but there is reasonable certainty that it contained six of the eleven sculptures: *Brutus*, *Julius Caesar*, *Cicero*, *Nero*, *Scipio Africanus* and *Seneca*. In the 1635 Indenture of the Duke of Buckingham a number of portraits are identified by the same name as those on the prints.<sup>79</sup> Although Rubens had disposed of a large number of his sculptures in 1626, by selling them to the Duke of Buckingham, he still owned several busts according to the 1641 inventory of his own estate. Unfortunately, none of these are named.<sup>80</sup>

Only one of the models for the series of engravings after portrait sculptures has been identified so far: the herm of *Demosthenes* (Fig. 203), then in the possession of Rockox (now Stockholm). The Greek herm dates from the fourth century B.C. but Peiresc's doubts on the inscription and the semi-

78 Faber, *Illustrium Imagines*, p. 81: '*more Graecorum praenomine integrè expresso*'.

79 Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Rawlinson A 341, fol. 36r: *Brutus, Julius Caesar, Nero, Seneca*; fol. 36v: *Scipio* (see Appendix VII.1).

80 Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS Fr. 18987, fol. 205: '*Aucunes belles testes antiques de marbre*'.

baldness of the head were justified: both date from the Renaissance. The portrait is now recognized as *Anacreon* (cf. No. 112).

None of Rubens's portrait sculptures have been recovered, but replicas of antique portrait types are extant, and they may convince us that a Rubens marble was a genuine, classical piece. The *Cicero*, *Hippocrates*, *Plato*, *Seneca*, *Scipio Africanus*, *Socrates* and *Sophocles* are indeed ancient types, but, except for *Sophocles*, are wrongly identified. The portraits of *Brutus*, *Julius Caesar*, *Democritus* and *Nero* are correctly named, but were probably Renaissance falsifications, particularly the *Democritus*.

Thus, most of the sculptures go back to ancient types, but their identification was generally incorrect. This is not surprising, since our iconographical knowledge has advanced greatly during the last century as a result of the discovery of many inscribed portrait sculptures.

The sculptures reproduced form a heterogenous ensemble of *virii illustri*: Greek philosophers, authors, and a physician are lumped together with Roman commanders, politicians, an emperor and a poet. This odd grouping must have been the result of their presence among Rubens's busts and herms, with the *Demosthenes* herm added as an interesting piece from Rockox.

Rubens apparently had no central theme in mind when selecting the twelve sculptures for engraving.<sup>81</sup> Following in the footsteps of Statius, Orsini and Galle, his main goal was to reproduce antique sculptures of certified portraits. Rubens expanded Galle's repertory by adding a new portrait of *Democritus*. He supplanted Galle's numismatical sources by portraits in marble of *Brutus*, *Cicero* and *Hippocrates*. He improved on Galle's effigies of *Nero*, *Julius Caesar* and *Plato*, which had been derived from glyptic art. He also provided more reliable likenesses of *Demosthenes* and *Sophocles* by picturing herms instead of roundels.

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81 The grouping of non-related portraits of *virii illustri* already occurred in Antiquity. A mixture of philosophers, poets, commanders and politicians decorated the *lararium* of Alexander Severus (T. Lorenz, *Galerien von griechischen Philosophen*, Mainz, [1965], pp. 1-2, 50-52). For the appreciation and display of *virii illustri* and imperial portraits in Antiquity see R. Neudecker, *Die Skulpturen-Ausstattung römischer Villen in Italien*, Mainz am Rhein, [1988], pp. 64-91. Eighteen marble busts of philosophers found in Rome near the Baths of Diocletian (F. Vacca, *Memorie di varia antichità trovate in diversi luoghi della Città di Roma scritte...1594*, edn T. Schreiber, *Berichte über die Verhandlungen der königl. Sächs. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig, Phil. Hist. Klasse*, XXXIII, 1881, p. 81 no. 97) consisted of philosophers, poets, an orator, a legislator, and a commander. They were acquired by the Farnese family (before 1594) and were displayed together in the *sala de filosofi* in the Palazzo Farnese (T. Lorenz, *op. cit.*, pp. 6-10). Cf. an entry in the unpublished inventory of 1653 (Parma, Archivio dello Stato, fol. 377r): 'Dicidotto teste de filosofi di marmo...'

The date of 1638 for the engravings does not correlate with Rubens's other archaeological pursuits. Rubens had sold most of his antique sculptures in 1626, and it is unlikely that he would have started a project of this kind in later years. Instead, it may well be that an old project was finally completed in 1638.<sup>82</sup> There are indications that the project began many years earlier. When Peiresc referred to Rubens's ancient portrait busts in 1621, he wrote that these pieces 'deserved to be drawn and engraved'.<sup>83</sup> And, in 1624 Peiresc inquired after unpublished portraits of '*persone illustri*,' that could be engraved for the same publication. At the time, Rubens was having the illustrations for the Gem Book engraved, and apparently had plans to expand the project to include antique portrait sculptures as well.<sup>84</sup> Thus, it may have been Peiresc's initiative to publish Rubens's portrait busts. The death of the French scholar in 1637 possibly spurred Rubens to finish the engravings.

The series of *Twelve Famous Greek and Roman Men* has evident artistic merit. The prints surpass not only previous illustrations, but also contemporary and later publications, such as the *Galleria Giustiniani* (1631-1640), the *Signorum Veterum Icones* of Gerard Reynst (1670),<sup>85</sup> Jan de Bisschop's *Paradigmata Variorum Artificium* (1671),<sup>86</sup> and the *Academia Nobilissimae Artis Picturae* by Joachim von Sandart (1683). The monochrome stone sculptures with sightless, staring eyeballs have come to life under the hands of the

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82 *Roses-Ruelens*, III, p. 294.

83 Peiresc to Rubens, 23 December 1621 (*Roses-Ruelens*, II, p. 319): 'Onde io ho sempre stimato sopra ogni altri thesori le teste antique e ritratti di persone illustre mentionate dell'Indice... le quali meritarebbono bene... di esser dissegnate et intagliate in rame, per salvargli la vita per l'avvenire et metterle fuori del pericolo che corrono que' thesori in tempo di guerra o di incendio'.

84 Peiresc to Aleandro, 10 May 1624 (*Roses-Ruelens*, III, p. 292): '[Rubens] non fa scrupolo di mescolarvi alcune teste di marmo...'. Only the herm of *Demosthenes* is specifically mentioned. Thus it may well have been Peiresc's idea to have Rubens's portrait sculptures engraved.

85 For a discussion of the Reynst publication see A.M. Logan, *op. cit.* (note 58). W. Goeree refers to the publication of the Reynst collection (*Inleydingh tot de Practijck der Algemeene Schilder-Konst* [Middelburg, 1670], 1697 edn, p. 55) and mentions Rubens's series: 'Doch syn meest Tronyen en Borstbeelden, by na op deselve wijze als P.P. Rubens, sijn twaelf antiquen, na de oude marbre steenen geteekent, ende uyt laten gaen heeft'.

86 Cf. *Van Gelder-Jost*, *Jan de Bisschop*, pp. 191-193. The series engraved by Jan de Bisschop consists of ten *uomini illustri*, five Greeks and five Romans, of which one pictures a woman (*Faustina Major*). De Bisschop selected four (or five) of the same portrait sculptures as Rubens had engraved: *Socrates*, *Sophocles*, *Democritus*, *Scipio Africanus* and possibly *Galba*, although of the latter only drawings by Rubens are known. The legend of the caption 'ex marmore antiquo' was copied from Rubens.

engravers, who created realistic, human faces. The eyes have a contemplating, wistful gaze, or a serious, penetrating look. The hard surface of the stone is transformed into natural and smooth-looking skin and flesh; drapery is rendered as soft, pliable fabric; metal cuirasses appear hard and shiny, while hair and beards spring unruly from the head and chin.<sup>87</sup> The portraits reveal the skills of Rubens the archaeologist, but they also convey the full power of Rubens the artist as he brings to life the distant past.

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<sup>87</sup> Cf. *Rooses*, V, p. 16. The engravings with *Cicero*, *Democritus*, *Demosthenes*, *Hippocrates*, *Plato*, *Seneca* and *Socrates* were later copied by J. Faber Senior (c.1650-1721). The busts were placed in niches and a brief description of the person portrayed was added below.

# APPENDICES

## APPENDIX I

Fragments of Rubens's *Roman Itinerary* in a French translation. The original was presumably written between 1606 and 1608.

### I. 1 Rubens's visit to Lelio Pasqualino

*Peiresc's autograph, undated. Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS Fr. 9530, fol. 199r.*

(Published by *Roses–Ruelens*, III, p. 368; *Van der Meulen, Antiquarius*, p. 205.)

RUBENS

EXTRAICT DE L'ITINERAIRE  
DE M<sup>r</sup>. RUBENS  
fait à Rome

Chez le S<sup>r</sup>. LELIO PASQUALINO

- [1] La chasse des trois Charites vest ües aprez des petits Amours juchez sur les branches d'une vigne en forme d'arbre, avec des bastons comme la descript Anachreon. En camayeuul rond d'excellente main trouvé à FRÉIUS l'an. 1599.<sup>1</sup>
- [2] L'Hermaphrodite adsisté du Silenus et du Pan vaincu par Cupidon (qui s'envole aprez luy avoir emporté la couronne de vigne), & autres figures.
- [3] Le combat d'Alexandre le Grand contre les Indiens, ou il fut blessé et protégé par Peucestes.<sup>2</sup>
- [4] La teste de philosophe de front, avec l'espaule droicte nüe et l'inscription ΔΙΟΚΚΟΥΡΙΑΔΟΥ, que le Sr. Lelio tenoit estre du philosophe ARRIUS familier d'Auguste.<sup>3</sup>
- [5] Le Diogenes de front.
- [6] Le prétendu Empedocles avec la THIARE.
- [7] Le TORQUES AUREUS composé de deux serpents ensemble reliez par leurs queües, tenants par la bouche des ancettes ou mailles ou est attachée une medaille d'or non coignée sur laquelle est la teste de front d'une Augu[s]te, les serpents composez de fil d'or en forme de mailles flexiles.

*Translation of Appendix I. 1:*

RUBENS

Excerpt from the Itinerary  
of Mr Rubens  
made in Rome  
at the house of Mr Lelio Pasqualino

- [1] The three Graces, who are dressed, chasing little Cupids perched on the branches of a tree-shaped vine, with sticks, as described by Anacreon. On a round, finely executed cameo found in Fréjus in the year 1599.<sup>1</sup>
- [2] Hermaphrodite, assisted by Silenus and Pan, overcome by Cupid (who flies away having taken his vine wreath) and other figures.
- [3] The Battle of Alexander the Great against the Indians, where he was wounded and protected by Peucestes.<sup>2</sup>
- [4] The head of a philosopher, seen from the front, with the right shoulder uncovered, and inscribed ΔΙΟΚΟΥΡΙΔΟΥ, believed by Mr Lelio to be the philosopher Arrius, close friend of Augustus.<sup>3</sup>
- [5] Diogenes, seen from the front.
- [6] The so-called Empedocles with the tiara.
- [7] The golden Torques (necklace), consisting of two snakes attached to each other by their tails, holding rings or links in their mouths, to which a gold unminted medal is attached, with the head of an Augustan woman seen from the front, the snakes, made of gold filigree, shaped into flexible links.

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*Notes to Appendix I.1*

1. Now in Naples, Museo Nazionale (Inv. No. 25858). See *Richter, Gems of the Romans*, p. 40, no. 144, repr.; *Van der Meulen, Antiquarius*, p. 124, no. \*G.41, fig. XII.C.

2. Cf. Appendix III.1 and Appendix IV.3, no. [2], and see No. 163.

3. Formerly in Rome, Piombino collection. See *Richter, Gems of the Romans*, p. 143, no. 672, repr.

**I. 2 Description of three sarcophagus reliefs**

*Peiresc's autograph, undated. Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS Fr. 9530, fol. 200r.*  
(Published by *Van der Meulen, Antiquarius*, pp. 205-206.)

- [1] La fable entiere de la double naiscance de Bacchus, premierement de Cemele desja morte, secondement de Juppiter mesmes à teste voillee en femme, avec les infules pendantes. Lucine recevant le part. Mercure qui porte l'enfant aux nymphes lesquelles le baillent à norrir à Silenus.<sup>1</sup>

- [2] La fable entiere d'ADONIS, premierement dissuadé par Venus d'aller à la chasse, lequel s'en va paraprez adisté des chasseurs (petasati), luy armé du jaculum venatorium. Le combat contre le sanglier. Sa blessure à la cuisse qu'on luy pense avec une esponge, Venus luy soubstenant la teste. Sa mort tandis que Cupidon luy pense encores sa playe avec l'esponge. Luy expirant & rendant l'ame quasi dans la bouche de Venus qui s'approche pour la recevoir.<sup>2</sup>
- [3] La fable du ravissement de Proserpina par Pluton, Minerve s'efforçant de l'empescher & Venus au contraire retenant Minerve. Cyane par terre convertie en fontaine sous les chevaux du charriot. Ceres par aprez en son char traisné par des dragons aislez et ayants des crestes, portant ses flambeaux allumez dans l'Aethna, accompagnée de la Nuict laquelle a des aisles comme la Victoire & va estendant un voile ou manteau. Mercure qui vient querir Proserpine laquelle il trouve assise auprez de Pluton qui a son Cerbere prez de sa chaire. Elle ayant la teste toute couverte d'un voile, comme pour cacher sa honte, voulant par cette action faire entendre qu'elle ayme mieux demeurer que s'en aller. Comme fit Penelope quand elle se couvrit la teste lorsque son pere luy demandoit si elle ayroit mieux suyvre Ulisse son mary que demeurer.<sup>3</sup>
- [4] Un Mercure barbu. Un autre à qui les aisles naissent de la teste aulieu d'estre attachées au pileus, vide Apuleium, vide Mercurium terminalem barbatum in numis Marcii Philippi. Ursin.

*Translation of Appendix I. 2:*

- [1] The complete tale of the double birth of Bacchus; firstly of Semele, already dead; secondly of Jupiter himself, his head veiled like a woman with the ribbons of the woollen headband (*infula*) hanging down. Lucina receiving the new-born child. Mercury taking the child to the Nymphs, who give him to Silenus to bring him up.<sup>1</sup>
- [2] The complete tale of Adonis, firstly discouraged by Venus from going to the hunt, leaving armed with a hunter's spear (*iaculum venatorium*) and accompanied by hunters wearing caps (*petasoi*). The struggle with the wild boar. His injury on the thigh, which is treated by applying a sponge, Venus supporting his head. His death while Cupid continues to sponge his wound. His passing out and last breath as it were into the mouth of Venus who approaches him to receive it.<sup>2</sup>
- [3] The tale of the Abduction of Proserpina by Pluto, with Minerva trying to prevent him and Venus, on the contrary, restraining Minerva. Cyane on the ground, turned into a fountain, under the horses of the chariot. Then comes Ceres on her chariot drawn by winged and crested dragons, holding her flaming torches kindled at Aetna, accompanied by Night, who has wings like a Victory, and a billowing veil or mantle. Mercury, who comes to take away Proserpina, whom he finds seated next to Pluto, who has his Cerberus close to his throne. She has her head completely covered by a veil, as if to



hide her shame, wanting by this action to make it understood that she prefers to stay rather than to leave. As Penelope did, when she covered her head when her father asked her if she would rather follow Odysseus her husband than stay.<sup>3</sup>

- [4] A bearded Mercury. Another with wings sprouting from the head instead of being attached to the *pileus* (cap). See Apuleius. See the bearded Mercury Terminalis on the coins of Marcus Philippus in Ursinus.

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*Notes to Appendix I.2*

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| 1. Now in Rome, Vatican Museum. See Chapter II.     | 3. Now in Rome, Casino Rospigliosi. See No. 139. |
| 2. Now in Rome, Casino Rospigliosi. See Chapter II. |  |

### I. 3 Various notes on clothing and rites

*Peiresc's autograph, undated. Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS Fr. 9530, fol. 200v.*

(Published by *Van der Meulen, Antiquarius*, p. 206.)

- [1] L'usage du PALLIUM des Philosophes grecs laissant l'espaule droicte & tout le bras tous nuds, comme Diogene & Socrate le portoient.
- [2] Il croid que l'autre pallium qui enveloppe l'un & l'autre bras est plustost la toga stricta, ce que je ne crois pas.
- [3] Ocreae binae d'un gladiateur qui a le bras droict armé avec la sica à la main courbée quasi en faucille; le corps et le bras gauche sont nuds comme ne devants estre armez que du bouclier. Mais ocreae, sont des placques qui ne deffandent que le devant de la jambe & du genouil, et sont r'attachées par le derriere du jarret, avec des rubans enlassez.
- [4] Le vray FLAMMEUM des espousées qui voile plus avant que le simple velum. L'espousée condoicte & soubstenüe par soubz les bras de deux bonnes vieilles femmes d'un seul & unique mary vieillard vivant, pour le bon augure.
- [5] Les six cheveux, ou trois tresses de cheveux de chasque costé remarquées aux espousées.
- [6] Le floq ou houppe aux coings des vestes des femmes.
- [7] Les PAVOTS & espis aux mains & couronnes des Augustes pour symbole de fecondité, &c.
- [8] LECTUS GENIALIS ou sont mary et femme sans mense ou table pour manger.
- [9] La SPONDA des trois costez relevée plus ou moins hault ...<sup>(A)</sup> AEREA au bord de la sponde, ornée de testes d'ASNE & de pantere (qu'il croid fibules) pour

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(A) As such in text.

empescher les stragulae de choir, mais je croirois que les figures y debvroient estre encores sans cela. Les images tissües aux tapis. La place des enfants aux pieds entre les pieds des parens & la sponde.

- [10] La couronne composée d'un seul cordon auquel y a deux roses attachées.

*Translation of Appendix I. 3:*

- [1] The use of the *pallium* (mantle) by Greek philosophers leaving the right shoulder and the entire arm bare, as Diogenes and Socrates wore it.
- [2] He believes that the other *pallium* which envelops both arms is in fact the *toga stricta*, but I do not agree.
- [3] *Ocreae binae* (two greaves) of a gladiator, his right arm clad in armour, and his right hand holding a dagger which is curved almost like a sickle; the body and left arm are uncovered, as they should only be armed with a shield. But *ocreae* are coverings that protect only the front of the leg and knee, and they are laced with ties around the back of the leg.
- [4] The real *flammeum* (bridal veil) of brides which covers more of the front of the face than the plain *velum* (veil); as a good omen, the bride is led and supported under the arms by two good old women, whose first and only elderly husbands are still alive.
- [5] The six hairs, or three tresses of hair on each side of the head, characteristic of brides.
- [6] The tassel or tuft on the corners of the garments of women.
- [7] The poppy capsules and ears of wheat in the hands and wreaths of the Augustan women as a symbol of fertility, etc.
- [8] The *lectus genialis* (bridal bed) on which the husband and wife sleep without a *mensa* or table for eating.
- [9] The *sponda* (couch) with three sides more or less raised... *Aerea* (bronzes) at the end of the couch, decorated with donkey and panther heads (which he believes to be *fibulae* [pins]), to prevent the *stragulae* (bedspread) from falling off. But I believe that the figures belong there anyway. The images woven into tapestries. The place of the children is at the feet of the parents, between their feet and the couch.
- [10] The wreath consisting of a single band to which two roses are fastened.

## APPENDIX II

Various descriptions of the Gemma Tiberiana and the Gemma Augustaea by Peiresc and Aleandro.

### II. 1 Description of the Gemma Tiberiana by Peiresc.<sup>1</sup> Undated

*Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS Fr. N. Acq. 1209, fols. 14r-v.*

(Published by *Van der Meulen, Antiquarius*, pp. 198-199.)

#### Fol. 14r

GRAND CAMAYEUL

OVAL de la Ste Chapelle

Tiré du fagot  
cotte d. tripode

Description du Grand Camayeul Royal  
de la S<sup>te</sup> Chapelle de Paris par M. de Peyresc

ANTONIA vesve de Drusus, mere de Germanicus, de Caligula, & de Claude, prestresse du temple d'Auguste, semble avoir eu le soing de faire graver le Grand Camayeul en sardoine arabique, lequel est conservé en la S<sup>te</sup> Chapelle du palais royal de Paris, pour diverses considerations et fondements bien vraysemblables.

- I. Pource qu'elle s'y est reservée une place bien honorable quasi au milieu de toutes les figures qui y sont, en son habit sacerdotal, avec la couronne en teste.
- II. Elle y a voulu l'empereur AVGUSTE divinisé, porté dans le ciel sur les espaulles de la Deesse Rome, &c, vide infra Lucani verba.<sup>(A)</sup>

Or Auguste luy avoit tenu lieu non seulement de pere, depuis que sa mere fut honteusement chassée par Antonius son pere, mais de bienfaiteur et protecteur et quasi d'un dieu. Auguste estoit son oncle maternel, mary de Livia sa belle mere, beaupere de M. Marcellus son frere, bisayeul de tous les enfans de Germanicus son filz aisé, par Agrippine, fille de Julia, icelle fille unique d'Auguste. Et ayeul adoptif de son dict filz Germanicus.

Auguste avoit nommé entre ses heritiers son mary Drusus, et s'il ne fust precedé eust esté successeur en l'empire, par preference à Tibere.

Auguste, depuis ne voulut adopter Tibere qu'à condition qu'il adoptast ledict Germanicus.

- III. Elle y a mis entre les vivants, LIVIA sa belle mere comme associée à l'empire par Tibere ou elle estoit luy ayant tenu lieu de mere et comme vesve d'Auguste, propre mere de Drusus son mary, aussy bien que de Tibere,

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(A) At this point a reference is made to the text of Lucan, book VIII, line 729, quoted at the bottom of this page.

ayeulle de tous ses enfans, et mesmes de Drusus son gendre. Et fut enfin divinisée et logée au mesme temple d'Auguste, en habit de Junon, ou de Ceres.

- III. Elle y a donné le premier rang par obligation, à Tibere, son beaupere adoptif comme tenant l'empire et succession d'Auguste, et ce en habit de Juppiter, avec l'Aegyde. Il estoit propre beaupere de sa fille Livilla son beaufrere et frere de son mary Drusus. Pere adoptif de Germanicus son filz.

**Fol. 14v**

- V. Elle y a mis dans le ciel, M. MARCELLUS, son propre frere uterin, gendre et designé successeur d'Auguste &c.
- VI. Elle y a voulu auprez DRUSUS son mary, beaufilz dudict Auguste, comme filz de la femme dudict, coheritierz et designé portioinaire de la succession en l'empire.
- VII. Elle n'y a pas voulu obmettre un sien petit filz, qui estoit filz de Germanicus en habit de Cupidon, dont faisoit ses delices ledict Auguste.
- VIII. Entre les vivants, ell'à faict intervenir son filz Germanicus, qui à bien de la phisionomie comme elle d'Antonius son pere, qui estoit filz adoptif & designé successeur de l'empire & avoir avec Drusus propre filz de Tibere.
- IX. Elle a mis prez de luy Agrippine sa bru, et sa cousine, petite fille d'Auguste, mere de tous ses petits filz, accompagnée de Caligula, son petit filz, habitu gregario.
- X. Elle y a aussy adjousté, sa fille Livilla, vesve de Cajus, femme de Drusus, et belle fille dudict, qui fut depuis femme de Sejanus.
- XI. Elle y a finalement laissé intervenir Drusus son gendre, mary de ladict Livilla, filz dudict Tibere, frere adoptif dudict Germanicus et designé avec luy successeur à l'empire.

*Translation of Appendix II. 1:*

**Fol. 14r**

Large Oval Cameo  
of the Ste Chapelle

Removed from the file  
marked 'on the tripod'

Description of the Large Royal Cameo  
of the Ste Chapelle in Paris by Mr de Peyresc

Antonia, widow of Drusus, mother of Germanicus, Caligula and Claudius, priestess of the Temple of Augustus, seems to have commissioned the large cameo of Arabic sardonyx, which is preserved in the Ste Chapelle of the Royal Palace in Paris, and this supposition is based on various reasons and persuasive arguments.

- I. Because she has reserved for herself a prime position on it, almost in the

centre of the group of figures, in her priestly garb, with a crown on her head.

- II. She wanted to have Emperor Augustus represented there as deified, carried to Heaven on the shoulders of the Goddess Roma, etc. See the words of Lucian below.<sup>(A)</sup>

Now for her Augustus took the place not only of a father, after her mother was shamefully chased away by Antonius her father, but also of a benefactor and protector and almost a god. Augustus was her maternal uncle, husband of Livia her mother-in-law, father-in-law of M. Marcellus her brother, and great-grandfather of all the children of Germanicus her oldest son, by Agrippina, daughter of Julia, who was the only daughter of Augustus. And adoptive grandfather of her aforementioned son Germanicus.

Augustus had named among his inheritors her husband Drusus; and had he not died before Augustus, he would have been the successor to the Empire, in preference to Tiberius.

Thereafter, Augustus only wanted to adopt Tiberius on condition that he would adopt Germanicus.

- III. She placed among the living people, Livia, her mother-in-law associated with the Empire through Tiberius. She figures there because she acted as her mother, and was widow of Augustus, birth mother of Drusus her husband, and likewise of Tiberius, grandmother of all her children, and similarly of Drusus her son-in-law. And finally Livia was deified and placed in the same temple of Augustus, dressed as Juno or as Ceres.
- III. She has given the first place out of reverence to Tiberius, her adopted father-in-law, as the holder of the Empire and successor to Augustus, and he is dressed as Jupiter with the Aegys. He was the actual father-in-law of her daughter Livilla, her brother-in-law and brother of her husband Drusus. Adoptive father of Germanicus her son.

**Fol. 14v**

- V. She placed in Heaven, M. Marcellus, her own half brother, son-in-law and appointed successor to Augustus, etc.
- VI. She wanted Drusus to be nearby, her husband, son-in-law of the aforementioned Augustus, as the son of his wife [Livia], and the co-inheritor [Drusus] and assignee to part of the succession to the Empire.
- VII. She did not want to omit one of her grandsons, who was a son of Germanicus, disguised as Cupid, whom the aforementioned Augustus doted on.
- VIII. Among the living she let her son Germanicus appear, who shared with her the physiognomy of Antonius her father. He was adoptive son [of Tiberius] and appointed successor to the Empire together with Drusus natural son of Tiberius.

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(A) At this point a reference is made to the text of Lucan, book VIII, line 729, quoted at the bottom of this page.

- IX. She has placed close to him [Germanicus] Agrippina her daughter-in-law and her cousin, grand-daughter of Augustus, mother of all her grand-children, accompanied by Caligula, her grandson, dressed like a common soldier.
- X. She also added her daughter Livilla, widow of Caius, wife of Drusus and daughter-in-law of the aforementioned, who later became wife of Sejanus.
- XI. Finally, she has included on the cameo Drusus her son-in-law, husband of the aforementioned Livilla, son of the aforementioned Tiberius, adopted brother of the aforementioned Germanicus, and appointed together with him as successor to the Empire.

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*Notes to Appendix II.1*

1. Cf. also Appendix II.2, and see No. 168.

## II. 2 Description of the Gemma Tiberiana by Peiresc.<sup>1</sup> Undated

*Autograph. Carpentras, Bibliothèque Inguimbertaine, MS 1869, fols. 114r-v.*  
 (Published by Van der Meulen, *Antiquarius*, pp. 214-215.)

### Fol. 114r

Ste Chappelle

SARDONYX. ARABICA. ingens

In qua AUGUSTI

APOTHEOSIS

LE GRAND CAMAIEUL  
 DE FRANCE

Une agathe orientale aussy grande que cette feuille de papier, donnée par le Roy Charles V. à la S<sup>te</sup>. Chappelle en l'an M.CCC.LXXIX. ou il y a plus de vingt figures de proportion d'un demy pied chascune selon la diversité de leurs postures, espargnées, en blanc, sur un champ noir et d'aulcunes, diversifiées, d'une superficie de feuille morte, distinguées en trois estages.

En l'estage plus haulte, se voyd quelques figures en l'air entre lesquelles se reconnoit par la semblance celle de l'Empereur Auguste, portée au ciel sur le dos de la Deesse Rome, laquelle est armée par la teste à sa mode, et tient le monde entre ses mains, faisant semblant de le vouloir remettre à l'Empereur Tibere qui est en bas au dessous.

Auguste est voillé, & sous le voile à quelques rayons de la couronne rayonnée, qui paroissent jaulnastres, sur le front et tient un simple sceptre en sa main. Devant luy il semble estre accompagné, ou accueilli de la figure de Drusus<sup>(A)</sup> frere de Tibere couronnée de laurier, et armée en Mars, avec son bouclier, et sa vraye phisionomie. Derriere luy, un Genie ou Cupidon semble luy ammener par les resnes, le cheval

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(A) *Jules Caesar* is crossed out and replaced with *Drusus frere de Tibere*.

Pegase portant un jeune prince couronné de laurier, telque pouvoit estre M. Marcellus<sup>(B)</sup> qui à un peu de l'air de Tibere, avec le nez tirant à l'aquilin, comme le vieil M. Marcellus qui print Syracuse, mais dont la grace est eminante. Et semble que Rome le regarde, tenant le monde à la main, comme ne le donnant qu'à son reffus à Tibère qui est demeuré en bas.

Fol. 114v En la moyenne estage sont les figures assises de Tibere, à droicte, vestu en heros, à demy nud, tenant le litüe à sa droicte et le long sceptre en sa main gauche [in the margin: & ayant l'Aegys de Jupiter escaillée et fraisée par les bords dont il se couvre de la ceinture en bas], et de Livia<sup>(C)</sup> à gauche couronnée de laurier ou de myrthe, et tenant un flambeau a sa dextre, assise sur une chaire soubz laquelle y a une figure de Nation Orientale gemissante captive & subjuguée, dont la thiare est phrygienne ou parthique exactement bien faite.

Devant elles il y a une grande figure de cappitaine romain, qui est Germanicus armé, couronné de laurier, rassemblant à Germanicus, costoyee d'une figure de dame romaine qui luy passe la main par derriere la teste et la luy ambrasse, estant entre luy et Tibere, laquelle est debout et couronnée de mirthe et pourroit bien estre Antonia sa mere,<sup>(D)</sup> vestüe de la stole romaine.

Plus avant soubz Julles Cesar ou Drusus, mary de ladicte Antonia, y a une figure de femme sans couronne, assise, tenant un baston a sa gauche et de la droicte s'appuyant a sa chaire, telle que pouvoit estre Aggrippine, avec un petit enfant devant elle vestu en cappitaine qui pourroit estre Caligula<sup>(E)</sup> gregario habitu cum caligis tel qu'elle le menoit dans les armées, si ce n'est quelqu'autre neveu d'Auguste.

Derriere Tibere il y a un autre cappitaine romain qui peult estre Drusus son filz, armé et couronné de laurier, tendant la main droicte au ciel vers Auguste et Rome, et de sa gauche portant un trophée. Et est accompagnée d'une autre femme romaine non couronnée qui peult estre Livia femme d'iceluy Drusus. Assise sur une chaire laquelle est faite en forme de Sphynges, sur laquelle elle s'appuye de son bras gauche.

En la derniere et plus basse estage, il y a neuf figures assises par terre pesle mesle, de Provinces, et Fleuves, ou princes captifs, les unes avec des thiares ou bonnets cornus, les autres avec des longs cheveux, les unes blanches, les autres brunnes.

Entre lesquelles se recognoit au milieu une femme vestüe à la gauloise ou germanique tenant un petit enfant en son giron, laquelle a de longs cheveux negligement reliez, et derriere elle une autre femme plus vieille avec des long cheveux, comme l'Espagne, laquelle tient un espieu, un arc et un carquoys, et tout joignant un vieillard tout nud, comme un Fleuve. Apres celles-la, il y a une autre Province coiffée de la thiare orientale, avec les pendants, appuyée sur des escussions dans lesquels est la Gorgone et l'Aegyde. A l'autre costé, il y a deux autres Provinces, l'une blanche, l'autre brune, toutesdeux coiffées de la thiare, l'une tenant un fragment d'arc. Et plus loing deux autres dont les testes ont esté rompües, l'une avec les mains attachées par derriere comme captive, et l'autre s'appuyant le menton pour pleurer.

(B) *Cajus ou Lucius* is crossed out and replaced with *M. Marcellus*.

(C) *Julia* is crossed out and replaced with *Livia*.

(D) *Julia femme de Tibere* is crossed out and replaced with *Antonia sa mere*.

(E) *Julus* is crossed out and replaced with *Caligula*.

*Translation of Appendix II. 2:***Fol. 114r**

Ste Chappelle  
 large Arabic Sardonix  
 with the Apotheosis  
 of Augustus

The Large Cameo  
 of France

An oriental agate, as large as this sheet of paper, donated by King Charles V to the Ste Chapelle in the year 1379, on which there are more than twenty figures, the size of half a foot, each in a different posture, carved in white [stone] against a black background and some more diverse in colour, with a surface of tan brown; they are distributed in three tiers.

On the top tier, several figures may be seen in the air, one of which can be recognized by his resemblance to the Emperor Augustus, carried to Heaven on the back of the Goddess Roma, her head armed as usual, holding the globe in her hands, as if she wishes to hand it to Emperor Tiberius, who is below.

Augustus is veiled, and has under the veil on his forehead several rays of the aureole, which look yellowish, and he holds a plain sceptre in his hand. In front of him, he seems to be accompanied or welcomed by the figure of Drusus, brother of Tiberius, who is laureated and armed like Mars, with his shield and a true facial resemblance. Behind him, a Genie or Cupid seems to be leading the horse Pegasus by the reins, carrying a young laureated prince; this could be M. Marcellus, who slightly resembles Tiberius with a nose verging on the aquiline (like the old M. Marcellus who conquered Syracuse) but whose grace is striking. And it seems that Roma looks at him, holding the globe in her hand, as if she first awaits his refusal before she will give it to Tiberius, who has remained below.

**Fol. 114v** In the middle section are the seated figures of Tiberius, to the right, dressed like a hero, semi-nude, holding the *lituus* (augural wand) in his right and the long sceptre in his left hand, [*in the margin:* and having Jupiter's Aegys, with scales and scalloped along the edges, with which he covers himself from the waist down] and Livia to his left, wreathed with laurel or myrtle, and holding a torch in her right hand, seated on a chair under which lies a weeping captive from a subjugated oriental nation, whose tiara is Phrygian or Parthian and exactly copied.

In front of them is the large figure of a Roman captain, who is Germanicus, armed and laureated, resembling Germanicus, beside the figure of a Roman lady who passes her hand behind his head and embraces him. Placed between him and Tiberius, she is standing, crowned with a myrtle wreath, and might well be his mother Antonia, wearing a Roman *stola*.

More to the front, under Julius Caesar (or Drusus, the husband of the aforementioned Antonia), is a seated figure of a woman without a crown, holding a stick in her left hand and leaning with her right on her chair; she could be Agrippina, with a small child before her dressed as a captain, who may be Caligula, dressed like a



Roman soldier with boots, which is how he was dressed when she sent him into the army, unless it is some other nephew of Augustus.

Behind Tiberius is another Roman captain who could be his son Drusus, armed and laureated, stretching his right hand towards Augustus and Rome in the sky, and with his left holding a trophy. He is accompanied by another Roman woman, who is uncrowned and could be Livia, the wife of the same Drusus. She is seated on a chair shaped like a Sphinx, on which she rests her left arm.

On the last and lowest tier are nine figures, randomly seated on the ground, of Provinces and Rivers, or captured princes, some wearing a tiara or a cap with horns, others with long hair, some white, others brown.

Among them one recognizes in the centre a woman dressed in Gallic or Germanic fashion, holding an infant in her lap; she has long hair, carelessly tied, and behind her another older woman with long hair, looking like the personification of Spain; she holds a spear, a bow and quiver, and joining them all is an old man, entirely nude, like a River-god. After these, there is another Province, wearing an oriental tiara with sideflaps, supported by shields, depicting the Gorgon and Aegys. On the other side are two other Provinces, one white, the other brown, both wearing a tiara, the one holding a piece of a bow. And further away are two more [Provinces], whose heads are broken off, one with her hands tied to her back like a captive, while the other supports her chin and cries.

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#### *Notes to Appendix II.2*

1. Cf. also Appendix II.1, and see No. 168.

### **II. 3 Description of the Gemma Augustaea by Peiresc.<sup>1</sup> Undated**

*Copy. Carpentras, Bibliothèque Inguimbertaine, MS 1869, fols. 112r-v.*  
(Published by Van der Meulen, *Antiquarius*, p. 214.)

#### **Fol. 112r**

La figure assise du costé gauche represente Auguste assis sur le trosne de Jupiter qui le luy avoit cédé, ce qui se trouve confirmé par la figure de l'aigle qui y tient sa place au dessoubs comme l'oyseau de Jupiter. Cette mesme figure tien [*sic*] de la main gauche son sceptre & de la droite un baston augural qui represente Auguste en qualité de sacrificateur & un peu au dessus luy on voit le signe du Capricorne qui est le signe soubs lequel Auguste estoit né.

Les figures qui sont du costé gauche du mesme Auguste sont Junon, Jupiter & Livia avec les deux enfans sçavoir Tibere & Drusus qu'elle avoit eus de son premier mary, Caius Tiberius Nero. Cette figure de Livia tient une corne d'abondance dans laquelle neantmoins aucun fruit ne paroît, pour marquer que de son mariage avec Auguste elle n'auroit aucuns enfans.

La figure qui est au costé droit d'Auguste represente Rome soubs la figure de Pallas, tenant sa lance de la main droite & appuyant son bras gauche sur un globe qui represente le monde dont elle est le chef & qu'elle donne en partage à Auguste,

lequel tient son pied gauche sur son bouclier, et la figure de Rome tient aussi son pied gauche sur le mesme bouclier.

**Fol. 112v** On voit encore une figure d'un prince dont on ne sçait pas le nom & qui se tient debout, aupres de la figure de Rome. Il paroît encores un chariot et deux victoires romaines à costé droit d'Auguste.

Le reste de cette representation sont des figures au desoubs, de quelques captifs d'un costé et de l'autre les trophées qu'on dresse pour la gloire d'Auguste.

*Translation of Appendix II. 3:*

**Fol. 112r**

The seated figure on the left side represents Augustus seated on the throne of Jupiter who yielded it to him as is confirmed by the figure of the eagle standing below as the bird of Jupiter. This same figure holds his sceptre with his left hand and with the right an augural wand which represents Augustus in his sacrificial function, and a little above him the sign of the capricorn can be seen, which is the sign under which Augustus was born.

The figures to the left of the same Augustus are Juno, Jupiter, and Livia with her two children, Tiberius and Drusus, which she bore from her first husband, Caius Tiberius Nero. This figure of Livia holds a cornucopia in which, however, no fruit appears, to indicate that from her marriage to Augustus, she would have no children.

The figure who is to the right of Augustus represents Roma in the guise of Pallas, holding her lance with her right hand and resting her left arm on a globe that represents the world of which she is the leader and which she gives to Augustus to share. He puts his left foot on his shield and the figure of Roma also places her left foot on the same shield.

**Fol. 112v** One also sees a figure of a Prince whose name is unknown, who stands next to Roma. A chariot and two Roman victories are also visible to the right of Augustus.

The remainder of this representation consists of figures in the tier below, several captives on one side and, on the other, trophies which are erected for the glory of Augustus.

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*Notes to Appendix II.3*

1. Cf. also Appendix II.4, and see No. 164.

**II. 4 Description of the Gemma Augustaea by Peiresc.<sup>1</sup> Before November 1620?<sup>2</sup>**

*Copy. Carpentras, Bibliothèque Inguimbertaine, MS 1869, fols. 117r-118r.*  
(Published by Van der Meulen, *Antiquarius*, pp. 216-217.)

## Fol. 117r

On à descouvert un autre camayeul moins grand de la moitié que le premier, mais non pas moins admirable, dans lequel sont gravées dixneuf figures en deux rangs, sçavoir au premier & superieur se rencontrent deux figures assises en un siege garny d'un oreiller, l'une d'Auguste en habit de Jupiter Olympien & l'autre de Rome assise à sa main dextre en habit de Junon Argive, comme escrit Josephe de celles qui furent dressées au temple qui luy fut dedié en Cesarée,<sup>3</sup> et basti à son honneur [?] par Herodes, accompagnées des mesmes figures de Jupiter & de Junon qui luy sont derriere comme leur ayant laissé leur propre siege. Et pour cette premiere figure on ne doute point que ce ne soit Auguste, outre que la ressemblance en est grande. Il à au dessus de luy la figure du Capricorne, & au devant de luy une figure à pied d'un jeune soldat romain, sans couronne, avec un visage maiestueux, que j'estime estre sinon Marcellus, du moins Caius Cesar par l'ayde de qui l'Armenie est reconquise, ou peut estre Drusus lors qu'il luy dressoit un temple (in Lingona o piu tosto). Et peu plus loing on voit un char traîné par quatre chevaux conduit par une Victoire, sur lequel est debout une figure en robe longue et couronnée de laurier, qui tient un sceptre long en sa main, que j'estime estre Jules Cesar (quoyqu'avec tout cela il ne se distingue pas bien par la ressemblance pour avoir la face posée en maiesté).

Et tel pouvoit estre representé aux jeux qu'on appelloit Victoria Caesaris, dont est fait mention dans les autheurs, à l'exhibition desquels apparoist l'estoile comete. Laquelle ne se rencontre point en ce camayeul, comme il paroist neantmoins n'y devoir pas estre oubliée, mais ce camayeul est rompu du costé de l'aisle de la Victoire, & en un coing de la pierre ou pouvoit estre l'estoile de Jules en un espace correspondant au Capricorne d'Auguste. Quant au reste, la Desse [sic] Rome est avec son casque avec une<sup>(A)</sup> (celata) à la grec ayant une triple creste, & a son bandrier pendant à son costé, parazonio, / (Fol. 117v) flanc et s'appuye sur un globe avec son bras gauche, mais elle est vestue de long comme Junon & tient un sceptre long à sa dextre. Auguste est nud du nombril en dessus et tient un sceptre long à sa main gauche avec un bouclier de la droite, et à l'aigle de Jupiter au dessous de son siege. Jupiter est debout (derriere de luy et est nud depuis le nombril en haut, mais il est despouillé de sceptre et de couronne) et comme empressé comme s'il vouloit s'en aller et tournant pour cet effect la face en arriere vers Auguste mis à sa place et portant sa main droite sur le dossier du siege et est tout nud depuis le nombril en haut. Mais il est despouillé de sceptre et de couronne, laquelle Junon pour la luy avoir ostée pour la porter comme elle fait sur la teste d'Auguste. Ce qui donne plus de peine que tout le reste est la figure d'une femme qui est au derriere d'Auguste sous Jupiter et Junon, à demy assise, & a demy couchée en un lectisternium, laquelle est nue à demy, et couronnée de lierre avec des feuilles & buttons (corymbi) ayant un colier auquel pend un amuletum ou perle, appuyant son menton sur sa main droite comme on depeint à peu pres Servitus, avec son visage tourné en derriere pour regarder Auguste. Elle est accompagnée d'un petit garçon qui n'a point d'aisles ni de couronne en teste, mais seulement une ceinture de feuillages

(A) Alternative reading: *vuc*.

[*in the margin: fogliami*] qu'on ne peut guieres bien discerner, pour estre l'ornement un peu usé de ce costé la, mais ce peut estre du pampre ou de lierre ou de lierre avec ses corymbi, ou autre. Ce garçon avec son bras droit s'appuye sur le seing de sa mere et avec la main gauche releve le drap ou tapis qui pend du lectisternium. Il y à la tout proche une corne d'abondance sans fruit ni fleur, tenue par ladicte femme, est un espace si esloigné de sa poyctrine qu'on ne peut pas bien discerner, si est Jupiter qui la luy donne, ou si c'est elle mesme qui le presente à Jupiter. En fin cette femme ne semble pas estre Venus avec cette couronne de lierre, quoy que soit à propos elle conviendroit a Auguste. Et si elle n'est point Proserpine avec son petit / (Fol. 118r) enfant Bacchus comme je croÿs que c'est elle, il ne m'est pas facile de deviner qui peut elle estre. Et à moins que de rendre raison certaine pourquoy on à mis cette deesse aupres d'Auguste, si ce n'est Livia avec son fils Drusus deorum habitu, encore que ce petit garçon ait quelque ressemblance à Drusus pere de Germanicus. Ce qu'on ne peut point dire de la mere ayant un visage presque maiestueux et par consequence difficile d'estre en rapport au pourfil des autres images qui s'en rencontrent.

A l'ordre et rang inferieur on voit deux soldats romains armés, assistez de deux, Caloni, sive goujatz, à demy nuds, qui font effort pour dresser un tronc d'un grand trophée composé d'une cuirasse barbaresque et d'un bouclier dans lequel on voit un scorpion gravé, qui me fait ressouvenir des medailles d'Antiochus Commagenus ou de Giotapa Reine qui regnoit aux confins de l'Armenie, lesquelles ont un scorpion au revers. D'un costé dudict trophée se voyent deux figures assises à terre captives, l'une d'un homme barbu à la façon des barbares tout nud, l'autre d'une femme affligée. De l'autre costé se voient deux autres figures captives. L'une d'un homme & l'autre d'une femme comme les precedentes, mais celles cÿ sont tirées par les cheveux, pour estre menées au trophée ou y estre mises de l'autre costé du tronc à terre comme les precedentes et conduites par deux figures en habit estranger, qui peuvent estre Parthes, puisque les Parthes ayderent non seulement Auguste à recouvrer l'Armenie, mais la remirent en son pouvoir. Enfin c'est ouvrage est beau et d'un excellent travail. Et cette deesse soit Proserpine ou autre telle qu'on voudra ou Livia ou autre personne de la famille d'Auguste, estant asseuré qu'en la cherchant exactement on trouvera enfin un jour la vraye intention du sculpteur, ou d'Herode ou d'autre qui vueille faire honneur à Auguste et mettre cette riche piece au temple d'Auguste et de Rome. Bien que si ainsi qu'Auguste & Rome occupent le siege et la place de Jupiter et de Junon, lesdicts Jupiter & Junon ne laissent pas que d'estre presens, il semble qu'il seroit necessaire supposant que Livia et Drusus tiennent celuÿ de Proserpine et de Bacchus qu'ils l'un et l'autre fussent pareillement present (Bachus Proserpine).

#### *Translation of Appendix II. 4:*

##### **Fol. 117r**

Another cameo has also been discovered, less than half the size of the first, but no less beautiful, on which are engraved nineteen figures in two tiers, that is on the first and top tier we find two seated figures on a chair decorated with a pillow. One of them is Augustus disguised as the Olympian Jupiter, the other is Roma seated

to his right dressed as the Argivian Juno, similar to the description by Josephus of the statues that were placed in the temple that was dedicated to her in Caesarea<sup>3</sup> and built in her honour by Herodes. They are accompanied by the figures of Jupiter and Juno themselves, who are standing behind him as if having yielded their own seat to them. As for this first figure, there is no doubt at all that it is Augustus, apart from the fact that it strongly resembles him. He has the sign of the capricorn above him, and in front of him stands the figure of a young Roman soldier, uncrowned, with a majestic face who is, in my opinion, if not Marcellus at least Caius Caesar with whose assistance Armenia was reconquered, or maybe Drusus, since he erected a temple to him (in Lingona or rather...). And a little further away one sees a chariot drawn by four horses led by a Victory, on which is standing a figure in a long robe, laureated, who holds a long sceptre in his hand whom I believe to be Julius Caesar (although he does not altogether bear a strong resemblance to him since he was given a majestically idealized facial expression).

As such, Caesar may have been represented at the Games, which are called the Victory of Caesar and are mentioned by the writers as the occasion on which the celestial comet appeared. The latter is not rendered at all on the cameo, whereas it would seem that it should not have been left out; but this cameo is chipped on the side of the wing of Victory, which is a corner of the stone where originally the star of Julius may have appeared, in an area corresponding to the capricorn of Augustus. As for the rest, the Goddess Roma wears a Greek helmet with a triple crest and has a bandolier and a *parazonium* (dagger) hanging from her / (Fol. 117v) side and leans with her left arm on a globe, but she is dressed in a long robe like Juno and holds a long sceptre in her right hand. Augustus is nude from the waist up and holds a long sceptre in his left hand with a shield to the right and has the eagle of Jupiter underneath his seat. Jupiter is standing (behind him and is nude from the navel up, but lacks a sceptre and crown) and seems in a hurry, as if he would like to leave, and to this effect is turning his face around to look back at Augustus who has taken his place, while his right hand is holding the back of the seat and he is totally nude from the navel up. But he lacks a sceptre and crown, which Juno has taken away from him to place it, as she is doing, on the head of Augustus. The figure that provides more trouble than anyone else is that of a woman behind Augustus, below Jupiter and Juno, half-seated and half-lying on a *lectisternium* (couch). She is semi-nude and crowned with a wreath of ivy with leaves and berries (*corymbi*), wearing a necklace from which an amulet or pearl hangs, resting her chin on her right hand just as Servitude is depicted, with her face turned around to look at Augustus. She is accompanied by a little boy with no wings nor wreath on his head, but only a belt of leaves which cannot be identified, as the ornament is a little worn in that area. But it may be grape vine or ivy, or ivy with its berries, or something else. This boy rests his right arm on the breast of his mother and with his left hand lifts up the sheet or cover hanging down from the *lectisternium*. There is nearby a horn of plenty bearing no fruit nor flower, held by the aforementioned woman at a distance so far from her breast that it is not possible to see if it is Jupiter who gives it to her or she who presents it to Jupiter. In any case, this woman with the wreath of ivy does not seem to be Venus, however well she would suit Augustus. And if she is not Proserpina with her little / (Fol. 118r) child Bacchus, whom I

believe her to be, it is not easy to guess who she could be. At least there must be some good reason why this goddess has been placed close to Augustus: if she is not Livia with her son Drusus, in the disguise of gods, indeed this little boy has some resemblance to Drusus, father of Germanicus. This cannot be said of the mother, who has an almost majestic face, and as a consequence it is difficult to relate her to the other portraits we have of her.

On the lower section one sees two armed Roman soldiers, assisted by two grooms (*caloni*), semi-nude, who are struggling to raise a pole of a large trophy consisting of a barbaric cuirass and a shield on which a scorpion is engraved, which reminds me of coins of Antiochus Commagenus or of Queen Iotape, who reigned at the borders of Armenia. These have a scorpion on the reverse. On one side of the trophy two figures are seen seated on the ground: they are prisoners. One is a totally nude man, bearded like a barbarian, the other is a mourning woman. On the other side are another two captive figures. One is a man and the other a woman as before, but dragged by the hair they are led to the trophy or to the other side of the pole, to be cast on the ground like the others, and are led by two figures in foreign garb who could be Parthes, because the Parthes not only helped Augustus to reconquer Armenia, but also returned it to his authority. Finally, this piece is beautiful and of excellent workmanship. And this goddess, be it Proserpina or whoever one wishes, or Livia or some other member of Augustus' family, rest assured that by establishing her identity, we will one day discover the true intention of the sculptor, or of Herodes or some other who wanted to honour Augustus by placing this rich piece in the temple of Augustus and Roma. While Augustus and Roma thus take the seats and the place of Jupiter and Juno, the said Jupiter and Juno do not fail to be present themselves. One might then similarly expect that when Livia and Drusus take the place of Proserpina and Bacchus, the latter pair should also be present (Bacchus and Proserpina).

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#### *Notes to Appendix II.4*

1. Cf. also Appendix II.3, and see No. 164.
2. This essay is undated, but was probably written before November 1620 when Peiresc wrote letters to Aleandro and Pignoria concerning the representation on the Gemma Augustaea.
3. In his *Jewish Antiquities* (Bk XV) and *Jewish War* (Bk III), Flavius Josephus

discussed the construction of Caesarea by Herodes (c. 22-10/9 B.C.). Built on vaults the Temple devoted to Roma and Augustus towered over the City (see [Cat. Exh.] *Herod's Dream. Caesarea on the Sea*, Washington, D.C., 1988, p. 89, figs. 50 and 62).

## II. 5 Letter from Peiresc to de Roissy of 6 February 1633 on the history of the Gemma Augustaea and Gemma Tiberiana (extract)<sup>1</sup>

*Copy. Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS Fr. 9532, fols. 318r-319r.*

Peiresc's first autograph draft of the letter is preserved in Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS Fr. N. Acq. 1209, fols. 12r-v (published by *Van der Meulen, Antiquarius*, pp. 197-198). Carpentras, Bibliothèque Inguimbertaine, MS 1869, fol. 118v contains a copy of the text of this part of Peiresc's letter. The second draft is extant (in copy) in Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS Fr. 9532, fols. 324r-v, with emendations on fol. 325r.

### Fol. 318r

... ayant esté affriandé à ceste sorte de curiosité, par l'heur inespéré que j'ay eu de rencontrer et pouvoir suyvre quasi à la piste le chemin qu'avoient fait certaines pieces, des plus precieuses reliques de toute l'antiquité. Et particulièrement ce grand camahieul d'agathe orientale, que je descouvris un jour dans le Thresor de la Sacristie de la S<sup>te</sup> Chapelle ou est representée l'Apotheose de l'Empereur Auguste apres sa mort, et de toutes les personnes plus signalées de sa famille, tant vivantes que predecédées, dont l'advis que je baillay à M<sup>r</sup>. Rubens, le fit venir en poste d'Anvers à Paris exprez / **(Fol. 318v)** pour le venir voir. Car je trouvoy par les enchasseurs de ceste piece (dont la plus vieille estoit de maniere grecque de plus de 600. ans ou environ, et la plus moderne de 300. ans) qu'elle estoit sans doute revenue du Levant, comme je le justifiay en fin, par la rencontre des actes de vente ou engagement que l'Empereur Baudouïn de Constantinople en avoit fait au Roy S<sup>t</sup>. Louys qui sont dans le Thresor des Chartes. Et d'aultant que la maniere de ceste riche piece estoit neantmoins plustost romaine que grecque, et que j'y trouvois representées les images tant de Livia, femme d'Auguste, que d'Agrippine & Livilla femmes de Germanicus & de Drusus filz de Tybere, qui peuvent bien passer pour celles dont à voulu parler Claudian, lorsqu'il descript les bagues & ornementz de la femme d'Honorius qui avoit trouvé pour s'en parer,

Quidquid venerabilis olim  
Livia, Divorum nurus gessere superbae,

je n'ay pas fait de difficulté de croire que la piece de la S<sup>te</sup> Chapelle puisse avoir esté conservée dans Rome jusques au temps de cez deux freres Arcadius et Honorius, puisqu'il s'y trouvoit encores lors de tant de riches pierreries du mesme temps, et qui avoient servy aux mesmes princesses. Et quand on diroit qu'en partageant l'Empire entre cez freres, on eusse par mesme moyen partagé les joyaux plus precieux de la couronne, et que la piece dont est question feusse obvenue à la part d'Arcadius, lors de sa retraicte en Constantinoble, il n'y auroit pas grand danger de le supposer. Et que ce qui avoit touché la part de l'empereur de Constantinoble s'y feusse mieux conservé pendant la subsistance de l'Empire que les pierreries de la part de l'empereur d'Occident ne peuvent depuis faire à Rome, parmy tant de ravages de nations estranges & barbares.

J'ay comme cela suivy à la piste un autre bien grand camahieul antique, ou est l'Apotheose de l'Empereur Auguste vivant, qui fut vendu à l'Empereur Rodolphe II. 12000 t/w, au reffus du feu Roy, ayant veriffié qu'il avoit esté desrobé durant les troubles de la religion, au Monastere des Dames de Poissy, ausquelles il avoit esté legué par le testament du Roy Philippes le Bel, qui tesmoigne l'avoir eu / (Fol. 319r) en don par les chevaliers de la religion de l'ordre de St Jehan de Hierusalem lesquelz l'avoient recouvré en la Palestine durant les bandes sacrées, ou il avoit esté trouvé dans les ruines de Cesarée, d'ou je tiray ma coniecture que l'ouvrage qui est notoirement de maniere grecque, avoit esté fait en ce país la, aux despens du Roy Herode, lors de la restauration qu'il fit de la ville de Stratonice, soubz le nom de Caesar Auguste. Ce qui me servit grandement, avec ce qu'en dict le Joseph, pour mieux reconnoistre le temps de l'ouvrage et les figures des princes & princesses qui y sont representées, soubz les images de diverses deitez. En quoy j'esprouvay un grand plaisir, qui ne desroge pourtant rien à l'honneur & à l'avantage de la France, & des princes qui ont tenu & possédé cez beaux joyaux . . .

*Translation of Appendix II. 5:*

**Fol. 318r**

. . . Being attracted to this kind of rarity by the unexpected good fortune that I have had to come upon and follow closely, on its tracks as it were, the peregrinations that certain pieces of the most precious treasures of all Antiquity have made. And in particular that large cameo of oriental agate that I discovered one day in the treasury of the sacristy of the Ste Chappelle on which is pictured the Apotheosis of Emperor Augustus after his death and all the most famous members of his family, both deceased and alive, of which the notice that I sent to Mr Rubens, made him travel by stagecoach from Antwerp to Paris expressly / (Fol. 318v) to see it. Because I found from the setting of this piece (of which the oldest is in the Greek fashion appr. 600 years old or more and the most recent one appr. 300 years old) that it came undoubtedly from the Levant, as I proved eventually by tracing the sales records or the agreement which Emperor Baudouin of Constantinople made of it with King Louis, which are in the Treasury of the Charters. And since the style of this rich piece was nevertheless more Roman than Greek, and in light of the fact that I found the portraits on it of Livia, wife of Augustus, and that of Agrippina and Livilla, the wives of Germanicus and Drusus, the son of Tiberius—to whom Claudian may have been referring when he described the rings and ornaments of Honorius' wife, who had found and decked herself with 'quidquid venerabilis olim/ Livia, Divorum nurus gessere superbae'—I did not have any trouble believing that the piece of the Ste Chapelle could have been kept in Rome until the time of those two brothers Arcadius and Honorius, since there were still so many precious stones of the same period and which had served to decorate the same princesses. And it seems not too foolhardy to speculate that when the Empire was divided between the brothers, the most precious crown jewels were likewise divided and that the piece under discussion fell to Arcadius, when he retired to Constantinople; and that what had been allotted to the Emperor of Constantinople was better preserved there during the continuation of the Empire than proved to



be possible in Rome in the case of the precious stones that ended up with the Emperor of the West, in the midst of the frequent plunderings of foreign and barbaric nations.

I have also tracked the fortunes of another fairly large antique cameo, bearing the Apotheosis of the still living Emperor Augustus (which was sold to Emperor Rudolph II for 12,000 t/w after the deceased King [of France] refused to buy it), which I found out was stolen during the religious troubles from the convent of the Sisters of Poissy, to which King Philip the Fair had bequeathed it, saying that he had received it / **(Fol. 319r)** as a gift from the Knights of the religious Order of St John of Jerusalem, who had recovered it in Palestine during the holy wars [?], where it was found in the ruins of Caesarea. From this I conjectured that the work, which is obviously in the Greek style, was made there at the expense of King Herod, when the city of Stratonice was restored under the name of Caesar Augustus. This, together with what Flavius Josephus relates about it, helped me very much in better recognizing the date of workmanship and the figures of the princes and princesses who are pictured on it. This caused me great joy, without detracting nonetheless from the honour and the lustre of France and of the princes who once owned these beautiful jewels . . .

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*Notes to Appendix II.5*

1. Cf. also Appendix II.1-4, and see Nos. 164 and 168.

## II. 6 Letter from Peiresc to Girolamo Aleandro in Rome of 23 September 1620, describing the Gemma Tiberiana (extracts)

*Copy. Aix-en-Provence, Bibliothèque Méjanes, MS 1032, fols. 167, 170.*

(Cf. Carpentras, Bibliothèque Inguimbertaine, MS 1809, fols. 232-234, Italian text in copy, starting with 'si è scoperto...'; a French translation by de Mazauges was published by *Rooses-Ruelens*, II, pp. 302-306.)

### Fol. 167

Io hò scoperto di nuovo in luogo peregrino, et rare volte apperto, una gioja antica la maggiore et la più bella che habbia mai veduto. Ella e in forma ovata, di grandezza eguale a questo foglio intiero tutto aperto, et in essa si veggono scolpite vintiquattro figure grandi, la maggior parte come la longuezza della mano. La gioja é agatha orientale, il fondo negro et rosso bruno, le figure tagliate in cameo bianche con qualche diversità di bianchezza, et la più alta superficie in certi luoghi tirante al bruno. Il soggetto della scoltura è l'apoteosi dell'imperatore Augusto di buona maestria, et del tutto conforme alle antiche . . .

### Fol. 170

. . . Io fo fare un disegno essatto di questa gioja, e son in piensiero di farla tagliare in rame et stamparla. Se costì il Vellamena volesse farne l'entaglio io l'haveri carissimo, se non vedero di farla intaglio<sup>(A)</sup> da Cornelio Galle, o di qualch'altro valentuomo, che la faccia con amore, che non lo voglio lasciar fare da intagliare<sup>(B)</sup> commune peiche e cosa così nobile, et che bisogno scropolosamente la somiglianza di tanti belli ritratti di tutta quella famiglia Augusta. V.S. mi fara favore d'intendere l'inclinatione del Villamena . . .

### *Translation of Appendix II. 6:*

#### Fol. 167

I have discovered in a strange and rarely accessible place an antique gem stone, the largest and most beautiful I have ever seen. It is oval-shaped and in size equal to this sheet of paper completely unfolded, and on it one sees twenty-four figures carved, most of them as large as a hand. The gem is made of oriental agate, with a black and reddish brown background, the figures cut in white cameo of varying shades of white and the very top layer in some areas verging on a brownish colour. The subject of the carving is the Apotheosis of the Emperor Augustus, of good workmanship, and it conforms entirely to the ancient . . .

(A) In the version of this text in Carpentras: *intagliare*.

(B) In the version of this text in Carpentras: *intagliatore*.

**Fol. 170**

. . . I will have an exact drawing made of the gem, and I am intending to have it engraved and printed. If Villamena [in Rome] wants to make the engraving, I would very much appreciate this, if not I will have it engraved by Cornelius Galle or some other capable person who would do it with care, because I do not want to have it done by an ordinary engraver for it is such a special piece, and requires the faithful reproduction of all the beautiful portraits of the entire family of Augustus. You will oblige me by sounding out Villamena on this matter . . .

**II. 7 Letter from Girolamo Aleandro in Rome to Peiresc in Paris of 17 October 1620 discussing the Gemma Tiberiana (extract)<sup>1</sup>**

*Copy. Aix-en-Provence, Bibliothèque de Méjanes, MS 1019, fols. 96-98.*

**Fol. 96**

M.<sup>to</sup> Ill.<sup>re</sup> S.<sup>r</sup>. mio Oss.<sup>mo</sup>

Io non credo che si potesse scoprir mai la più bella cosa di quella che hà scoperta V.S. per la grandezza della gioia, per la bellezza dell'opera, per l'antichità, et per le cose significate. E non solamente haverà grand merito à farla intagliare, et publicarla appresso tutti gli antiquarii è letterati, mà apporterà anco infinito gusto un discorso che sarà necessario, ch'ella vi faccia, poiche veggo ch'ella hà dichiarato il tutto così eruditamente è così aggiustatamente.

Io m'imagino bene che tal opera non fosse fatta tanto per indicare l'apoteosi d'Augusto, quanto per adulare Tiberio, poiche è vestito con gli ornamenti di Giove, havendo l'Egide e lo scettro lungo, et essendo ignudo dalla cintura in sù, et oltre à quello ch'ella sà meglio di me, potrà anco ricordarsi di quello ch'io accennai del vestimento di Giove nel mio libro della Tavola Heliaca a carta 109. et 118. di cotesta editione Parisiense. E forse Tiberio in questa maniera dovesse esser effigiato nel tempio che li fù eretto in Asia, come narra Tacito, poiche sà molto bene V.S. che quando gli antichi volevano far adorare alcun huomo per Dio li davano l'habito di qualche Dio, così narra Giosefo Giudeo che Augusto in un tempio fù dedicato in forma di Giove, et Roma in forma di Giunone. E in cotesta gioia si vede Giulio / **(Fol. 97)** Cesare con l'habito di Marte, et Augusto con quello di Apollo, cioè con la corona radiata, ch'era il proprio contrasegno d' Apollo, di cui gli faceva professione d'essere figliolo; e Servio afferma che si soleva formare con l'insegne d' Apollo, anzi gli stesso prese questi adornamenti nella cena delli XII. Dei appresso Suetonio. E potrebbe anco essere che questa gioia fosse stata dedicata in quel tempio di Tiberio in Asia, ancorche sia verissimilissimo quella che V.S. dice che dà Roma fosse trasportata in Constantinopoli.

La congettura della salita in cielo d'Augusto sù le spale di Roma, come si puo credere la narrasse quel senatore, è gentile. Ma V.S. si ricorderà bene che i templi di Roma et d'Augusto furono eretti vivente Augusto, et che quelli che riferi la salita di Romolo in cielo, non si ristrinse a dire da chi fosse portato. Ma questa inventione d'essere Augusto portato da Roma in cielo, che vuol significare d'essere stato

consecrato ò deificato da tutti i Romani, può anco haver origine ò allusione à quello che soleva dire Cicerone, ch'era stato riportato dall'essiglio sù gli homeri della Republica. Sò con V.S. che quel tal giovane sopra il cavallo alato non possa esser altrò che Marcello, ma forse che quel cavallo non è altramente il Pegaso, mà più tosto il cavallo di Lucifero del quale si contenti V.S. di rivedere quello ch'io dissi nella Tavola Heliaca a carta 88. et 89. Perche dovendosi figurar Marcello sotto schema di qualche Deità, acconciamente si sarà eletto Lucifero per la sua bellezza sopra l'altre stelle, è per essere stella di Venere, dalla quale haveva origine la famiglia Giulia, e si come Lucifero è prenuntio del sole, così Marcello precedesse Augusto nella salita in cielo; et perche pare che Lucifero si vegga solamente la matina per poco spatio di tempo, si puo credere che si sia havuto riguardo à quello che di Marcello disse Virgilio: / **(Fol. 98)** *Ostendent terris hunc tantum fata, nec ultra esse sinent &c.* E per essere Lucifero, come ho detto, stella di Venere, con ragione vengono tenute le sue redini da Cupidine, sotto il qual cupidine credo però veramente che s'intenda quel figliuogolino di Germanico, conforme all'acuta consideratione di V.S. Mà Livia con la corona d'alloro, e con la facella, indica forse il sacerdotio che hebbe di Augusto?

In somma haverà occasione V.S. di far un bel discorso, e di dar gusto a persone letterate, e ad antiquarii. Ho parlato al Villamena, il quale mi dice che intaglierà le figure, e vi metterà ogni diligenza, mà che non sà se potrà bastare un disegno per poter serbar bene la somiglianza de' ritratti, e più sicuro sarebbe, se fosse possibile di mandarne anco un gesso, non credendosi qui, che i disegnatori di coteste parti possano dar intiera sodisfattione. Non son entrato à trattar seco del prezzo, se bene sò, ch'egli è un poco tirannetto, perche è hora unico in Roma nel suo mestiere, essendo certo, ch'egli non haverebbe detto cosa alcuna senza vedere prima il disegno, mà resti pur certa V.S. che quando si verrà al ristretto, si tirerà à qual manco segno che si potrà.

Il signor Cardinale di S.Susanna ha gusto grande delle cose antiche, et di tutto quello che puo giovare alle lettere. Io li lessi la lettera di V.S. e ne prese infinito piacere, non solamente per essersi scoperta una gioia di tanta importanza mà per vederla anco così gentilmente dichiarata da lei . . .

Di Roma li 17. d'ottobre 1620.

*Translation of Appendix II. 7:*

**Fol. 96**

Most illustrious Sir

I do not believe that anything could ever be found that is more beautiful than that which you have discovered, for the size of the jewel, for the beauty of the work, for its antiquity, and for the things represented. And by having it engraved and published, not only will you gain great merit among all antiquarians and men of letters, but a commentary will also be very much appreciated, and you will have to write it, since I see that you have explained everything so eruditely and appropriately.

I can well imagine that this work was not made so much as to represent the Apotheosis of Augustus, as to adulate Tiberius, because he is dressed with the attributes of Jupiter, with the Aegys and the long sceptre, and is nude from the waist up, and besides what you know better than I do, you may also recall what I touched on in my book on the *Tabula Heliaca* pp. 109 and 118 of the Parisian edition about the clothing of Jupiter. And maybe Tiberius was represented in this way in the Temple that was erected to him in Asia, as Tacitus records. Because you well know that when the Ancients wanted to adore a human being as a god they gave him the dress of a particular god, so relates Josephus the Judean that August was honoured in a temple in the guise of Jupiter, and Rome in the guise of Juno. And on this jewel Julius / (Fol. 97) Caesar is rendered in the garb of Mars, and Augustus as Apollo, that is to say, with the radiate crown that is the symbol belonging to Apollo of whom he professed to be the son. Servius maintains that he used to have himself represented with the emblems of Apollo, and he himself even wore these adornments at the Dinner of the Twelve Gods, according to Suetonius. And it may also be that this jewel was dedicated in that Temple of Tiberius in Asia, just as it is most likely as you said that it was transported from Rome to Constantinople.

The conjecture concerning the ascent of August to heaven on the shoulders of Roma, as one may believe from what the senator told, is pleasing. But you will remember well that the temples of Roma and Augustus were erected during the lifetime of Augustus, and that the one who relates the ascent of Romulus to heaven, does not elaborate upon who carried him. But that idea, of Augustus being carried by Roma to Heaven, which symbolizes being glorified or deified by all the Romans, could also have its origin in or allusion to what Cicero used to say, that he was carried back from exile on the shoulders of the Republic. Like you, I know that the young man on the winged horse cannot be anyone other than Marcellus, but it may be that this horse, on the other hand, is not Pegasus, but rather the horse of the Morning Star, Lucifer, about which you might reread what I have said in the *Tabula Heliaca* on pp. 88 and 89. Because having to represent Marcellus in the form of some god, it would be appropriate to elect Lucifer for her beauty over the other stars, and since Lucifer is the star of Venus, from whom the gens Julia descends, and as Lucifer is the herald of the Sun, so likewise Marcellus precedes Augustus in ascending to heaven. And because it appears that Lucifer is only visible at dawn for a short period of time, one can believe that reference was made to what Virgil had to say about Marcellus: / (Fol. 98) 'him fate shall but show to the world, nor suffer him longer to exist'. And since Lucifer is the star of Venus, as I have said, rightly so, the reins are held by Cupid, this cupid I believe, in reality represents Germanicus' infant son, which concurs with your sharp observation. But could Livia with a laurel wreath, and holding a torch, possibly indicate the priesthood she obtained from Augustus?

Anyway, you will have the opportunity to write a good essay and to provide pleasure to scholars and antiquarians. I have spoken to Villamena, who said to me that he would engrave the figures, and that he would do so with every care, but he does not know if a drawing will suffice to render the resemblance of the portraits, and that it would be much better, if it were possible, to send also a plaster cast, since we believe here, that draughtsmen in your country cannot do a totally satis-

factory job. I have not started to discuss the price with him, as I know well, that he can be a bit of a tyrant, because he is at present the only one in his trade in Rome. And it is certain that he would not have said anything, without having first seen the drawing. But be assured My Lord, that when it comes to negotiating a price, the lowest possible figure will be sought.

Cardinal S. Susanna greatly appreciates antique objects, and anything that will benefit the Arts. I read your letter to him which gave him great pleasure, not only because a jewel of such importance was discovered, but also seeing it described so elegantly by you . . .

Rome, 17 October 1620.

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*Notes to Appendix II.7*

1. Cf. also Appendix II.1-2, and see No. 168.

**II. 8 Letter from Lorenzo Pignorina in Padua to Peiresc in Paris of 30 December 1620 referring to the Gemma Tiberiana and Gemma Augustaea (extracts)**

*Copy. Aix-en-Provence, Bibliothèque Méjanes, MS 1027, fol. 395.*

. . . Del cameo io non saprei che dire a V.S. Ill.<sup>mo</sup> poiche la relatione tutto che essattissima non muove in me i fantasmi del discorso, come faria il dissegno, pure ci pensarò.

. . . Del secondo cameo io mi rallegro oltra modo, et pregho V.S. Ill.<sup>mo</sup> a farli intagliare tutti due eccellentemente che in tal maniera la fantasia meglio opererà per discorrerne . . .

*Translation of Appendix II. 8:*

. . . As for the first cameo (Gemma Tiberiana) I would not know what to say to you, because your report though detailed does not stir up any fantasies in me, to speak like a drawing would be able to do, however I will think about it.

. . . As for the second cameo (Gemma Augustaea) I am overjoyed, and I beg you to have both very well engraved for in that way my fantasy can better function to discuss it . . .

## APPENDIX III

Letters concerning Pasqualino's collection.

**III. 1 Letter from Peiresc to Pompeo Pasqualino of 26 January 1622 outlining the Gem Book and discussing gems formerly belonging to Lelio Pasqualino in Rome (extract)<sup>1</sup>**

*Copy. Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS Fr. N. Acq. 5172, fols. 96r-v.*

(Published by *Van der Meulen, Antiquarius*, pp. 210-212, repr.)

**Fol. 96r**

Il Sig.<sup>r</sup> Pasqualini.

Al molto Ill.<sup>re</sup> et molto R.<sup>do</sup> Sig.<sup>r</sup> mio oss.<sup>mo</sup>

Il Sig.<sup>r</sup> Pompeo Pasqualini

Roma 1622.

. . . In tanto sendosi scoperto un gran cameo antiquo serbato qui nel thesoro della Capella Regia insieme con un altro cavato pure da questo regno deportato all'Imperatore, tutti duoi con imagini di Augusto in habito divino et di molte altre persone della sua famiglia Giulia, li quali l'Ill.<sup>re</sup> Sig.<sup>r</sup> Girol.<sup>o</sup> Aleandro et molti altri amici m'hanno voluto persuadere di far uscir in luce con qualche interpretatione et note.

Si e incontrato qui il gentiliss.<sup>o</sup> Sig.<sup>r</sup> Pietro Paulo Rubens excell.<sup>mo</sup> pittore venuto per certe pitture ordinategli dalla Regina Madre. Il quale havendo veduto l'originale di quel cameo regio et l'impronto dell'altro si e lasciato intendere di volerli dissegnare di sua propria mano et fargli intagliare in rame con ogni diligenza et essatezza, osservando sino alla diversità de colori dove é bianca et dove é di sardonio schuro et dov'é di sardonio più chiaro secondo che l'artefice gli ha accommodati alle corone, vestiti et arme. Ma mi ha preggato di volere condescendere che con questa occasione si metta fuori una raccolta ch'egli ha fatta dalli studii del Duca di Mantoa, altri principi et del suo proprio, di venti cinque ò trenta altre gemme antique cosi di cavo come di rilievo delle più pretiose che siano nell'Europa, per far del tutto un volumetto gentile et ch'io ce ne volessi aggiungere qualched'un altra cosi delli amici miei come delle mie. Il che m'ha fatto subito pensare allo studio di V.S. come l'uno delli più nobili et più compiti dell'Europa, non potendo compatire che escano in questa raccolta gioie delli studii de principi et altri curiosi senza che alcuna delle sue vi comparisca con la devuta preeminencia. Et m'ha fatto ricordare di quelle sue con inscrittioni ΔΙΟΚΚΟΒΡΙΑΔΟΥ et ΔΙΟΓΕΝΟΥC, delle quali Monsig.<sup>r</sup> Lelio che Dio habbia mi concesse altre volte l'impronti, onde mi pare che si possa arricchire questa radunanza più che da ogn'altra gioia.

Ma non ho voluto prendere l'ardire di lasciarle ne dissegnare ne stampare senza sapere se V.S. non l'haverà discaro, bastandomi di haver ne havuta la communicatione et goduto sin hor gl'impronti con molto mio diletto senza farne parte ad alcun altro ch'io non sia sicuro del beneplacito del padrone. Vedendosi molte persone che non trovano buono di sentire che i loro thesori si veggano altrove che in casa loro

ne in impronto ne in disegno ne in stampa. Hor quando V.S. mantunasse che il suo gusto fosse tale ella può assicurarsi che non ne sentira mai parlare più oltre et che restaranno sepolte come prima l'impronte che ne serbo carissime come gl'occhi proprii et per la nobilita della gioie et per amore di chi me ne fece parte.

Al contrario si V.S. mi da licenza di collocarle nel luogo à loro debito in cosi honorata compagnia, non mancherò di darle accompagnate da quelli elogi che s'appartengono al sommo valore de padroni di esse cosi del zio come del nipote, acciò sappia la posterità à chi n'habbia da havere il principal obbligo.

**Fol. 96v** Anzi quando non le fosse grave de farci partecipi di qualchedun altra delle gemme rarissime dello studio suo et sopra tutte de quel stupendo cameo nel quale tanti amorini sono esposti sopra un albero alla persecuzione delle nymphe et di quel altro dove è rapresentata la pugna di Alessandro Magno nell'Indie nella quale egli resto ferito sotto la difesa di Peuceste, sarebbe infinito l'obbligo nostro et della posterità verso V.S. dalla quale si farebbono uscire thesori cose nobili.

Et sarebbe necessario in questo caso che V.S. si degnasse mandare impronti se fosse possibile, acciò fossero poi disegnati di medesima mano dell'altri et con la medesima fedeltà, potendosi guarnire i cavi che s'incontrano tal volta sotto squadra con creda molle la quale se ne va puoi con l'acqua sola, et fa che si spogliano gli impronti de camei, come quelli delli intagli, che cosi l'habbiamo praticato in questo cameo regio et altri che si sono formati isquisitissime, benchè vi fossero infinite cose sotto squadra et fuor di spoglio. Et oltre di ciò sarebbe à proposito che sopra l'impronto del cameo d'Alessandro, il quale si puo far di gesso et poi fargli imbibere (colla di pesce ò altra capace di resistere alla pittura), si notassero i colori della gioia che fanno gl'habiti ò corpi indicani di color di sardonio per distinguerli poi nell'intagliatura di rame quanto si potrà, come sarà fatto in questo regio. Che se le fosse grave di lasciar uscire impronti di quelle pretiosissime gioie, il che non troverei stranno atteso il pretio loro, & il poco merito mio, ci contentaresimo de disegni soli i quali si protrebbero fare esattamente come pratica il S<sup>r</sup> Rubens con pittura à oglio sopra fogli di pelle d'asino ò di quelle tavolette che si portano in saccoccia, le quali hanno la superficie tanto unita che vi si puonno esprimere tutte le minutie necessarie et osservare la diversità de colori non solamente del sardonio piu ò meno scuro, ma del bianco ancora et del berrettino ò azzurrino speciale. Per quella d'Allessandro sarebbe piu necessaria tal diligenza che nell'altro delle nymphe, non credo che vi sia alcuna parte di sardonio che il fondo solo. Ma come sono tali queste cose che non deono temerariamente comunicare ad altri et delle quali i padroni non puonno essere troppo gelosi, quando V.S. non trovasse buono di lasciarne uscire ne impronti ne disegni, non e del mio intento di darlene l'importunità in maniera alcuna, ne di far violenza in nissun modo alla sua inclinatione, supplicandola in tal caso di tenersi per pregata del contrario dal canto mio, di retenerle sempre più preciose et sotto più stretta custodia, che non pero le restero meno obbligato del suo affetto verso di me.

Del resto le supplico di volerli avvisare in che termini siano poi restate le sue belle osservazioni sopra l'Ovidio et altri authori antiqui et con tal fine aspettando il favore de suoi commandamenti le prego dal cielo ogni compiti beni.



Di Parigi alli 26. Gennaro 1622.

Monsig.<sup>r</sup> Aleandro potra farmi sicuramente ricapitare la risposta di V.S. et il scatinolo delle impronti ch'ella vi potrebbe aggiungere se cosi le pare di farlo.

*Translation of Appendix III. 1:*

**Fol. 96r**

To Mr Pasqualini.  
To the Most Illustrious and Honourable  
Pompeo Pasqualini  
in Rome, 1622.

... In the meantime a large antique cameo was discovered here in the treasury of the Royal Chapel together with another, which was however removed from this kingdom and carried off to the emperor. Both have portraits of Augustus in the guise of a god, and of many other members of his family, the Gens Julia. The Illustrious Mr Girolamo Aleandro and many other friends have tried to persuade me to publish these cameos with some commentaries and annotations.

Here we have met the most honourable Mr Peter Paul Rubens, most excellent painter, who came for certain paintings commissioned by the Queen Mother. Having seen the original of this royal cameo and a cast of the other one, he has given us to understand that he wanted to draw them himself and have them engraved on copper with every diligence and accuracy even to the point of observing all the variations in the colours: where the cameo is white and where it is of dark sardonyx and where a lighter sardonyx occurs, according to how the gemcutter has used these colours to cut out the wreaths, clothing and weapons.

But he has begged me to agree to publish on this occasion a collection, which he has kept, of the cabinets of the Duke of Mantua, other princes and of his own, of twenty-five or thirty other antique gems both intaglios and cameos among the most precious in Europe, in order to make a nice little book and that I would add a few others belonging to my friends and also to myself. And this made me immediately think of your cabinet as one of the most noble and excellent in Europe, as I could not allow that gems of the cabinets of princes and other collectors would be included in this little book without some of yours appearing there with the prominence that they deserve. This made me remember the ones you own which are inscribed ΔΙΟΚΟΝΡΙΑΔΟΥ and ΔΙΟΓΕΝΟΥC, of which the late Mr Lelio previously gave me the casts and with which it seems to me that this collection can be enriched more than with any other jewels.

But I did not dare to have them either drawn or engraved without knowing whether Your Honour might be displeased, as I am happy that I have known about them and I have enjoyed the casts up till now with much delight without showing them to anybody else as I was not sure of the approval of the owner. There are many people who do not give their consent for others to see their treasures other than in their own homes and not from casts, drawings or engravings. Therefore, if you felt like this, you can be assured that you will never again hear about it, and that the casts will remain hidden as before, since they are as precious to me as my

own eyes, and because of the quality of the gems and the love of him who shared them with me.

If on the other hand Your Honour gives me permission to bring them together in the place and in such honourable company where they belong, I shall not fail to accompany them with eulogies that befit the highest value of the owners of them, both uncle and nephew, so that posterity will know to whom it owes so great an obligation.

**Fol. 96v** Therefore, if it does not bother you to share with us some others of the rarest gems of your collection, and above all that stupendous cameo on which several Cupids are shown on a tree chased by Nymphs, and that other one where the Combat of Alexander the Great in India is represented when he is injured under the defences of Peucestes, this would oblige us and posterity infinitely towards Your Honour for permitting publication of such noble treasures.

And in that case, it would be necessary for Your Honour to deign to send casts if possible, in order to have them drawn by the same hand as the others and with the same faithfulness. One can fill up the cavities, which sometimes are oblique, with soft clay [?], which can be removed simply with water and which makes it possible for the impression to be loosened from cameos as well as from intaglios. This method we have used for that royal cameo and for others, producing exquisite impressions although there was an infinity of undercut details which would have been impossible to get loose. It would furthermore be convenient that on the cast of the cameo with Alexander, which can be made of plaster and then treated (with fish glue or anything else that resists paints) one could indicate the colours of the gem for the clothing, or for the bodies of the Indians, of the colour of the sardonyx, to distinguish them on the copper engraving wherever possible, as will be done in this region. If you are not in favour of impressions being made of those precious gems (something I would not find strange considering their price and the little merit I can claim for myself) we would be content with just drawings, which could be made exactly in the way that Mr Rubens makes them, painting with oil on sheets of donkey skin [i.e. parchment] or on those little tablets which can be carried in pockets, which have such a smooth surface that all necessary details can be depicted, and the variations of the colours observed, not only of the lighter and darker shades of the sardonyx, but also of the white and greyish blue or blue. Such diligence would be more necessary for the gem of Alexander than for the other cameo with the Nymphs, on which I do not believe that the sardonyx occurs other than in the background. But as these are things that should not be recklessly communicated to others, and of which the owners cannot be too careful, when Your Honour does not agree to let either casts or drawings circulate, I have no intention to bother you in the least nor to do anything which goes against your wishes and, as far as I'm concerned, I beg you in that case, on the contrary to hold them even more precious and to keep them under the strictest custody. Nonetheless I will not remain any less obliged to you for your affection for me.

Finally, I beg you to inform me at what stage are your wonderful observations on Ovid and other ancient authors, and for that purpose I await the favour of your instructions, and may Heaven give you every blessing.

Paris, 26 January 1622.

Mr Aleandro can surely deliver your answer to me and the box with the casts, which you can add, if you feel inclined to do so.

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*Notes to Appendix III.1*

1. Cf. also Appendix I.1 nos. [1] and [3], and Appendix IV.1 and IV.3.

### **III. 2 Letter from Peiresc to Girolamo Aleandro in Rome of 8 February 1622 concerning his request to Pompeo Pasqualino (extract)**

*Copy. Aix-en-Provence, Bibliothèque Méjanes, MS 1032, fol. 248r.*

. . . Scrivo al nipote di Monsigr. Lelio Pasqualini B.M., et lo prego si havessi errato nel nome di voler emendare la sottoscritta, et di leggere mia lettera, et poi sigillarla, et accompagnarla di qualche raccomandatione, per ottenere la licenza richiesta, et gli impronti de camei ch'io lo prego di comunicarei, et di farne sollecitare la risposta.

Et se V.S. dal canto suo ci potesse procurare ò da lui, o da altri studii, et specialmente da quello del Cardinale Farnese qualche impronto o disegno di camei et altri tagli nobili, et esquisiti, sopra tutti di quelli dove si leggono i nomi delli scoltori, V.S. ajussera stremamente l'impresa della quale V.S. è stato il primo motore, et le ne restaremo con obbligo grande. Se si puonno haveri impronti, ci saranno molto più caro che disegni . . .

#### *Translation of Appendix III. 2:*

. . . I am writing to the nephew of the late Mr Lelio Pasqualino and I beg you if I erred in his name to correct the following, and to read my letter, and then seal it and add some kind of a recommendation to obtain the requested permission, and the casts of the cameos which I am asking him to send, and to urge him to reply.

And if you from your side can secure either from him or from other gem cabinets, and in particular from that of Cardinal Farnese, some casts or drawings of cameos and other fine and exquisite intaglios, above all those on which the names of the sculptors can be read, you would greatly help the enterprise of which you were the instigator, and we would be very obliged to you. If it is possible to have casts, we would appreciate them far more than drawings . . .

### **III. 3 Letter from Girolamo Aleandro in Rome to Peiresc of 17 July 1623 (extract)**

*Copy. Aix-en-Provence, Bibliothèque Méjanes, MS 1019, fol. 104.*

. . . della lettera di V.S. delli 23. del passato, le dirò, che con la prima commodità m'abboccherò col Sigr. Pasqualini, e vedrò quello si potrà fare circa i disegni de suoi camei . . .

*Translation of Appendix III. 3:*

. . . referring to your letter of 23 of last month [June] I am letting you know that I will speak with Mr Pasqualini at the first opportunity and see what can be done about the drawings of his cameos . . .

**III. 4 Letter from Peiresc to Girolamo Aleandro in Rome of 3 March 1624 concerning the collection of the late Lelio Pasqualino (extracts)**

*Copy. Carpentras, Bibliothèque Inguimbertaine, MS 1871, fol. 179v.*

. . . M'e stato gratissimo la nuova che lo studio del Sr. Pasqualini b.m. sia passato in mano dell' Ill.<sup>mo</sup> Sr. Card. Buoncompagno poi che se ne puo sperare qualche communicatione . . . Et de disegni di alcuni camei bellissimi se pur non se ne puo ottenere qualche impronte (benche non fosse perfetto) accio che facendogli scolpire in rame si possano rappresentare piu fidelmente. Vorrei ben sapere il pretio che s'e venduto detto studio . . .

*Translation of Appendix III. 4:*

. . . I was very pleased to learn the news that the cabinet of the late Mr Pasqualino has passed into the hands of the Illustrious Cardinal Buoncompagno because we can hope for some communication about it . . . And drawings of some of the most beautiful cameos if it were not possible to obtain some casts (even if they were not perfect) so that, having them engraved in copper, they can be reproduced more faithfully. I would very much like to know the price for which this gem cabinet was sold . . .

**III. 5 Letter from Claude Menestrier in Rome to Peiresc of 19 April 1624 concerning objects formerly belonging to Lelio Pasqualino (extract)**

*Quoted from P. Tamizey de Larroque, Lettres de Peiresc, V, 1894, p. 492.*

. . . Si desirés quelques desseins des choses rares du Pasqualini il vous plaira m'en advertir car j'ay cest faveur du Cardinal Bon Compagno que de les veoir quand je veus lequel en est possesseur pour le present . . .

*Translation of Appendix III. 5:*

. . . If you desire some drawings of rare objects of [the late Lelio] Pasqualino I ask you to let me know because I have the favour of Cardinal Buoncompagno, who is the present owner, to see them when it pleases me . . .

**III. 6 Undated memo by Peiresc concerning Cardinal Buoncompagno's purchase of the late Lelio Pasqualino's gem cabinet (extract)**

*Autograph. Carpentras, Bibliothèque Inguimbertaine, MS 1864, fol. 279r.*

Le Cardinal BONCOMPAGNO Archevesque de Naples a le cabinet du feu duc de Sora son pere, et celuy du feu Sr. Lelio Pasqualino qui avoit esté estimé 18 mille escus, dont il ne donne que 6000 tt/w . . .

*Translation of Appendix III. 6:*

Cardinal Buoncompagno, Archbishop of Naples, has [acquired] the cabinet of the late Duke of Sora, his father, and that of the late Mr Lelio Pasqualino which was valued at 18,000 écus, but for which he paid only 6,000 pounds [?] . . .

**APPENDIX IV**

References by Peiresc to Gems which were considered for inclusion in the Gem Book.

**IV. 1 Memo (1630?)<sup>1</sup> by Peiresc referring to a cameo with Venus Chasing Cupids<sup>2</sup>**

*Autograph. Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS Fr. N. Acq. 1209, fol. 18r.*

(Published by *De Grummond, Coins and Gems*, pp. 255-256; *Van der Meulen, Antiquarius*, pp. 200-201.)

Tascher de recouvrer de Monseign<sup>r</sup> le Cardinal Boncompagno une empreinte du camayeul qu'il eut de feu Mr. Pasqualin de la largeur d'un Jule ou se voyent quelques petits amours sur un arbre et des femmes qui les en veullent faire tomber avec des longues perches. Il estoit enchassé en or ou entouré d'une simple branche de baston rabbotteux; dont je serois bien aise de voir le dessein de miniature avec la couleur de l'agate de ce camayeul. Et avoit esté trouvé en ce país icy au mesme lieu ou a depuis esté trouvé mon trepié. C'est pour quoy je vouldrois en parler et donner le dessein au discours de mon trepié.

Que si son Eminance vouloit prendre en eschange pour ce camayeul quelque bonne graveure de son goust, on tascheroit de luy en fournir, de quelque bonne teste, ou autre chose qui fusse plus de sa delectation.

Voir un eschantillon de la pierre verte du vase tant estimé.

*Translation of Appendix IV. 1:*

Try to obtain from Monseigneur Cardinal Buoncompagno an impression of the cameo which he acquired from the late Mr Pasqualino, the size of a Julius, on which may be seen several little Cupids on a tree and women with long sticks trying to

make them fall out. It was set in gold, with a plain, rough frame shaped like a knotted branch; of which I would like to see the representation in miniature with the agate colour of this cameo; it was first found in this country on the same spot where my tripod was later found. It is for this reason that I would like to mention it and reproduce the drawing in the treatise on my tripod.

That if His Eminence would accept in exchange for this cameo some good intaglio to his taste we would try to provide him with a good portrait or anything else that would delight him more.

[Try] to see a sample of the green stone of the highly praised vase.

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*Notes to Appendix IV.1*

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| 1. Peiresc's note is undated, but was probably written in 1630 when his tripod was found. | 2. The gem referred to is now in Naples, Museo Nazionale (Inv. No. 25858). Cf. Appendix I.1 no. [1], and Appendix III.1. |
|---|--|

#### **IV. 2 Undated memo by Peiresc referring to a gem with the Waxing and Waning of the Moon<sup>1</sup>**

*Autograph. Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS Fr. N. Acq. 1209, fol. 19r.*

(Published by *Van der Meulen, Antiquarius*, p. 201.)

Sçavoir du Sr. Angeloni, s'il a recouvert du cabinet du feu Sr. Natalitio Benedetti une pierre qu'il avoit entre ses anneaux plus précieux laquelle représentoit en sa couleur et splendeur, l'accroissement et descroissement de la lune.

*Translation of Appendix IV. 2:*

Find out from Mr Angeloni if he has acquired from the cabinet of the late Mr Natalitio Benedetti a stone that he possessed among his most precious rings which in splendid colour depicted the Waxing and Waning of the Moon.

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*Notes to Appendix IV.2*

1. Unidentified cameo. See *Van der Meulen, Antiquarius*, p. 120, no. \*G.33.

#### **IV. 3 Descriptions of various cameos by Peiresc. Undated**

*Autograph. Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS Fr. N. Acq. 1209, fol. 20r.*

(Published by *De Grummond, Coins and Gems*, pp. 256-257; *Van der Meulen, Antiquarius*, p. 201.)

- [1] Le camayeul du Duc de Mantoüe avec les testes d'Alexandre & d'Olympia. Luy armé d'une salade sur laquelle sont représentez le dragon, la teste de Jupiter Ammon & la fouldre. Elle voillee ayant neantmoins soubz son voilee une espece de coiffe enrichie d'ouvrages quasi en forme de bonnet plustost que de mithre.<sup>1</sup>

- [2] Le camayeul d'onyce porté aux Indes du combat d'Alexandre contre les Indiens represente une ville de couleur bleuastre, hors les murs de laquelle trois Indiens sont sortis, vestus de long de la ceinture enbas, le hault du corps tout nud, l'un desquels qui se met devant semble vouloir aller au combat avec son bouclier & un espieu. Et sont tous trois de pierre noirastre, tenant du sardoine brun. Ils sont assaillis par un Alexandre armé à la grecque avec son thorax, sa clamys, son heaulme, son bouclier & sa lance, lequel est suivy de deux autres soldats armez de mesmes. Le bouclier de l'un estant marqué de la teste d'une Meduse, tous trois de pierre bleuastre comme l'onyce ordinaire excepté la superficie plus eminante laquelle est de sardoine. Le champ estant noirastre.<sup>2</sup>
- [3] Le camayeul du chariot de Claudius & d'Agrippine traisnez par deux dragons aislez de couleur de sardoine, les deux figures de grisaille excepté la cuirasse, les cheveux & les extremittez des habillements de sardoine. L'Empereur tient le sei [sic]<sup>3</sup>

*Translation of Appendix IV. 3:*

- [1] The cameo of the Duke of Mantua with the heads of Alexander and Olympias. He is armed with a helmet, on which are depicted the dragon, the head of Jupiter Ammon and the thunderbolt. She is veiled yet wearing under her veil a kind of headcovering embellished with decorations shaped almost like a bonnet rather than a mitre.<sup>1</sup>
- [2] The cameo of onyx, sent to the East Indies, with the Combat of Alexander the Great against the Indians, represents a city of blueish colour outside the walls of which three Indians have appeared, dressed from the waist down in long robes, the top of their body nude; the one, who leads them, seems to go to the battle with his shield and a lance. And all three are carved in blackish stone, with the appearance of brown sardonyx. They are attacked by an Alexander, armed in Greek fashion with his cuirass, his mantle, his helmet, his shield and his lance; he is followed by two other soldiers armed in a similar way. The shield of one is decorated with the head of Medusa; all three are carved of blue stone like ordinary onyx, except for the top layer of the surface which is of sardonyx. The background is blackish.<sup>2</sup>
- [3] The cameo with the Chariot of Claudius and Agrippina drawn by two winged dragons coloured like sardonyx; the two figures greyish except for the cuirass, hair and the top layer of the clothing, which are of sardonyx. The Emperor holds the... [?]<sup>3</sup>

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*Notes to Appendix IV.3*

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| <p>1. The cameo in Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum. See <i>Van der Meulen, Antiquarius</i>, pp. 129-130, no. *G.49, fig. XII.D.</p> | <p>2. Unidentified cameo. See No. 163; cf. also Appendix I.1 no. [3], and Appendix III.1.</p> <p>3. The cameo in Paris, Bibl. Nat., Cabinet des Médailles. See No. 165.</p> |
|--|---|

**IV. 4 Letter of Pierre Dupuy in Paris to Peiresc of 12 October 1627  
concerning the Cameo of Mantua (extract)**

*Copy. Aix-en-Provence, Bibliothèque Méjanes, MS 1028, fols. 326-327.*

... Pour ce qui est du camajeu; le croions [*sic*] fait a la plume qu'en a eu Mr. Rubens par Mr. Priandi, est fort mal fait, il desireroit bien en avoir une empreinte comme vous mandez; mais l'ayant dit à Mon dict Sr. Priandi, il a repondu que Mr. Guiscardi, n'estant a Mantoûe, il ne sçauoit personne par qui pouvoit procurer cela. Nous l'en faisons souvenir de tems en tems: Mon dict Sr. Rubens dit que pour une teste seule, il ne croit pas qu'au reste du monde, il se trouve une plus belle piece. Ce craion ci n'a que les premiers traits . . .

*Translation of Appendix IV. 4:*

... As for the cameo; the drawing made with the pen which Mr Rubens received through Mr Priandi, is very poor, he would like to obtain an impression as you have requested; but having communicated this to the aforementioned Mr Priandi, he replied that Mr Guiscardi was not present in Mantua and that he knew of nobody else who could supply one. We must remind him from time to time. The aforementioned Mr Rubens said that as for the cameos with a single head, he did not believe that in all the world one would find a more beautiful piece. This drawing renders only the basic outlines . . .

**IV. 5 Letter from Peiresc to Girolamo Aleandro in Rome of 19 June 1626  
(extract)**

*Copy. Aix-en-Provence, Bibliothèque Méjanes, MS 1032, fol. 389.*

... Ho ricevuto con la lettera gli disegni del vase del Card.<sup>lc</sup> del Monte, che mi sono riusciti bellissimi, et mi fanno desiderare sommamente l'impronto di gesso perche si trova in mano . . .

*Translation of Appendix IV. 5:*

... I have received together with the letter the drawings of the vase of Cardinal del Monte, which have turned out very well and which make me even desire more to have the plaster mould at hand . . .



#### IV. 6 Fragment of an undated and unsigned letter discussing the decoration on the Del Monte vase (extract)<sup>1</sup>

*Copy. Aix-en-Provence, Bibliothèque Méjanes, MS 1027, fols. 398-399.*

##### Fol. 398

. . . per il braccio come se volesse rapirla havendo lei un gran dracone abbracciato, et un huomo a canto che stà colla mano al mentone come geloso a guardarli. Questi potriano essere Paridi, Helena, e Menelao, se potessimo salvar il dracone che meglio guardrarebbe ad una Olimpia madre d' Alessandro che ad Helena. La donna che dorme colla face aversa si batizzarebbe Hecuba, *quae somniabat se facem parere &c.*<sup>2</sup> La dea co'l scettro sedendo in atto superbo e sdegnoso sarebbe forse Junone, è notabile ancora, *nec alienus ab hoc subjecto*, il cupidine sopravolante colle facci nuptiali, et l'arco che riguarda il giovane et pare voglia essortarlo, et l'atto della donna non del tutto renitente, mà le braccia intricchiate come se reciprocamente s'attirassero. Il dracone è conforme a quello che s'attribuisce al Oceano, & che potria denotar la lor fuga per mare. Quello che sede appresso la donna che dorme in solio rilevato anzi regio non puo essere Priamo per essere giovanetto, mà forse l'istesso Paride ricognosciuto per prole regia &c. Ecco un commento ridicolo che solo serve per dare a V.S. oggietto a darmene la vera / (Fol. 399) interpretatione, la quale sin adesso non hà voluto comunicarmi . . .

##### *Translation of Appendix IV. 6:*

##### Fol. 398

. . . holding her by the arm as if to abduct the woman who is embracing a large serpent, and beside them a man cupping his chin in his hand looking at them as if he is jealous. These figures may be Paris, Helen and Menelaos, if we could make sense of the serpent which can better be squared with an Olympias, mother of Alexander the Great, than with Helen. The woman who is sleeping with an inverted torch next to her can be named Hecuba, who dreamt that she brought forth a torch etc.<sup>2</sup> The Goddess with the sceptre sitting in a proud and haughty pose could possibly be Juno. Even more remarkable and germane to the subject is Cupid, who is flying overhead with the nuptial torches and a bow, and looking at the youth as if to encourage him. And the pose of the woman is not at all one of resistance, but they [she and her abductor] have their arms entwined as if they were attracted to each other. The serpent is like the one attributed to Oceanus, which may allude to their flight overseas. The male figure, close to the sleeping woman, who sits in an elevated, even regal throne, cannot be Priam as he is very young, but may be Paris himself, recognized as of royal birth. Here then is my laughable explanation, the only purpose of which is to offer you a reason to give me its true / (Fol. 399) interpretation, which till now you have not been willing to share with me . . .

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*Notes to Appendix IV.6*

1. The letter, in fragments and unsigned, is preserved in Peiresc's files with letters to Lorenzo Pignoria of the 1620s. Peiresc could very well have been the author of this letter as he intended to add the Del Monte vase to the Gem

Book and therefore wanted to identify the figures on the frieze.

2. A. Balis pointed out to me that the reference is derived from Apollodorus, *Bibliotheca*, III, iii, 5.

**APPENDIX V**

Descriptions of engraved gems and cameos belonging to P. P. Rubens.

**V. 1 Index of casts of Rubens's gems posted to Peiresc and received 13 May 1628**

*Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS Fr. 9530, fols. 248r-249r.*

(Published by *Van der Meulen, Antiquarius*, pp. 207-209.)

**Fol. 248r**

Index gemmarum

P. Pauli RUBENII

quarum egmagnata

accepit NF - 13. May 1628

- 1 Agrippina Germanici<sup>1</sup>
- 2 Alexander Macedo cum spolio leonis<sup>2</sup>
- 3 Alexander cum cornu Hammonio<sup>3</sup>
- 4 Alexander elephantino capitio insignis propter victoriam Indicam<sup>4</sup>
- 5-5ij Antiochus Rex qui ab altera eiusdem gemmae parte habet Cleonatrae [sic] uxoris effigiem<sup>5</sup>
- 6 Aurora in roseis fulgebat lutea bigis<sup>6</sup>
- 7 Augustus Caesar trophaeum tenens ut putant sed vitiata est facies<sup>7</sup>
- 8 Bacchus cantarum attollens<sup>8</sup>
- 9 Bacchus faunis innixus<sup>9</sup>
- 10 Claudius cum aegide & sceptro<sup>10</sup>
- 11 Cleopatra M.Anthonii effigiem e collo suspensam gerens, spicis et papaveribus redimita<sup>11</sup>

- 12 Cleopatra cum aspide<sup>12</sup>
- 13 Constantinus Magnus cum aegide<sup>13</sup>
- 14 Diomedes Palladium auferens<sup>14</sup>
- 15 Ganimedes aquilae, hoc est Jovi, cyathum miscens<sup>15</sup>
- 16 Genii comptatores<sup>16</sup>
- 17 Gratiae tres<sup>17</sup>
- 18 Harpocrates<sup>18</sup>

**Fol. 248v**

- 19 Hermaphroditus pelle leonina indutus<sup>19</sup>
  - 19ij Item alius Hermaphroditus<sup>19a</sup>
  - 20 Hercules<sup>20</sup>
  - 21 Hippocrates<sup>21</sup>
  - 22 Homerus<sup>22</sup>
  - 23 Jupiter<sup>23</sup>
  - 24 Isis vel certe Aegiptia quaedam alia mulier<sup>24</sup>
  - 25 Isis<sup>25</sup>
  - 26 Isis cum flore suo ut in tabula Isiaca, & alibi visitur supra caput<sup>26</sup>
  - 27 Isis<sup>27</sup>
  - 28 Larva sive persona Sileni<sup>28</sup>
  - 29 Lares hi sunt ni fallor sed mulierculae quid colloquantur serio nescio, nisi quod vetula de lenocinio suspicionem movet<sup>29</sup>
- [*in the margin*: ULYSSIS REDITUS EUMAEO subulco ductore, ab Argo cane cognitus. PENELOPE cum EURYCLEA invicem de eodem adventu contenditissimae [?]. Homer. Odys. P. Plin. lib. 35 c. 10]
- 30 Larva tragica<sup>30</sup>
  - 31 Livilla Drusi junioris uxor cum geminis maribus in sinum<sup>31</sup>
  - 32 Lucius Verus ut volunt plerique<sup>32</sup>
  - 33 Lucius Apuleius<sup>33</sup>
  - 34 Minerva<sup>34</sup>
  - 35 Nuptialis pompa Psyche Cupidini nubentis, nota flammeum utrique iniectum, Hymeneum vinctos trahentem & lectulum genialem. Gemma haec insignis est artificii, & inscripta nomine ΤΡΥΦΟΥ<sup>35</sup>
  - 36 Oedipus cum Sphinge decertans<sup>36</sup>

37 Pavoris caput buxelo pallore & maculis cruentis aspersum<sup>37</sup>

38 Perseus et Andromeda<sup>38</sup>

39 Poetria quaedam laureata<sup>39</sup>

**Fol. 249r**

40 Polixena arae imposita tanquam victima, cui assistit Hecuba vestem filiae componens ut honeste cadat, adstante Pyrrho cum gladio<sup>40</sup>

41 Praesentatio D. Virginis<sup>41</sup>

42 Serapis cum Cerbero & aquila<sup>42</sup>

43 Sigillum Neronis<sup>43</sup>

44 Socrates habitu Sileni<sup>44</sup>

45 Tragedia haec vel saltem aliqua heroidum actio est<sup>45</sup>

[*in the margin*: VENVS CHARITA de qua Plin. lib. 36 c. 10.]

46 Theophrasti caput<sup>46</sup>

47 Valeria Messalina cum duobus liberis<sup>47</sup>

48 Venatio Marci & Faustinae ut plerique putant<sup>48</sup>

49 Venus sedens Cupidinem parvum gremio fovens adstante Constantia<sup>49</sup>

49ij item alia Venus<sup>49a</sup>

50 Victoria in quadriga<sup>50</sup>

51 Urna sepulcralis columnae imposita, quid figurae sibi velint non assequor<sup>51</sup>

52 Zephiri caput<sup>52</sup>

53 Caput incertum foeminae<sup>53</sup>

**Translation of Appendix V. 1:**

**Fol. 248r**

List of Gems

of Peter Paul Rubens

of which N[icolas] F[abri] [de Peiresc][?]

received the casts 13 May 1628

1 Agrippina, wife of Germanicus<sup>1</sup>

2 Alexander of Macedon with a lionskin<sup>2</sup>

3 Alexander with the horn of Ammon<sup>3</sup>

4 Alexander with an elephant headdress, distinguished this way on account of his Indian Victory<sup>4</sup>

- 5-5ij King Antiochus, who has the portrait of his wife Cleopatra on the reverse of the same gem<sup>5</sup>
- 6 'Rose-coloured Dawn was shining in her pink chariot'<sup>6</sup>
- 7 The Emperor Augustus holding a trophy—or so it is supposed, but the face is damaged<sup>7</sup>
- 8 Bacchus raising a drinking cup<sup>8</sup>
- 9 Bacchus supported by Fauns<sup>9</sup>
- 10 Claudius with aegis and sceptre<sup>10</sup>
- 11 Cleopatra wearing the portrait of Mark Anthony on a necklace, crowned with a wreath of ears of wheat and poppy capsules<sup>11</sup>
- 12 Cleopatra with the asp<sup>12</sup>
- 13 Constantine the Great with an aegis<sup>13</sup>
- 14 Diomedes stealing the Palladium<sup>14</sup>
- 15 Ganymede preparing a cup for the Eagle - that is Jupiter<sup>15</sup>
- 16 *Genii* drinking together<sup>16</sup>
- 17 The three Graces<sup>17</sup>
- 18 Harpocrates<sup>18</sup>

**Fol. 248v**

- 19 Hermaphrodite wearing a lionskin<sup>19</sup>
- 19ij Another Hermaphrodite<sup>19a</sup>
- 20 Hercules<sup>20</sup>
- 21 Hippocrates<sup>21</sup>
- 22 Homer<sup>22</sup>
- 23 Jupiter<sup>23</sup>
- 24 Isis, or undoubtedly some other Egyptian woman<sup>24</sup>
- 25 Isis<sup>25</sup>
- 26 Isis with her flower on top of her head as pictured on the Tabula Isiaca and elsewhere<sup>26</sup>
- 27 Isis<sup>27</sup>
- 28 A mask of one kind or other of Silenus<sup>28</sup>
- 29 These are *Lares*, if I am not mistaken, but what the female figures are discussing together, I honestly do not know, unless the old woman prompts the notion that it has to do with soliciting<sup>29</sup>

[*in the margin*: The return of Odysseus, led by the swineherd Eumaeus, recognized by the dog Argos. Penelope with Euryclea, both very happy [?] at his arrival. Homer, book XIV. Pliny, book XXXV, chapter X]

30 Tragic Mask<sup>30</sup>

31 Livilla, wife of Drusus the younger, with her twin sons at her bosom<sup>31</sup>

32 Lucius Verus, as many claim<sup>32</sup>

33 Lucius Apuleius<sup>33</sup>

34 Minerva<sup>34</sup>

35 The wedding procession of Psyche marrying Cupid. Note the *flammeum* (bridal veil) that is over both of them, Hymenaeus pulling the couple tied together, and the little bridal bed. This cameo is of outstanding workmanship, and inscribed with the name of Tryphon<sup>35</sup>

36 Oedipus fighting off the Sphinx<sup>36</sup>

37 The head of Fear, ashen pale and speckled with bloody spots<sup>37</sup>

38 Perseus and Andromeda<sup>38</sup>

39 A poetess crowned with laurel<sup>39</sup>

**Fol. 249r**

40 Polyxena laid on the altar as a sacrificial victim, with Hecuba standing by and arranging her daughter's dress, so that she may fall in a decorous way, while Pyrrhus is standing by with the sword<sup>40</sup>

41 The presentation of the Virgin<sup>41</sup>

42 Serapis with Cerberus and the eagle<sup>42</sup>

43 The seal of Nero<sup>43</sup>

44 Socrates in the guise of Silenus<sup>44</sup>

45 This is a tragedy or at any rate some story of a mythical heroine<sup>45</sup>

[*in the margin*: Venus Charita. On this see Pliny, book XXXV, chapter X] [=XXXV:79]

46 The head of Theophrastus<sup>46</sup>

47 Valeria Messalina with her two children<sup>47</sup>

48 The hunt of Marcus [Aurelius] and Faustina, as most believe<sup>48</sup>

49 A seated Venus caressing a little Cupid on her lap as Constancy stands by<sup>49</sup>

49ij Another Venus<sup>49a</sup>

50 Victory on a chariot<sup>50</sup>

51 A sepulchral urn placed on a column; what the figures are up to I do not understand<sup>51</sup>

52 The head of Zephyr<sup>52</sup>53 Head of an unidentified woman<sup>53</sup>*Notes to Appendix V.1*

1. *Van der Meulen, Antiquarius*, pp. 125-126, no. G.44.
2. Paris, Bibl. Nat., Cabinet des Médailles; *Van der Meulen, Antiquarius*, p. 128, no. G.47. See No. 173, and cf. Appendix VIII, *Cista 14<sup>a</sup>*, no. 1.
3. Paris, Bibl. Nat., Cabinet des Médailles; *Van der Meulen, Antiquarius*, p. 127, no. G.46, fig. VI.B. See No. 169, and cf. Appendix V.2, no. [2] and Appendix VII, *Nynth Box*, no. [3].
4. Paris, Bibl. Nat., Cabinet des Médailles; *Van der Meulen, Antiquarius*, p. 104, no. G.1, fig. VIII.B. See No. 171, and cf. Appendix V.2, no. [3].
5. Paris, Bibl. Nat., Cabinet des Médailles. *Van der Meulen, Antiquarius*, pp. 153-154, no. G.76, figs. XV.E-F.
6. Cf. Virgil, *Aeneid*, book VII, line 26. *Van der Meulen, Antiquarius*, pp. 105-106, no. G.3.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 133, no. G.53.
8. Paris, Bibl. Nat., Cabinet des Médailles; *Van der Meulen, Antiquarius*, p. 122, no. G.38, fig. X.C. See No. 183.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 106, no. G.4.
10. *Ibid.*, pp. 136-137, no. G.57.
11. *Ibid.*, p. 138, no. G.59. Cf. Appendix V.2, no. [4] and Appendix VIII, *Cista 1<sup>a</sup>*, no. 17.
12. *Van der Meulen, Antiquarius*, p. 139, no. G.60.
13. Paris, Bibl. Nat., Cabinet des Médailles; *Van der Meulen, Antiquarius*, pp. 156-157, no. G.81, fig. VIII.C. See No. 170 and cf. Appendix V.2, no. [8].
14. *Van der Meulen, Antiquarius*, p. 108, no. G.8. Cf. Appendix VIII, *Cista 7<sup>a</sup>*, no. 22.
15. *Van der Meulen, Antiquarius*, p. 109, no. G.10. Cf. Appendix V.7, no. [2].
16. ? Paris, Bibl. Nat., Cabinet des Médailles; *Van der Meulen, Antiquarius*, p. 109, no. G.11; *Neverov, Gems*, p. 431, fig. 39.
17. Paris, Bibl. Nat., Cabinet des Médailles; *Van der Meulen, Antiquarius*, p. 110, no. G.12, fig. XV.K.
18. Paris, Bibl. Nat., Cabinet des Médailles. *Van der Meulen, Antiquarius*, p. 110, no. G.13, fig. XV.D.
19. Paris, Bibl. Nat., Cabinet des Médailles; *Van der Meulen, Antiquarius*, pp. 111-112, no. G.17; *Neverov, Gems*, p. 432, fig. 60.
- 19a. *Van der Meulen, Antiquarius*, p. 112, no. G.18.
20. *Ibid.*, pp. 110-111, no. G.14; *Neverov, Gems*, pp. 431-432, fig. 50. Cf. Appendix V.7, no. [6].
21. *Van der Meulen, Antiquarius*, p. 148, no. G.67.
22. *Ibid.*, p. 148, no. G.68. See No. 174.
23. *Ibid.*, p. 114, no. G.24.
24. *Ibid.*, p. 113, no. G.21.
25. *Ibid.*, p. 113, no. G.22.
26. Paris, Bibl. Nat., Cabinet des Médailles. *Van der Meulen, Antiquarius*, pp. 133-134, no. G.54, fig. XV.C.
27. *Ibid.*, p. 113, no. G.23.
28. *Ibid.*, p. 162, no. G.87.
29. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art; *Van der Meulen, Antiquarius*, pp. 120-121, no. G.35, fig. XIV.B. Cf. Rome, Palazzo Braschi; *Neverov, Gems*, p. 428, fig. 29.
30. *Van der Meulen, Antiquarius*, pp. 162-163, no. G.88.
31. Paris, Bibl. Nat., Cabinet des Médailles; *Van der Meulen, Antiquarius*, p. 149, no. G.69, fig. XIV.C. Cf. Appendix V.2, no. [5] and Appendix VIII, *Cista 7<sup>a</sup>*, no. 5.
32. *Van der Meulen, Antiquarius*, p. 161, no. G.83.
33. *Ibid.*, p. 131, no. G.50.
34. *Van der Meulen, Antiquarius*, p. 118, no. G.31. See No. 170 and cf. Appendix V.2, no. [7].
35. Boston Museum of Fine Arts (Inv. No. 99.101); *Van der Meulen, Antiquarius*, p. 107, no. G.7, fig. XIV.A. Cf. Appendix V.4.
36. Berlin, Staatliche Museen; *Van der Meulen, Antiquarius*, p. 120, no. G.34; *Neverov, Gems*, p. 432, fig. 47. Cf. Appendix V.7, no. [1] and Appendix VIII, *Cista 1<sup>a</sup>*, no. 1.
37. ? Paris, Bibl. Nat., Cabinet des Médailles; *Van der Meulen, Antiquarius*, pp. 108-109, no. G.9; *Neverov, Gems*, p. 431, fig. 41.
38. St Petersburg, Hermitage; *Van der Meulen, Antiquarius*, pp. 121-122, no. G.36.

39. *Van der Meulen, Antiquarius*, p. 163, no. G.89.
40. Paris, Bibl. Nat., Cabinet des Médailles; *Van der Meulen, Antiquarius*, pp. 112-113, no. G.20, fig. XVI
41. *Van der Meulen, Antiquarius*, p. 162, no. G.86; *Neverov, Gems*, p. 431, fig. 37. Cf. Appendix VIII, *Cista 6<sup>b</sup>*, no. 16.
42. Paris, Bibl. Nat., Cabinet des Médailles; *Van der Meulen, Antiquarius*, p. 122, no. G.37, fig. XVJ.
43. Paris, Bibl. Nat., Cabinet des Médailles. *Van der Meulen, Antiquarius*, p. 105, no. 2, fig. XVI.C. Cf. Appendix VII, *Sixth Box*, no. [9].
44. ? Paris, Bibl. Nat., Cabinet des Médailles; *Van der Meulen, Antiquarius*, p. 156, no. G.79, fig. XVI.B; *Neverov, Gems*, p. 431, fig. 42. Cf. Appendix VIII, *Cista 1<sup>b</sup>*, no. 7.
45. St Petersburg, Hermitage; *Van der Meulen, Antiquarius*, p. 123, no. G.39; *Neverov, Gems*, p. 431, fig. 31. Cf. Appendix V.3.
46. *Van der Meulen, Antiquarius*, p. 156, no. G.80.
47. Paris, Bibl. Nat., Cabinet des Médailles; *Van der Meulen, Antiquarius*, pp. 151-152, no. G.73, fig. VI.A. See No. 169 and cf. Appendix V.2, no. [6].
48. Paris, Bibl. Nat., Cabinet des Médailles; *Van der Meulen, Antiquarius*, p. 151, no. G.71; *Neverov, Gems*, p. 432, fig. 48.
49. Paris, Bibl. Nat., Cabinet des Médailles; *Van der Meulen, Antiquarius*, p. 112, no. G.19, fig. XV.G. Cf. Appendix VII, *First Box*, no. [11].
- 49a. *Van der Meulen, Antiquarius*, p. 112, no. G.18.
50. *Ibid.*, pp. 124-125, no. G.42. Cf. Appendix VIII, *Nynth Box*, no. [8].
51. *Van der Meulen, Antiquarius*, p. 162, no. G.85.
52. *Ibid.*, p. 125, no. G.43.
53. *Ibid.*, p. 161, no. G.84.

## V. 2 Description by Peiresc of various cameos belonging to Rubens. Undated<sup>1</sup>

*Autograph. Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS Fr. N. Acq. 1209, fols. 16r-17v.*

(Published by *De Grummond, Coins and Gems*, pp. 250-255, Appendix B; *Van der Meulen, Antiquarius*, pp. 199-200.)

### Fol. 16r

SARDONYCHES

Arabicae

Petri Pauli RUBENII

CAMAYEULS D'AGATHE  
Des plus excellents de toute  
l'antiquité, et dans des pierreries  
orientales des plus belles couleurs  
dont il s'en puisse voir, recueillis  
par M.<sup>r</sup> P.<sup>tro</sup> P.<sup>lo</sup> RUBENS à  
Brusselles.

[1] AMYNTAS rond<sup>2</sup>

Teste sans barbe (excepté tant soit peu de guernon soubz l'oreille au derriere des machoire) armée d'une sallade ou heaulme fait à la grecque plus antique des premiers heros, sans poinct de crestes, lambréquins ou cimiers, au lieu desquels se void un lyon passant gravé dans la sallade, pardessus laquelle est encores ceincte la couronne de laurier. Avec une telle dexterité



de l'ouvrier que le visage est d'un blanc parfait, le corps de la sallade d'un autre blanc roussastre, les bords & ornements de la sallade de roux ou feuille morte claire pour imiter l'or, le lyon de mesmes et les proffiles des feuilles de laurier encor de mesmes pour tenir lieu d'or. Le champ quasi noir.

Mr. Rubens la tient d'ALEXANDRE LE GRAND, et que le lyon se doibve r'apporter au songe de Philippe son pere. J'aymerois mieux la prendre pour estre d'Amyntas son ayeul, s'en trouvant une medaille, avec le revers d'un pareil lyon, qui se peult r'apporter à l'origine d'Hercule.

[2] ALEXANDER rond<sup>3</sup>

Teste d'Alexandre le Grand couronnée de son diademe royal auquel est attachée la corne d'Ammon. Le visage espargné de blanc, le diademe de mesmes, les cheveux blonds, & la corne de roux plus brun, le champ quasi noir.

[3] PYRRHVS ovale<sup>4</sup>

Teste d'un prince qui tient un peu de l'air d'Alexandre (dont le visage est blanc) armée comme croit Mr. Rubens de la peau de lyon de couleur tirant à l'or, & survestüe de la peau d'elephant plus brune en la proboscide & au pendant des oreilles elephantines. L'oeil de l'elephant estant espargné de blanc, et la grosse dent de mesmes. Il y a de plus la poitrine couverte d'une clamys forte brune, avec la fibule espargnée de blanc, le champ noirastre.

Mr. Rubens la tient asseurement d'Alexandre & la rapporte à la victoire indique. J'aymerois mieux la rapporter à Pyrrhus dont la ressemblance y est grande le voyant avoir affecté des elephans en ses medailles, ou bien à l'Alexandre d'Epyre du Fulvius Ursinus. Et ne trouve rien en ce qu'on attribue à peau de lyon qui ne puisse r'apporter à sa chevelleure si ce n'est qu'on aymast mieux la prendre pour feminine & l'attribuer à l'Afrique ou Aegypte.

Fol. 17r

[4] CLEOPATRA Ovale<sup>5</sup>

Teste de Cleopatre avec la poitrine & la main gauche, le visage & la main fort blanc, avec une perle à l'oreille, les cheveux de blanc tirant au blond, la couronne par dessus d'espis & de pavots tirants à l'or. L'habillement bluastre, sur lequel au droict du sein est espargnez la teste de M. Antoine, la stole par dessus, tirant au roux et l'amulethum en forme de coeur pendu à un tour de col tenant de l'or. Elle releve avec sa main un peu du pan de sa veste bleüe. La champ noir et une bordeure à l'entour de trois filetz, l'un roux entre deux divers blancs.

[5] LIVILLA ovale<sup>6</sup>

Teste de LIVILLA femme de DRUSUS (qui estoit filz de Tibere) avec toute la poitrine & la main droicte dont elle releve le pan de sa veste. Ell'est couronnée d'espis et de testes de pavots, et sur sa veste sont representez au droict du sein ses deux petits gemeaux masles. Le visage et la main sont trez blancs. La couronne & la veste tirant à l'or ensemble comme un tour de grains jaulnes de quelques tapases [*sic*] au lieu de perles à l'entour de

son col. Le champ noirastre et une pareille bordeure jaulne entre deux blancs. La ressemblance du visage s'accorde fort bien avec celle du Camayeu Royal, & la coiffeure aussy.

[6] MESSALINA ovale mal proportionnée<sup>7</sup>

Teste de MESSALINA coiffée comme Agrippine à tresse pendante couronnée de laurier, avec sa veste jusqu'au pis ayant d'un costé une teste & pis de petit enfant armé de sallade & bouclier posée sur un soubassement quarré, et de l'autre part une corne d'abondance d'ou sort une teste de fille, pour représenter Drusus & Octavia. Le visage de la mere, la corne, et les deux enfants fort blancs, l'habillement interieur tirant au roux, la surveste & la couronne plus dorées, avec certains boutons esparnez au hault de la corne. Le champ noir.

**Fol. 17v**

[7] MINERVA ovale<sup>8</sup>

Teste de Minerve armée de sa sallade à la grecque du bon temps avec la grande creste, et de son aegys sur la poitrine. Le visage & espales fort blanches, ensembles la creste, les cheveux, les bords de sa sallade & une partie de l'aegys tirant à l'or, et le corps de salad plus brun & quasi noirastre, le fonds fort brun.

[8] CONSTANTIN ovale<sup>9</sup>

Teste de CONSTANTIN le Grand fort vieil & riddé comme un Galba couronné de chesne, et armé de l'aegys. Le visage du prince, le col & l'espaule droicte fort blancs, ensemble les infules ou liens de la couronne, et le visage de la gorgone, les cheveux du prince, la peau d'aegys, les cheveux, aislerons, & serpents de la Gorgonne de roux brun et la chesne encores plus brun. Le champ roussastre.

*Translation of Appendix V. 2:*

Fol. 16r

Gems of Arabic  
Sardonyx  
belonging to Petrus Paulus Rubens

Cameos of Agate  
Among the most excellent of all  
antiquity, made of oriental stones  
of the most beautiful colours  
that can be seen, brought together  
by Mr P. P. Rubens in  
Brussels.

[1] Amyntas round<sup>2</sup>

Head without a beard (except for a slight sideburn under the ear at the end of the jaw) armed with a sallet or helmet, of the most ancient Greek type worn by the first heroes, without crests, top decorations or peaks, instead of which one sees a striding lion engraved on the sallet, which is at the top wreathed with laurel. With such virtuosity the gemcutter makes the face a perfect white, the bowl of the sallet of a sandy white, the sides and ornaments of the sallet of a rusty or clear tan brown, to imitate gold. The lion is of the same colour and the contours of the leaves of the laurel also the same, to take the place of gold. The background almost black.

Mr Rubens believes him to be Alexander the Great, and believes that the lion must refer to the dream of Philip his father. I would rather identify him as Amyntas his grandfather, as found on a coin with a similar lion on the reverse, which may refer to the descent from Hercules.

[2] Alexander round<sup>3</sup>

Head of Alexander the Great, crowned with his royal diadem to which the horn of Ammon is attached. The face is cut in white, the diadem also, the hair blond and the horn a dark sandy brown colour, the background almost black.

[3] Pyrrhus oval<sup>4</sup>

Head of a prince who slightly resembles Alexander (whose face is white), armed, as Mr Rubens believes, with a lion skin of a colour verging on gold, and wearing over this an elephant skin whose trunk and hanging ears are of a darker brown. The eye of the elephant carved in white, and the large tusk the same. In addition, the chest is covered by a dark brown *chlamys* (cloak), with a *fibula* (pin) carved in white, the background blackish.

Mr Rubens firmly believes it to be Alexander the Great and relates it to his victory over India. I would prefer to relate it to Pyrrhus with whom the resemblance is strong, regarding the fact that elephants occur on his coins, or even to Alexander

of Epirus as shown in Fulvius Orsini. And I do not detect anything that can be taken for the skin of a lion that cannot be related to his hair. Unless one would rather see a woman in it and identify her as Africa or Egypt.

**Fol. 17r**

[4] Cleopatra oval<sup>5</sup>

Head of Cleopatra with the bust and left hand, the face and the hand very white, with a pearl in the ear, the hair white, verging on blond. The wreath over it with ears of wheat and poppy capsules verging on gold. The garment blueish, on which to the right of the breast is engraved the head of M. Antony, the stola draped over it, verging on sandy brown and the amulet shaped like a heart, hanging from a necklace verging on gold. She raises the slip of her blue garment with her hand. The background black and a border of three bands: a sandy brown one between two different white bands.

[5] Livilla oval<sup>6</sup>

Head of Livilla, wife of Drusus (who was the son of Tiberius) with her entire bust and right hand with which she lifts the slip of her garment; she is wreathed with ears of wheat and poppy capsules, and on her garment to the right of her breast are depicted her two little twin sons. The face and the hand are very white. The wreath and the garment verging on gold as well as a string of yellow beads with some topazes instead of pearls around the neck. The background blackish and a yellow border between two white ones, similar to the Cleopatra gem. Livilla's face strongly resembles that on the royal cameo, and the hairstyle too.

[6] Messalina oval of irregular shape<sup>7</sup>

Head of Messalina, the hair styled like Agrippina's with a braid hanging down, wreathed with laurel, with her garment up to her bust; she has on one side a head and bust of a small infant, armed with a sallet and a shield placed on a square pedestal, and on the other side a horn of plenty from which a girl's head emerges, to represent Drusus and Octavia. The face of the mother, the horn of plenty and the two children are very white, the undergarment verging on sandy brown, the overgarment and the wreath more golden with some round protuberances cut out at the top of the horn of plenty. The background black.

**Fol. 17v**

[7] Minerva oval<sup>8</sup>

Head of Minerva, armed with a sallet in the Greek fashion of the good period, with a large crest and her Aegys over her breast. The face and shoulders very white as well as the crest; the hair, the rim of her helmet and part of the Aegys verging on gold. And the bowl of the helmet darker brown and nearly black, the background dark brown.

[8] Constantin oval<sup>9</sup>

Head of Constantine the Great, very old and wrinkled like Galba, wreathed with oak leaves and armed with the Aegys. The face of the prince, the neck and right shoulder very white as well as the ribbons or ties of the wreath and the face of the Gorgon; the hair of the prince, the skin of the Aegys, the hair, wings and serpents of the Gorgon of reddish brown and oak leaves even darker brown. The background reddish brown.

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*Notes to Appendix V.2*

1. This document was probably written by Peiresc in early 1622 after he received the casts and drawings that Rubens sent to him. He mentioned them in his letter of 23 December 1621. Some of the cameos were among those engraved, thus confirming the early date.
2. Cf. Appendix VII, *Fourth Box*, no. [1]. See No. 169.
3. Cf. Appendix V.1, no. 3 and Appendix VII, *Nynth Box*, no. [3]. See No. 169.
4. Cf. Appendix V.1, no. 4. See No. 171.
5. Cf. Appendix V.1, no. 11 and Appendix VIII, *Cista 1<sup>a</sup>*, no. 17.
6. Cf. Appendix V.1, no. 31 and Appendix VIII, *Cista 14<sup>a</sup>*, no. 5.
7. Cf. Appendix V.1, no. 47; Appendix VII, *Third Box*, no. [1] and Appendix VIII, *Cista 14<sup>a</sup>*, no. 4. See No. 169.
8. Cf. Appendix V.1, no. 34 and Appendix VIII, *Cista 9<sup>a</sup>*, no. 17. See No. 170.
9. Cf. Appendix V.1, no. 13 and Appendix VII, *First Box*, no. 1. See No. 170.

### V. 3 Description (May 1628?)<sup>1</sup> by Peiresc of a gem belonging to Rubens, inscribed XAPITOIY<sup>2</sup>

*Autograph. Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS Fr. 9530, fols. 193r-v.*  
(Published by *Van der Meulen, Antiquarius*, pp. 202-203.)

#### Fol. 193r

XAPITOIY  
GENIORVM NUPTIAE  
ULISSIS ADVENTUS

L'idole d'une femme nue coiffée avec grand soing à deux longues tresses de ses cheveux pendantes chascune desquelles elle releve de ses deux mains, elle à [*in the margin*: un peu de drap sur le dos repassé sur le bras gauche d'un costé et sur la cuisse droicte de l'autre, et en oultre] un amulethum pendu à son col, et si gros qu'il ressemble plus à une bourse qu'à la bulla. Elle est relevée sur un piedestal, ou embasement tout rond d'assez peu de relief dans lequel se lict l'inscription XAPITOIY.

La statüe semble estre posee au fonds d'un temple, descouvert comme dans une niche entre deux colonnes striées ou rayées mais les stries interrompües par espaces, les chapiteaux ayants quelque vestige du Corinthien, sur lesquelles pose l'architrave, qui va en demy rond, par derriere la statüe & descend en perspective, n'y paroissant autre ornement que des oeufs.

Deux autres figures de femmes semblent s'adresser à cette Deesse pour la consulter, ou rendre quelque voeu, l'une (qui est au costé de la main gauche de la statüe

& comme plus profond [*sic*] dans le temple) est coiffée fort simplement, a les bras nus, & son habillement r'attaché sur chascune espaule avec des agraphes ou fibules. Elle est ceinte, & relève de sa main gauche le pan de sa robe pour l'empêcher de traîner, et de la main droite tournée vers la Deesse, fait s'il semble certain acte de prebtesse pour luy présenter l'autre figure de femme qui est de l'autre costé, et laquelle semble venir devers la porte pour s'approcher de la Deesse.

Or celle-cy est toute vestüe, de ses doubles habillements, tant interieur (lequel est ceint) qu'exterieur, duquel elle relève le bout plus à derriere le costé droit avec sa main gauche passée sous le bras droit qu'elle avance vers la Deesse mais tout couvert d'un voile, si ce n'est que ce soit l'autre pan du mesme vestement exterieur, passé sur l'espaule & bras gauche, & rejeeté sur le bras droit. Elle a sa chevelleure pendante par derriere, et recouverte de la THIARE phrygienne sans apparence neantmoins d'infules, ne de buccules. Et comme si elle avoit des soccoli (ou Cothurni)<sup>(A)</sup> il semble que les pointes de ses pieds naturels, poulcen les vestements et veillent paroistre par dessous, ne pouvant pas facilement s'accommoder aux genoux lesquels seroient trop bas, y ayant plus bas que la robe des vestiges / (Fol. 193v) des pieds ou semelles des soccoli. Tant y a que si elle vouloit offrir aucune chose il falloit qu'elle fut dans sa main droite sous le voile, car sur le voile, il n'y en a nulle apparence attendu qu'elle passe le bras gauche sous le droit pour tenir l'autre bout de sa robe.

Derriere cette figure coiffée de la thiare, paroît la porte du temple, auquel est attaché comme par appentis [?] un petit portique adorné de festons dans l'ouverture ou voulte duquel, paroît la mesme figure de cette prebtesse, ou une autre vestüe tout de mesmes qu'elle, s'arraisonnant avec un homme qui est hors du portique, comme si elle luy vouloit deffendre l'entrée. Luy n'a point de barbe, est tout nud, par les pieds teste bras & espaule droite, revestu du pallium grec qu'il reprend de la main gauche par sous le bras droit avec lequel bras il semble menasser la prebtesse et faire des imprecations au ciel ou il regarde.

### *Translation of Appendix V. 3:*

#### **Fol. 193r**

XAPITOU

The Marriage of the Cupids [i.e. Cupid and Psyche]

The Return of Odysseus

The statue of a nude woman, her hair styled with great care in two long tresses; she lifts up each hanging tress with her two hands; she wears [*in the margin*: a little piece of drapery on her back which passes over the left arm on one side and over the right thigh on the other side and further] an amulet around her neck which is so large that it resembles a purse rather than a *bullā* (brooch). She stands high on a pedestal or round base in rather low relief on which can be read the inscription XAPITOU.

(A) In the margin: *virginibus Tyrijs mos est gestare pharetram Purpureoq altae SURAS VINCIRE COTHURNO. &c. Virgil. l. Aeneid. 122.11.*

The statue seems to be placed in the back of a temple, which is roofless as if a niche, between two striated or striped columns, but the stripes are interrupted at various points, the capitals bearing some Corinthian traces, on which the architrave is placed, which is semicircular behind the statue and becomes smaller in perspective with seemingly no other ornament than egg motifs.

Two other female figures seem to address this goddess to consult her, or bring some votive; one of them (who is standing on the left-hand side of the statue and furthest away in the temple) has a very simple hairstyle and bare arms, and her gown fastened to each shoulder with a pin or brooch. She is wearing a belt and with her left hands lifts up the slip of her dress to prevent it from trailing, and with her right hand turned towards the goddess makes a specific gesture of a priestess to present to her the other female figure on the other side, who seems to enter through the door to approach the goddess.

This second lady is fully dressed with two gowns, both an undergarment (which is belted) as well as an overdress, of which she lifts the slip most to the rear of her right side with her left hand, passing it under the right arm which is stretched out towards the Goddess, but is entirely covered by a veil, unless this is the other slip of the same overdress, which is thrown over the left shoulder and arm and falls down over the right arm. Her hair hangs down her back and is covered by a Phrygian tiara, apparently without ribbons or side flaps. And she must be wearing *soccoli* or *cothurni* (boots with high soles) since it seems that the toes of the feet themselves protrude from behind the garments and want to appear through. [*In the margin*: it is the custom of girls from Tirus to carry a quiver and to fasten to the calfs of their legs a purple *cothurn* (boot); Virgil, *Aeneid*, book I, line 337.] It can indeed hardly be the knees, which would be too low; and beneath the dress there are traces of / (Fol. 193v) the feet and soles of the *soccoli*. And whatever it is she wants to offer, she must be holding it under the veil in the right hand as on the veil there is not a trace of anything and as her left hand, passing under the right arm, is holding the other slip of her dress.

Behind this figure wearing the tiara appears the door of the temple, to which is fastened a little portico decorated with swags in the opening or vault of which appears the same figure of the priestess, or another person, dressed exactly the same as she, talking to a man, who is outside the portico as if she wants to refuse him admittance. He is beardless, his feet, head, arms and right shoulder are totally nude, and he is clad in a Greek *pallium* (mantle) which he grasps with his left hand below the right arm, with which he seems to threaten the priestess and curse the sky at which he gazes.

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#### Notes to Appendix V.3

1. The undated document was probably written between 13 and 28 May 1628.
2. Cf. also Appendix V.1, no. 45.

#### V. 4 Description (May 1628?)<sup>1</sup> by Peiresc of Rubens's cameo with the Marriage of Cupid and Psyche<sup>2</sup>

*Autograph. Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS Fr. 9530, fol. 194r.*  
(Published by *Van der Meulen, Antiquarius*, p. 203.)

##### GENIORUM CONIUGIUM

LE MARIAGE DES GENIES en camayeul d'excellente agathe ou se voyent le genie masle en forme de petit enfant avec les aisles de plume, le feminin, vestu de long comme les filles, avec des aisles de papillon, tous deux accouplez, et comme attellez à un mesme joug ayants leurs testes couvertes d'un flammeum si mince que les oreilles & le visage se peuvent discerner par dessous. Le masle porte un petit oiseau comme une tortorella ou bien une colombe.

Un aultre genie qui les suit leur charge un panier de fruicts à tous deux conjointement, sur leurs testes.

Un quattresme genie marche devant eux & les tire de la main droicte par une chaine attachée au joug. Il porte sur son espaulle gauche un flambeau allumé & un drap.

Un cinquiesme genie qui les a tous devancez prepare leur licet genial dont il releve la couverture, en les attendant, avec un geste qui semble vouloir leur dire que tout est prest.

[At the bottom of the page] Cui pater intactam dederat PRIMISQUE JUGARAT OMNIBUS &c de Didone. Virgil. Aeneid, l. 122. 21 Erytr.

#### *Translation of Appendix V. 4:*

##### The Marriage of the Cupids

The Marriage of the Cupids on a cameo of excellent agate on which a male Cupid is seen in the figure of a little child with feathered wings; the female Cupid clad in a long robe like a girl, with butterfly wings. Both are tied together, and fastened to the same yoke, their heads covered with a *flammeum* (bridal veil) so thin that the ears and face are visible underneath it. The male Cupid carries a little bird like a pigeon or perhaps a dove.

Another Cupid, who follows them, places a basket with fruits simultaneously on both their heads.

A fourth Cupid walks in front of them and pulls the couple, by a chain attached to the yoke, with his right hand. He carries on his left shoulder a lighted torch and a strip of drapery.

A fifth Cupid, who is ahead of them all, prepares the bridal bed by lifting up the cover and waiting for them, with a gesture which seems to tell them that everything is ready.



[At the bottom of the page] 'He, to whom the father had given her, his chaste daughter, was the first to attach her to a marital yoke etc., about Dido' (Virgil, *Aeneid*, Bk I, 122. 21 Erytr. [=line 345]).

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*Notes to Appendix V.4*

1. The undated document was probably written between 13 and 28 May 1628.
2. Cf. also Appendix V.1, no. 35.

**V. 5 Description (May 1628?)<sup>1</sup> by Peiresc of Rubens's cameo with the Return of Odysseus<sup>2</sup>**

*Autograph. Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS Fr. 9530, fol. 194v.*

(Published by Van der Meulen, *Antiquarius*, p. 203.)

ULYSSIS ADVENTUS  
LE RETOUR D'ULYSSES.

ULISSES desguysé en berger, avec son petit chappeau, sa jacquette ne couvrant que l'espaule gauche, laissant la droicte nûe avec tout le bras, resseincte neantmoins.

Il est assis sur un quarreau de pierre, soubz un arbre, caressant son chien qui l'avoit recogneu le premier et est adisté d'un autre berger qui tient sa houlette.

Devant eux il y a un peu de fabrique pour représenter la porte d'un logis, contre lequel deux femmes voillées parlent ensemble, l'une paroissant droicte et disposte qui peult estre PENELOPE, l'autre fort voutée & courbée qui peult estre sa norrice.

*Translation of Appendix V.5:*

The Arrival of Odysseus  
The Return of Odysseus.

Odysseus, disguised as a shepherd, with his little cap, his jacket covering his left shoulder only, leaving the right arm and shoulder bare, is belted nonetheless.

He is seated on a square stone, under a tree, caressing his dog, who recognized him first and is accompanied by another shepherd holding a staff.

In front of them is a piece of a structure, representing the door of a house, against which two veiled women are in conversation with each other, one of them straight and alert, who may be Penelope, the other very bent and hunched, who may be his wet nurse.

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*Notes to Appendix V.5*

1. The undated document was probably written between 13 and 28 May 1628.
2. Cf. Appendix V.1, no. 29 and Appendix V.6.

## V. 6 Description (May 1628?)<sup>1</sup> by Peiresc of Rubens's cameo with the Return of Odysseus<sup>2</sup>

*Autograph. Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS Fr. 9530, fol. 240r.*  
(Published by *Van der Meulen, Antiquarius*, p. 207.)

ULYSSES reditus  
in gemma.

Ulysse di ritorno a casa in habito di viandante, et mendico con il petaso, ò celata caprina, sedente innanti alle porte di casa dove il cane Argo gli viene adulando con abassar le orecchie & la coda, accompagnato di un pastore che potria esser Eumaeo subulco appoggiato ad un baculo sotto un albore che sarà forzi un fraxino.

Et delle due donne che parlano insieme l'una può essere Penelope, et l'altra Euryclea nutrice di detto Ulysse, quando andava rivelando à Penelope, che il peregrino mendico erà veramente Ulysse, et ch'ella non se lo poteva persuadere.

Homerus, *Odyssea* P. & c.

Nicomachus Aristodemi F. ac discipulus pinxit raptum Proserpinae &c. Hic primus ULYSSI ADDIDIT PILEVM &c. Plin. lib. 35 cap. x.

### *Translation of Appendix V. 6:*

Odysseus' Homecoming  
on a Gem.

Odysseus, returning home, dressed like a vagrant and beggar, with a *petasus* (pointed cap) or goatherd's cap, sitting in front of the door of the house, where his dog Argos comes to greet him, lowering his ears and tail. He is accompanied by a shepherd who may be Eumaeus the swineherd, leaning on a stick under a tree which may be an ash.

And of the two women, who are talking together, one may be Penelope, and the other Euryclea, nurse of the said Odysseus, at the moment when she went to Penelope to make known to her that the travelling beggar was in reality Odysseus, and that she [Penelope] could not be convinced. (Homer, *Odyssey*, Bk P etc.)

'Nicomachus, the son and pupil of Aristomus, painted the Abduction of Proserpina. He is the first to give Odysseus a *pileus* (cap)' (Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, XXXV:X).

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### *Notes to Appendix V.6*

1. The undated document was probably written between 13 and 28 May 1628.

2. Cf. also Appendix V.1, no. 29 and Appendix V.5.

## V. 7 Description (May 1628?)<sup>1</sup> of Rubens's gems by Peiresc

*Autograph. Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS Fr. 9530, fols. 195r-v.*  
(Published by *Van der Meulen, Antiquarius*, p. 204.)

**Fol. 195r**

AEDYPUS

GANYMEDES

- [1] Un AEDYPUS enlevé en l'air par la Sphinge qui l'embrasse par le foy [sic] du corps & se supporte en l'air avec ses aisles. Luy tout nud n'ayant que sa clamys pendante par derriere, et estant barbu comme les Fleuves. Derriere eux il y a un grand canthare posé sur un rocher.<sup>2</sup>
- [2] GANYMEDES tout nud excepté sa clamys r'agraffée sur l'espaule gauche, et sa thiare phrigienne vraye avec la buccula. Il est assis & appuyé du bras gauche sur un roc, et de la main il tient une escuelle appuyée à son genouil droict, pleine du nectar, dans laquelle vient boire une grande aigle avec ses aisles esployées, posée sur une globe, & relevant les griffes ou oncles de son pied gauche comme pour ayder à tenir l'escuelle.<sup>3</sup>
- [3] CUPIDON jouant de la lyre à cheval sur un lyon passant tout domté par cette harmonie sans autre bride.<sup>4</sup> camayeul
- [4] HERCULE COVRONNÉ d'une couronne de chesne par MINERVE laquelle il embrasse & laquelle a son heulme a la main gauche son espieu & son bouclier appuyez contre une colombe à laquelle est attaché son paragneuil avec un arbre auprez soit il olivier ou chesne.<sup>5</sup>
- [5] HERCULE qui couronne une MINERVE<sup>6</sup> camayeul
- [6] HERCULE seant sous un arbre sur un roc, melancholique, accoudé, appuyant son visage au doz de sa main droicte, posant son pied droict sur un aultel contre lequel est la hure du sanglier, & sa clave par dessus. Ayant a ses pieds les trois pommes des Hesperides & sa peau de lyon à costé de son siege.<sup>7</sup> Graveure
- [7] MARS Gradivus a teste armée tout nud au demeurant portant un trophée, accompagné d'une Victoire pareillement nue excepté un petit linge qui pend de chasque costé, laquelle porte sa palme, tous deux courants à grands pas, et comme PASSIBUS AEQUIS pour verifier le VENI, VIDI, VICI.<sup>8</sup> Graveure

**Fol. 195v**

- [8] PANTARCES figure nue d'un garçon que Phidias avoit aymé comme dict Pausanias, dont il se voyoit une figure (de la main de son maistre) nue divisant avec ses mains les tresses de sa chevelure. (Mais les graces estoient aulcunes foyes representées en mesme action).<sup>9</sup> Graveure

- [9] CONSTANTIA ET VIRTUS, simul tanquam Castor & Pollux cum galeis & hastis, haec autem cum parazonio.<sup>10</sup>

*Translation of Appendix V. 7:*

Fol. 195r

Oedipus

Ganymede

- [1] An Oedipus, raised in the air by the Sphinx, who embraces him by the liver [?] of his body, and supports herself in the air with her wings. He, totally nude, except for his *chlamys* (mantle), hanging behind, is bearded like a River god. Behind them is a large *cantharos* (vase) placed on a rock.<sup>2</sup>
- [2] Ganymede, entirely nude except for his *chlamys* (mantle), fastened with a pin on his left shoulder and his genuine Phrygian tiara with side flaps. He is seated and rests his left arm on a rock and with his hand supports a dish on his right knee, full of nectar, from which a large eagle with outspread wings comes to drink, standing on a globe, raising the claws or nails of his left foot as if to help hold the dish.<sup>3</sup>
- [3] Cupid, playing the lyre, sitting on the back of a striding lion so totally tamed by the harmony that he wears no other restraint.<sup>4</sup> cameo
- [4] Hercules, crowned with an oak wreath by Minerva whom he embraces, and she holds her helmet with her left hand. Her lance and shield are placed against a column to which her cheekplate is attached, with a tree standing close by, possibly an olive or oak.<sup>5</sup>
- [5] Hercules, crowning a Minerva.<sup>6</sup> cameo
- [6] Hercules, seated on a rock under a tree, melancholic, his head supported on his elbow, his face resting on the back of his right hand, his right foot placed on top of an altar against which stand the head of a wild boar and his club on top of it. At his feet lie the three apples of the Hesperides and his lion skin is beside his seat.<sup>7</sup> intaglio
- [7] Mars striding, his head armed but otherwise entirely nude, carrying a trophy, accompanied by a Victory, who is similarly nude except for a little strip of drapery hanging from both sides, who carries her palm branch; both are running with large strides. And in step as if to substantiate the 'I Came, I Saw, I Conquered'.<sup>8</sup> intaglio

## Fol. 195v

- [8] Pantarces, the nude figure of a boy, whom Phidias loved, as told by Pausanias, of whom a statue could be seen (by the hand of his master), nude, separating the locks of his hair with his hands. (But the Graces were sometimes represented in the same pose).<sup>9</sup> intaglio
- [9] Constancy and Virtue, like Castor and Pollux with helmets and spears, the latter however with a *parazonium* (sword).<sup>10</sup>

## Notes to Appendix V.7

1. The undated document was probably written between 13 and 28 May 1628.
2. Cf. Appendix V.1, no. 36.
3. Cf. Appendix V.1, no. 15.
4. *Van der Meulen, Antiquarius*, p. 107, no. G.6. Cf. Appendix VII.2, *Twelfth Box*, no. [8].
5. Berlin, Staatliche Museen; *Van der Meulen, Antiquarius*, p. 111, no. G.15; *Neverov, Gems*, p. 432, fig. 46.
6. London, British Museum; *Van der Meulen, Antiquarius*, p. 111, no. G.16; *Neverov, Gems*, p. 431, fig. 38.
7. Paris, Bibl. Nat., Cabinet des Médailles; *Van der Meulen, Antiquarius*, pp. 110-111, no. G.14; *Neverov, Gems*, pp. 431-432, fig. 50. Cf. Appendix V.1, no. 20.
8. *Van der Meulen, Antiquarius*, p. 114, no. G.25, fig. XVI.A.
9. St Petersburg, Hermitage; *Van der Meulen, Antiquarius*, p. 153, no. G.75; *Neverov, Gems*, p. 431, fig. 43.
10. St Petersburg, Hermitage; *Van der Meulen, Antiquarius*, p. 106, no. G.5; *Neverov, Gems*, p. 431, fig. 32.

### V. 8 Description by Peiresc of a gem owned by Rubens with the head of Augustus as Apollo.<sup>1</sup> Undated<sup>2</sup>

*Autograph. Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS Fr. 9530, fol. 196r.*  
(Published by *Van der Meulen, Antiquarius*, p. 205.)

APOLLON couronné de laurier, avec des cheveux ondoyants d'une excellente beauté. M<sup>r</sup>. Rubens tient que ce soit un AUGUSTE habitué APOLLINIS, comme le décrit Suetone et cela pourroit estre, mais j'y faicts difficulté, à cause des cheveux trop longs principalement outre la ressemblance.

#### *Translation of Appendix V. 8:*

Apollo crowned with a laurel wreath, with wavy hair; of an exceptional beauty. Mr Rubens believes it to be Augustus in the disguise of Apollo, as is described by Suetonius. And that may well be the case, but I have reservations, mainly because the hair is too long to conform to his likeness.

## Notes to Appendix V.8

1. *Van der Meulen, Antiquarius*, p. 132, no. G.52. discussed in a letter by Peiresc to Rubens (*Rooses-Ruelens*, II, p. 456).
2. This memo was probably written before 8 July 1622, when the cameo was

## V. 9 Postscript to a letter written by Rubens to Peiresc in August 1630 regarding a gem carved by Sostratos<sup>1</sup>

Paris, *Bibl. Nat.*, MS Fr. 9530, fol. 290r.

(Published by *Rooses–Ruelens*, V, pp. 291-292, with a French translation; the whereabouts incorrectly given as MS Fr. 9532; I. Cotta, *Pietro Paolo Rubens. Lettere italiane*, Rome, 1987, doc. 174, p. 436; English translation in *Magurn, Letters*, no. 214, pp. 353-354.)

COCTPATOC

Toccante la gemma romana inscritta COCTPATOC mi duole in estremo il mancamento delle teste,<sup>(A)</sup> perche mi persuado ch'ella sia d'un artificio sovrano in conformita di un cameo divino ch'io gia di qualche anni mi ritrovo e l'ho salvato per la sua Eccellenza della vendita al Duca di Buckingham, che non contiene altro che la testa di Ottaviano Augusto in eta<sup>(B)</sup> provetta, bianca in fondo sardonio collae girlanda d'alloro pur sardonio, di gran rilievo et di un artificio tanto esquisito che non mi ricordo d'haver visto il simile sin adesso. Et di dietro della testa nel fondo, e scritto assai distintamente COCTPATOY. Questa e la gemma favorita fra quante mi capitano giamai per le mani.

Le robbe del Duca di Buckingham sono ancora tutte in essere, tanto le pitture quanto le statue, gemme e medaillie, et il palazzo è mantenuto in ordine dalla sua vedova come fu nella sua vita.

### *Translation of Appendix V. 9:*

COCTPATOC

Referring to the Roman gem inscribed COCTPATOC, I bitterly regret the loss of the heads, because I am convinced that it is of a superb craftsmanship similar to a divine cameo which I have owned for several years and which I held back from the sale to the Duke of Buckingham because of its excellence, which contains nothing else than the head of Octavianus Augustus at an advanced age. It is white against a background of [dark] sardonyx with the laurel garland also of sardonyx in high relief and of a craftsmanship so exquisite that so far I cannot remember having seen anything comparable to it. And in the background behind the head is written very clearly COCTPATOY. This is my favourite gem among the many that ever passed through my hands.

(A) *Rooses–Ruelens* (loc. cit.) misread these words as 'della testa' and this was consequently translated by *Magurn* as 'the head'.

(B) *Rooses–Ruelens* and I. Cotta (loc. cit.) have misread this word as 'meta'.

The belongings of the Duke of Buckingham are all intact, the paintings as well as the statues, gems and coins. And the palace is kept in order by his widow as it was during his life.

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*Notes to Appendix V.9*

1. *Van der Meulen, Antiquarius*, p. 132, no. G.51; *Neverov, Gems*, p. 427. Neverov identified the gem with the headless figures referred to in the note, with a cameo representing *Meleager and*

*Atalanta*, now in the Hermitage in St Petersburg (his fig. 35). However, he has incorrectly concluded that it formerly belonged to Rubens's collection.

**V. 10 Letter of Peiresc to Claude Menestrier in Rome of 24 June 1630 referring to a gem carved by Sostratos (extract)<sup>1</sup>**

*Autograph. Montpellier, Bibliothèque de l'École de Médecine, MS H 271, I, fol. 62r.*

(Mentioned by *Van der Meulen, Antiquarius*, p. 88, n. 1.)

... si cette graveure ou camayeul rompu COCTRATOY estoit en estat d'estre acheptée pour le prix que me disiez, je l'eusse fort volontiers recouvrée & soit pour cela ou pour autre chose.

*Translation of Appendix V. 10:*

... if the broken intaglio or cameo inscribed [with the name of] Sostratos would be for sale for the price that you quoted me, I would very much like to secure it or exchange it against something else.

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*Notes to Appendix V.10*

1. The gem cut by Sostratos, which Peiresc hopes to acquire in spite of its damaged condition, is discussed in the opening

sentence in a postscript to Rubens's letter of August 1630. See Appendix V.9.

**APPENDIX VI**

Descriptions of vases and a spoon belonging to P. P. Rubens.

**VI. 1 Description of Rubens's agate vase by Peiresc. Undated but possibly written in 1633**

*Autograph. Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS Fr. 9532, fol. 67r.*

... J'ay autres fois veu à la foire St.Germain un vase d'agate antique d'un pan de

haulteur, estroit par le hault et large par le bas comme une quille mais avec le ventre d'une proportion un peu plus enflée. Il estoit environné de feuillages de vigne et avoit des testes et cornes de satyre pour ances. Cez groz marchands lapidaires ou joyelliers sçauront ce qu'il peult estre devenu, et s'il est en lieu visible, il en faudroit faire le mezurage, et le griffonnement, et un modelle de fer blanc de sa juste contenance.

*Translation of Appendix VI. 1:*

... At the St Germain fair some time ago I saw an antique vase of agate a span high and narrow at the top and wide at the bottom like a cone but with a slightly fuller bulging of its bowl. It was decorated on all sides with grape leaves and had heads and horns of satyrs as handles. Those big dealers in stone objects or jewellers might know what came of it. And if it is accessible for viewing, its capacity should be measured and a sketch and tin model of its precise contents should be made.

**VI. 2 Draft of a letter from Peiresc to Rubens of 24 November 1634<sup>1</sup> describing his research on the measurements of vases of precious stone (including Rubens's agate vase) and his research on Rubens's Mercury Spoon (extract)<sup>2</sup>**

*Autograph. Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS Fr. 9532, fols. 181r-182v.*

(Partly published by D. Jaffé, 'Peiresc and New Attitudes to Authenticity in the Seventeenth Century', in M. Jones ed., *Why Fakes Matter. Essays on Problems of Authenticity*, London, 1993, pp. 169-170.)

**Fol. 181r**

1634. Dec.  
a Mr. RUBENS  
des VASES MESUREZ

...

**Fol. 181v**

... J'ay depuis fait mesurer non seulement tous les vases antiques d'agate et autres plu precieux du thresor St.Denys. [*In the margin:* Ensemble un petit vase d'onyce orientale qui est à Paris de la grandeur et forme d'un gros oeuf de poule autour duquel sont espargnées, en ouvraige de camayeul antique, jusques à dix petites figures de couleur du bleu d'onyce sur un champ de sardoine, qui ne sont pas d'excellente maniere, mais font neantmoins un trez bel effect comme la conception et disposition en est trez gentile, de la Psyche captive entre les Amours qui font la guerre aux papillons. Et encor un autre quasi aussy petit mais d'agate orientale enrichy d'une douzaine de trez belles figures en camayeul d'excellante maniere, et de parfaitement belle couleur blanche sur le fonds de sardoine.



Mais aussy les deux godets d'argent cisellé d'ouvrage antique de trez bonne maniere que vous aviez veus à Paris au cabinet de Mr. de Roissy dont il a voulu absolument me donner l'original de l'un qu'il m'a constraint d'accepter a mon coeur deffendant,] des proportions de mesurage si excellentes / (Fol. 182r) qu'elles m'ont donné l'envie de faire mesurer les vases d'agate et autres pierres precieuses du thresor de Venize, dont j'attends les modelles au premier jour m'asseurant d'y trouver des merveilles. J'en ay desjà receulils desseings de huict ou dix des plus beaux qui m'ont esté communiquez, par decret exprez du senat. Et en attends aultant, de ce grand catine d'esmeraude de la Republique de Genes.

Et d'aultant que dans les riches et anciennes abbayes de voz quartiers il me semble d'en avoir veu plusieurs de grand prix en un temps que je n'y regardoys pas desaprez, je vous supplie d'en faire un peu de perquisition pour l'amour de moy. Mesmes si celui d'agate lequel n'estoit enrichy que de pampres de vigne et deux testes de satyre, vous m'avez dit autres foys avoir fait mouller et lequel j'aye veu à la foire St.Germain, s'il est encores en voz quartiers et<sup>(A)</sup> s'en pourroit voir une empreinte je la verrays trez volontiers, principalement, s'il y avoit moyen d'avoir un modele de la juste contenance de sa cappacité qui se pourroit encores prendre sur l'original si vous sçavez ou il est, je vous en auroys bien de l'obligation.

Ayant mis ensemble si bon nombre d'observations assez curieuses sur toute cette matiere qu'il y a mesmes de quoy faire un livre, et quasi de quoy me tenter si non de le publier, [*In the margin*: dont il ne vouldroit peult estre pas la peine,] au moings de le vous faire transcrire, pour vous y donner quelque heure de divertissement de vos meilleures occupations, [*In the margin*: sur l'assurance que j'ay que vous en excuseriez les faultes.]

Or comme l'appetit vient en mangeant, ayant sceu qu'un gentilhomme d'Autun en Bourgogne avoit quelques cueillers d'argent antiques dont l'une estoit si semblable à celle que vous avez autres foys eüe à Paris, qu'il y avoit com'en la vostre non seulement la mesme figure assise appuyée sur un caducée, la caducé [?] portant le mesme coq et mesme bouc, mais qu'on y voyoit sous le siege une petite lozange d'or, que je coniecturoys pouvoir avoir quelque rapport à l'unité et integrité de la mesure qu'elle pouvoit designer, si elles estoient toutes deux veritablement antiques. Je me hazarday donc quoyqu'incogneu de luy escrire pour en avoir une empreinte, et un peu de relation s'il y avoit aulcune rouille ou marque bien indubitable de son antiquité, (car la conformité des desseins de l'une et de l'autre me faisoit craindre qu'elle n'eust esté moullée sur la vostre). Il tesmoignà du commencement d'en estre si jaloux, qu'il fit difficulté de m'en octroyer l'empreinte, mais il fut pourtant paraprez, si extraordinairement honneste, qu'il print dernièrement la peine de me venir voir jusques icy à plus de 80. lieües de chez luy, pour m'en apporter et laisser comme il a fait a toute force les originaux dont il print grand plaisir de voir faire le mesurage en sa presence, qui se trouva esgal à une autre cueiller d'argent trouvée en mesme lieu que celle là dans laquelle est represantée l'image d'un monstre marin d'un ouvraige de marqueterie d'esmail noir bien bigearre, que les orfevres nomment du Nel, et [*In the margin*: ell'estoit si couverte de grosse rouille de l'espoisseur d'un teston qu'il n'y en paroissoit rien quand il

(A) est encores en voz quartiers et was added later and by mistake inserted after, instead of before s'en pourroit.

l'apporta, jusques à ce qu'avec le jus de citron, je la fis fort proprement et discrettement desrouiller et découvrir devant luy sans y appliquer aulcun fer]. Et sous cette mesme rouille se trouvaient des lettres, qui peuvent encor avoir quelque rapport à la mesure tant de l'une que l'autre pareille à la vostre, [*In the margin*: mais est grand daumage que celle qui est pareille à la vostre n'a pas esté nettoyyée de bonne main ains de quelque orfevre si grossier qui y a appliqué des burins ou autres outils, avec quoy il l'a toute bourellée, et si] maltraictée, que cela m'a empesché d'y pouvoir bien recognoistre, certaines choses qui seroient je m'asseure plus recognoissables en la vostre si l'on y regarde de bienaprez. C'est pourquoy je vous supplie si vous l'avez encore en vostre pouvoir et si ne l'avez comprinse en ce que le Bukingam voulut avoir de vous, de me la faire mouler curieusement et m'en envoyer s'il vous plait l'empreinte, avec un peu de relation, des marques de poliment et de la qualité de la rouille s'il y en est resté aulcunes vestiges, mesmes ce qu'elle peult peser d'argent à poids de marc, et si le bout du manche est percé comme la mienne, pour y inserer une plus longue queüe comm'en la mienne. Et s'il se peult recognoistre que l'or de la petite lozange soit / (Fol. 182v) enchassé dans l'argent comme la marquerterie, ou bien seulement doré à l'antique d'une pelleure de plus de corps que les doreures d'a presant, si cette lozange est toute platte, ou bien bordée d'une petite moulleure ou nerfueure à l'entour comme la mienne. Et si dans le centre de ladicté lozange il n'y paroît rien de particulier, quand ce ne seroit qu'un seul point, ce que l'on a gasté en la mienne. Et finalement s'il n'y a aulcunes vestiges de doreure ailleurs en tout le restant de l'ouvrage de ladicté cueiller car en la mienne il en paroît quelques restes et fragments, en la bource que la figure tient a sa dextre, en l'un des serpents du caducée, au bout des aislerons du petase quel est à ses pieds, à la queüe du bouq, et au plumage du col du coq. Ce que j'y trouve de plus difficile à deschiffrer, est je ne sçay quelle petite chose en forme de pomme de pin a peu prez, bien mal compatible pourtant à ce fruit là de pomme de pin, logé en lieu et surmesmes, qui le rend encores plus incogneu mais le champ d'all'entour semble avoir esté accompagné de je ne sçay quel autre ouvrage, quasi comme de la Danasquineurie, qui seroit peult estre plus recognoissable sur vostre piece que sur la mienne, de quoy je vous supplie de me faire une plus particuliere description, pour voir s'il y auroit moyen de penetrer ce que ce peult estre car pour le surplus il y a assez de moyen d'y trouver si non possible le vray sens, de l'ouvrier qui l'a travaillé, au moins de quoy s'en pouvoir aulcunement contenter, veu que les anciens pouvoient bien desguiser leur Mercure sous le personnage d'un homme malade ou convalescent, aussy bien que d'un vallet, ou bien faire emprunter par quelque malade non seulement le secours de sa bourse mais aussy de son caducée, pour s'en servir de crosse, ou de pottence et de plus ferme appuy, et ainsi de ses autres appartenances plus triviales. Mais de cette poumellette, et de la machine devissée qui la soubstient, je n'en sçauroys rien dire qui vaille, si vostre piece ne nous en fournit quelque nouvel esclairsissement, comme je me le promets, de vostre relation.

Et parce que avec cette cueiller vous eustes une patere d'argent antique, à ce que mon frere m'en dict, pour lors ce me semble possible s'y pourroit il apprendre quelque chose de plus si nous en voyions l'empreinte, que je crois bien que vous ne me voudrez pas refuser comme je vous en supplie. Mesmes si le tout estoit passé

en Angleterre je croys bien que vous y auriez tousjours le credit de les y faire mouller, dont je vous supplie en ce cas, de m'en dire cependant ce que vous pourrez sur le credit de vostre memoire, et de ce que vous vous pourrez souvenir d'avoir veu en vostre cueiller. Que si je suis assure que vous l'avez encores chez vous, je vous enverray la mienne, par la voye de la poste, afinque vous en puissiez faire la comparaison a le vostre, et verifier si elles seront bien conformes et bien esgalles de tout point l'une a l'autre ou non, avant que de rien determiner l'affectation de leur juste mesure qu'il sera bon de suspendre en attendant.

Il me souvient mesmes d'avoir veu une autre cueiller antique entre les mains du S<sup>r</sup>. Laurens Deebrot, de Gand, que j'avoys eu l'honneur de cognoistre en mes voyages d'Italie et des Pais Bas, laquelle je reverroys bien volontiers à cette heure s'il m'estoit loisible, ne me souvenant plus q'elle estoit d'argent ou de cuyvre, et croys bien que s'il est vivant comme je le souhaite et qu'il en soit encores le maistre, il ne seroit peult estre pas marry de me la communiquer. Il y avoit certains caracteres gravez dedans en le creux de sa coquille, qu'il ne me seroit peult estre pas si impossible a deschiffrer maintenant comm'allors si je la revoyois, et si elle est passée en autres mains que celles dudict S<sup>r</sup>. Deebrot, possible y auroit il quelque moyen d'en obtenir la communication, en quoy vous m'obligeriez bien fort.

Et encores plus de faire voir si les pieces de S<sup>r</sup>. Charles Broumans de Bruxelles, sont encor en estat, et particulièrement le recueil qu'il avoit fait de vieux poids, tant des pieces qui n'avoient servy qu'a peser, que de celles de l'aes grave qui avoient servy de monoye courante avant l'Empire. Et sceu en quelles mains sont passees celles du feu S<sup>r</sup>. Denys de Villiers car si elles estoient au pouvoir de M<sup>r</sup>. Roccox, ou de quelqu'autre de voz amys, je vouldroys bien qu'il vous plait me faire [*continues in the margin: faire un bordereau de celles qui appartiennent à la matiere des poids et des mesures, a tout le moins de celles de l'aes grave et surtout quand elles ont des lettres soit etrusques ou romaines, de quelque qualité et proportion qu'elles puissent estre. Et verroys bien volontiers les empreintes des etrusques. Car en ayant un assez grand recueil, je m'en sçay fort servy en divers discours, et en ay tiré d'assez curieuses notices. Vous recommandant surtout les etrusques de la marque du sextans de deux pallottes, de quelle grandeur, poids ou proportions qu'elles soient . . .*].

*Translation of Appendix VI. 2:*

**Fol. 181r**

December 1634  
to Mr Rubens  
On Measured Vases

...

**Fol. 181v**

... I have since then had measured not only all the antique vases of agate and other most precious ones of the Treasury of St Denis Including a small vase of oriental onyx, that is in Paris, of the size and shape of a large chicken egg with up to ten

small figures carved all around it, in the technique of ancient cameos, of blue-coloured onyx against a dark sardonyx background. They are not of excellent workmanship but the effect is nonetheless beautiful, as the design and the arrangement are very charming, depicting Psyche held captive between Cupids combating butterflies. And also another one, almost as small, but of oriental agate, decorated with a dozen very beautiful figures carved in cameo in an outstanding fashion, and of a perfectly beautiful white colour against the sardonyx background.

But I have also had measured the two goblets of embossed silver of antique workmanship of very high quality, that you have seen in Paris in the collection of Mr de Roissy, and which are of excellent proportions as measures. Of which he absolutely wanted to give me one original, which he insisted that I accept, although I was opposed to it in my heart. / (Fol. 182r) These have given me the desire to have measured the vases of agate and other precious stones in the Treasury of Venice, of which I await the moulds one of these days, among which, I am sure, I will discover wonders. I have already brought together drawings of eight or ten of the most beautiful ones which have been given to me by decision of the senate. And I am also waiting for one of that great dish of emerald of the Republic of Genoa.

And furthermore, it seems that I have seen several very valuable ones in the rich and ancient abbeys in your area at a time that I was not looking for them. I beg you to search around for my sake, and also to look for that vase of agate decorated with grape vine and two satyr heads, of which you had a cast made, as you told me some other time, and which I had seen at the fair of St Germain. If it is still in your area and if it is possible to see a cast of it, I would very much like to see that, and above all if there is a way to get hold of a model of the exact capacity of its contents, which could be made from the original if you happen to know where that is. I would be very much obliged.

Having gathered such a good number of rather interesting observations on all this material it would be nice to make a booklet, and I feel tempted if not to publish it, which might not be worthwhile, at least to have it copied for you, to give you a few hours of distraction from your major activities, with the proviso that you will excuse the errors.

Ah well, the appetite comes while eating. Having heard that a gentleman from Autun in Burgundy owned several silver antique spoons of which one was so similar to the one that you have acquired some time ago in Paris, that it showed, as yours does, not only in the same seated figure leaning on a *caduceus*, the same rooster and the same billy goat, but one could see under the seat a little gold lozenge, which I conjectured could have something to do with the unity and precision of the measure which it could indicate, in the case that they were both genuine antiques. Thus I ventured, even though I did not know him, to write asking for a cast and a little information if there might be any rust or sign proving it to be undoubtedly antique (for the similarity in the designs of one and the other made me fear that it was copied after yours). At first he proved to be so jealous of it that he objected to allowing me a cast, but afterwards he was so extraordinarily polite, that he eventually took the trouble to come and see me here more than 80 leagues away from him, to bring me the originals and leave them with me, on which he insisted. And he took great pleasure in witnessing how the measure was taken,

which turned out to be the same as in another silver spoon found on the same spot as the first, and on which is pictured a sea monster in a rather special inlay technique with black enamel, called *niello* by the goldsmiths of the 10th century. And it was so thickly covered with a layer of rust the thickness of a coin that it did not show anything when he brought it until the moment that I totally removed the rust appropriately and carefully with lemon juice and uncovered it in front of him without using any iron, and underneath the same rust letters were found which can have some relationship to the measure, which goes for the one and also for that other spoon, which is similar to yours. But it is a great pity that the spoon which is similar to yours was not cleaned by a very good hand but by some goldsmith so rough that he used burins or some other tool, with which he completely ruined it and mistreated it so badly, that it prevented me from recognizing certain things that are, I am certain, more recognizable on yours if you look at it closely. It is because of this that I beg you, if you still own it and if you did not include it in what the Duke of Buckingham wanted to have from you, to have it moulded for me carefully and to send me, if you please, the impression, a little description on the polishing marks and the quality of the rust if there are any traces left, even what it weighs in silver according to the standard measures, and whether the end of the handle is perforated like mine for inserting a longer stem as in mine. And if one can discover whether the gold of the little lozenge is / (Fol. 182v) embedded in silver like intarsia, or only gilt in the antique fashion with a layer of more substance than the present gildings; if that lozenge is totally flat, or rather bordered with a little moulding or rim around it like mine. And if there is nothing particular in the centre of the lozenge than what could be a single dot because mine is damaged there. And finally, if there are any traces of gilding anywhere else on the rest of the design on the spoon because on mine some remainders and fragments appear: on the purse held by the figure in his right hand, on one of the serpents of the *caduceus*, at the end of the wings of the *petasus* which lies at his feet, on the tail of the billy goat, and on the feathers of the rooster's neck. What I find more difficult to decipher, is the unidentifiable little thing shaped somewhat like a pine cone, which has very little in common with that fruit of a pine cone, thus located that it becomes even less understandable, but the background surrounding it seems to have been accompanied by I do not know what other decoration resembling damask, which may be more recognizable on your spoon than on mine, of which I ask you to make a very detailed description, to see if there is any way to figure out what it can be. For apart from that it seems possible to elucidate, if not the real intention of the craftsman who worked on it, at least something one can somehow be content with. Because it is acceptable that the ancients disguised their Mercury as an ill man or a convalescent, and as a servant as well. Or else they could have let some ill person avail himself not only of his purse but also of his *caduceus* to serve as a staff or crutch and a stronger support, and also his other paraphernalia of lesser importance. But I cannot say anything sensible about this small apple and the contraption designed to support it, unless your spoon supplies us with some elucidation from your description, as I expect.

And as you acquired along with this spoon an antique silver dish to which my brother drew my attention, I believe that I could learn some more about it if we could only see the mould, something I am sure you would not refuse me, as I beg you for it. Even if all this has moved to England I believe you will always keep the privilege to have moulds made of them there, but in that case I beg you to tell me right away what you can still recall from your memory and what you can remember having seen on your spoon. If, on the other hand, I can be certain that it is still with you, I will send you mine, by mail, so that you can compare it against yours, and verify if they do indeed conform and are in every aspect equal to each other or not, before going to the trouble to establish the exact measure, which it would be better to defer in the meantime.

I even recall having seen another antique spoon in the hands of Mr Laurens Deechbroot, of Ghent, whom I had the honour to meet on my trips to Italy and the Low Countries; that spoon I would very much like to see again now, if I would be permitted, as I cannot remember any more whether it was made of silver or of copper, and I believe that, if he is still alive—as is my wish—and if he is still the owner, he may possibly not be averse to sharing it with me. There were certain letters engraved in the concave part of the spoon which I could possibly decipher now (whereas I couldn't then), if I could see it again. And if it has passed into hands other than those of Mr Deechbroot, there is possibly some way to trace information about it, with which you would very much oblige me.

And even more if you could have it checked that the things of Mr Charles Broumans in Brussels are still intact, and in particular the collection of ancient weights which he has brought together, both the pieces that have only served to weigh as well as the pieces of *aes grave* that were used as currency before the Empire. And I would like to know into whose hands those of the late Mr Denys de Villiers have passed, because if they belong to Mr Rockox, or any other of your friends, I would very much appreciate if you would please have made a list of those that concern weights and measures, at least those concerning the *aes grave*, and above all of those bearing letters, be they Etruscan or Roman of any quality or proportion which they could be. And I would very much like to see impressions of the Etruscans. Since I have a rather large collection of these, I know they would serve for various treatises, and I have taken rather interesting notes on them. And I recommend above all the Etruscans with the mark of the sextans with two small round marks, of whatever size, weight and proportions they may be . . .

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#### Notes to Appendix VI.2

1. The draft of Peiresc's letter is dated in the heading of the document as December 1634; however, from Rubens's reply of 18 December (*Rooses-Ruelens*, VI, pp. 81-86) it can be inferred that the final copy of the letter was completed on 24 November.
2. The text of this draft is rather complicated and difficult to read as Peiresc made many erasures and corrections, continuing his sentences in the margin.

### VI. 3 Description by Peiresc of the vase of agate and a spoon belonging to Rubens. After April 1636<sup>1</sup>

*Autograph. Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS Fr. 9532, fol. 184r.*

HEMITRITUS

GEMMEUS

La mesure du vase d'agate de M<sup>r</sup>. Rubens enrichy de pampres de vigne, et de deux testes de satyre fait justement cinq cotyles<sup>2</sup> ou l'hemitritée.

La mesure de la grosse cueiller d'argent antique dudict S<sup>r</sup>. Rubens fait la petite cotyle ancienne de cinq cyathes<sup>3</sup> a peu prez, à la prendre du fonds jusques a une raye qui l'environne, à demy doigt du bord. Et au dessus dudict bord jusques à l'extremité des levres du vase, y prend non seulement le sixsiesme cyathe de la forte mesure posterieure, mais davantage et quasi jusques à XIII. cyathes a mesure foible et courte. Mais il n'y a rien de bien exacte ce qui me fait desfier de l'examen et comparaison du modele modele<sup>(A)</sup> avec l'original antique d'argent.

#### *Translation of Appendix VI. 3:*

Hemitrite  
of Semi-precious Stone

The capacity of the vase of agate of Mr Rubens decorated with grape vine and two satyr heads measures exactly five *cotulae*<sup>2</sup> or one *hemitrite*.

The capacity of the large antique silver spoon of the aforementioned Mr Rubens measures about one small antique *cotula* consisting of five *cyathi*,<sup>3</sup> more or less, measured from the bottom up to a line running around [the surface] a half a finger from the edge. Measuring higher up from that line, at the very brim of the bowl of that spoon, it yields not just one more *cyathus*, which is the sixth (using the strong unit of the late period) but even more than that, almost 13 *cyathi* of the weaker or smaller type. But nothing is very accurate, and this makes me distrust the examination and comparison of the model with respect to the antique silver original.

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#### *Notes to Appendix VI.3*

1. Peiresc wrote this undated memo after receiving the cast of Rubens's vase in April 1636 (Peiresc to J. du Puy, 15 April 1636; *Roses–Ruelens*, VI, p. 159).
2. *Cotula*: equal to a *hemina* or half a

- sextarius* (*sextarius*: sixth part of a *congius* equal to a pint).
3. *Cyathus*: twelfth part of a *sextarius*. Cf. Appendix VI.4.

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(A) Word repeated.

## VI. 4 Description by Peiresc of a bronze 'cyathus'<sup>1</sup> with the head of Medusa belonging to Rubens. After April 1636

*Autograph. Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS Fr. 9532, fol. 185r.*

MODULUS CYATHI  
cum MINUTIIS  
à P. P. Rubenio

Le CYATHE<sup>1</sup> de M<sup>r</sup>. Rubens de bronze enrichy d'un visage de Gorgone par dessous, est d'une mesure un peu forte, et contient dans son fonds la mesure de la conca plus précise, et aprez de suite dans le cordon suyvant celle du mystrum,<sup>2</sup> entre les deux cercles plus larges, ou bien dans les troys cercles interieurs. Et entre ces deux cordons suyvants contient la double drachme<sup>3</sup> ou l'AS ou le petit mystrum. Et aprez entre le troisieme cordon et le centre tout comprins et comblé contient le cochlear<sup>4</sup> d'une simple drachme, et dans le centre y à un petit scyphoncule qui le contient que le quart de la drachme a peu prez ou la demy ligule.<sup>5</sup>

Je l'ay receu en Avril 1636 et examiné avec l'eau fraische qui est moins propre, le 13. Avril: n'ayant loisir de le faire avec l'huile, ou les mesures seroient plus précises je m'asseure.

### *Translation of Appendix VI. 4:*

The Measure of the Cyathus  
and its Subdivisions  
from P. P. Rubens

The bronze *cyathus*<sup>1</sup> of Mr Rubens decorated with the head of Medusa (*Gorgoneion*) on the bottom, is of a rather solid measure and [it] contains [measuring] from the bottom exactly the capacity of a *conca*, and then further up at the first rim the contents of a *mystrum*.<sup>2</sup> Between the two following larger circles or rather between the three circles on the inside, and between those two next rims that follow it contains a double *drachme*<sup>3</sup> or *as* or the small *mystrum*. And after that between the third circle and the centre, everything included and filled up, it contains a *cochlear*<sup>4</sup> of a plain *drachme*. In the centre is a small hollow which contains about a quarter of a *drachme* or half a *ligula*.<sup>5</sup>

I received the mould in April 1636 and on 13 April measured it with fresh water, which is less appropriate, not having the time to do it with oil when I am certain the measurements would have been more accurate.

### *Notes to Appendix VI.4*

1. *Cyathus*: ladle or mug, but also the twelfth part of a *sextarius*.
2. *Mystrum*: fourth part of a *cyathus*.
3. *Drachme*: eight part of an *uncia*, half of a *sicilus*.
4. *Cochlear*: spoonful, half a *cheme* or 1/144 of a *cotyla*.
5. *Ligula*: spoonful.



**VI. 5 Description by Peiresc of a bronze 'cyathus'<sup>1</sup> with the head of Medusa belonging to Rubens. Undated memo probably written by Peiresc in the mid 1630s when he was working on ancient measures**

*Autograph. Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS Fr. 9532, fol. 242v.*

BINI CYATHI seu  
DUPLUS CYATHUS  
ou SEXTANS.

La MEDUSE de bronze aux jeux d'argent qui peult avoit servy de cademat [?] que M<sup>r</sup>. Rubens estimoit tant, contient des deux cyathes<sup>1</sup> un peu justes toute foyz, et quand l'eau a ataint la trou de la serrure, il n'y a qu'un seul cyathe deversé dans ce vase.

*Translation of Appendix VI. 5:*

Two Cyathi or  
Double Cyathus  
or Sextans.

The Medusa of bronze with silver eyes that can also have served as a padlock (?), which Rubens valued so much, contains two *cyathi*,<sup>1</sup> but only just narrowly; and when the water has reached the hole of the lock, there is only one single *cyathus* poured into this vase.

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*Notes to Appendix VI.5*

1. *Cyathus*: ladle or mug, but also the twelfth part of a *sextarius*.

## APPENDIX VII

Inventory of sculptures and gems in possession of the widow of the Duke of Buckingham before her remarriage in 1635

**VII. 1 Sculptures in possession of the widow of the Duke of Buckingham, 1635**

*Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Rawlinson A 341, fols. 35v-37r.*

Fol. 35v

At Chelsey houze  
In my Lord's Closett

A little child w:<sup>th</sup> his armes behind him

A Diana about 4 1/2 foot high  
 A little Cupid lying asleep  
 A standing figure of a woman  
 A little child sitting  
 A little standing figure of a woman  
 A standing figure of a man  
 Another standing figure of a woman  
 A standing figure of a woman  
 A naked boy w:<sup>th</sup> fruit  
 A piece of a cullon w:<sup>th</sup> 3 figures of women  
 A figure of a Bacchus  
 A naked boy boy w:<sup>th</sup> fruit in his lapp  
 Two figures of men  
 A little woman  
 A man w:<sup>th</sup> a cornucopia

**Fol. 36r**

A woman standing w:<sup>th</sup> a cup in her hand  
 A statue of Caius Caesar Augustus  
 A statue of Paupirus  
 A figure of a woman  
 A figure of a man  
 A little boy standing and playing w:<sup>th</sup> a dog

## In the Gallery

A woman's head of Lucilla  
 A Marcus Aurelius  
 A head of Apollo  
 A consul of Rome  
 Marcellus sonn to Octavio  
 Octavianus Augustus now being young  
 Chrisippus philosopher  
 Symon Alenesius  
 A Graecian queen  
 Lullius Verus  
 Tiberius the emperour  
 Cato Censorius  
 Drusus brother to Tiberius  
 Domitianus  
 A consul of Rome  
 Another  
 Brutus<sup>1</sup>  
 Julius Caesar<sup>2</sup>  
 Nero<sup>3</sup>  
 Seneca<sup>4</sup>  
 Fastina [sic]

Marcus Aurelius<sup>5</sup>  
 Elius Verus  
 A woman's head  
 A little standing figure  
 A young man's head  
 Vitellius<sup>6</sup>  
 Juno a Graecian  
 Comodus a Graecian  
 Cleopatra  
 Phocion a philosopher

**Fol. 36v**

[left column]

In the great Chamb.<sup>r</sup>

The empero:<sup>r</sup> Trajanus at length  
 A young mans head  
 A woman's head  
 A young man's head  
 A woman's head  
 A childs head  
 Two women's heads  
 A mans head  
 Apollo w:<sup>th</sup> his harpe  
 A little trunk  
 A child on a dolphin  
 A sea triumph  
 A woman's head  
 A man's head  
 A hand  
 A stone w:<sup>th</sup> a descripcon [*sic*]  
 A child on a dolphin  
 A C [*sic*]  
 A stone w:<sup>th</sup> 3 figures  
 A little child  
 A stone w:<sup>th</sup> two figures  
 A little head w:<sup>th</sup> a bald pate  
 A great head of Alcibiades  
 A great head of Alex:<sup>r</sup> Magnus<sup>7</sup>  
 A little boy w:<sup>th</sup> a capp  
 A little woman w:<sup>th</sup>out a head  
 A man's head  
 A young man's head  
 A Pallas's head  
 Two men's heads  
 A great head of Laacoon<sup>8</sup> [*sic*]

A man's head  
 An old man's head<sup>9</sup>  
 The head of Cato  
 A very fine old head  
 Cornelius Scipio<sup>10</sup>  
 A woman's head before y<sup>e</sup> chimney  
 Sulpitius Rufus  
 Young Hercules  
 A little laughing boy

**Fol. 36v**

[right column]

A young man's head y<sup>e</sup> noze broaken  
 A Satyr's head  
 A woman's head  
 A man's head  
 An old man's head  
 A man's head  
 A little woman's head  
 A woman's head  
 A man's head  
 A woman's head  
 A man's head  
 A woman's head  
 A mans head  
 A young man's head  
 A man's head  
 A man's head above y<sup>e</sup> chap:<sup>l</sup>dore  
 A young man's head  
 A man's head  
 A woman's head  
 A head of plaister of Christ at the other chappell doore  
 An urne of the emperour

In my Lord's Closett

A modell of brass of King Henry the Fourth  
 Cardinall Fernize's bull  
 Marbles and plaisters as are in the gardens and vaults  
 A stone voyder in the rounding in  
 A head of black marble w:<sup>th</sup> a copper breast  
 The head of King Henry y<sup>e</sup> 4:<sup>th</sup>  
 The head of the old Prince of Orange  
 A Venus a little statue  
 A little statue of marble  
 A head of the Empero:<sup>r</sup> Charles  
 Alexanders head

**Fol. 37r**

In the Musick Roome

One redd marble table

On the Mount in the Garden

A rare piece of white marble of Cain and Abell

One great white marble bocole

A head of Juno w:<sup>th</sup> seaven other heads and a head of Apollo

A great white marble table

Another somewhat lesse

A great marble tomb

Nyne guilt stooles

In the Inner Vault

One great marble table of divers colours

Twenty eight heads of plaister

One great figure of Pallas

A centaurus and a Dianica [*sic*]

A Neptune & a dolphin

A little boy picking his foot

The rape of Sabina

A woman upon a pedestall

Erasmus Rotterdamus

All these of plaister

Twelve guilt stooles

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*Notes to Appendix VII.1*

1. See No. 108.
2. See No. 109.
3. See No. 114.
4. See No. 117.
5. See Ch. IV.

6. See Nos. 130-131.
7. See Nos. 124-125.
8. See No. 84.
9. See No. 126.
10. See No. 116.

**VII. 2 Gems in possession of the widow of the Duke of Buckingham,  
1635**

*Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Rawlinson A 341, fols. 37r-41r.*

**Fol. 37r**

Twelve cases of antiquities of aggatts cornelions  
and severall other stones.

In the first box No: j

One great aggatt cutt outward w:<sup>th</sup> an empero:<sup>rs</sup> head y<sup>e</sup> stone  
carved.<sup>1</sup>

An aggat w:<sup>th</sup> 5 figures being a sacrifice  
 An aggat w:<sup>th</sup> Venus lying w:<sup>th</sup> two childr.<sup>n</sup> the ground redd  
 the figures white in a bissell  
 A cornelion cutt w:<sup>th</sup> 5 figures standing in a thorne sett in  
 a bissell  
 A little aggat cutt w:<sup>th</sup> two horses, and one little figure a  
 Cupid  
 A ring sett w:<sup>th</sup> an aggat cutt w:<sup>th</sup> two angles, the ground  
 black the angells white  
 A ring sett w:<sup>th</sup> an aggat cutt w:<sup>th</sup> an angell the ground  
 white the angell black  
 One white aggat cut w:<sup>th</sup> many heads  
 One ring w:<sup>th</sup> an aggat cutt w:<sup>th</sup> a head, y<sup>e</sup> head white y<sup>e</sup>  
 ground browne w:<sup>th</sup> a yellow garland.

**Fol. 37v**

One ring w:<sup>th</sup> an ovall aggat cutt w:<sup>th</sup> a little figure in a  
 throne  
 A ring w:<sup>th</sup> an onix cutt w:<sup>th</sup> a figure, upon the ground a  
 little flower pott  
 A ring w:<sup>th</sup> a heliotropia cutt w:<sup>th</sup> a man's head  
 A ring w:<sup>th</sup> an aggat cutt w:<sup>th</sup> a Furies head, the head flesh  
 colour the ground gray<sup>2</sup>  
 A ring w:<sup>th</sup> a black aggat cutt w:<sup>th</sup> a man's head  
 A Silvanus w:<sup>th</sup> a garland of vines  
 A ring w:<sup>th</sup> a stone of greenish colour cutt w:<sup>th</sup> a standing  
 figure w:<sup>th</sup> a pillar  
 A ring w:<sup>th</sup> a browne aggat cutt w:<sup>th</sup> a Venus and Cupid

## In the second box

A woman's head cutt outward the head & neck white and the  
 haire somew:<sup>t</sup> brownish  
 A black aggat cutt w:<sup>th</sup> a broad man's face  
 An aggat cutt w:<sup>th</sup> a king's head, the face & neck whitish  
 and the haire browne  
 An aggat cutt w:<sup>th</sup> a figure representing despaire w:<sup>th</sup> a  
 lamp in her hand the ground gray  
 An ovall cornelion cutt w:<sup>th</sup> a figure sitting garnish'd to  
 hang like a tablett  
 An aggat w:<sup>th</sup> a broad face; the face black browne & the  
 ground white  
 A white aggat and a face of Alexand:<sup>r</sup> of one colour cutt in  
 it  
 One ring w:<sup>th</sup> a redd aggat cutt w:<sup>th</sup> a gapeing face  
 A ring w:<sup>th</sup> a cornelion cutt w:<sup>th</sup> a flying Griffin

A ring w:<sup>th</sup> a garnett cutt w:<sup>th</sup> a Pallas head

In the third box

The head of Misselina the wife of Claudius w:<sup>th</sup> two children  
the head white, the lawrell, colour de roy<sup>3</sup>

A ring w:<sup>th</sup> a cornelion cutt w:<sup>th</sup> an emperours head

A ring w:<sup>th</sup> a browne jarenett cutt w:<sup>th</sup> a man's face

A ring w:<sup>th</sup> a pale jarenett cutt w:<sup>th</sup> a standing figure  
Marsius that was stripp'd w:<sup>th</sup> Apollo<sup>4</sup>

A ring w:<sup>th</sup> an aggatt cut w:<sup>th</sup> the head of Cleopatra<sup>5</sup>

A ring w:<sup>th</sup> a cornelion cutt w:<sup>th</sup> Apollo and Cupid

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A ring w:<sup>th</sup> a cornelion cutt w:<sup>th</sup> Apollo and Cupid

A ring w:<sup>th</sup> an onix cutt w:<sup>th</sup> little children<sup>6</sup>

A ring w:<sup>th</sup> a redd grislin cutt w:<sup>th</sup> the head of  
Aristobulus

A round cornelion cutt w:<sup>th</sup> a sacrifice

A ring with a cornelion cutt w:<sup>th</sup> a figure leaning on a  
pillar being an Apollo

A ring w:<sup>th</sup> a cornelion cutt w:<sup>th</sup> a man's head

A ring w:<sup>th</sup> a jarenett cutt w:<sup>th</sup> a head

A ring w:<sup>th</sup> a cornelion the ground white cutt w:<sup>th</sup> an Apollo

A ring w:<sup>th</sup> a redd aggatt cutt w:<sup>th</sup> an empero:<sup>r</sup> being Nero

A cornelion cutt w:<sup>th</sup> a great and little figure being  
Bacchus

A ring being a cornelion w:<sup>th</sup> a Jupiter's head

A ring w:<sup>th</sup> an Onix cutt w:<sup>th</sup> three children

A ring w:<sup>th</sup> a cornelion cutt w:<sup>th</sup> a woman lying & 3 children

An aggatt cutt w:<sup>th</sup> a Cleopatra white, the ground black

In the fourth box

A great faire aggatt cutt w:<sup>th</sup> the head of Alexander, the  
face white, on the head a garland and a lyon brown, the  
ground black<sup>7</sup>

A great jarenett cut with a Mars, his head w:<sup>th</sup> a beard  
garnish'd and enamell'd

A great jarenett cutt w:<sup>th</sup> a young man's head garnish'd w:<sup>th</sup>  
a border w:<sup>th</sup> a green lawrell being one of the empero:<sup>rs</sup>  
like Otto

A great ring with a heliotropia cutt w:<sup>th</sup> a head w:<sup>th</sup> two  
wings being Mercury

A ring w:<sup>th</sup> an aggatt cutt w:<sup>th</sup> a woman's head with one arme,  
the haire arme & breast white, and the ground black

A ring w:<sup>th</sup> a grisiline cutt w:<sup>th</sup> a man and horse being  
Alex.<sup>r</sup> & Bucephalus

A ring w:<sup>th</sup> an onix cutt w:<sup>th</sup> a Pallas sitting  
 A little head w:<sup>th</sup> an aggat being an angells head  
 A little cornelion ring cutt w:<sup>th</sup> a lyon & a deer  
 A ring w:<sup>th</sup> an aggat cutt w:<sup>th</sup> a hand in hand  
 A ring w:<sup>th</sup> a cornelion cutt w:<sup>th</sup> a woman kneeling  
 A ring w:<sup>th</sup> a black aggat cutt w:<sup>th</sup> a man kneeling  
 A ring w:<sup>th</sup> an onyx cutt w:<sup>th</sup> a man's head  
 A ring w:<sup>th</sup> a cornelion cutt w:<sup>th</sup> 5 horses & 2 men in tryumph  
 A ring w:<sup>th</sup> a black aggat w:<sup>th</sup> a white circle cutt w:<sup>th</sup> a head

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A ring w:<sup>th</sup> a white aggat w:<sup>th</sup> a black stripe in the middle  
 cutt w:<sup>th</sup> Time running to Mercury  
 A ring w:<sup>th</sup> an aggat w:<sup>th</sup> white and browne stripes cutt w:<sup>th</sup>  
 a man sitting in a chariott  
 A ring w:<sup>th</sup> a gray aggat cutt w:<sup>th</sup> a Hercules and a sheild  
 on his should.<sup>rs</sup>  
 A ring w:<sup>th</sup> a cornelion cutt w:<sup>th</sup> 4 figures holding trophyes  
 of tryumph  
 A ring w:<sup>th</sup> a stone cutt w:<sup>th</sup> a calza

In the 5:<sup>th</sup> box

A great aggat cutt w:<sup>th</sup> a Venus and Cupid in a fountaine  
 the ground black and the rest white  
 A ring w:<sup>th</sup> an aggat cutt w:<sup>th</sup> an empero:<sup>rs</sup> head, the head  
 white, the ground black  
 A ring w:<sup>th</sup> an aggat cutt w:<sup>th</sup> three colours w:<sup>th</sup> a woman's  
 head  
 An aggat w:<sup>th</sup> 2 colours browne and white cutt w:<sup>th</sup> 2 womens  
 heads & one ag:<sup>st</sup> them  
 A great ring w:<sup>th</sup> an aggat cutt w:<sup>th</sup> the head of Faustina  
 the haire browne the ground black  
 A great ring w:<sup>th</sup> an aggat cutt w:<sup>th</sup> an empero:<sup>rs</sup> head white  
 the ground black  
 A little ring w:<sup>th</sup> an aggat browne white & black cutt w:<sup>th</sup> a  
 young man's head  
 A black aggat cutt w:<sup>th</sup> a man's head  
 A little ring w:<sup>th</sup> an aggat black & white & browne cutt w:<sup>th</sup>  
 a standing figure  
 A great ring with an aggat cutt w:<sup>th</sup> a Pallas head, the head  
 reddish the ground white  
 A little ring w:<sup>th</sup> an aggat black white and brownish cutt  
 with 4 little horses and a man  
 A great ring w:<sup>th</sup> a faire onyx cutt w:<sup>th</sup> a woman's face  
 A ring w:<sup>th</sup> an aggat black white and white and browne, cutt  
 w:<sup>th</sup> a man and a woman's head



A ring w:<sup>th</sup> a pale amethyst cutt w:<sup>th</sup> a man's head  
 A great ring w:<sup>th</sup> a jasper cutt w:<sup>th</sup> a woman's head

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In the sixth box

A black aggat cutt w:<sup>th</sup> a woman and 2 men sett in a bissell  
 A great cornelion cutt w:<sup>th</sup> a woman's head  
 A ring w:<sup>th</sup> a garnett cutt w:<sup>th</sup> a woman and a child  
 A ring w:<sup>th</sup> a cornelion cutt w:<sup>th</sup> a young man's head  
 A ring w:<sup>th</sup> a redd aggat cutt w:<sup>th</sup> a head two wayes  
 A ring w:<sup>th</sup> a cornelion cutt w:<sup>th</sup> a foot w:<sup>th</sup> two wings  
 A ring w:<sup>th</sup> an onyx cutt w:<sup>th</sup> a man's head  
 A great cornelion cutt w:<sup>th</sup> a man's head  
 A great ovall cornelion cutt w:<sup>th</sup> Apollo and Mercury that was  
 strip'd<sup>8</sup>  
 A great cornelion cutt w:<sup>th</sup> a man sitting & a woman standing  
 A ring w:<sup>th</sup> a cornelion cutt w:<sup>th</sup> Hercules  
 A ring w:<sup>th</sup> a pale garnett cutt w:<sup>th</sup> a standing figure  
 A ring w:<sup>th</sup> a cornelion cutt w:<sup>th</sup> a ring  
 A ring w:<sup>th</sup> a black agat cutt w:<sup>th</sup> a woman's head  
 A ring w:<sup>th</sup> a garnett cutt w:<sup>th</sup> a woman's head  
 A ring w:<sup>th</sup> a garnett cutt w:<sup>th</sup> a bird  
 A ring w:<sup>th</sup> a jarnett cutt w:<sup>th</sup> a woman's head  
 A ring w:<sup>th</sup> an amethyst cutt w:<sup>th</sup> a woman's head  
 A ring w:<sup>th</sup> a garnett cutt w:<sup>th</sup> a young man's head

In the seaventh box

One great ring w:<sup>th</sup> a cornelion cutt w:<sup>th</sup> a woman's head  
 A jarnett cutt w:<sup>th</sup> a woman's head  
 A great cornelion cutt w:<sup>th</sup> a woman sitting  
 A cornelion cutt w:<sup>th</sup> a Pallas head  
 A ring w:<sup>th</sup> a cornelion cutt w:<sup>th</sup> an empero:<sup>rs</sup> head  
 A little ring w:<sup>th</sup> a garnett cutt w:<sup>th</sup> a man's head  
 A great cornelion cutt w:<sup>th</sup> the hunting of the bull  
 A little ring w:<sup>th</sup> an amethyst cutt w:<sup>th</sup> a standing figure  
 A ring w:<sup>th</sup> a cornelion cutt w:<sup>th</sup> a standing woman  
 A ring w:<sup>th</sup> an onyx cutt w:<sup>th</sup> a pallas head  
 A jarnett sett in a ring like a collett cutt inward  
 A ring w:<sup>th</sup> a lapis cutt w:<sup>th</sup> a standing figure  
 A ring w:<sup>th</sup> an aggat cutt w:<sup>th</sup> a standing figure  
 A ring w:<sup>th</sup> an aggat cutt w:<sup>th</sup> a little beast  
 A great cornelion cutt w:<sup>th</sup> divers figures

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A ring w:<sup>th</sup> an emerald cutt w:<sup>th</sup> a standing figure  
 A ring w:<sup>th</sup> an onyx cutt w:<sup>th</sup> a seahorse

A great ring w:<sup>th</sup> a cornelion cutt w:<sup>th</sup> a man's head  
 A ring w:<sup>th</sup> a black aggat w:<sup>th</sup> a white stripe cutt w:<sup>th</sup> a cow  
 representing Jö  
 A little turning ring w:<sup>th</sup> a jarenett cutt w:<sup>th</sup> a man and  
 goate  
 A great ring w:<sup>th</sup> a cornelion cutt w:<sup>th</sup> a man's head  
 A blewish aggat cutt w:<sup>th</sup> Alexanders face

In the eighth box

A great aggat cutt w:<sup>th</sup> Mars, Venus & Cupid, the figures  
 white the ground yellow & sett in bissell<sup>9</sup>  
 An aggat cutt outward with a man kneeling of a flesh colo:<sup>r</sup>  
 garnish'd in gold underneath w:<sup>th</sup> a fascett garnett  
 An aggat cutt w:<sup>th</sup> two women, the one sitting the other  
 standing the woman [sic] white the ground black  
 A little ring w:<sup>th</sup> a cornelion cutt w:<sup>th</sup> a man's head  
 Another soe cutt  
 An aggat cutt w:<sup>th</sup> a woman's head, the face flesh colour the  
 haire yellow the ground browne lett [sic] in a collett of gold  
 A great aggat cutt w:<sup>th</sup> divers women almost white being a  
 sacrifice<sup>10</sup>  
 A faire agatt cutt w:<sup>th</sup> a woman's head the face white the  
 haire browne black w:<sup>th</sup> a white curle garnish'd in gold  
 A little ring w:<sup>th</sup> an amathist cutt w:<sup>th</sup> 3 figures  
 A little ring cutt w:<sup>th</sup> a foot in a cornelion  
 A faire aggat cutt w:<sup>th</sup> 3 Graces, the ground black w:<sup>th</sup> a  
 white circle about it, garnish'd and enamell'd<sup>11</sup>  
 A faire aggat cutt w:<sup>th</sup> a Pallas head, the face white the  
 rest browne.  
 A faire aggat cutt w:<sup>th</sup> a naked man sitting & a little Cupid,  
 the figures white, the ground browne, w:<sup>th</sup> a white circle  
 about it garnish'd and enamell'd white

In the nynt box

A ring w:<sup>th</sup> an aggat cutt w:<sup>th</sup> a woman's head the head white  
 the ground browne

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A ring w:<sup>th</sup> a cornelion cutt w:<sup>th</sup> a Jupiter's head  
 A great aggat cutt w:<sup>th</sup> an Alexand.<sup>r</sup> head<sup>12</sup>  
 A jarenett cutt w:<sup>th</sup> a Hercules in a turning ring  
 A ring w:<sup>th</sup> an aggat cutt w:<sup>th</sup> an Apollo like a woman's head  
 A ring w:<sup>th</sup> an aggat cutt w:<sup>th</sup> a standing Hercules<sup>13</sup>  
 A turning ring w:<sup>th</sup> a cornelion cutt w:<sup>th</sup> a woman's head  
 An aggat w:<sup>th</sup> a white head the ground black  
 A great aggat cutt w:<sup>th</sup> 4 horses and an angell garnish'd with

a garland of bay leaves, the horses white & gray and y<sup>e</sup> ground black<sup>14</sup>

A ring w:<sup>th</sup> an angells head cutt in a jarenett

An agatt cutt with a woman's head, the head white, the ground somewhat browne, garnish'd and enamell'd white

An aggat cutt w:<sup>th</sup> a chariot w:<sup>th</sup> two lyons, two figures

An aggat cutt w:<sup>th</sup> a lyon redd and the ground white sett in a collett of gold.

In the tenth box

A ring w:<sup>th</sup> an aggat cutt w:<sup>th</sup> a child sitting

A turning ring with a cornelion cutt w:<sup>th</sup> a man's head

An aggat cutt w:<sup>th</sup> a naked man standing

A turning ring with a cornelion cutt w:<sup>th</sup> a standing figure

A ring w:<sup>th</sup> an agatt cutt w:<sup>th</sup> two children playing w:<sup>th</sup> a goate the ground black the rest white

A ring w:<sup>th</sup> a white agatt cutt w:<sup>th</sup> a woman's head

A ring w:<sup>th</sup> an agatt cutt w:<sup>th</sup> a strange gapeing head

An agatt cutt w:<sup>th</sup> a woman's head the head white the ground black

A garnett cutt w:<sup>th</sup> Moses and a serpent upon the crosse enamell'd & sett w:<sup>th</sup> 19 dyamonds

An agatt cutt w:<sup>th</sup> a woman's face white, the haire & ground redd

A turning ring w:<sup>th</sup> a cornelion cutt w:<sup>th</sup> a naked woman

A ring w:<sup>th</sup> a garnett cutt w:<sup>th</sup> the head of Hercules

A ring w:<sup>th</sup> an agatt cutt w:<sup>th</sup> a little child sitting, the child white the ground black<sup>15</sup>

A ring w:<sup>th</sup> a redd stone cutt w:<sup>th</sup> two heads

An agatt cutt w:<sup>th</sup> two angells the ground browne and the rest white

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A ring w:<sup>th</sup> a redd stone cutt with an antick gapeing head

A ring w:<sup>th</sup> an agatt cutt w:<sup>th</sup> a chariot drawne by two goates w:<sup>th</sup> divers little figures, the ground white the rest black.

In the eleaventh box

An agatt cutt w:<sup>th</sup> a Pallas head, the ground browne, the rest white garnish'd and enamell'd

A ring w:<sup>th</sup> an agatt cut w:<sup>th</sup> the head of Our Lady the head white garnish'd an enamell'd

A ring w:<sup>th</sup> an agatt cutt w:<sup>th</sup> a little figure in a throne

A ring w:<sup>th</sup> a jarenett cutt w:<sup>th</sup> a woman's head

A ring w:<sup>th</sup> an agatt cutt w:<sup>th</sup> a woman's head, the head white and the ground browne

A ring w:<sup>th</sup> a blew saphire

A ring w:<sup>th</sup> an onyx cutt w:<sup>th</sup> a man's head  
 A ring w:<sup>th</sup> an agatt cutt w:<sup>th</sup> a man's head, the face white,  
 the haire browne, & the ground black  
 A great ring w:<sup>th</sup> a jarenett cutt w:<sup>th</sup> a woman's head  
 A great turning ring w:<sup>th</sup> a black & white agatt cutt with a  
 gapeing head  
 A ring w:<sup>th</sup> an agatt of 3 colo:<sup>rs</sup> cutt w:<sup>th</sup> a stand.<sup>s</sup> figure  
 A ring w:<sup>th</sup> a grisiline cutt w:<sup>th</sup> a man sitting in a chaire  
 A ring w:<sup>th</sup> an onyx cutt w:<sup>th</sup> a woman's head  
 Another soe cutt  
 A great antique w:<sup>th</sup> an empero:<sup>rs</sup> head of gold  
 A great ring w:<sup>th</sup> a jarenett cutt w:<sup>th</sup> Diana sitting  
 A cornelion cutt w:<sup>th</sup> a Jupiter's head

In the twelveth box

A great agatt cutt with the head of Julius Caesar, the head  
 gray, the rest of a brownish colour  
 A ring w:<sup>th</sup> a whitish agatt cutt w:<sup>th</sup> an empero:<sup>rs</sup> head  
 A little ring w:<sup>th</sup> a garnett cutt with a woman sitting  
 A ring w:<sup>th</sup> an agatt w:<sup>th</sup> 3 colours cutt w:<sup>th</sup> little figures  
 A great ring w:<sup>th</sup> a cornelion cutt w:<sup>th</sup> an empero:<sup>rs</sup> head  
 A head w:<sup>th</sup> an Apis cutt w:<sup>th</sup> an empero:<sup>rs</sup> head  
 A great ring with an agat halfe black and halfe redd cutt  
 w:<sup>th</sup> a battle

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A great ring w:<sup>th</sup> an onyx cutt w:<sup>th</sup> a man on a lyons back<sup>16</sup>  
 A ring w:<sup>th</sup> a grisiline cutt w:<sup>th</sup> an Atlas  
 A turning ring w:<sup>th</sup> a cornelionn cutt w:<sup>th</sup> two heads  
 A great ring w:<sup>th</sup> a jarenett cutt w:<sup>th</sup> a man's head  
 A great ring w:<sup>th</sup> a jarenett cutt w:<sup>th</sup> a naked man  
 A turning ring with a cornelion cutt w:<sup>th</sup> a man's head  
 A cornelion cutt w:<sup>th</sup> a sculptor makeing an antic face  
 A ring w:<sup>th</sup> an onyx cutt w:<sup>th</sup> a little standing figure

*Notes to Appendix VII.2*

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|---|--|
| <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Cf. Appendix V.1, no. 13 and Appendix V.2, no. [8]. See also Cat. No. 170.</li> <li>2. Cf. Appendix V.1, no. 37.</li> <li>3. Cf. Appendix V.1, no. 47 and V.2, no. [6]. See also Cat. No. 169.</li> <li>4. Cf. Appendix V.1, no. 43.</li> <li>5. Cf. Appendix V.1, no. 12.</li> <li>6. Cf. Appendix V.1, no. 16.</li> <li>7. Cf. Appendix V.2, no. [1]. See also Cat. No. 169.</li> </ol> | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>8. Cf. Appendix V.1, no. 43.</li> <li>9. Cf. Appendix V.1, no. 49.</li> <li>10. Cf. Appendix V.1, no. 40.</li> <li>11. Cf. Appendix V.1, no. 17.</li> <li>12. Cf. Appendix V.1, no. 3 and Appendix V.2, no. [2]. See also Cat. No. 169.</li> <li>13. Cf. Appendix V.1, no. 19.</li> <li>14. Cf. Appendix V.1, no. 50.</li> <li>15. Cf. Appendix V.1, no. 18.</li> <li>16. Cf. Appendix V.7, no. [3].</li> </ol> |
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## APPENDIX VIII

Catalogue made by Jean Chifflet, Canon of Tournai, in 1658 of the gem collection of Albert Rubens.

*Besançon, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS Chifflet 189, fols. 2r-7v.*  
(Published by *Van der Meulen, Antiquarius*, pp. 220-225.)

Deux mille dixsept

Catalogus gemmarum  
quae extant Bruxellae  
apud viduam  
Alberti Rubenii<sup>1</sup>

Cista 1<sup>a</sup>

- 1 Oedipus alloquens Sphingem: in onyce incisa
- 2 Brutus et Cassius interficientes Julium Caesarem, cometa superne apparente: in onyce incisa, in cuius averso inscriptum FID. MAR.
- 3 Vulcanus fabricans clypeum Achillis: in onyce incisa
- 4 Satyrus qui colluctatur cum capra: in onyce incisa
- 5 Q.Curtius in terrae hiatus pro patria se praecipitem agens: in sardonyche incisa
- 6 Isis lunae insidens: in sardonyche excisa
- 7 Socrates cum pallio et corona Bachica: in onyce excisa<sup>2</sup>
- 8 Caput imperatoris Graeci: in onyce incisa
- 9 Aeneas parvulum Ascanium erudiens: in onyce incisa
- 10 Caput muliebre: in sardonyche rotunda excisa
- 11 Silenus cum Alcibiade: in sardonyche quadrata excisa
- 12 Caput Herculis: in achate excisa

Fol. 2v

- 13 Cupido face comburens papilionem: in sardoniche incisa
- 14 Cupido sedens et elatis brachiis arripiens papilionem: in onyce incisa
- 15 Cupido curru vectus a papilionibus: in onyce incisa
- 16 Caput viri illustris: in onyce incisa
- 17 In medio cistae magna gemma referens Cleopatram papavere et spica coro-



- 17 In medio cistae magna gemma Graeca, in qua Christus adoratus ab angelis:  
adscripto Graecorum Trysagio: in onyce excisa

Cista 4<sup>a</sup>

- 1 Figura muliebris: in achate excisa
- 2 Caput Bacchi cum corona haederacea: in sarda incisa
- 3 Marius: in achate excisa
- 4 Isis cum situla, sistro, et Harpocrate: in sarda incisa
- 5 Caput Medusae: in achate rotunda excisa
- 6 Caput Mercurii: in opalo inciso
- 7 Victoriola: in granato inciso
- 8 Caput coronatum haedera: in granato inciso
- 9 Figura gradiens: in jaspide viridi
- 10 Triumphus Bacchi: in achate excisa
- 11 Triumphus Veneris: in achate excisa

Fol. 3v

- 12 Caput Sileni: in smaragdo
- 13 Hercules et Antheus: in onyce incisa
- 14 Delphinus: in topasio inciso
- 15 Papilio gestans coronam: in granato inciso
- 16 Caput Iovis Ammonis: in achate excisa
- 17 Mercurius, et in averso gemmae, leo caelestis in jaspide viridi utrimque  
inciso
- 18 Victoria gradiens alis ad terram usque demissis: in achate excisa
- 19 *Salus*: in sarda incisa
- 20 Tria capita junctim sculpta: in achate excisa
- 21 In medio cistae magna gemma, in qua caput laureatum Hadriani Imp.: in  
achate excisa

Cista 5<sup>a</sup>

- 1 Caput Herculis: in achate excisa
- 2 Caput Galbae: in achate excisa
- 3 Perseus cum Andromeda: in magna achate excisa<sup>6</sup>

- 4 Caput Neronis: in achate excisa
- 5 Caput juvenis pectore nudo atque aperto: in achate excisa
- 6 Leander: in achate excisa
- 7 Caput muliebre: in achate excisa
- 8 Idem
- 9 Caput philosophi: in achate excisa
- 10 Dea Salus: in achate excisa
- 11 Nympha: in achate excisa
- 12 Caput Iovis laureatum: in achate excisa

**Fol. 4r**

- 13 Sacrificium: in crystallo inciso
- 14 Cleopatra: in crystallo inciso
- 15 Caput Medusae: in achate excisa
- 16 Caput Caesaris: in sardoniche incisa
- 17 Caput calvum: in achate excisa
- 18 Achilles cum Penthasilea: in achate excisa
- 19 Caput Sileni: in achate excisa
- 20 In medio cistae magna gemma, in qua duae Faustinae sedentes: in achate excisa

**Cista 6<sup>a</sup>**

- 1 Vultus pueri: in hyacinto exciso
- 2 Cupido: in achate excisa
- 3 Germanicus: in achate excisa<sup>7</sup>
- 4 Pallas: in achate incisa
- 5 Vultus pueri: in hyacinto exciso
- 6 Omphale: in achate excisa
- 7 Idem: in eadem gemma
- 8 Vespasianus: in achate excisa
- 9 Leopardus miri artificii educta maculosa pelle ex ipsis venis gemmae: in achate excisa
- 10 Genius urbis: in achate excisa



- 11 Alexander cum cornibus Ammonis: in achate excisa
- 12 Faustina: in achate excisa
- 13 Venus: in granato exciso
- 14 Augustus: in achate excisa

**Fol. 4v**

- 15 Mercurius pelosatus: in granato exciso
- 16 Sacellum duobus arcubus, quorum in altero diva, in altero supplices duo: in achate excisa<sup>8</sup>
- 17 In medio cistae magna gemma in qua Marcellus et Julia: in achate excisa

Cista 7<sup>a</sup>

- 1 Jupiter Ammon, capite Arietis: in jaspide rubro inciso
- 2 Caput laureatum: in sarda incisa
- 3 Ciclops: in sarda incisa
- 4 Sylla cum pugione: in jaspide viridi inciso
- 5 Orpheus: in Sarda incisa
- 6 Sacrificium Bacchantium cum serpentibus: in jaspide rubro inciso
- 7 Cupido: in opalo inciso
- 8 Capita viri, larvae, et leonis junctim sculpta: in sarda incisa
- 9 Hercules suffocans leonem: in onyxe incisa
- 10 Neptunus: in cyaneo inciso
- 11 Vulcanus fabricans clypeum Achillis: in sarda incisa
- 12 Duo<sup>(A)</sup> mensae assidentes, et colludentes latrunculis: in iaspide rubro inciso
- 13 Pallas cum capite Socratis pro galea: in jaspide rubro inciso
- 14 Venus cum pomo: in achate incisa
- 15 Mercurius vectus quadriga arietina: in jaspide viridi inciso<sup>9</sup>
- 16 Nero: in calcedonio inciso

**Fol. 5r**

- 17 Antonia: in cyaneo inciso
- 18 Cupido vectus a limacibus duobus erumpentibus ex coclea: in hyacinto inciso

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(A) *Vir et uxor* deleted ('a man and his wife').

- 19 Venus cum corona: in jaspide rubro
- 20 Caput philosophi: in sarda incisa
- 21 Pertinax: in sarda incisa
- 22 Ulysses arripiens Palladium: in sarda incisa<sup>10</sup>
- 23 Caput viri illustris: in jaspide nigro inciso
- 24 Faustina: in onyxe incisa
- 25 In medio cistae gemma quadrata maior caeteris in qua duae nymphae: in calcedonio inciso

Cista 8<sup>a</sup>

- 1 Iulius Caesar capite laureato: in achate excisa
- 2 Vir insidens equo cum clypeo et hasta: in sardoniche rotunda
- 3 Pallas: in achate excisa
- 4 Apicula: in parva sardoniche incisa
- 5 Typus abundantiae: in parva item sardoniche incisa
- 6 Faustina: in achate excisa
- 7 Caput regis Graeci: in achate excisa
- 8 Facies mulieris pinguiculae: in cyaneo exciso
- 9 Agrestis flagello verberans fasciculum frumenti: in jaspide nigro exciso
- 10 Caput laureatum: in achate excisa
- 11 Capra: in achate excisa
- 12 Caput juvenis satyri: in achate excisa

## Fol. 5v

Cista 9<sup>a</sup>

- 1 Caput Hadriani Imp. in onyxe incisa
- 2 Apollo: in granato inciso
- 3 Seleucus: in achate incisa
- 4 Typus abundantiae: in granato inciso
- 5 Figura mulieris sedentis coram sacello, cum obscaenis imaginibus phallicis in averso: in sarda incisa<sup>11</sup>
- 6 Pallas: in granato inciso
- 7 Caput muliebre: in hyacintho exciso

- 8 Idem: in achate excisa
- 9 Idem iterum: in achate excisa
- 10 Caput Herculis: in sarda incisa
- 11 Caput Omphales: in sarda incisa
- 12 Faustina: in saphyro
- 13 Sylla cum Palladio: in sarda incisa
- 14 Figura muliebris: in achate excisa
- 15 Iuvenis capite laureato, dorso nudo et obverso: in testa margaritaria
- 16 Caput muliebre: in lapide cyaneo inciso cum aversa inscriptione LDE
- 17 In medio cistae magna gemma cum imagine Palladis in achate excisa<sup>12</sup>

Cista 10<sup>a</sup>

- 1 Sacrificium: in sarda incisa
- 2 *Joseph venditus a fratribus cum inscriptione Hebraica in achate magno exciso*<sup>13</sup>

**Fol. 6r**

- 3 Dea Salus: in jaspide viridi inciso
- 4 Caput Pompei oblatum Caesari: in smaragdo inciso
- 5 Typus abundantiae: in achate inciso
- 6 Caput juvenis laureati: in sarda incisa
- 7 Bellerophon cum Chymera: in jaspide rubro inciso
- 8 Leda cum cygno: in achate inciso
- 9 Sacrificium: in sarda rotunda incisa
- 10 Tres pueri colludentes: in achate excisa
- 11 Aurora in achate exciso
- 12 Venus dormiens: in achate exciso
- 13 In medio cistae magna gemma Arabica quadrata in modum dyptici, in qua viginti imagines SS.PP Graecorum, ex una parte et totidem ex altera cum inscriptionibus Graecis

Cista 11<sup>a</sup>

- 1 Mars juvenis: in achate inciso
- 2 Sacrificium exquisiti operis: in porphyrite excisa

- 3 Aurora equo vecta: in achate exciso
- 4 Caput Alexandri: in achate exciso
- 5 Typus temporis dextra puellum praetendentis sinistra falcem characteribus notatam cum inscriptione in imo gemmae ΚΡΟΝΟΣ: in crystallo incisa
- 6 Caput Medusae: in achate excisa
- 7 Triumphus Cemeles: in achate excisa
- 8 Caput muliebre: in achate excisa
- 9 In medio cistae magna gemma Fauni cum nympa: in calcedonio inciso

**Fol. 6v**Cista 12<sup>a</sup>

- 1 Cleopatra: in achate excisa<sup>14</sup>
- 2 Caput philosophi: in sarda incisa
- 3 Milo Crotoniates: in onyce incisa
- 4 Caput juvenis: in sarda incisa
- 5 Figura muliebris: in achate excisa
- 6 Victoria: in cyaneo inciso
- 7 Caput viri illustris: in onyce incisa
- 8 Faustina: in jaspide rubro inciso
- 9 Omphale: in achate excisa
- 10 Medusa: in achate excisa
- 11 Caput Herculis: in achate excisa
- 12 Victoria coronans Mercurium: in sarda incisa
- 13 Capra: in achate incisa
- 14 Chimera capite humano, equino, arietino cum delphino, et cornu copiae, in sarda incisa
- 15 Germanicus Caesar: in achate excisa<sup>15</sup>
- 16 Rusticus cum capra: in jaspide rubro inciso
- 17 Genius urbis: in achate incisa
- 18 Abundantiae typus erigens supplicem: in jaspide flavo exciso
- 19 Caput diadematum: in vitro antiquo inciso

Cista 13<sup>a</sup>

In qua oniches et sardoniches XXI et unus oculus cati nudae omnes, ac sine sculptura, sed inter eas una rarissimae magnitudinis, et aliae sex rarae etiam ob magnitudinem ac pulchritudinem colorum

**Fol. 7r**

Cista 14<sup>a</sup>

Cista 14 maior caeteris in qua elegantissimo artificio in magnis gemmis adulterinis sed ad antiquas Ducis Buquinganii compositis

- 1 Alexander leonina tectus<sup>16</sup>
- 2 Alexander et Olympias cum Iove Ammone in sinu
- 3 Julia Titi filia
- 4 Valeria Messalina, Britannicus et Octavia<sup>17</sup>
- 5 Lucilla Drusi<sup>18</sup>
- 6 Seneca philosophus<sup>19</sup>
- 7 Faustina
- 8 Caput philosophi  
Et praeterea sex achates minores verae, sed non veteris sculpturae ac tantum ad ornatum cistae adhibitae

In theca separata

Statua Alexandri leonina tecti solida ex achate ad pectus usque in modum stemmatis imposita est dorso aquilae ex ebano, quae dextro pede praetendit granatum orientalem, cum hac inscriptione ΒΑΣΙΛΕΟΣ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ

Item in alia theca

Magnum caput Leonis Imp. in achate excisa

seorsim etiam In alia capsula

Triumphus Lunae, quae trahitur bubus duobus: in achate<sup>20</sup>

**Fol. 7v**

Notandum porro, gemmas excisas hic appellari, quae sunt operis eminentis, incisas vero, quibus figurae cavatae, sive sigillaritiae; primi generis anaglyphas appellabant, alterius dyaglyphas atque illud etiam observandum in anaglyphis Rubenianis

colores vestium, capillorum, pellium, galearum, cornuum, ita plerumque eductos e vena naturali ipsius gemmae, ut pretium augeant, et artificum industriam ostentent ad miraculum.

[Signed] Joannes Chifletius

Can. Tornaci

*Translation of Appendix VIII:*

two thousand seventeen

Catalogue of gems  
that are extant in Brussels  
with the widow  
of Albertus Rubenius<sup>1</sup>

Box 1

- 1 Oedipus addressing the Sphinx: in carved onyx
- 2 Brutus and Cassius killing Julius Caesar, with a comet appearing up above: in incised onyx; on its reverse the inscription FID. MAR.
- 3 Vulcan making the shield of Achilles: in incised onyx
- 4 A Satyr grappling with a goat: in incised onyx
- 5 Q.Curtius plunging headlong into the chasm in the earth for his country: in incised sardonyx
- 6 Isis seated on the moon: of carved sardonyx
- 7 Socrates with a *pallium* and Bacchic wreath: in carved sardonyx<sup>2</sup>
- 8 Head of a Greek commander: incised in onyx
- 9 Aeneas teaching the childe Ascanius: in incised onyx
- 10 Female head: in a round carved sardonyx
- 11 Silenus with Alcibiades: in a square carved sardonyx
- 12 Head of Hercules: in carved agate

Fol. 2v

- 13 Cupid setting fire to a butterfly with a torch: in incised onyx
- 14 A seated Cupid catching a butterfly with raised arms: in incised onyx
- 15 Cupid in a chariot drawn by butterflies: in incised onyx
- 16 Head of some eminent man: in incised onyx
- 17 In the centre of the box a large gem representing Cleopatra crowned with a wreath of poppies and ears of corn with the head of Anthony on her breast: in a sardonyx most elegantly carved<sup>3</sup>

Box 2

- 1 The Via Appia: in carved amethyst
- 2 Marius: in Sicilian carved stone
- 3 Augustus: in carved onyx
- 4 Hercules and Omphale: in carved onyx
- 5 A Medusa head: in carved sard
- 6 Concordia: in carved agate
- 7 A tutelar *genius* of a city: in carved agate
- 8 A mask: in carved agate
- 9 In the centre of the box a large gem in which Mercury fishing for Cupids: in carved agate

Box 3

- 1 Pietas: in incised agate
- 2 Human head from which seven snakes radiate with a gnostic inscription on the reverse: in incised sardonyx<sup>4</sup>
- 3 The head of Alexander: in carved agate

Fol. 3r

- 4 A Harpy: in incised sard
- 5 A little Satyr with a goat: in incised amethyst
- 6 A sacrifice with an unintelligible inscription: in incised agate
- 7 A female figure with a dish (*patera*) and a spear and the inscription CEI: in excised onyx
- 8 The goddess of Ephesus: excised in magnetite
- 9 (Four Basilidian gems: excised in magnetite)
- 10 (           "                           "                   \_ "    )
- 11 (           "                           "                   \_ "    )
- 12 (           "                           "                   \_ "    )
- 13 Head of Hercules: in carved agate
- 14 Aesculapius: in carved heliotrope
- 15 A hawk in a carved Egyptian gem
- 16 Pallas: in carved agate, with letters added

- 17 In the centre of the box a large Greek gem in which is Christ adored by the Angels, with the inscription 'to the Thrice Holy of the Greeks' [?]: carved in onyx

Box 4

- 1 A female figure, in carved agate
- 2 A head of Bacchus crowned with a wreath of ivy: in incised sard
- 3 Marius: in carved agate
- 4 Isis with a *situla* (bucket), *sistrum* (rattle) and Harpocrates: in incised sard
- 5 A head of Medusa: in a round carved agate
- 6 A head of Mercury: in incised opal
- 7 A small Victory: in incised garnet
- 8 A head crowned with ivy: in incised garnet
- 9 A walking figure: in green jasper
- 10 The triumph of Bacchus: in carved agate
- 11 The triumph of Venus: in excised agate

Fol. 3v

- 12 A head of Silenus: in emerald
- 13 Hercules and Antaeus: in incised onyx
- 14 A dolphin: in incised topaz
- 15 A butterfly carrying a crown: in incised garnet
- 16 A head of Jupiter Ammon: in excised agate
- 17 Mercury, and on the reverse of the gem the heavenly lion in green jasper incised on both sides
- 18 An advancing Victory with her wings drooping right down to the ground: in excised agate
- 19 *Salus*: in incised sard
- 20 Three heads sculpted together: in carved agate
- 21 In the centre of the box a large gem with the head of the Emperor Hadrian crowned with laurel: in carved agate

Box 5

- 1 The head of Hercules: in carved agate
- 2 The head of Galba: carved in agate



- 3 Perseus with Andromeda: in a large carved agate<sup>6</sup>
- 4 The head of Nero: in carved agate
- 5 Head of a youth with a bare and exposed chest: in carved agate
- 6 Leander: in carved agate
- 7 A female head: in carved agate
- 8 Ditto
- 9 Head of a philosopher: in carved agate
- 10 The goddess *Salus*: carved in agate
- 11 A nymph: in carved agate
- 12 A head of Jupiter crowned with laurel: in carved agate

**Fol. 4r**

- 13 A sacrifice: in incised crystal
- 14 Cleopatra: in incised crystal
- 15 The head of Medusa: in carved agate
- 16 The head of Caesar: in incised sardonyx
- 17 A bald head: in carved agate
- 18 Achilles with Penthesilea: in carved agate
- 19 The head of Silenus: in carved agate
- 20 In the centre of the box a large gem: in which are the two Faustinas, seated:  
in carved agate

**Box 6**

- 1 The face of a boy: in carved hyacinth
- 2 A cupid: in carved agate
- 3 Germanicus: in carved agate<sup>7</sup>
- 4 Pallas: in carved agate
- 5 The face of a boy: in carved hyacinth
- 6 Omphale: in carved agate
- 7 Ditto: in the same sort of gem
- 8 Vespasian: in carved agate
- 9 A leopard of wonderful craftsmanship, its spotted skin having been drawn  
from the very veins of the gem: in carved agate

- 10 A tutelar *genius* of a City: in carved agate
- 11 Alexander with the horns of Ammon: in carved agate
- 12 Faustina: in carved agate
- 13 Venus: in carved garnet
- 14 Augustus: in carved agate

**Fol. 4v**

- 15 Mercury wearing a *pilos* (cap): in carved garnet
- 16 A sanctuary with two arches, in one of them a goddess, in the other two suppliants: in carved agate<sup>8</sup>
- 17 In the centre of the box a large gem with Marcellus and Julia: in carved agate

**Box 7**

- 1 Jupiter Ammon, with the head of a ram: in incised red jasper
- 2 A head crowned with laurel: in incised sard
- 3 A Cyclops: in incised sard
- 4 Sulla with a dagger: in incised green jasper
- 5 Orpheus: in incised sard
- 6 A sacrifice of Bacchantes with snakes: in incised red jasper
- 7 Cupid: in incised opal
- 8 The heads of a man, a mask and lion joined together: in incised sard
- 9 Hercules strangling the lion: in incised onyx
- 10 Neptune: in incised dark-blue stone
- 11 Vulcan fashioning the shield of Achilles: in incised sard
- 12 Two people seated at a table playing chess: in incised red jasper
- 13 Pallas with the head of Socrates instead of her helmet: in incised red jasper
- 14 Venus with an apple: in incised agate
- 15 Mercury in a chariot drawn by four rams: in incised green jasper<sup>9</sup>
- 16 Nero: in incised chalcedony

**Fol. 5r**

- 17 Antonia: in incised dark-blue stone
- 18 Cupid carried by two snails protruding right out of their shells: in incised hyacinth

- 19 Venus with a crown: in red jasper
- 20 The head of a philosopher: in incised sard
- 21 Pertinax: in incised sard
- 22 Odysseus stealing the Palladium: in incised sard<sup>10</sup>
- 23 The head of an eminent famous man: in incised black jasper
- 24 Faustina: in incised onyx
- 25 At the centre of the box a gem larger than the others with two Nymphs, in incised chalcedony

Box 8

- 1 Julius Caesar wearing a laurel wreath: in carved agate
- 2 A man riding a horse with a shield and spear: in a round sardonyx
- 3 Pallas: in carved agate
- 4 A little bee: on a small incised sardonyx
- 5 The image of Abundance: likewise on a incised sardonyx
- 6 Faustina: on carved agate
- 7 Head of Greek King: in carved agate
- 8 The face of a plump woman: in carved dark-blue stone
- 9 A farmer beating a sheath of corn with a flail: in black carved jasper
- 10 A head crowned with laurel: in carved agate
- 11 A goat: in carved agate
- 12 The head of youthful Satyr: in carved agate

Fol. 5v

Box 9

- 1 The head of the Emperor Hadrian: in incised onyx
- 2 Apollo: in incised garnet
- 3 Seleucus: in incised agate
- 4 The image of Abundance: in incised garnet
- 5 The figure of a woman seated in front of a shrine with obscene phallic images on the reverse: in incised sard<sup>11</sup>
- 6 Pallas: in incised garnet
- 7 A female head: in carved hyacinth

- 8 Ditto: in carved agate
- 9 Ditto again: in carved agate
- 10 The head of Hercules: in incised sard
- 11 The head of Omphale: in incised sard
- 12 Faustina: in sapphire
- 13 Sulla with the Palladium: in incised sard
- 14 A female figure: in carved agate
- 15 A youth crowned with laurel, his bare back turned outwards: in mother-of-pearl
- 16 A female head: in a incised dark-blue stone with the inscription LDE on the reverse
- 17 In the centre of the box a large gem with the image of Pallas in carved agate<sup>12</sup>

**Box 10**

- 1 A sacrifice: in incised sard
- 2 Joseph sold by his brothers with an inscription in Hebrew in a large carved agate<sup>13</sup>

**Fol. 6r**

- 3 The goddess Salus in incised green jasper
- 4 The head of Pompey brought to Caesar: in incised smaragd
- 5 The image of Abundance: in incised agate
- 6 Head of a laurel-crowned youth: in incised sard
- 7 Bellerophon with the Chimaera: in red incised jasper
- 8 Leda with the swan: in incised agate
- 9 A sacrifice: in a round incised sard
- 10 Three boys playing together: in carved agate
- 11 Dawn: in carved agate
- 12 Venus sleeping: in carved agate
- 13 In the centre of the box a large square Arabian gemstone in the form of a diptych, in which are twenty figures of the Greek Church Fathers on one side and an equal number on the other, with Greek inscriptions

Box 11

- 1 A youthful Mars: in incised agate
- 2 A sacrifice of superb workmanship: in carved porphyry
- 3 Dawn on horseback: in carved agate
- 4 Head of Alexander: in carved agate
- 5 The image of Time holding out a boy in his right hand and in his left a scythe marked with characters, with the inscription ΚΡΟΝΟΣ at the bottom of the gem: in incised crystal
- 6 The head of Medusa: in carved agate
- 7 The triumph of Semele: in carved agate
- 8 A female head: in carved agate
- 9 In the centre of the box a large gem of Faunus and a nymph: in incised chalcedony

**Fol. 6v**

Box 12

- 1 Cleopatra: in carved agate<sup>14</sup>
- 2 The head of a philosopher: in incised sard
- 3 Milo of Croton: in incised onyx
- 4 The head of a young man: in incised sard
- 5 Female figure: in carved agate
- 6 Victory: in an incised dark-blue stone
- 7 The head of an eminent man: in incised onyx
- 8 Faustina: in incised red jasper
- 9 Omphale: in carved agate
- 10 Medusa: in carved agate
- 11 A head of Hercules: in carved agate
- 12 Victory crowning Mercury: in incised sard
- 13 A goat: in incised agate
- 14 A Chimaera with a human, equine and ram's head, along with a dolphin and cornucopia: in incised sard
- 15 Germanicus Caesar: in carved agate<sup>15</sup>
- 16 A peasant with a goat: in incised red jasper

- 17 A tutelary *genius* of a city: incised in agate
- 18 The image of Abundance raising up a suppliant: in carved yellow jasper
- 19 A head wearing a diadem: in ancient incised glass

## Box 13

In which [are] twenty-one onyxes and sardonyxes and one cat's eye, all blank, and without anything carved on them, but among these [is] one of quite extraordinary size, and another six unusual for their size and beauty of colour.

**Fol. 7r**

## Box 14

Box fourteen [is] larger than the others, in which [are more] of most exquisite workmanship, on large gems which are fakes but modelled on the ancient ones of the Duke of Buckingham.

- 1 Alexander wearing a lionskin<sup>16</sup>
- 2 Alexander and Olympias with Jupiter Ammon at his breast
- 3 Julia, daughter of Titus
- 4 Valeria Messalina, Britannicus and Octavia<sup>17</sup>
- 5 Lucilla [*recte*: Livilla], wife of Drusus<sup>18</sup>
- 6 Seneca the philosopher<sup>19</sup>
- 7 Faustina
- 8 The head of a philosopher  
And furthermore, six smaller agates, genuine but not of old workmanship, simply used to to decorate the box

## In a separate case

A statue of Alexander wearing a lionskin of solid agate, bust length, in the manner of a herm. It is placed on the back of an ebony eagle which holds out in its right foot an oriental agate, with the inscription: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΟΣ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ (of King Alexander)

## Likewise in another separate case

a large head of Emperor Leo in excised agate

## also separately in another case

the Triumph of Moon who is drawn by two bulls: in agate<sup>20</sup>

## Fol. 7v

Furthermore, it should be noted that the phrase 'excised gem' is used for those done in relief, 'incised' for those on which the figures are hollowed out or made for seals. Those in the first category were called Anaglyphs (cameos), in the second Dya-glyphs (intaglios); and in the case of Rubens's cameos attention should also be paid to this: the colours of clothing, hair, skin, helmets, and horns etc., most of which derive from the natural veining in the gem itself, so as to increase their value and display the skill of the artist to a marvellous degree. [Signed] Joannes Chifletius  
Canon of Tournay

## Notes to Appendix VIII

1. The catalogue was drawn up after Albert Rubens's death on 1 October 1657. Albert's widow died shortly thereafter on 25 November 1657 and therefore the heading was changed to Catalogus gemmarum, quae extabant Bruxellae, apud V.C.  
Albertum Rubenium, anno M.DC.LVIII  
Catalogue of Gems  
Which are extant in Brussels  
at the [house] of the [late] Honorable  
Albertus Rubenius, in the year 1658.
2. Cf. Appendix V.1, no.44.
3. Cf. Appendix V.1, no.11 and Appendix V.2, no.[4].
4. *Van der Meulen, Antiquarius*, p.167, no.G.94, fig.XVI.G.
5. *Ibid.*, pp.166-167, nos.Gs.92, 93 and 95, figs.XVI.E, F and D.
6. Cf. Appendix V.1, no.38.
7. See No.170.
8. Cf. Appendix V.1, no.41. See *Neverov, Gems*, p.431, fig.37.
9. *Ibid.*, p.432, figs.44-45.
10. Cf. Appendix V.1, no.14.
11. *Neverov, Gems*, p.432, fig.49.
12. See No.170.
13. *Neverov, Gems*, p.431, fig.34.
14. Cf. Appendix V.1, no.12.
15. See No.170.
16. See No.173.
17. See No.169.
18. See Appendix V.1, no.31 and Appendix V.2, no.[5].
19. See No.181.
20. *Neverov, Gems*, p.431, fig.40.

## APPENDIX IX

Rubens's essay on the rendering of babies and children in ancient art, part of his lost Art-theoretical Notebook as known from transcripts.<sup>1</sup> In this essay Rubens refers to classical marbles which he considered outstanding representations of children of different ages.<sup>2</sup>

*Copy. London, Courtauld Institute Galleries, Princes Gate Collection, MS Johnson, fol. 100r. The same text is in MS de Ganay (formerly Paris, Marquis de Ganay), fol. 47r. Cf. MS Johnson, fol. 32r (which is considerably shorter, thus possibly reflecting an earlier draft, as A. Balis suggested).*

(A French translation is given in *Jombert, Figure humaine*, pp. 47-48.)

## DE PUERIS

Ex statuarum exemplaribus semper optima eligenda, et pro<sup>(A)</sup> exemplaribus cuiuscunque aetatis imitanda sunt veluti infantiae, cuius elegantissimum exemplar sunt genii pueriles circa Nili<sup>3</sup> et Tiberis<sup>4</sup> statuas in hortis Vaticanis. Teretes in sese, atque rotundi,<sup>5</sup> gestibus lacivis [*sic*], humi reptantes, et magnos patris artus, veluti montes scandentes. Quibus similes sunt illi qui ad Tiberis statuam, ibidem a lupa lactantur.

Tum aetas paulo grandior, sed tamen adhuc infantulis [*sic*] exhibita est ab antiquis, in cupidine dormiente super strata pelle leonis, cum face ad laevam.<sup>6</sup>

Eo maior est in puero juxta Ledam, ubi cum cygno colluctatur,<sup>7</sup> et in Hercule serpentes o[*p*]primente in cunis.<sup>8</sup>

Denique paulo robustior aetas in puero caestibus pugnante Graeculo.<sup>9</sup>

Hi omnes diversi, infantiae tamen obesitatibus non depositis pueri, conspiciuntur Romae in marmoribus antiquis.

*Translation of Appendix IX:*

## On Children

When taking statues [of Antiquity] as models the best ones should always be selected and imitated as models of the different ages concerned—infancy, say, of which the nicest example is provided by the ‘putti’ on the statue of the Nile<sup>3</sup> and of the Tiber<sup>4</sup> in the Vatican Gardens. ‘Self contained in their smooth rotundity’<sup>5</sup> they are playful in their gestures, crawling on the ground and clambering over the massive limbs of their father as if they were mountains. Similar to these are the ones next to the Tiber statue in the same place, being suckled by the she-wolf.

Next a slightly more advanced age, but still that of a baby, was illustrated by the ancients in the Cupid sleeping on an outspread lionskin, with a torch in his left hand.<sup>6</sup>

A later stage than this is shown in the boy next to Leda where he is struggling with the swan,<sup>7</sup> and in the Hercules crushing the serpents in his cradle.<sup>8</sup>

Finally, a somewhat more substantial age is represented in the little Greek boy fighting with boxing-gloves.<sup>9</sup>

All these children of different kinds, yet still possessing the chubbiness of infancy, can be seen in ancient marbles in Rome.

*Notes to Appendix IX*

1. See Chapter II, n. 11, for Rubens’s Notebook.
2. *Bieber, Hellenistic Art*, pp. 136-139, 167. Cf. also Rubens’s explanation of the title-page of F. de Marselaer’s *Legatus*, referring to the ‘*lusus ... puerulorum lasciuientium et exultantium*’ (*Judson—Van de Velde*, II, p. 501,

appendix IV.6).

3. *The River Nile with Sixteen Children* indicates according to Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, XXXVI: LVIII, the number of cubits the water had to rise each year to inundate the land. A Roman copy of the second century A.D. of a Hellenistic original of the Alexandrian school, the marble was

(A) *et pro* repeated.



- excavated on the site of an ancient Iseum in 1513 and installed in 1523 on the North side of the Belvedere statue court as a fountain (*Michaelis, Belvedere*, p. 24). It was restored under Clemens XIV (1769-1774) and is now in the Braccio Nuovo of the Vatican Museum (*Amelung, Skulpturen*, I, no. 109, pl. 18). For a list of Renaissance drawings see *Bober-Rubinstein, Handbook*, no. 67. The engraving in *De Cavalleriis, Antiquae statuae*, I-II, pl. 3 shows the heavily damaged children restored; *Perrier, Segmenta*, pl. 93, unrestored condition; *Haskell—Penny*, no. 65, fig. 142. See Nos. 95-97, Figs. 170-172, *text ill.* 10.
4. *The Twins Suckled by the She-Wolf*, part of the marble picturing *The River Tiber*, rediscovered in 1512 at the same site as *The River Nile* was acquired by Pope Julius II for the Belvedere. The group was installed as a fountain on the South side of the statue court as a pendant to *The River Nile* (*Michaelis, Belvedere*, p. 24). Now in the Louvre in Paris (*Froehner, Sculpture antique*, no. 449). Renaissance drawings are listed in *Bober-Rubinstein, Handbook*, no. 66. *De Cavalleriis, Antiquae statuae*, I-II, pl. 2; *Perrier, Segmenta*, pl. 92; *Haskell—Penny*, no. 79, fig. 164. See No. 98, Figs. 168, 169.
  5. As was pointed out to me by Elizabeth McGrath, the reference is to Horace, *Satires*, II, 7.86: 'sapiens Fortis et in se ipse [ipso is the old reading] totus teres atque rotundus'. The passage may have been impressed on Rubens's mind by its use for Otto van Veen's *Sapientiae libertas* (*Quinti Horati Flacci emblemata*, Antwerp, 1607, p. 82).
  6. Of the Sleeping Cupid no whereabouts are given. The description matches a statue formerly belonging to the Borghese collection (now Paris, Louvre, Inv. No. Ma 344; *Froehner, Sculpture antique*, no. 335; see also Appendix X, n. 17). Another possibility could be a sculpture of black marble of a *Sleeping Cupid* sprawled on a lion's skin holding a horn-shaped object in his left hand. It was displayed at the time in the Tribuna in Florence (F. Bocchi, *Le bellezze della città di Fiorenza*, Florence, 1591, p. 51), and was already listed in Vasari's account of the *Sala delle Nicchie* in the Palazzo Pitti of 1568 (L. Bloch, 'Eine Athletenstatue der Uffizien Gallerie', *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Römische Abteilung*, VII, 1892, p. 82, n. 1.). M. Cristofani ('Per una storia del collezionismo archeologico nella Toscana granducale', *Prospettiva*, 17, 1979, p. 15 n. 24) rediscovered the statue in the store of the Uffizi. According to A. Parronchi ('Le tre "anticaglie" portate da Napoli di Giuliano Sangallo', in *Opere Giovanili di Michelangelo*, III, Florence, 1981, pp. 31-35, figs. 25 and 27a) this sculpture was a gift of Ferdinand of Aragon to Lorenzo il Magnifico in 1488. Cf. M. Daly Davis, 'La Galleria di sculture antiche di Cosimo I a Palazzo Pitti', *Le arti del principato mediceo*, Florence, 1980, p. 39, n. 29).
  7. The so-called *Boy Playing with a Swan* is identical with a statue of a *Boy Embracing a Goose* at the time in Cardinal Cesi's collection (*Hülßen, Römische Antikengärten*, no. 144). It was displayed in his Antiquarium, standing next to a so-called Leda (Crouching Venus). Now in Rome, Museo Nazionale (Inv. No. 8565 bis; *Palma—de Lachenal*, 1983, p. 111, no. 47). See No. 70.
  8. Of the statue described as the *Infant Hercules Strangling Snakes in his Cradle* the whereabouts are not mentioned. A bronze then in possession of the Bishop of Aquino rendering the young hero lying in a cradle fighting off two snakes matches the description quite literally; it is shown on a woodcut in F. Franzini, *Icones Statuarum Antiquarum Urbis Romae*, Rome, 1599, pl. C 1: 'HERCVLIS. STA. AENEA IN AED. EPI. AQVIN.'. A drawing in Dosio's sketchbook shows another type of statue: Hercules is seated on the ground looking at a snake held up in his left hand, while he holds on to a second snake with his right hand; its 17th-century whereabouts are not given (C. Hülsen, *Das Skizzenbuch des Giovannantonio Dosio*, Berlin, 1933, p. 2, no. 5a, pl. II). Also known was a sculpture of Hercules in a kneeling position struggling with a snake coiled around his right arm, as pictured on a drawing in a sketchbook of Lambert Lombard,

fol. 61 and on an engraving in *Vaccarius, Icones*, 1584 edn, pl. 26 (1621 edn, pl. 16). The caption reads: 'Herculis pueri simulacrum Romae' but exactly where in Rome the statue was to be seen remains unknown. The statue (now in Naples, Museo Nazionale) is considered a Renaissance copy of an ancient statue (G. Cultrera, *Saggi sull'arte ellenistica e greco-romana*, Rome, 1907, p. 77, n. 4). The ancient model belonged to the Medici collection: acquired in 1589 it was on display in the Tribuna in Florence, *text ill.* 25 (*ibid.*, p. 77, n. 2; O. Brendel, 'Der schlangenwürgende Herakliskos', *Jahrbuch des kaiserlich deutschen Archäologischen Instituts*, XLVII, 1932, pp. 218-227; *Mansuelli, Cat. Uffizi*, I, no. 63, fig. 60; M. Cristofani, 'Per una storia del collezionismo archeologico nella Toscana granducale', in *Le arti del principato mediceo*, Florence, 1980, p. 28, n. 43, fig. 10; *Lexicon Mythologiae*, IV, 1, p. 829, no. 1624, repr.). A statue in St Petersburg is an ancient

replica of the Uffizi type (O. Brendel, *op. cit.*, fig. 13). The Florentine sculpture is featured on a drawing by Andrea Comodi (1560-1638) in the Uffizi, Florence. A painting attributed to Rubens auctioned in Brussels, Palais des Beaux-Arts, in 1955 (14 June, lot 129, pl. X; and again in the same rooms on 18-19 March 1958, lot 532; present whereabouts unknown; *text ill.* 26) shows a quite exact copy of the Florentine type of the infant Hercules.

9. An ancient bronze statuette of a child Pugilist has not been identified. Drawings in *MS Johnson*, fols. 105r and 110r inscribed 'paulo robustior aetas in puero caestibus pugnante Graeculo' and *MS de Ganay*, fol. 48r (see *Jombert, Figure humaine*, pl. XXXVIII, in reverse) possibly render the statue. A bronze statuette in Vienna from c. 1500 pictures a similar *Fistfighter* (P. Gauricus, *De Sculptura*, edn A. Chastel and R. Klein, Geneva, 1969, fig. 44). Cf. *Lexicon Mythologiae*, I, 1, p. 809, no. 77.

## APPENDIX X

Anonymous essay on the postures of the human figures in ancient art, integrated into one of the transcripts of Rubens's lost Art-theoretical Notebook.<sup>1</sup> In this treatise reference is made to classical statues which were commendable for their representations of the human figure, the male figure in particular.

*MS de Ganay (formerly Paris, Marquis de Ganay), fols. 22r-23r.*  
(A French translation is given in *Jombert, Figure humaine*, pp. 11-16.)

## Fol. 22r

DE FIGURAE HUMANAE  
STATIBUS  
SIVE  
MODIS STANDI

Status, ut status est, quando figura ponderis sui libramento juste disposito, nec hac, nec illac se movet, declinat, aut inclinat, sed pure & solide stat. Estque hic status graviorum et robustiorum corporum. Cuius optimum exemplum habetur in statua Commodi Imperatoris, Romae in Hortis Vaticanis (vulgo Belvedere) ubi faciem habitumque Herculis indutus laevo brachio pusionem gestat, cuius errore periit.<sup>2</sup>

Illi autem status maxime laudantur, qui vel a motibus facti videbuntur, vel in motus transierint, id est, qui a motu, procedunt ad requiem; vel ex requie ad motum.

Cuius primi exemplum est, in numquam satis laudata statua Antinoi,<sup>3</sup> quae visitur in Hortis Vaticanis Romae, cuius membra mira concinitate et elegantia ex motu quasi residunt ad statum et requiem, idque vivacitate, et promptitudine incomparabili.

Secundi exemplum ibidem est in eiusdem perfectionis, et pulchritudinis statua Apollinis,<sup>4</sup> qui ex requie gressum moliendo, procedit ad motum.

Quae gemina antiquorum statuariorum industriae documenta stupendum, quam solerti cura, servaverit Antiquitas, ut post tot retro saecula et post tot Romanae urbis calamitosas clades et excidia, hodierno adhuc integra conspiciantur.

Est et alius status, quasi mistus, ex statu et incubitu, cum inferior pars corporis a summo femore vel coxa, usque ad plantam pedis, uno pede sustinetur, et superior pars corporis fulcro innititur vel incumbit. Qualis status est statuae Herculis Romae,<sup>5</sup> in Farnesiorum Palatii impluvio, tum istius, quae est Sileni<sup>6</sup> Bacchum nutrientis in Hortis Mediceis, & Fauni<sup>7</sup> meditantis / (Fol. 22v) in aedibus Justinianis, et Fauni tibiam infantis,<sup>8</sup> in villa Burghesia, aliarumque Romae innumerum, plusve minusve fulcris suis incumbentium.

Diversos etiam virilis formae status, expressit non inscite Baccius Bandinellus, in illa sua innocentum occisione quae typo vulgatur.

Exhibitae etiam fuerunt ab antiquis statuae in nulla praedictorum statuum specie sed in pleno motu. Qualis est Gladiatoris<sup>9</sup> in Villa Burghesia, quae impetuoso gressu, ictum intentat simul et repellit. Et in Hortis Mediceis, illarum, quae sunt

liberorum Niobes,<sup>10</sup> iram Apollinis, et Dianae fugientium, tum quae eiusdem modi sunt grandia illa signa Castorum vel Alexandri Bucephalum domantis,<sup>11</sup> in Quirinali. &c.

Sed nec his contenta modis, vel constricta Antiquitas, variavit statuarum situs, habitusque, modosque in infinitum, et praeter eas, quas exhibuit, stantium, currentiumve situ, effinxit et sedentium, qualis est Laocoontis cum liberis,<sup>12</sup> draconis spiris innexi famosissima statua, in Belvedere, sive Hortis Vaticanis, opus omnibus & picturae & statuariae artis praeferendum. Item Martis quiescentis, Amore vel Cupidine ei blandiente,<sup>13</sup> in Hortis Ludovisianis Romae &c.

Et Incurvantium, ut est ferrum acuentis, in Hortis Mediceis<sup>14</sup> et Luctatorum in arena, ibidem.<sup>15</sup> &c

Et Cubantium, ut sunt omnium Fluviorum.<sup>16</sup> &c

Et Dormientium, ut est Cupidinis,<sup>17</sup> & Hermaphroditi in Villa Burghesia, quae est Romae extra portam Salariam.<sup>18</sup> &c.

Et Languentium, ut est Mirmillonis deficientis in Hortis Ludovisianis:<sup>19</sup> Cleopatrae in Vaticano:<sup>20</sup> Veneris languentis in Villa Burghesia.<sup>21</sup> &c

Et Morientium, ut est in Hortis Mediceis, unius ex filiis Niobes.<sup>22</sup> Atque haec de statu virilis formae sufficiant. Restat foemineae, quae a praedicto hoc differt, quod meticulosior sit et imbecillior, quia centrum gravitatis, quod est in scrobe juguli, centro sustentaculi, quod est in medio imae tibiae, non juste in perpendiculari respondet, ut in virilis formae statu accidit, sed perpendicularium ex scrobe juguli demissum attingit talum anteriorem istius pedis qui corporis pondus sustinet. Ut videre est in statua Veneris / (Fol. 23r) Felicis, quam et Coelestem vocant,<sup>23</sup> et Veneris balneum egressae,<sup>24</sup> ambae in Hortis Vaticanis, & in compluribus aliis.

Summatim, foemineae formae, & status, et pulchritudinis atque omnium elegantiarum, unicum exemplar est omni perfectione maius, Venus illa quae Aphroditis (vulgo Graeca:) dicitur, et Romae in Mediceo conspicitur.<sup>25</sup>

Inter tot autem et tam varias, ac pene innumeras Romanae urbis statuas, quae in eius suburbiis, villis, hortis, palatiis, & aedibus, hinc inde conspiciuntur, primas tenent et velut documenta in illustri collocanda sunt, ut hi, qui pictoriae et sculptoriae artis intima scrutari conantur, tam circa symmetriam quam lineamenta, et status, et motus, et torositates, et specierum figurae humanae diversitates meminerint suspicere; admirari, intueri, perscrutari et annotare, ut capiant ex his, quae imitari possint. Quarum prima erit, ut a virili potiore incipiatur.

Statua Herculis Farnesii<sup>5</sup>

Commodi Imperatoris in forma Herculis, in Belvedere<sup>2</sup>

Antinoi ibidem<sup>3</sup>

Apollinis ibidem<sup>4</sup>

Tum illa quae ibidem est sedentis situ exhibita, famosissima Laocoontis statua,<sup>12</sup> cum liberis draconis nexibus impliciti

Gladiatoris,<sup>9</sup> in Villa Burghesia

Et pro foemineae formae exemplari, unica sufficiat, Veneris Aphroditis,<sup>25</sup> quae in Mediceo est.

Ex quibus statuis, tanquam figurae humanae, utriusque sexus, omnium perfectionum exemplaribus, proficere creduntur artifices.

Atque haec harum rerum summa sit, nam omnia perfecte tradere infinitum foret, ut subiecta docent exempla. Caetera, quae circa statuarum distinctionem, ordinem, earumque dedicationem servavit Antiquitas, quoniam historiam magis sapiunt quam artem, ad finem huius libelli reiecta sunt.

*Translation of Appendix X:*

**Fol. 22r**

On [Static] Postures of the Human Figure or Ways of Standing

A static posture such as when a figure has had the balance of its weight duly distributed so that it moves neither to one side nor the other, nor does it lean backwards or forwards, but simply and solidly stands. This is the attitude of the heavy-set and substantial bodies. The best example of it is held to be in the statue of Emperor Commodus in Rome in the Vatican Gardens (known as the Belvedere) where he is given the features and aspect of Hercules and carries on his left arm a little boy, whose mistake caused the hero's ruin.<sup>2</sup>

Those postures are especially praised that either seem to result from movement or have been about to pass into movement, that is which proceed from motion to rest or from rest to motion.

Of this first state an example is provided by the statue of Antinous,<sup>3</sup> never to be praised enough, that is on view in the Vatican Gardens in Rome, for his limbs, with a wonderful harmony and elegance, come, as it were, from motion to rest and repose, and that with incomparable liveliness and readiness.

There is an example of the second state in the same collection in the similarly perfect and beautiful statue of Apollo,<sup>4</sup> who advances from rest to movement by preparing to take a step forward.

It is amazing that Antiquity should have preserved—and with skill and care—both of these testimonies to the workmanship of the ancient sculptors, so that after so many centuries passing and after the city of Rome has endured so many calamitous disasters and destructions they can be viewed, still intact.

There is yet another posture, a sort of combination of standing and leaning, when the lower part of the body from the upper thigh or hip down to the sole of the foot, is supported on one leg, and the upper part of the body rests against or leans on a prop. Such is the posture of the statue of Hercules<sup>5</sup> at Rome in the courtyard of the Palazzo Farnese, also of the Silenus<sup>6</sup> as nurse of Bacchus in the Medici Gardens, and of the Faun in Meditation<sup>7</sup> / **(Fol. 22v)** in the mansion of the Giustiniani, as well as the Faun Playing the Flute<sup>8</sup> in the Villa Borghese, and innumerable others in Rome, leaning more or less against their various supports.

In his *Massacre of the Innocents*, widely available in a print, Baccio Bandinelli in fact rendered a variety of postures of the male physique with some competence.

The Ancients also produced statues which did not exhibit any of the abovementioned postures, but were fully in movement. Such is that of the Gladiator<sup>9</sup> in the Villa Borghese, which with a vehement step forward at once aims and fends off a blow. And [there are the postures] of those [sculptures] in the Medici Gardens of the Children of Niobe,<sup>10</sup> fleeing the wrath of Apollo and Diana, while others of a

similar kind are those huge statues on the Quirinal of the Dioscuri, or Alexander taming Bucephalus,<sup>11</sup> and so on.

But not satisfied with or limiting itself to these possibilities, Antiquity endlessly varied the situation, appearance and fashion of its statues; and apart from those which it produced in the act of standing or running, it also fashioned seated ones. Such is the world famous statue of Laocoon and his sons,<sup>12</sup> entangled in the coils of a serpent, in the Belvedere or Vatican Gardens, a work which must be ranked above every other example of the art of painting and sculpture. Likewise that of the Mars Resting, with Amor or Cupid soothing him,<sup>13</sup> in the Ludovisi Gardens in Rome.

And [there are cases] of stooping [statues], such as that of the Knife grinder<sup>14</sup> in the Medici Gardens and of the Wrestlers<sup>15</sup> in competition in the same place and so on

And of reclining [statues], as in the case of all River gods and suchlike<sup>16</sup>

Sleeping ones, such as that of Cupid,<sup>17</sup> and the Hermaphrodite<sup>18</sup> in the Villa Borghese, which is in Rome, outside the Porta Salaria.

Then languishing ones, like that of the dying gladiator (*myrmillo*)<sup>19</sup> in the Ludovisi Gardens, the Cleopatra<sup>20</sup> in the Vatican, the Languishing Venus<sup>21</sup> in the Villa Borghese etc.

Also dying ones, such as that in the Medici Gardens of one of the children of Niobe.<sup>22</sup> This is sufficient on the posture of the male body. There remains that of the female, which differs from the abovementioned in this respect, namely that it is more pusillanimous and less powerful, because the centre of gravity, which is in the pit of the throat, does not lie exactly above the centre of equilibrium, which is in the middle of the lower leg, as is the case for the male body standing in rest, but rather a perpendicular taken from the pit of the throat touches the inside of the heel of the foot that is supporting the weight of the body. This can be seen in the statue of Venus Felix, / (Fol. 23r) also called Heavenly,<sup>23</sup> and in that of Venus Emerging from the Bath,<sup>24</sup> both in the Vatican Gardens, and in numerous others.

Still, in general, for the female form, its standing posture, its beauty and all its refinements, a single example is supreme in every respect: that Venus who is called Aphrodite (known as the Greek Venus),<sup>25</sup> and is on view in Rome in the Medici collection.

Among the many, varied and almost innumerable statues of the city of Rome that are on view all around in the vicinity, and in its villas, gardens, palaces and mansions, these take the highest place and should be set up in the best light as prime specimens so that those who are attempting to get right to the heart of the business of painting and sculpture, as regards the proportion as well as the contours, will not forget to look at, admire, examine, scrutinize and take note of the postures, movements, muscular structure and the differences in appearance in human figures, so that they may derive from these such as can be imitated. The first of them will be – to begin with the more powerful male:

The statue of Hercules Farnese<sup>5</sup>

Of Emperor Commodus in the form of Hercules in the Belvedere<sup>2</sup>

Of Antinous,<sup>3</sup> in the same place

Of Apollo,<sup>4</sup> also there

Then that one in the same place shown in a seated pose: the most celebrated statue of Laocoon,<sup>12</sup> entangled in the coils of the snake with his sons

That of the Gladiator,<sup>9</sup> in the Villa Borghese

And as a model for the female form let one suffice: that of Venus Aphrodite<sup>25</sup> in the Medici collection.

It is considered that the artists profit from these statues, as examples of every perfection of the human body of either sex.

And let this be all on the matter, for it would be an infinite task to retail absolutely everything, as the examples set out above make clear. Other information which Antiquity has preserved on the differences between statues, their ordering and their dedications have been left to the end of this book, since it has the flavour of history rather than art.

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### Notes to Appendix X

1. See above, Chapter II, at n. 32 about the authorship of this particular essay.
2. As Elizabeth McGrath pointed out to me, this presumably refers to Lichas who brought Hercules the poisoned cloak from Deianira.  
The statue of *Commodus* in the disguise of Hercules (*Haskell-Penny*, no. 25, fig. 97) was unearthed in 1507 on the Campo di Fiore and acquired by Pope Julius II for the Vatican statue garden. It was displayed in a niche in the East wall (*Michaelis, Belvedere*, p. 18). The marble, now in the Museo Chiaramonti of the Vatican, is a Roman copy of a Greek bronze of the 4th century B.C.; the child is a later addition (*Amelung, Skulpturen*, I, no. 636, pl. 79). It was drawn by artists in the Renaissance (*Bober-Rubinstein, Handbook*, no. 131). The marble was published by Vaccaria in 1584 (*Vaccarius, Icones*, pl. 55) and later by Perrier, *Segmenta* (pl. 5: 'Commodus'). No drawing of the sculpture by Rubens's hand is known, but he may have owned a sketch by Rottenhammer, which is now grouped together with copies after Rubens in the Copenhagen 'Rubens Cantoor' (J. Müller Hofstede, 'Zwei Antikenstudien von Johann Rottenhammer aus dem Besitz Elsheimers', in *Northern European Art presented to E. Haverkamp-Begemann, Doornspijk*, 1983, pp. 183-189, fig. 1). A small sketch of the statue occurs in *MS Johnson*, fol. 48r and in *MS de Ganay*, fol. 28r (see the engraving in *Jombert, Figure humaine*, pl. XIII, in reverse).
3. See Nos. 25-26, Figs. 53-55. The so-called *Antinous*, now known as *Hermes Belvedere*, may have been found in 1543; it was placed in a niche of the Belvedere statue garden in the centre of the north wall (*Michaelis, Belvedere*, pp. 25, 34-36). The statue, a Hadrianic copy of a bronze of the school of Praxiteles, is still in the Vatican Belvedere (*Amelung, Skulpturen*, II, no. 53, pl. 12). Much admired, the marble was frequently studied by artists (*Bober-Rubinstein, Handbook*, no. 10). Engraved for *De Cavalleriis, Antiquae statuae* (I-II, pl. 5), it was also illustrated in *Perrier, Segmenta* (pl. 53: 'Antinous').
4. See No. 1, Fig. 3, *text ill.* 8. The statue of *Apollo* (*Haskell-Penny*, no. 8, fig. 77) first belonged to Giuliano della Rovere, but was transferred to the Belvedere statue garden when he was elected to the Papacy in 1503. At that time it was placed in a niche in the Southeast corner (*Michaelis, Belvedere*, pp. 10-11, 13). The marble, a copy of a bronze possibly by Leochares (4th century B.C.), has always been on display in the Belvedere (*Amelung, Skulpturen*, II, pp. 256-269, no. 92, pl. 12), attracting many artists (*Bober-Rubinstein, Handbook*, no. 28). It was engraved for *De Cavalleriis, Antiquae statuae* (I-II, pl. 4) and published by Perrier, *Segmenta* (pls. 30-31: 'Apollo').
5. See Nos. 14-24, Figs. 31ff., *text ill.* 9. The colossal marble of Hercules (*Haskell-Penny*, no. 46, fig. 118) made by Glycon, an artist from Athens, for the

- Baths of Caracalla after a type created by Lysippus in the early third century A.D., was rediscovered during excavations in 1546. It was placed on a pedestal in the courtyard of the Farnese palace, but is now in Naples, Museo Nazionale (*Ruesch, Museo Nazionale*, 1911, no. 280). Published in *De Cavalleriis, Antiquae statuæ* (I-II, pl. 27), it was pictured on two plates in *Perrier, Segmenta* (pls. 2-3: 'Hercules').
6. A marble of *Silenus with Infant Bacchus* (*Haskell-Penny*, under no. 77, fig. 14) first belonged to Carlo Muti. It was copied in a full-sized bronze for Cardinal Ferdinand de' Medici in the 1570s, and placed in the gallery of his villa on the Pincio (*text ill.* 14; F. Boyer, in *Revue archéologique*, XXX, 1929, no. 116). It has been in the Uffizi in Florence since 1787 (*Documenti Inediti*, IV, pp. 77-78). The essay specifically refers to the bronze copy in the de' Medici collection, which although unpublished, was much praised. The Muti marble was featured in *De Cavalleriis, Antiquae statuæ* (III-IV, pl. 75: 'Silenus cum Baccho') and also by *Perrier, Segmenta* (pl. 6: 'Faunus puerum amplectens') then in possession of Cardinal Scipione Borghese. The marble, a copy of the Imperial age after a bronze of the school of Lysippus, is now in Paris in the Louvre (*Froehner, Sculpture antique*, no. 250; J. Charbonneau, *La sculpture grecque et romaine*, Paris, 1963, p. 77, no. 922). The editor of *MS de Ganay* used the identification of *De Cavalleriis*. The Borghese marble is named in *De Geest, Kabinet*, pp. 10-11, as one of the sculptures Rubens enjoyed most and that influenced his work. Rubens' *Birth of Louis XIII at Fontainebleau* (Paris, Louvre; *K.d.K.*, p. 250) reflects the theme of the kourothrophos in the Genius cradling the new-born child.
  7. See No. 5, Figs. 15-16. A youthful Faun with a panther skin tied across his chest (*Haskell-Penny*, under no. 36) became known as the *Meditating Faun*. It probably reflects an original by Praxiteles. The marble, then in the collection of Vincenzo Giustiniani, is now in the Museo Torlonia in the Villa Albani in Rome (C. Casparri, 'Materiali per servire allo studio del Museo Torlonia di scultura antica', *Atti della Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei*, CCCLXXVII, 1980, ser. VIII, XXIV, 2, p. 170, no. 113). It was first published by *Perrier, Segmenta* (pl. 45: 'Faunus meditans'). In *MS de Ganay* the marble is referred to in *Perrier's* wording.
  8. The statue of a *Faun Playing a Flute*, a Hellenistic copy of an original of the 4th century by Lysippus, is one of two replicas belonging to the collection of Scipione Borghese. The marble is now in Paris in the Louvre (*Froehner, Sculpture antique*, nos. 262-263). First recorded and published by *Perrier, Segmenta* (pl. 48: 'Faunus tibiam inflans'); the name in *MS de Ganay* is similar to *Perrier's*.
  9. The statue of a *Gladiator* (*Haskell-Penny*, no. 43, fig. 115) was reportedly found in 1611. The marble, a work by Agasias, the son of Dositheos of Ephesus, is most likely a copy of a statue of the school of Lysippus. It is now in the Louvre in Paris (J. Charbonneau, *La sculpture grecque et romaine*, Paris, 1963, pp. 71-72, no. 527, repr.). The marble was acquired by Cardinal Scipione Borghese and praised in a poem by Francucci (1613). It occurs among the drawings in *Dal Pozzo's Album III*, fol. 6v, at Windsor (*Vermeule, dal Pozzo-Albani*, 1966, No. 8329v) and is pictured on no less than four engravings in *Perrier, Segmenta* (pls. 26-29: 'Gladiator ictum intentans simul et repellens'). The phrasing used in *MS de Ganay* is exactly the same as in *Perrier*. Rubens could not possibly have seen the original sculpture, but probably acquired a drawing or copy of it. The forceful figure striking out with his right arm occurs several times in his oeuvre: *The Council of the Gods* (Medici series; Paris, Louvre; *K.d.K.*, p. 254), *The Horrors of War* (Florence, Pitti Gallery; *K.d.K.*, p. 428), his sketch with *Mercury and Argus* (Brussels; *Alpers, Torre*, p. 236, no. 40a, fig. 142), and the pen drawing *Hercules and Minerva Repelling Mars* (Paris, Louvre; [Exh. Cat.] *P.P. Rubens, Schilderijen...*, Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Antwerp, 1977, no. 169, repr.).
  10. The twelve statues belonging to the group of *The Children of Niobe*



- (Haskell-Penny, no. 66, figs. 143-147) were found in 1583 in the vigna of Tommasini di Gallese together with the *Wrestlers* (see n. 15) and purchased by Ferdinand de' Medici. Arranged in a secluded part of the gardens of the Villa de' Medici they remained there until 1769 when they were transferred to Florence (Mansuelli, *Cat. Uffizi*, I, nos. 70-82). The marbles are considered antique copies after originals by Skopas. They were illustrated in *De Cavalleriis, Antiquae statuæ* (III-IV, pls. 9-19), and subsequently in *Perrier, Segmenta* (pls. 33, 34, 57-60, 87). Rubens's drawing of the *Fleeing Suzanna* (Montpellier, Bibl. Universitaire, Collection Atger; *Held, Drawings*, 1986, no. 52, pl. 52) may reflect one of the daughters.
11. See No. 75, Figs. 141-142. The colossal groups of the *Horse Tamers* (Haskell-Penny, no. 3, figs. 71-72) stood since Antiquity on the Quirinal Hill, named Monte Cavallo after them. The left group, long attributed to Phidias, was also named *Alexander Taming Bucephalus*. Pope Sixtus V (1589-1590) restored the marbles installing them on new bases. Frequently drawn in the Renaissance (Bober-Rubinstein, *Handbook*, no. 125), both were featured in *De Cavalleriis, Antiquae statuæ* (I-II, pls. 89-90) and were included in *Perrier, Segmenta* (pls. 23-25: '...Alexandrum Bucephali domitorem').
  12. See Nos. 76-93, Figs. 145ff., *text ill.* 11. Unearthed in January 1506 the group of *Laocoon and his Sons Strangled by Snakes* (Haskell-Penny, no. 52, fig. 125) was quickly acquired by Pope Julius II for the Belvedere and soon thereafter installed in a niche in the South wall of the statue court (*Michaelis, Belvedere*, pp. 15-18). The missing right arm was restored by Montorsoli. From the moment of its discovery the Laocoon was much admired and intensively studied (Bober-Rubinstein, *Handbook*, no. 122). It was the opening print in *De Cavalleriis, Antiquae statuæ* (I-II, pl. 1) and *Perrier, Segmenta* (pl. 1: 'Laocoon marmoreus, opus omnibus et picturae et statuariae artis praeferendum'). The text in *MS de Ganay* is exactly the same as in *Perrier*, derived from Pliny.
  13. A statue group of *Mars Resting with a Cupid at his Feet* (Haskell-Penny, no. 58, fig. 135) found near Palazzo Santacroce was acquired by Ludovico Cardinal Ludovisi (*Palma, Marmi Ludovisi*, 1983, p. 18). Restored in 1622 by Bernini, it was displayed in the palazzo grande (*Palma—de Lachenal—Micheli*, 1986, no. 51). It was first published in *Perrier, Segmenta* (pl. 38), as 'Mars Amore blandiente quiescens', a name literally copied in *MS de Ganay. Jombert, Figure humaine*, p. 14, read Mars as 'Mors' and translated it as Death.
  14. The statue of a *Knife Grinder* (Haskell-Penny, no. 11, fig. 80) was already known in the 1530s (Bober-Rubinstein, *Handbook*, no. 33) before it was acquired by Ferdinand de' Medici in 1578. It was displayed in his villa on the Pincio (F. Boyer, in *Revue archéologique*, XXX, 1929, no. 26), until it was transferred to Florence in 1677 (Mansuelli, *Cat. Uffizi*, I, no. 55, fig. 57a). The statue, a copy dating from the first century B.C. after an original of the late third century of the Pergamene school, was first illustrated in *De Cavalleriis, Antiquae statuæ* (III-IV, pl. 90: 'M. Manlius'). It was identified in *Perrier, Segmenta* (pl. 17) as 'Explorator saxo ferrum asperans', an interpretation copied more or less in *MS de Ganay*. It actually pictures a Scythian wetting his knife, part of a group, *The Punishment of Marsyas*. Rubens' early *Adoration of the Magi* (Madrid, Prado; *K.d.K.*, p. 26) displays a stooped figure possibly influenced by the statue.
  15. See Nos. 100-101, Figs. 176-178. A headless group of two entangled bodies of *Wrestlers* engaged in combat (Haskell-Penny, no. 94, fig. 179) was discovered in 1583 together with the statues of the *Children of Niobe* (see n. 10) and was also purchased by Ferdinand de' Medici (since 1677 in Florence; Mansuelli, *Cat. Uffizi*, I, no. 61, fig. 62). The marble, a copy after a bronze of Hellenistic times, was still unrestored on the engravings in *De Cavalleriis, Antiquae statuæ* (III-IV, pl. 11), but the figures were provided with heads on the prints in *Perrier, Segmenta* (pls. 35-36, identified as 'Luctatores').
  16. Although the statues of River-gods are not specified here, the two colossal

- sculptures of the *Tiber* and *Nile* in the Vatican statue court were among the marbles named as models for children (see Appendix IX, nn.3 and 4). For copies of the children of the *Nile* see Nos. 95-97 (Figs. 170-172) and for a drawing of a detail of the *Tiber* see No. 98 (Fig. 168).
17. The statue of a *Cupid Sleeping* is not specified, but most likely is the same marble referred to in Appendix IX, n. 6.
  18. See No. 63, Figs. 120-121. A *Reclining Hermaphrodite* was excavated in 1608 near the Baths of Diocletian during the construction of *Sta Maria della Vittoria* and presented to Scipione Cardinal Borghese (J. Lalande, *Voyage d'un français en Italie*, 1769, V, p. 117). However, the marble is not mentioned in Francucci's poem of 1613 praising Scipione's sculptures. The statue, a copy of Imperial times after an original of the second century B.C., was restored by Bernini in 1620 who added a mattress. It is now in the Louvre in Paris (Frøehner, *Sculpture antique*, no. 374). It was first published in *Perrier, Segmenta* (pl. 90: 'Hermaphroditus').
  19. The statue of a *Fatally Wounded Caul* (Haskell-Penny, no. 44, fig. 116) was possibly excavated on the property of Cardinal Ludovico Ludovisi during the construction of his villa, the ancient site of the garden of Sallust (*Palma, Marmi Ludovisi*, 1983, p. 19). A copy of a bronze decorating the monument for Attalus, it is now in the Museo Capitolino in Rome (*Palma—de Lachenal—Micheli*, 1986, no. III, 2). It was inventoried in Ludovico's collection as a 'Dying Gladiator' (*Palma, Marmi Ludovisi*, 1983, p. 70), but identified in *Perrier, Segmenta* (pl. 91) as 'Mirmillo deficiens', the exact wording used in *MS de Ganay*.
  20. Acquired in 1512 by Pope Julius II from the Maffei family, the marble of a *Reclining Cleopatra* (Haskell-Penny, no. 24, fig. 96) was later installed as a fountain in a separate room close to the Belvedere statue court (*Michaelis, Belvedere*, pp. 18-20). A copy of late Hadrianic times after a statue of the Pergamene school (second century B.C.), it attracted many artists (*Bober-Rubinstein, Handbook*, no. 79). Published in *De Cavalleriis, Antiquae statuæ* (I-II, pl. 6) as a 'Nymphae cuiusdam dormientis simulacrum', it was also known as 'Cleopatra' under which name it was illustrated in *Perrier, Segmenta* (pl. 88). This identification was also used in *MS de Ganay*. The statue, identified as Ariadne as well, is now in the Vatican Galleria delle statue (*Amelung, Skulpturen*, II, no. 414, pl. 57).
  21. The statue of the so-called *Languishing Venus* (Haskell-Penny, no. 67, fig. 148) belonged to the collection of Scipione Borghese. It was first recorded by an illustration in *Perrier, Segmenta* (pl. 89) as 'Venus', an identification copied in *MS de Ganay*. The statue of the Nymph with a Shell, dated to the second century B.C., is now in the Louvre in Paris (J. Charbonneau, *La sculpture grecque et romaine*, Paris, 1963, p. 84, No. 18).
  22. The *Dead Son of Niobe* was among the group of twelve sculptures belonging to Cardinal de' Medici now in the Uffizi in Florence (see n. 10). It was illustrated on a print in *De Cavalleriis, Antiquae statuæ* (III-IV, pl. 15), but not pictured separately in *Perrier, Segmenta*, where the entire group is illustrated on pl. 87.
  23. A statue, known as 'Venus Felix' (Haskell-Penny, no. 87, fig. 172), was placed in a niche in the Belvedere statue court as early as 1509 (*Michaelis, Belvedere*, p. 13). A portrait statue of the second century A.D. possibly picturing Faustina junior, it is still in the Belvedere collection (*Amelung, Skulpturen*, II, no. 42, pl. 12). Copied in the Renaissance (*Bober-Rubinstein, Handbook*, no. 16), it was first published by *Perrier, Segmenta* (pl. 86) as 'Venus Caelestis'. In *MS de Ganay* the marble is referred to by both names.
  24. Recorded in the papal collection in 1536 the statue of a so-called *Venus Emerging from the Bath* (Haskell-Penny, no. 90, fig. 175) stood in the central niche of the West wall of the Belvedere statue court (*Michaelis, Belvedere*, p. 28). A Roman copy of the *Venus of Cnidus*, the statue was moved to the store of the Vatican Museum (G. Kaschnitz-Weinberg, *Sculture del magazzino del Museo Vaticano*, Vatican City, 1936, no. 256, pls. XLVI-L). It was first published in *Perrier, Segmenta* (pl. 85) as 'Venus è

- Balneo', a name also used in *MS de Ganay*.
25. Of the statues of Venus known in the 17th century, the highest praise was given to a statue called *Venus Aphrodite* (*Haskell-Penny*, no. 88, fig. 173). The date of its entry in the de' Medici collection has not been traced, but it would seem most likely that it was acquired by Ferdinand de' Medici before his departure for Florence in 1587. Thus it must be identical with one of the Venus statues inventoried in 1598 (F. Boyer, in *Revue archéologique*, XXX, 1929, pp. 259-270). Although Venus statues are found on several Renaissance drawings, this Venus in the Medici collection can be first firmly identified from the publication in *Perrier, Segmenta* (pls. 81-83: 'Venus Aphroditis'). The marble, known as *Venus de' Medici*, remained in Rome until 1677, when it was transferred to Florence (*Mansuelli, Cat. Uffizi*, I, no. 45, pls. 45a-e). It was also nicknamed 'the Grecian', for the Greek inscription on the base, a name also mentioned in *MS de Ganay*, and featured on drawings in *MS Johnson*, and primarily used at a later time when the marble gained its great popularity. J. de Bisschop, *Icones* [1668] (see *Van Gelder-Jost, Jan de Bisschop*), refers to the statue as 'Venus Aphroditis gemeenlijck ghehaemt de Griekse Venus' only in the Dutch version of his table of contents to pls. 47-50 (on p. 4). The term is also used by *De Geest, Kabinet* (1702), pp. 78-79, who is the first to mention Rubens's high esteem of and great admiration for the statue. No study drawings of the Venus de' Medici by Rubens are known. See also Chapter II, notes 22 and 23.

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87. After Rubens, *Standing Youth*, drawing (No. 46, copy). Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst
88. After Rubens, *Standing Youth*, drawing (No. 47, copy). Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst
89. After Rubens, *Standing Youth*, drawing (No. 48, copy). Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst
90. After Rubens, *Standing Youth*, drawing (No. 49, copy). Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst
91. T. Galle, *Statue of Homer*, drawing. Rome, Vatican Library, Cod. Vat. Capp. 228
92. *Greek Philosopher*, statue. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum
93. Rubens, *Greek Philosopher*, drawing (No. 50). Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Kupferstichkabinett
94. *Togatus*, statue. London, British Museum
95. Rubens, *Togatus with Portrait Head of Nero*, drawing (No. 51). Paris, Institut Néerlandais, Fondation Custodia
96. After Rubens, *Seated Comic Actor*, drawing (No. 52, copy). Oakly Park, Shropshire, The Earl of Plymouth
97. After Rubens, *Three Studies of Boy Urinating*, drawing (No. 53, copy). Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst
98. *Seated Comic Actor (Histrio)*, statue. Rome, Vatican Museum
99. *Boy urinating*, statue. Paris, Musée du Louvre
100. After Rubens, *Head of a Female Statue*, drawing (No. 54, copy). Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst



101. After Rubens, *Head of a Female Statue*, drawing (No. 55, copy). Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst
102. After Rubens, *Torso of a semi-draped Female Statue*, drawing (No. 56, copy). Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst
103. After Rubens, *Torso of a semi-draped Female Statue*, drawing (No. 57, copy). Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst
104. After Rubens, *Torso of a Venus Pudica*, drawing (No. 59, copy). Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst
105. *Torso of a Venus Pudica*, statue. Florence, Galleria degli Uffizi
106. After Rubens, *Studies of the Female and Equine Neck*, drawing. London, Courtauld Institute Galleries, Princes Gate Collection, *MS Johnson*
107. After Rubens, *Torso of a Venus Pudica*, drawing. London, Courtauld Institute Galleries, Princes Gate Collection, *MS Johnson*
108. After Rubens, *Torso of a Venus Pudica*, drawing (No. 58, copy). Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst
109. *Caryatid*, statue. Rome, Villa Torlonia-Albani
110. *Caryatid*, statue. London, British Museum
111. Rubens, *Angel*, exterior right wing of the *Resurrection Triptych*. Antwerp, Cathedral
112. *Caryatid*, statue. London, British Museum
113. After Rubens, *Caryatid*, drawing (No. 60, copy). Oxford, Ashmolean Museum
114. *Palliated as Ceres*, statue. Rome, Galleria Borghese
115. After Rubens, *Palliated as Ceres*, drawing (No. 61, copy 1). Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst
116. L. Vorsterman I after Rubens, *St Catherine*, engraving (No. 61, copy 2)
117. Rubens, *The Worship of Ceres*. St Petersburg, Hermitage
118. *Portrait Statue as Ceres*, statue. Rome, Vatican Museum
119. ?Rubens, *Portrait Statue as Ceres*, drawing (No. 62). London, British Museum
120. *Sleeping Hermaphrodite*, sculpture. Paris, Musée du Louvre
121. Rubens, *Sleeping Hermaphrodite*, drawing (No. 63). New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Walter C. Baker Collection
122. *Ithyphallic Hermaphrodite Anasyrma*, statue. Paris, Musée du Louvre
123. After Rubens, *Ithyphallic Hermaphrodite Anasyrma*, drawing (No. 64, copy). Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst
124. Rubens, *Centaur tormented by Cupid*, drawing (No. 65). Moscow, State Pushkin Museum
125. After Rubens, *Two Studies of Cupid riding the Centaur*, drawing (No. 65, copy; No. 69, copy 2). Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst
126. P. Pontius after Rubens, *Centaur tormented by Cupid*, engraving (No. 66, copy 3)
127. After Rubens, *Centaur tormented by Cupid*, drawing (No. 66, copy 2). Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst
128. *Centaur tormented by Cupid*, statue. Paris, Musée du Louvre
129. After Rubens, *Centaur tormented by Cupid*, drawing (No. 66, copy 1). Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst
130. After Rubens, *Centaur tormented by Cupid*, drawing (No. 67, copy). Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst
131. After Rubens, *Centaur tormented by Cupid*, drawing (No. 68, copy). Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst
132. After Rubens, *Centaur tormented by Cupid*, drawing (No. 69, copy 1). Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst
133. *Child embracing a Goose*, statue. Rome, Museo Nazionale delle Terme
134. After Rubens, *Three Studies of the Child embracing a Goose*, drawing (No. 70, copy). Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst
135. *Punishment of Dirce (Farnese Bull)*, statue. Naples, Museo Nazionale
136. Rubens, *Farnese Bull*, drawing (No. 71). London, British Museum
137. After Rubens, *Gaulish Chieftain killing his Wife and Himself*, drawing (No. 72, copy). Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst

138. *Gaulish Chieftain killing his Wife and Himself*, statue. Rome, Museo Nazionale delle Terme
139. After Rubens, *Gaulish Chieftain killing his Wife and Himself* (torso), drawing (No. 73, copy). Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst
140. After Rubens, *Gaulish Chieftain killing his Wife and Himself* (legs), drawing (No. 74, copy). Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst
141. After Rubens, *Horse Tamer*, drawing (No. 75, copy). Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst
142. *Horse Tamer*, statue. Rome, Quirinal (Monte Cavallo)
143. After Rubens, *Neck of Horse*, drawing. London, Courtauld Institute Galleries, Princes Gate Collection, *MS Johnson*
144. *Laocoon Group*, statue. Rome, Vatican Museum, Belvedere
145. Rubens, *Laocoon Group*, drawing (Nos. 76 and 91). Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana
146. After Rubens, *Laocoon Group*, drawing (No. 76, copy). Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst
147. After Rubens, *Torso of Laocoon*, drawing (No. 77, copy 1). Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst
148. After Rubens, *Torso of Laocoon*, drawing (No. 77, copy 2). Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst
149. After Rubens, *Torso of Laocoon*, drawing (No. 78, copy). Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst
150. Rubens, *Torso of Laocoon*, drawing (No. 77). Dresden, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Kupferstichkabinett
151. After Rubens, *Torso of Laocoon*, drawing (No. 79, copy). Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst
152. After Rubens, *Torso of Laocoon*, drawing (No. 80, copy). Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst
153. Rubens, *Torso of Laocoon*, drawing (No. 81). Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana
154. After Rubens, *Two Studies of the Head of Laocoon*, drawing (No. 84, copy). Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst
155. ?A. van Dyck after Rubens, *Torso of Laocoon*, drawing (No. 83, copy). Chatsworth, The Duke of Devonshire, *Van Dyck Antwerp Sketchbook*
156. After Rubens, *Torso and Left Arm of Laocoon*, drawing (Nos. 81, copy and 82, copy). Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst
157. After Rubens, *Feet of Laocoon and Son*, drawing (No. 90, copy). Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst
158. After Rubens, *Left Leg of Laocoon*, drawing (No. 89, copy). Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst
159. After Rubens, *Right Leg of Laocoon*, drawing (No. 87, copy). Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst
160. After Rubens, *Right Leg of Laocoon*, drawing (No. 88, copy). Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst
161. After Rubens, *Left Thigh of Laocoon*, drawing (No. 86, copy). Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst
162. After Rubens, *Left Thigh of Laocoon*, drawing (No. 85, copy). Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst
163. Rubens, *Younger Son of Laocoon*, drawing (No. 92). Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana
164. Rubens, *Younger Son of Laocoon*, drawing (No. 93). Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana
165. *Pan Instructing Daphnis*, statue. Rome, Museo Nazionale delle Terme
166. *Pan Instructing Daphnis*, engraving in G.B. de Cavalleriis, *Antiquarum statuarum urbis Romae liber*, I-II (before 1584)
167. After Rubens, *Pan instructing Daphnis*, drawing (No. 94, copy). Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst
168. Rubens, *She-Wolf with Romulus and Remus*, drawing (No. 98). Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana
169. *She-Wolf with Romulus and Remus*, detail from the *River Tiber* statue. Paris, Musée du Louvre
170. After Rubens, *Children of the River Nile*, drawing (No. 95, copy). London, Courtauld Institute Galleries, Princes Gate Collection, *MS Johnson*

171. After Rubens, *A Child of the River Nile*, drawing (No. 96, copy). London, Courtauld Institute Galleries, Princes Gate Collection, *MS Johnson*
172. After Rubens, *A Child of the River Nile*, drawing (No. 97, copy). London, Courtauld Institute Galleries, Princes Gate Collection, *MS Johnson*
173. *Roman Couple in the Disguise of Venus and Mars*, statue. Paris, Musée du Louvre
174. *River Nile*, statue. Rome, Vatican Museum
175. Rubens, *Roman Couple in the Disguise of Venus and Mars*, drawing (No. 99). St Petersburg, Hermitage
176. *Wrestlers*, statue. Florence, Galleria degli Uffizi
177. After Rubens, *Torso of Victorious Wrestler*, drawing (No. 100, copy). Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst
178. After Rubens, *Torso of Defeated Wrestler*, drawing (No. 101, copy). Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst
179. After Rubens, *Boar*, drawing (No. 102, copy). Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst
180. *Boar*, statue. Florence, Galleria degli Uffizi
181. *Eagle with Spread Wings*, statue. Rome, Vatican Museum
182. After Rubens, *Eagle with Spread Wings*, drawing (No. 104, copy). Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst
183. After Rubens, *Two Studies of Eagle with Spread Wings*, drawing (No. 103, copy). Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst
184. After Rubens, *Head of a Horse*, drawing (No. 106, copy). Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst
185. After Rubens, *Head of a Horse*, drawing (No. 105, copy). Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst
186. *Head of a Horse*, sculpture. Naples, Museo Nazionale
187. ?Rubens, *Head of a Horse*, drawing (No. 107). Paris, Institut Néerlandais, Fondation Custodia
188. Rubens, *Head of Marcus Junius Brutus*, drawing (No. 108a). St Petersburg, Hermitage
189. L. Vorsterman I after Rubens, *Head of Marcus Junius Brutus*, engraving (No. 108)
190. Rubens, *Bust of Julius Caesar*, drawing (No. 109a). Paris, Musée du Louvre
191. B. à Bolswert after Rubens, *Bust of Julius Caesar*, engraving (No. 109)
192. After Rubens, *Physiognomical Studies*, drawing. London, Courtauld Institute Galleries, Princes Gate Collection, *MS Johnson*
193. After Rubens, *Physiognomical Studies*, drawing. London, Courtauld Institute Galleries, Princes Gate Collection, *MS Johnson*
194. After Rubens, *Physiognomical Studies*, drawing. Formerly Paris, The Marquis de Ganay, *MS de Ganay*
195. Rubens, *Bust of Julius Caesar*. Berlin, Jagdschloss Grunewald
196. H. Witdoeck after Rubens, *Bust of 'Cicero' (?Julius Caesar)*, engraving (No. 110)
197. *Bust of ?Julius Caesar*, sculpture. Berlin, Staatliche Museen
198. H. Witdoeck after Rubens, *Bust of 'Cicero' (?Julius Caesar)*, engraving: impression retouched by Rubens (No. 110b). Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale
199. After Rubens, *Bust of 'Democritus'*, drawing (No. 111a, copy). Whereabouts unknown
200. After Rubens, *Bust of 'Democritus'*, drawing (No. 111, copy 1). St Petersburg, Hermitage
201. L. Vorsterman I after Rubens, *Bust of 'Democritus'*, engraving (No. 111)
202. *Herm of 'Demosthenes'*, plaster cast. Antwerp, Museum Plantin-Moretus
203. *Head of Anakreon*, sculpture. Stockholm, National Museum
204. H. Witdoeck after Rubens, *Herm of 'Demosthenes'*, engraving: impression retouched by Rubens (No. 112b). Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale
205. H. Witdoeck after Rubens, *Herm of 'Demosthenes' (Anakreon)*, engraving (No. 112)
206. Rubens, *Head of 'Hippocrates'*, detail from the *Portrait of Ludovicus Nonnius*. London, National Gallery

207. P. Pontius after Rubens, *Herm of 'Hippocrates'*, engraving (No. 113)
208. Rubens, *Head of Nero*, drawing (No. 114a). Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University, Fogg Art Museum
209. Rubens, *Head of Nero*; infra-red photograph of No. 114a
210. P. Pontius after Rubens, *Head of Nero*, engraving: impression retouched by Rubens (No. 114b). Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale
211. P. Pontius after Rubens, *Head of Nero*, engraving (No. 114)
212. After Rubens, *Herm of 'Plato'*, drawing (No. 115a, copy 1). New York, Pierpont Morgan Library
213. After Rubens, *Herm of 'Plato'*, drawing (No. 115, copy 3). St Petersburg, Hermitage
214. L. Vorsterman I after Rubens, *Herm of 'Plato'*, drawing (No. 115a, copy 2). Paris, Institut Néerlandais, Fondation Custodia
215. L. Vorsterman I after Rubens, *Herm of 'Plato'*, engraving (No. 115)
216. P. Pontius after Rubens, *Bust of 'P. Cornelius Scipio Africanus'*, engraving: impression retouched by Rubens (No. 116b). Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale
217. P. Pontius after Rubens, *Bust of 'P. Cornelius Scipio Africanus'*, engraving (No. 116)
218. *Head of 'Seneca'*, sculpture. Antwerp, Rubenshuis
219. Rubens, *Head of 'Seneca'*, detail from *The Four Philosophers*. Florence, Palazzo Pitti
220. After Rubens, *Bust of 'Seneca'* (No. 117, copy 1). Antwerp, Stedelijk Prentenkabinet
221. C. Galle after Rubens, *Bust of 'Seneca'*, engraving in I. Lipsius, *L. Annaei Senecae... Opera... Omnia*, Antwerp, 1615
222. L. Vorsterman I after Rubens, *Head of 'Seneca'*, engraving: impression retouched by Rubens (No. 117b). Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale
223. L. Vorsterman I after Rubens, *Head of 'Seneca'*, engraving (No. 117)
224. Rubens, *Head of 'Seneca'*, drawing (No. 117a). New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Lehman Collection
225. Rubens, *Heads of Seneca and Galba*, drawing. St Petersburg, Hermitage
226. ?Rubens, *Bust of 'Seneca'*, drawing London, British Museum
227. Rubens, *Bust of 'Seneca'*. Antwerp, Museum Plantin-Moretus
228. P. Pontius after Rubens, *Head of 'Socrates'*, engraving (No. 118)
229. P. Pontius after Rubens, *Herm of Sophocles*, engraving (No. 119)
230. *Socrates*, engraving in A. Stadius, *Illustrium Virorum Vultus*, Rome, 1569
231. T. Galle, *Sophocles*, engraving in J. Faber, *Illustrium Imagines*, Antwerp, 1606
232. T. Galle, *M. Tullius Cicero*, engraving in J. Faber, *Illustrium Imagines*, Antwerp, 1606
233. T. Galle, *Hippocrates*, engraving in J. Faber, *Illustrium Imagines*, Antwerp, 1606
234. T. Galle, *P. Cornelius Scipio*, engraving in J. Faber, *Illustrium Imagines*, Antwerp, 1606
235. T. Galle, *Seneca*, engraving in J. Faber, *Illustrium Imagines*, Antwerp, 1606
236. Rubens, *Head of 'Democritus'*, drawing (No. 120). London, British Museum
237. Rubens, *Head of 'Seneca'*, drawing (No. 121). London, British Museum
238. Rubens, *Head of Hercules*, drawing (No. 123). London, British Museum
239. Rubens, *Head of 'Seneca'*, drawing (No. 122). London, British Museum
240. *Head of 'Dying Alexander'*, sculpture. Florence, Galleria degli Uffizi
241. Rubens, *Head of The 'Dying Alexander'*, drawing. St Petersburg, Hermitage
242. P. Pontius after Rubens, *Head of The 'Dying Alexander' and other Head Studies*, engraving (No. 125, copy)
243. After Rubens, *Head of The 'Dying Alexander'*, drawing (No. 124, copy). Darmstadt, Hessisches Landesmuseum
244. After Rubens, *Physiognomical Study of Galba*, drawing (No. 126, copy). London, Courtauld Institute Galleries, Princes Gate Collection, *MS Johnson*
245. After Rubens, *Physiognomical Study of Galba*, drawing. London, Courtauld Institute Galleries, Princes Gate Collection, *MS Johnson*

246. After Rubens, *Physiognomical Study of Galba*, drawing. London, Courtauld Institute Galleries, Princes Gate Collection, *MS Johnson*
247. Rubens, *Head of 'Galba'*, drawing (No. 126). Oxford, Christ Church Gallery
248. Rubens, *Bust of A Hellenistic Ruler*, drawing (No. 127). New York, Woodner Collection
249. Rubens, *Head of A Young Man (Gallienus?)*, drawing (No. 128). Chatsworth, The Duke of Devonshire
250. *Bust of A Hellenistic Ruler*, sculpture. Whereabouts unknown
251. *Bust of 'Vitellius'*, sculpture. Venice, Museo Archeologico
252. ?Rubens, *Head of 'Vitellius'*, drawing (No. 130). Vienna, Albertina
253. Rubens, *Head of 'Seneca'*, drawing (No. 129). St Petersburg, Hermitage
254. ?Rubens, *Head of 'Vitellius'*, drawing (No. 131). Whereabouts unknown
255. After Rubens, *Three Motifs of a Cista Mystica*, drawing (Nos. 132-134, copy 1). London, Courtauld Institute Galleries, Princes Gate Collection, *MS Johnson*
256. R. Colin after Rubens, *Three Motifs of a Cista Mystica*, engraving (Nos. 132-134, copy 2), in A. Rubenius, *De Re Vestitaria Veterum*, Antwerp, 1665
257. *Bacchic Scene*, sarcophagus relief. Moscow, State Pushkin Museum
258. Rubens, *The Discovery of Erichthonius by the Daughters of Cecrops* (fragment). Oberlin College, Allen Memorial Art Museum
259. *Snake escaping from a Cista Mystica*. Detail from a Bacchic sarcophagus lid. Rome, Vatican Museum
260. *Snake escaping from a Cista Mystica*. Detail from a sarcophagus relief. Rome, Museo Nazionale delle Terme
261. *Snake escaping from a Cista Mystica*. Detail of Fig. 257
262. *Reclining Hercules and Fauns*, sarcophagus relief detail with Bacchic Thiasos. Moscow, State Pushkin Museum
263. After Rubens, *Reclining Hercules and Fauns*, drawing (No. 135, copy). St Petersburg, Hermitage
264. Rubens, *Reclining Hercules and River God*, drawing (No. 136). Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana
265. After Rubens, *Reclining Hercules*, drawing (No. 136, copy). Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst
266. Rubens, *Flight of Medea*, drawing (No. 137). Rotterdam, Museum Boymans-van Beuningen
267. *The Story of Medea*, sarcophagus. Ancona, Museo Archeologico
268. *Two Muses and a Philosopher*, right side relief of a Muse sarcophagus. Rome, Museo Nazionale delle Terme
269. Rubens, *Three Figures from the Side Relief of a Muse Sarcophagus*, drawing (No. 138). Chicago, The Art Institute, The Leonora Hall Gurley Memorial Collection
270. ?Rubens, *The Abduction of Proserpina*, drawing (No. 139). Antwerp, Rubenshuis
271. *The Abduction of Proserpina*, front relief of a sarcophagus. Rome, Casino Rospigliosi
272. *The Miracles of Christ. Resurrection of the Youth of Nain*, detail from Rubens's Christian Sarcophagus. Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden
273. After Rubens, *Child in Swaddling Clothes*, engraving (No. 142, copy 1) in J.J. Chifletius, *De Linteis Sepulchralibus Christi*, Antwerp, 1624
274. *Child in Swaddling Clothes*, detail of Fig. 272.
275. Rubens, *Drunken Silenus with Faun and Maenad*, drawing (No. 141). Dresden, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Kupferstichkabinett
276. *Drunken Silenus with Faun and Maenad*, detail of the Borghese Vase, Paris, Musée du Louvre
277. *Dacian Prisoners* (cf. Fig. 289 top and Fig. 290), relief. Rome, Column of Trajan
278. *Roman Soldiers crossing River* (cf. Fig. 289 bottom and Fig. 300), relief. Rome, Column of Trajan
279. *Roman Soldiers near Camp Wall* (cf. Fig. 291), relief. Rome, Column of Trajan

280. *Auxiliarius guarding Captured Dacians* (cf. Fig. 293 top, Fig. 304 bottom and Fig. 303), relief. Rome, Column of Trajan
281. *Barbarians leading Envoy visiting Trajan* (cf. Fig. 293 bottom), relief. Rome, Column of Trajan
282. *Soldiers and Barbarians listening to Trajan's Adlocutio* (cf. Fig. 294 bottom, Fig. 296 top, Fig. 297 and Fig. 299), relief. Rome, Column of Trajan
283. *Dacians standing within the Walls of a Fortification* (cf. Fig. 295 top), relief. Rome, Column of Trajan
284. *Trajanus receiving Severed Heads of Dacians* (cf. Fig. 298 top and Fig. 302), relief. Rome, Column of Trajan
285. *Roman Soldier near Camp Wall* (cf. Fig. 298 bottom), relief. Rome, Column of Trajan
286. *Sacrifice in the Roman Camp* (cf. Fig. 301), relief. Rome, Column of Trajan
287. *Captured Dacian Women* (cf. Fig. 305), relief. Rome, Column of Trajan
288. *A Night Attack on the Enemy Camp* (cf. Fig. 304 top), relief. Rome, Column of Trajan
289. ?Rubens or retouched by him, *Heads of a Dacian and a Roman Soldier*, drawing with counterproof (No. 143). Vienna, Albertina
290. ?Rubens or retouched by him, *Head of a Captured Dacian*, drawing with counterproof (No. 144). Vienna, Albertina
291. ?Rubens or retouched by him, *Head of a Roman Soldier*, drawing with counterproof (No. 145). Vienna, Albertina
292. ?Rubens, *Head of a Dacian*, drawing with counterproof (No. 146). Vienna, Albertina
293. ?Rubens or retouched by him, *Head of a Roman Soldier and a Barbarian Messenger*, drawing with counterproof (No. 147). Vienna, Albertina
294. ?Rubens, *Heads of Roman Soldiers*, drawing with counterproof (No. 148). Vienna, Albertina
295. ?Rubens or retouched by him, *Heads of Dacians*, drawing with counterproof (No. 149). Vienna, Albertina
296. ?Rubens or retouched by him, *Heads of Dacians*, drawing with counterproof (No. 150). Vienna, Albertina
297. ?Rubens or retouched by him, *Head of a Dacian*, drawing with counterproof (No. 151). Vienna, Albertina
298. ?Rubens or retouched by him, *Heads of a Dead Dacian and a Roman Soldier*, drawing with counterproof (No. 152). Vienna, Albertina
299. ?Rubens, *Bust of a Dacian*, drawing with counterproof (No. 153). Vienna, Albertina
300. ?Rubens or retouched by him, *Head of a Roman Soldier*, drawing with counterproof (No. 154). Vienna, Albertina
301. ?Rubens or retouched by him, *Heads of Roman Soldiers*, drawing with counterproof (No. 155). Vienna, Albertina
302. ?Rubens or retouched by him, *Two Heads of Trajan*, drawing with counterproof (No. 156). Vienna, Albertina
303. Rubens, *Heads of Roman Soldiers*, drawing with counterproof (No. 158). Vienna, Albertina
304. Rubens, *Heads of a Barbarian and a Roman Soldier*, drawing with counterproof (No. 159). Vienna, Albertina
305. ?Rubens or retouched by him, *Head of a Dacian Woman*, drawing with counterproof (No. 157). Vienna, Albertina
306. *Heads of Women*, counterproof of a ?Rubens drawing (No. 160, copy). Vienna, Albertina
307. After Rubens, *Head of a Soldier*, drawing (No. 162, copy). Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst
308. After Rubens, *Head of a Soldier*, drawing (No. 161, copy). Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst
309. After Rubens, *Battle of Alexander the Great against the Indians*, etching (No. 163, copy)
310. Rubens, *Claudius and Messalina on a Dragon Chariot*, drawing (No. 165). Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Kupferstichkabinett
311. *Claudius and Messalina on a Dragon Chariot*, cameo. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale
312. *Gemma Augustaea: The Triumph of Tiberius*, cameo. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum
313. N. Ryckemans, *Gemma Augustaea*, engraving

314. Rubens, *Gemma Augustaea*, drawing (No. 164a). Lübeck, Sankt Annen-Museum
315. After Rubens, *Gemma Augustaea*, engraving (No. 164)
316. *Constantine and Fausta with Crispus riding on a Chariot Drawn by Centaurs*, cameo. Leiden, Rijksmuseum het Koninklijk Penningkabinet
317. ?P. Pontius after Rubens, *Constantine and Fausta with Crispus riding on a Chariot Drawn by Centaurs*, engraving (No. 166)
318. *Constantine and Fausta with Crispus riding on a Chariot Drawn by Centaurs*, engraving in G. Cuperus, *Apotheosis, vel Consecratio Homeri*, Amsterdam, 1683
319. *The Triumph of Licinius*, cameo. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale
320. After Rubens, *The Triumph of Licinius*, engraving (No. 167)
321. Rubens, *The Triumph of Licinius*, drawing (No. 167a). London, British Museum
322. Rubens, *Gemma Tiberiana*, drawing (No. 168a). Antwerp, Stedelijk Prentenkabinet
323. After Rubens, *Gemma Tiberiana*, engraving (No. 168)
324. *Gemma Tiberiana: The Apotheosis of Germanicus*, cameo. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale
325. Rubens, *Gemma Tiberiana*, painting (No. 168b). Oxford, Ashmolean Museum
326. *Alexander the Great as Jupiter Ammon*, cameo. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale
327. *Alexander the Great as Hercules*, cameo. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale
328. *Bust of Messalina*, cameo. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale
329. Rubens, *Alexander the Great as Jupiter Ammon*, drawing (No. 169b). Winterthur, Kleinmeistersammlung Jakob Briner Stiftung
330. After Rubens, *Three Heads in Profile*, engraving (No. 169)
331. *Solon*, counterproof of engraving, retouched by Rubens (No. 170g). Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet
332. *Germanicus Caesar*, counterproof of engraving, retouched by Rubens (No. 170f). Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet
333. *Tiberius*, cameo. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale
334. *Africa*, cameo. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale
335. After Rubens, *Head of Africa*, engraving (No. 171)
336. After Rubens, *Five Heads in Profile*, engraving (No. 170)
337. *C. Caesar Augusti Nepos*, cast, from P.D. Lippert, *Dactyliothec*, Leipzig, 1768
338. T. Galle, *Germanicus Caesar*, engraving in J. Faber, *Illustrium Imagines*, Antwerp, 1606
339. *Socrates*, cast, from P.D. Lippert, *Dactyliothec*, Leipzig, 1768
340. T. Galle, *Solon*, engraving in J. Faber, *Illustrium Imagines*, Antwerp, 1606
341. L. Vorsterman I after Rubens, *Four Heads in Profile I*, engraving (No. 172)
342. L. Vorsterman I after Rubens, *Four Heads in Profile II*, engraving (No. 173)
343. *Head of Alexander the Great*, coin (*tetradrachm*). New York, American Numismatic Society
344. Rubens, *Head of a Bearded Hellene*, drawing (No. 174). New York, Pierpont Morgan Library
345. Rubens, *Head of Medusa*, drawing (No. 175). New York, Pierpont Morgan Library
346. Rubens, *Head of Medusa*, drawing (No. 176). New York, Pierpont Morgan Library
347. Rubens, *Head of a Hellenistic Ruler*, drawing (No. 177). New York, Pierpont Morgan Library
348. Rubens, *Head of Alexander the Great*, drawing (No. 178). New York, Pierpont Morgan Library
349. Rubens, *Head of a Hellenistic Ruler*, drawing (No. 179). New York, Pierpont Morgan Library
350. *Head of Medusa*, cameo. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale
351. *Head of Medusa*, cameo. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale
352. *Dancing Satyr*, cameo. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale
353. Rubens, *Dancing Satyr*, drawing (No. 183). London, British Museum

354. Rubens, *Two Heads of Medusa*, drawing (No. 180). London, British Museum
355. Rubens, *Head of Minerva*, drawing (No. 182). London, British Museum
356. Rubens, *Head of 'Seneca'*, drawing (No. 181). London, British Museum
357. P. Pontius after Rubens, *Two Views of the Rubens Vase*, engraving (Nos. 184-185, copy)
358. *The Rubens Vase*. Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery
359. *The Rubens Vase*. Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery
360. Rubens, *The Rubens Vase*, drawing (No. 184). St Petersburg, Hermitage
361. '*Divus Augustus Pater*', coin. London, British Museum
362. ?Rubens, '*Divus Augustus Pater*', drawing (No. 186a). London, British Museum
363. G. Cavino, '*Divus Augustus*', medal. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum
364. ?Rubens, '*Divus Augustus*', drawing (No. 187a). London, British Museum
365. Rubens, *Julius Caesar*, drawing (No. 188). Chatsworth, The Duke of Devonshire
366. G. Cavino, *Caligula*, medal. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale
367. ?Rubens, *Caligula*, drawing (No. 189a). London, British Museum
368. *Claudius*, coin. London, British Museum
369. ?Rubens, *Claudius*, drawing (No. 190a). London, British Museum
370. G. Cavino, *Claudius*, medal. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum
371. Rubens, *Domitian*, drawing (No. 191). Chatsworth, The Duke of Devonshire
372. *Domitian*, coin. London, British Museum
373. ?Rubens, *Domitian*, drawing (No. 191a). London, British Museum
374. Rubens, *Domitian*, drawing (No. 192). Chatsworth, The Duke of Devonshire
375. *Domitian*, coin. London, British Museum
376. G. Cavino, *Domitian*, medal. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum
377. ?Rubens, *Domitian*, drawing (No. 192a). London, British Museum
378. Rubens, *Galba*, drawing (No. 193). Chatsworth, The Duke of Devonshire
379. ?Rubens, *Galba*, drawing (No. 193a). London, British Museum
380. Rubens, *Galba*, drawing (No. 193b). Chatsworth, The Duke of Devonshire
381. G. Cavino, *Nero*, medal. London, British Museum
382. *Nero*, coin. London, British Museum
383. ?Rubens, *Nero*, drawing (No. 194a). London, British Museum
384. Rubens, *Nero*, drawing (No. 194). Chatsworth, The Duke of Devonshire
385. G. Cavino, *Nero*, medal. London, British Museum
386. ?Rubens, *Nero*, drawing (No. 195a). London, British Museum
387. *Otho*, coin. London, British Museum
388. ?Rubens, *Otho*, drawing (No. 196a). London, British Museum
389. Rubens, *Titus*, drawing (No. 197). Chatsworth, The Duke of Devonshire
390. ?Rubens, *Titus*, drawing (No. 197a). London, British Museum
391. G. Cavino, *Titus*, medal. New York, American Numismatic Society
392. Rubens, *Titus*, drawing (No. 197b). Chatsworth, The Duke of Devonshire
393. *Titus*, coin. London, British Museum
394. Rubens, *Vespasian*, drawing (No. 198). Chatsworth, The Duke of Devonshire
395. *Vespasian*, coin. London, British Museum
396. ?Rubens, *Vespasian*, drawing (No. 198a). London, British Museum
397. Rubens, *Vitellius*, drawing (No. 199). Chatsworth, The Duke of Devonshire
398. *Vitellius*, coin. London, British Museum
399. ?Rubens, *Vitellius*, drawing (No. 199a). London, British Museum
400. G. Cavino, *Vitellius*, medal. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale
401. Rubens, *Studies after Roman Emperors* (recto). Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Kupferstichkabinett
402. Rubens, *Studies after Roman Emperors* (verso). Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Kupferstichkabinett



403. Rubens, Rubens's Mercury Spoon, drawing (No. 200). Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS Fr. 9532
404. Anonymous, De Montagu's Spoons, drawing. London, Courtauld Institute Galleries, Princes Gate Collection, *MS Johnson*
405. Anonymous artist, retouched by Rubens, *Bust of Aristotle*, drawing (No. 201). Paris, Musée du Louvre
406. T. Galle, *Bust of Aristotle*, drawing. Rome, Vatican Library, Cod. Vat. Capp. 228
407. *Head of Antisthenes*, sculpture. Naples, Museo Nazionale
408. Anonymous artist, retouched by Rubens, *Head of 'Carneades' (Antisthenes)*, drawing (No. 202). Paris, Musée du Louvre
409. T. Galle, *Head of 'Carneades' (Antisthenes)*, drawing. Rome, Vatican Library, Cod. Vat. Capp. 228
410. T. Galle, *Bust of Carneades*, drawing. Rome, Vatican Library, Cod. Vat. Capp. 228
411. Anonymous artist, retouched by Rubens, *Bust of Carneades*, drawing (No. 203). Paris, Musée du Louvre
412. T. Galle, *Herm of Euripides*, drawing. Rome, Vatican Library, Cod. Vat. Capp. 228
413. Anonymous artist, retouched by Rubens, *Herm of Euripides*, drawing (No. 204). Paris, Musée du Louvre
414. Anonymous artist, retouched by Rubens, *Double Herm with Herodotus*, drawing (No. 205). Paris, Musée du Louvre
415. *Double Herm with Herodotus and Thucydides*, sculpture. Naples, Museo Nazionale
416. T. Galle, *Double Herm with Herodotus*, drawing. Rome, Vatican Library, Cod. Vat. Capp. 228
417. T. Galle, *Head of 'Homer' (Sophocles)*, drawing. Rome, Vatican Library, Cod. Vat. Capp. 228
418. Anonymous artist, retouched by Rubens, *Head of 'Homer' (Sophocles)*, drawing (No. 206). Paris, Musée du Louvre
419. *Head of Sophocles*, sculpture. Naples, Museo Nazionale
420. Anonymous artist, retouched by Rubens, *Head of 'Lysias'*, drawing (No. 207). Paris, Musée du Louvre
421. T. Galle, *Head of 'Lysias'*, drawing. Rome, Vatican Library, Cod. Vat. Capp. 228
422. *Head of 'Lysias'*, sculpture. Rome, Museo Capitolino
423. T. Galle, *Double Herm with 'Menander'*, drawing. Rome, Vatican Library, Cod. Vat. Capp. 228
424. Anonymous artist, retouched by Rubens, *Double Herm with 'Menander'*, drawing (No. 208). Paris, Musée du Louvre
425. T. Galle, *Herm of Pittacus*, drawing. Rome, Vatican Library, Cod. Vat. Capp. 228
426. Anonymous artist, retouched by Rubens, *Herm of Pittacus*, drawing (No. 209). Paris, Musée du Louvre
427. *Herm of Pittacus*, sculpture. Paris, Musée du Louvre
428. T. Galle, *Herm of 'Plato' (Krates)*, drawing. Rome, Vatican Library, Cod. Vat. Capp. 228
429. Anonymous artist, retouched by Rubens, *Herm of 'Plato' (Krates)*, drawing (No. 210). Paris, Musée du Louvre
430. *Herm of Krates*, sculpture. Naples, Museo Nazionale
431. T. Galle, *Head of 'C. Servilius Ahala'*, drawing. Rome, Vatican Library, Cod. Vat. Capp. 228
432. Anonymous artist, retouched by Rubens, *Head of 'C. Servilius Ahala'*, drawing (No. 211). Paris, Musée du Louvre
433. T. Galle, *Double Herm with 'Sophocles'*, drawing. Rome, Vatican Library, Cod. Vat. Capp. 228
434. Anonymous artist, retouched by Rubens, *Double Herm with 'Sophocles'*, drawing (No. 212). Paris, Musée du Louvre
435. *Double Portrait of Alexander and Olympias* (Gonzaga Cameo). St Petersburg, Hermitage
436. *Double Portrait of Alexander and Olympias*, cameo. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum
437. T. Galle, *Alexander and Olympias*, engraving in J. Faber, *Illustrium Imagines*, Antwerp, 1606

438. T. Galle, *Coin with 'Alexander the Great'*, drawing. Rome, Vatican Library, Cod. Vat. Capp. 228
439. Rubens after T. Galle, *Coin with 'Alexander the Great'*, drawing (No. 213). Paris, Musée du Louvre
440. Anonymous artist, retouched by Rubens, *Coin with 'Archytas'*, drawing (No. 214). Paris, Musée du Louvre
441. T. Galle, *Coin with 'Archytas'*, drawing. Rome, Vatican Library, Cod. Vat. Capp. 228
442. T. Galle, *Coin with the Head of Homer*, drawing. Rome, Vatican Library, Cod. Vat. Capp. 228
443. *Head of Homer*, coin of Amastris. London, British Museum
444. Anonymous artist, retouched by Rubens, *Coin with the Head of Homer*, drawing (No. 215). Paris, Musée du Louvre
445. T. Galle, *Coin with Homer*, drawing. Rome, Vatican Library, Cod. Vat. Capp. 228
446. *Seated Figure of Homer*, coin of Chios. London, British Museum
447. Anonymous artist, retouched by Rubens, *Coin with Homer*, drawing (No. 216). Paris, Musée du Louvre
448. *Pythagoras*, coin of Samos. London, British Museum
449. Rubens after anonymous artist, *Two Coins with Pythagoras*, drawing (No. 217). Paris, Musée du Louvre
450. Anonymous artist, *Coin with Pythagoras*, drawing. Rome, Vatican Library, Cod. Vat. Capp. 228
451. Anonymous artist, *Coin with Pythagoras*, drawing. Rome, Vatican Library, Cod. Vat. Capp. 228
452. T. Galle, *Contorniate with 'Diogenes'*, drawing. Rome, Vatican Library, Cod. Vat. Capp. 228
453. R. Colin after T. Galle, *Contorniate with 'Diogenes'*, engraving (No. 218, copy), in A. Rubenius, *De Re Vestitaria Veterum*, Antwerp, 1665
454. T. Galle, *Head of Apollonius of Tyana*, engraving in J. Faber, *Illustrium Imagines*, Antwerp, 1606
455. T. Galle, *Head of Socrates*, engraving in J. Faber, *Illustrium Imagines*, Antwerp, 1606
456. Rubens after T. Galle, *Heads of Apollonius of Tyana and Socrates*, drawing (No. 219). Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst
457. L. Vorsterman I after Rubens, *Heads of Plato and Apollonius of Tyana*, drawing (No. 221 and No. 219, copy 1). Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst
458. L. Vorsterman I after Rubens, *Heads of Numa Pompilius and Socrates*, drawing (No. 220, copy and No. 219, copy 2). Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst
459. T. Galle, *Head of Numa Pompilius*, engraving in J. Faber, *Illustrium Imagines*, Antwerp, 1606
460. T. Galle, *Head of Plato*, engraving in J. Faber, *Illustrium Imagines*, Antwerp, 1606
461. T. Galle, *Head of Socrates*, engraving in J. Faber, *Illustrium Imagines*, Antwerp, 1606
462. Rubens after T. Galle, *Head of Socrates*, drawing (No. 222). Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst



*Deux figures de sagesse. Antique dessinée de Pierre Paul Rubens Gravée Par Lucas V. Hermans & Pierre Perthez.*

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