

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 II • CATALOGUE

EDITED BY  
ARNOUT BALIS



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by 'Figure Number' are reproduced in Volume III of this work.  
Text illustrations are to be found in Volume I*

# INTRODUCTION TO THE CATALOGUE

This catalogue follows Ludwig Burchard's system of classifying the drawings according to the antique model from which the artist worked. A drawing is usually the final product, but in a few cases an engraving initiated by Rubens has this status. The engraving is then listed first, the preliminary drawings second and, on the rare occasions when they exist, a retouched proof impression third.

The largest section of the catalogue consists of sculptures in the round (Nos. 1-131), which are mainly full-sized marbles (a few small bronzes have been grouped together under Nos. 40-49). These are divided into males (Nos. 1-51), children (Nos. 52-53), females (Nos. 54-62), and hermaphrodites (Nos. 63-64), with nude statues always preceding draped ones; then follow statue groups (Nos. 65-101), animal sculptures (Nos. 102-107) and, in a separate category, portrait heads (Nos. 108-131).

The second section of the catalogue examines two-dimensional models (Nos. 132-200). These include reliefs, mainly sarcophagi (Nos. 132-142), and the heads of the reliefs from the Column of Trajan (Nos. 143-160, and possibly also Nos. 161-162). Copies of engraved gems and cameos (Nos. 163-183) are followed by the Rubens vase (Nos. 184-185), and a series of drawings after Roman coins and imitations by Cavino (Nos. 186-199), to which has been appended Rubens's Mercury spoon (No. 200).

The third section of the catalogue consists of copies after Theodoor Galle's drawings of antique works (Nos. 201-218), either by Rubens or retouched by him, and copies after Galle's engravings (Nos. 219-222).

In order to avoid repetition of information in the separate entries, a general introduction precedes the series of engravings of the Twelve Famous Greek and Roman Men (Nos. 108-119), the engravings for the Gem Book (Nos. 163-173), the drawings after antique coins as well as medals by Cavino (Nos. 186-199), and the copies after Galle (Nos. 201-218 and 219-222).

All those drawings in the Print Room of the Statens Museum for Kunst in Copenhagen ('Rubens Cantoor') which picture antique sculptures have been included, even when the original by Rubens is not known. I did not want to exclude the possibility that one day the original may reappear.

Of the sketches illustrating *MS Johnson* and *MS de Ganay* (see Chapter II, note 11), only those sheets that are direct copies of antique monuments are entered. Both manuscripts will be fully treated in a separate volume by Arnout Balis on Rubens's art-theoretical Notebook.

In general, subjects are arranged iconographically under the current identification, in alphabetical order. A series of twelve engravings of Famous Greek and Roman Men (Nos. 108-119) is an exception, as these are catalogued under Rubens's identifications.

This catalogue does not include the following:

The engravings made after Rubens drawings (now lost) to illustrate Philip Rubens, *Electorum Libri II*, Antwerp, 1608, since they are already incorporated in J.R. Judson and C. Van de Velde, *Book Illustrations and Title-Pages (Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard, XXI, 2 vols., Brussels-London, 1978, nos. 1-5; but see also Volume I, Chapter III).*

Other drawings after the Antique already published in previous volumes of the *Corpus Rubenianum*:

—*Head of Seneca* (Fig. 225; St Petersburg, Hermitage, Inv. No. 5454; see *Vlieghe, Saints, II, no. 115b; see also p. 136 below*);

—*'Dying Alexander'* (Fig. 241; St Petersburg, Hermitage, Inv. No. 5888; see *Vlieghe, Saints, II, no. 146c*).

Rubens's paintings after Roman emperors; they will be treated in a separate volume (*Portraits after Existing Prototypes*).

Drawings with free adaptations after the Antique, depicting a person in the pose of the sculpture rather than the antique model itself:

—*Spinario* (London, British Museum, Inv. No. 5213-1);

—*Crouching Woman* (Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, KdZ.15541; *Mielke-Winner, no. 11, repr.*).

Drawings of Renaissance sculptures *all'antica* such as the *Barberini Faun* (Washington, National Gallery, Inv. No. B.30.457; *Held, Drawings, 1986, no. 40, fig. 29*. The sculpture is in St Louis, City Art Museum) and Rubens's *Helmet* (see Chapter III, note 139), with the exception of drawings of assumed falsifications (gems, coins and sculptures of portrait busts).

The latter often belong to a series that may be a mixture of genuine and spurious antiques. In many cases the exact original models are not known.

Drawings with an attribution to Rubens that do not depict antiques:

—*Head of a Young Man* (New York, E.F. Bergman Collection; cat. exh. B. Houthakker, Amsterdam, 1972, no. 41, repr.);

—*Head of an Old Man* (Antwerp, Rubenshuis, Inv. No. S.207; *Jaffé, Rubens and Italy, fig. 292*);

—*Thirteen Studies of the Head of a Priest* (Chatsworth, Box 56, No. 682 B);

—*Mars* (Oxford, Christ Church, No. 1171; J. Byam Shaw, *Drawings by Old Masters at Christ Church, Oxford, 1976, p. 333, no. 1371*; copy: Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, Inv. No. KdZ.20714; see Chapter III, note 132);

—*Head of Nero* (Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst, Kongelige Kobberstiksamlng, 'Rubens Cantoor', No. III, 72; *Müller Hofstede, Rubens in Italien, no. 64, repr.*);

—*Three Studies of the Head of a Satyr* (Paris, Louvre, Inv. No. 14.761; A. Sutherland Harris, in *Master Drawings, X, 2, 1972, pp. 143-145, pl. 26*);

—*Classical Figures* (Worcester Art Museum, Inv. No. 1950.247; *Worcester Art Museum Bulletin, XV, 1949-1950, p. 28, repr.*).

Drawings that, in my opinion, are not by or after Rubens (although drawings which I would reject but which were attributed to Rubens by Ludwig Burchard had to be retained; this is in each case indicated in the text, and a question mark appears on the caption to the illustrations):

—*Hercules as Commodus* (Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst, Kongelige Kobberstiksamlng, 'Rubens Cantoor', No. III, 21; *Jaffé, Antwerp Sketchbook*, pl. XLVII; see Vol. I, Appendix X, n. 2);

—*Laocoon* (New York, E.E. Wolf Collection);

—*Head of a Man* (formerly London, J. Brophy Collection; *Jaffé, Rubens and Italy*, fig. 277);

—*Boy with a Cloak* (Dresden, Kupferstichkabinett; *ibid.*, figs. 271-272);

—*Torso of a Boy* (Oakly Park, Shropshire, Earl of Plymouth Collection; *ibid.*, fig. 269);

—*Colossal Foot* (Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, Inv. No. PD.2-1976; *ibid.*, fig. 270);

—*Head of a Satyr* (New York, W. Baker Collection);

—*Head of Pan with protruding Tongue* (Rotterdam, Museum Boymans-van Beuningen, Inv. No. V, 3; *Müller Hofstede, Rubens in Italien*, no. 60, repr.);

—*Head of Pan* (Zürich, K. Meissner Collection; *ibid.*, no. 61, repr.);

—*Head of an Emperor* (Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet);

—*Head of Menander* (St Petersburg, Hermitage, Inv. No. 5435; *Kuznetsov, Drawings, 1965*, no. 10, pl. 4);

—*Head of Sophocles* (Chatsworth, the Duke of Devonshire, No. 829);

—*Sheet with Numerous Studies of Heads* (London, British Museum, Inv. No. 1859-8-6-84; *Rowlands, Rubens Drawings*, no. 139, repr.);

—*Muse with Lyre* (Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst, Kongelige Kobberstiksamlng, 'Rubens Cantoor', No. III, 61);

—*Reclining Hermaphrodite* (London, British Museum, Inv. No. 1946-7-13-1005; *Held, Selected Drawings, 1986*, no. 38, fig. 37);

—*Hercules combating the Lion* (England, Dorset, Private Collection; *Jaffé, Rubens and Italy*, fig. 285);

—*Two Figures from the Sacrifice to Diana, Arch of Constantine* (London, British Museum, Inv. No. 1946-7-13-1003; *Popham, Fenwick Collection*, p. 195);

—*Combat Scene* (Paris, Musée du Louvre, Inv. No. 20.263; *Lugt, Cat. Louvre, École flamande*, no. 1082, pl. XLVII);

—*Victory of the Romans over the Dacians, Arch of Constantine* (Paris, Musée du Louvre, Inv. No. 20.248);

—*Roman Triumphal Relief* (formerly Basel, de Burret Collection);

—*Relief of a Sarcophagus with Sea Thiasos* (Switzerland, Private Collection);

—*Marriage of Neptune and Amphitrite from the Ara of Domitius Ahenobarbus* (New York, E.E. Wolf Collection);

—*The Capitoline Eagle* (Washington, National Gallery of Art; *Jaffé, Rubens and Italy*, fig. 267);

—*Corinthian Capital* (St Petersburg, Hermitage, Inv. No. 29783; *ibid.*, fig. 268);

—*Lion Hunt* (Oxford, Christ Church, Inv. No. GG 12; *C.T. Bell, Drawings... Christ Church, Oxford, Oxford, 1914*, p. 83);

—*Head from the Column of Trajan* (art market);

—*Farnese Vase and Cippus* (London, Courtauld Institute of Art, Witt Collection, Inv. No. 3358).

Wherever possible, the history of Rubens's drawings after the Antique is traced. The location and vicissitudes of the sculptural source in the early 17th century are discussed, when known, in the text for each individual drawing. This information offers essential circumstantial evidence to prove that Rubens could have seen a particular marble. When dealing with a popular statue of which many replicas survive, I have selected the replica probably copied by Rubens. The historical data for some sculptures is incomplete; the fact that Rubens knew these marbles contributes to our archaeological knowledge.

# ABBREVIATIONS

## Literature:

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- Cat. Exh. Brussels-Rotterdam-Paris, 1972-73* [Cat. Exh.] *Hollandse en Vlaamse tekeningen uit de zeventiende eeuw. Verzameling van de Hermitage, Leningrad en het Museum Poesjkin, Moskou* (Bibliothèque Royale Albert Ier, Brussels; Museum Boymans-van Beuningen, Rotterdam; Institut Néerlandais, Paris, 1972-1973).
- Cat. Exh. Cambridge-New York, 1956* [Cat. Exh.] *Drawings and Oil Sketches by P.P. Rubens from American Collections* (Fogg Art Museum, Cambridge, Mass.; The Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, 1956).

ABBREVIATIONS

- Cat. Exh. Cologne, 1977* [Cat. Exh.] *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, 1977).
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- Cat. Exh. Göttingen, 1977* [Cat. Exh.] *Rubens in der Grafik* (Kunstsammlung der Universität, Göttingen; Landesmuseum, Hannover; Museen der Stadt, Nuremberg, 1977).
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ABBREVIATIONS

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ABBREVIATIONS

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- Pohlen, *Untersuchungen* I. Pohlen, *Untersuchungen zur Reproduktionsgraphik der Rubenswerkstatt* (*Beiträge zur Kunstwissenschaft*, VI), Munich, 1985.
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- 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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- Vaccarius, Icones* L. Vaccarius, *Antiquarum statuarum Urbis Romae, Quae in publicis priuatisque locis visuntur, Icones*, Rome, 1584.

ABBREVIATIONS

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### Exhibitions:

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- Antwerp, 1899 *Van Dijck tentoonstelling ter gelegenheid der 300e verjaardag der geboorte van den meester*, Antwerp, August-October 1899.
- Antwerp, 1936 *Tentoonstelling van teekeningen en prenten van Antwerpsche kunstenaars*, Antwerp, October-November 1936.
- Antwerp, 1946 *Teekeningen, grauwschetsen en prenten van en naar P.P. Rubens*, Rubenshuis, Antwerp, July-September 1946.
- Antwerp, 1956 *Tekeningen van P.P. Rubens*, Rubenshuis, Antwerp, June-September 1956.
- Antwerp, 1958 *Herinneringen aan P.P. Rubens*, Rubenshuis, Antwerp, July-August 1958.
- Antwerp, 1971 *Rubens en zijn tijd. Tekeningen uit Belgische verzamelingen. Tentoonstelling naar aanleiding van het 25-jarig bestaan van het Rubenshuis als museum*, Rubenshuis, Antwerp, July-October 1971.

ABBREVIATIONS

- Antwerp, 1977* *P.P. Rubens, schilderijen, olieverfschetsen, tekeningen, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Antwerp, June-September 1977.*
- Birmingham, 1978* *Rubens and Humanism, Birmingham Museum of Art, Birmingham, Ala., April-May 1978.*
- Brussels, 1938-39* *Dessins de Pierre-Paul Rubens, Palais des Beaux-Arts, Brussels, December 1938-February 1939.*
- Brussels, 1953* *Rubens, esquisses-dessins, Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique, Brussels, 1953.*
- Brussels, 1967* *Honderd tekeningen van oude meesters uit het Prentenkabinet van Dresden, Bibliothèque Royale Albert-Ier, Brussels, April-May 1967.*
- Brussels-Rotterdam-Paris, 1972-73* *Hollandse en Vlaamse tekeningen uit de zeventiende eeuw. Verzameling van de Hermitage, Leningrad en het Museum Poesjkin, Moskou, Bibliothèque Royale Albert-Ier, Brussels, October-November 1972; Museum Boymans-van Beuningen, Rotterdam, December 1972-January 1973; Institut Néerlandais, Paris, January-February 1973.*
- Cambridge-New York, 1956* *Drawings and Oil Sketches by P.P. Rubens from American Collections, Fogg Art Museum, Cambridge, Mass., January-February 1956; The Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, March-April 1956.*
- 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.*

- 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).*

ABBREVIATIONS

- 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.*

# CATALOGUE RAISONNÉ

## I. Three Dimensional Models (Nos. 1-131)

### 1-49 MALE NUDE STATUES

#### 1. Apollo Belvedere: Drawing

Technique and measurements unknown.  
*Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.*

COPY: Drawing (Fig. 3), Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst, Kongelige Kobberstiksamling, 'Rubens Cantoor', No. III, 24; red chalk over main drawing in black chalk on thin paper, 250 × 178 mm. Watermark: escutcheon (cf. also No. 75). PROV. Acquired by Royal Library in Copenhagen presumably in the 17th century; since 1835 in the Museum. LIT. Miesel, *Ancient Art*, p. 34; Miesel, *Study Drawings*, p. 323; Van der Meulen, *Observations*, p. 37, fig. 1b.

A copy in Copenhagen (Fig. 3) shows a nude young man facing front. The right arm extends downward in an elegant gesture, the left is raised to the side, a *chlamys* (mantle) is fastened around the neck and draped over the left underarm. Shadows on the body indicate light falling in from the left.

The source is the famous statue of *Apollo Belvedere* (Rome, Vatican Museum; Fig. 1), a Roman copy of c.120 A.D. of a Greek bronze attributed to Leochares (330-323 B.C.).<sup>1</sup> The statue had been known since the 1490s as one of the most treasured pieces of Giuliano della Rovere, later Pope Julius II.<sup>2</sup> Upon assuming the Papacy in 1503 he had the marble transferred from his *palazzo* beside the Church of SS Apostoli<sup>3</sup> to the papal statue court, where it was later placed in a niche in the corner

between the south and east walls.<sup>4</sup> The missing left arm and hand were restored in 1532 by G.A. Montorsoli, who also changed the position of the lower right arm.<sup>5</sup> The graceful statue attracted many artists, and was copied as early as 1497.<sup>6</sup> On small bronzes the tree trunk support next to the right leg is omitted, giving the Apollo a floating appearance. This effect is enhanced when the statue is facing front.

On the Copenhagen drawing the strut under the left foot and the tree trunk are not depicted, and an impression of movement is created. Therefore a bronze statuette might have served as a model instead of the Vatican marble.

Rubens was fascinated by the *Apollo Belvedere*, the statue of a figure at rest, ready to take off any moment. He observed in his art-theoretical Notebook that the marble was a masterpiece unequalled for its beauty and proportions.<sup>7</sup> He knew the sculpture very well, but unfortunately at present no autograph drawings are known. Joshua Reynolds informs us: 'I have been shewn drawings which he [Rubens] then [in Italy] made from the Apollo Belvidere and which we see afterwards introduced into one of the Pictures of the Luxemburg Gallery where the whole elegance of form is lost in a clumsy embonpoint'.<sup>8</sup>

The presence of the Apollo is obvious in Rubens's painting *The Council of the Gods* (Paris, Louvre, Medici cycle; Fig. 2); here the figure is facing right.<sup>9</sup> The sheet in Copenhagen, which renders the figure facing front, may well refer to another lost drawing by Rubens.

According to Ludwig Burchard, the Copenhagen copy is not based upon a drawing by Rubens, but rather upon one by Sandrart. Yet the Apollo in *The Council of the Gods* bears a strong resemblance to the figure in the Copen-

hagen copy. Indeed, the transformation of the Vatican marble, which shows Apollo standing sturdily on the ground, into a figure poised on his right leg is also noticeable in the Paris painting.

The same statue later served as a model for the striding god in Rubens's painting, *Apollo and Python* (Madrid, Prado).<sup>10</sup> He had used the head of the statue much earlier for one of the two angels guarding the tomb of Christ on the outer panels of the Resurrection Triptych (Antwerp, Cathedral; *text ill.* 21).<sup>11</sup>

1. Inv. No. 1015; Bieber, *Hellenistic Sculpture*, p. 63; Amelung, *Skulpturen*, II, pp. 256-269, no. 92, fig. 12; Helbig, *Führer*, 1963-72, I, pp. 170-172, no. 226; *Lexicon Mythologiae*, II, 1, p. 198, no. 79 (repr.) and pp. 381-382, no. 57 (repr.).
2. G. Daltrop, 'Zur Überlieferung und Restaurierung des Apoll vom Belvedere', *Rendiconti della Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia*, XLVIII, 1977, pp. 127-140; cf. p. 131, where he suggests that the statue was known before 1457.
3. D. Brown, 'The Apollo Belvedere and the Garden of Giuliano della Rovere at SS Apostoli', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, XLIX, 1986, pp. 235-238.
4. Michaelis, *Belvedere*, pp. 10, 13, fig. 1. The statue is first recorded by F. Albertini, *Opusculum de mirabilibus novae et veteris urbis Romae*, 1510, p. 61r. The 'Anonymous of 1523' described its location (texts quoted in J. Ackerman, *The Cortile del Belvedere*, Vatican City, 1954, pp. 142, 145). The statue is pictured on engravings by M. Raimondi and A. Veneziano; cf. H.H. Brummer, *The Statue Court in the Vatican Belvedere* (Stockholm Studies in History of Art, 20), Stockholm, 1970, figs. 43-44; Bober-Rubinstein, *Handbook*, pp. 71-72, under no. 28.
5. G. Daltrop, *op. cit.*, p. 134.
6. Bober-Rubinstein, *Handbook*, pp. 71-72, no. 28 (repr.), listing the Renaissance drawings after the statue; M. Winner, 'Zum Apoll vom Belvedere', *Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen*, X, 1968, pp. 185-186; Haskell-Penny, pp. 148-151, no. 8, fig. 77.
7. MS Johnson, fol. 5r; cf. MS de Ganay, fol. 22r (see Appendix X, n. 4); Jombert, *Figure humaine*, p. 12.
8. London, British Library, MS Add. 37053, fol. 3: 'Method of Study', fol. 3 (*Van der Meulen, Observations*, p. 37, n. 8).
9. K. Grossmann, *Der Gemäldezyklus der Galerie der Maria von Medici*, Strasburg, 1906, p. 63.
10. Alpers, *Torre*, pp. 177-178, no. 2a, fig. 55; Held, *Oil Sketches*, p. 256, no. 167, pl. 176. The *Apollo Belvedere* is also reflected in Rubens's *Jason and the Golden Fleece* (Brussels, Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts; Alpers, *Torre*, p. 226, no. 34a, fig. 131; Held, *Oil Sket-*

*ches*, pp. 283-284, no. 199, pl. 208) and his *Jupiter and Semele* (Brussels, *ibid.*; Alpers, *Torre*, pp. 228-229, no. 36a, fig. 135; Held, *Oil Sketches*, pp. 285-286, no. 202, pl. 211).

11. Freedberg, *Epitaphs*, p. 55, fig. 4; Freedberg, *Christ after the Passion*, p. 38, under no. 4. The head, facing left, is seen from the same point of view as on the Copenhagen drawing.

## 2. Standing Bacchus (Arundel): Drawing

Technique and measurements unknown.  
*Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.*

COPY: Drawing (Fig. 4), Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst, Kongelige Kobberstiksamling, 'Rubens Cantoor', No. III, 43; black and red chalk on thin yellowish paper, 334 × 174 mm.; inscription in pen and black ink in bottom left: *Een van de Griechse / Armoifroditoi*, and in code: *Dese hebbe ick / oock gehaelt van cantoor van rubbens*; inscription in pen and brown ink at top right in code: *dese tronie sta ... / op de schouwer*. PROV. Acquired by the Royal Library in Copenhagen presumably in the 17th century; since 1835 in the Museum. LIT. J. Garff, in [Cat. Exh.] *Christian IV and Europe*, Copenhagen, 1988, p. 293, figs. 3-4; Garff-Pedersen, *Panneels*, pp. 99-100, no. 112, fig. 114.

A copy in Copenhagen (Fig. 4) shows a nude adolescent facing front and seen from below. He stands in *contrapposto* with the weight of his body on the right leg. Above the knee a faint line indicates a crack. The left leg is bent backwards and is broken off halfway down the calf. The right arm is broken off above the elbow, the left arm at the shoulder. The head is facing right and looks up. A tree trunk supports the right leg, keeping the statue in its upright position. The base of the sculpture is indicated by a round contour line. The figure stands out against rather heavy hatchings in the background.

The annotation in the lower left reveals that it was made after an original kept in Rubens's studio. Garff and Pedersen attribute the copy



to Panneels (1628/30). Part of the inscription in the top right corner was cut off when the sheet was trimmed, presumably cutting away the bottom line of the contour. An inscription in Dutch (bottom left) identifies the figure as 'one of the Greek Hermaphrodites'.

The source for the drawing is a statue (Fig. 5), now in Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, and formerly in the Arundel collection.<sup>1</sup> Nothing is known of its whereabouts before it was acquired by Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel, probably during one of his trips to Italy in the years 1613-1615. Later it was among the statues purchased in 1691 by Sir William Fermor, whose son, the Earl of Pomfret, had the marbles restored by an Italian sculptor, who turned it into a *Bacchus*. It was mentioned in 1734 by George Vertue in his description of Easton-Neston in Northamptonshire.<sup>2</sup>

When the Countess Dowager Henriette Louisa presented the Pomfret statues to the University of Oxford in 1755, the new arrival was described by Richard Chandler with an engraving by J. Miller (Fig. 6) showing *Bacchus* in its new guise.<sup>3</sup> Thomas Martyn described the statue as 'a delicate piece of sculpture',<sup>4</sup> but less enthusiastic were Adolf Michaelis' words when he catalogued the marble (see note 1).

As the Copenhagen copy shows, the right leg was already restored in the early years of the 17th century, and the line correctly marks the new addition just above the knee. No other drawing of the sculpture exists to my knowledge.

The torso of Christ in *St Augustine with Christ and Mary* (Madrid, Real Academia de San Fernando; *K.d.K.*, p. 95) is derived from a similar antique statue, although the position of the left arm is slightly different.

1. A. Michaelis, *Ancient Marbles in Great Britain*, Cambridge, 1882, p. 551, no. 40 (as an insignificant work). Ludwig Burchard identified the model for the drawing as the *Dancing Faun* in the Giustiniani collection (*Reinach, Répertoire statuaire*, I, p. 405, pl. 716, no. 1712).

2. B. Fairfax, *A Catalogue of the Collection of the Duke of Buckingham*, London, 1758, Appendix, *A Description of Easton Neston in Northamptonshire the Seat of the... Earl of Pomfret*, pp. 57-58: 'The Green-House of Statues... At the end next Tully stands Bacchus, less than life, and slender like an Apollo: new arms by Guelphi, so well done, that they deceive many good judges, who take them for the work of the first sculptor: there is such a lively smile, and such an air in the countenance, that it looks to be alive, and is a very genteel figure. My Lord hath been bid five hundred pounds for this small statue'. J.J. Winckelmann (*Monumenti antichi inediti*, Rome, 1767, I, p. LVIII) doubted that the restoration as *Bacchus* was correct ('un preteso Baccho nel Museo d'Osford: non credo che tale statua anticamente abbia rappresentato questa Deità').

3. [R. Chandler], *Marmora Oxoniensia*, Oxford, 1763, I, pl. XI.

4. [Thomas Martyn], *The English Connoisseur*, Oxford, 1766, II, p. 85, Oxford The Pomfret Statues, no. 54: 'Ditto [a Statue] of Bacchus naked, 4 f. 2 in. high. A delicate piece of sculpture. The hand is added with much address by Guelphi, from whom are all the modern additions'.

### 3. Seated Bacchus (De' Medici): Drawing

Technique and measurements unknown.  
*Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.*

COPY: Drawing (Fig. 7), Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst, Kongelige Kobberstiksamling, 'Rubens Cantoor', No. III, 60; red chalk and pen in black ink on thick yellowish paper, 281 × 150 mm.; top left and bottom right corners cut off; inscription in pen and brown ink in bottom left in code: *dit manneken hebbe ick oock gehaelt / vant canteer [sic] ende is redelijck wel / gecopieert*. Watermark: Figure 4 interlaced with letter W. PROV. Acquired by the Royal Library in Copenhagen, presumably in the 17th century; since 1835 in the Museum. LIT. *Gluck-Haberditzl*, p. 34, under no. 50; *Lugt, Cat. Louvre, École flamande*, p. 13, under no. 1009; *Held, Drawings*, p. 98, under no. 11, pl. 12; *Miesel, Ancient Art*, p. 56, n. 90; *Burchard-d'Hulst, Drawings*, p. 54, under no. 29; *Müller Hofstede, Rubens in Italien*, p. 144, under no. 6, fig. K 6,3; *Van der Meulen, Sculp-*

ture Collections, p. 156, n. 9; Held, *Drawings*, 1986, p. 77, under no. 28; Garff-Pedersen, *Panneels*, p. 159, no. 213, fig. 215.

A copy in Copenhagen (Fig. 7) shows a nude youth seated on a rock, seen from the front. The head with long curls and the chest are turned to the left; the left arm is missing. The feet are placed behind each other. Background hatchings were partially cut off when the sheet was trimmed.

An annotation by the copyist on this sheet informs us that the original drawing was kept in Rubens's studio. Garff and Pedersen attributed the drawing to Willem Panneels (1628/30). It is very likely that he was using an autograph sheet, because Rubens borrowed the seated figure for his preliminary drawing of the *Baptism of Christ* in 1604 (Paris, Louvre; text ill. 31). Held rightly assumed that this figure was derived from the Antique, but he did not identify the model.

The Copenhagen copy refers to a statue of a *Seated Bacchus* in its unrestored condition, which is itself a copy after a Greek original, possibly by Lysippus.<sup>1</sup> It belonged to the Medici collection, and had been acquired by Ferdinand de' Medici from the della Valle-Capranica family in 1584.<sup>2</sup> When Pierre Jacques copied it (1572-75), the sculpture was restored.<sup>3</sup> However, the inventory of the Medici collection of 1598 lists the marble with one arm missing.<sup>4</sup> It was transferred from Rome to Florence in 1676,<sup>5</sup> where it perished in the fire of 1762.<sup>6</sup> It is known from an engraving by Gori (Fig. 8).<sup>7</sup>

Rubens's early painting with *St Sebastian* (Rome, Palazzo Corsini) also betrays the influence of the marble.<sup>8</sup> The Bacchus was again the source for the figure seated in the foreground in his drawing of the *All Saints* for the *Breviarium Romanum* (Vienna, Albertina).<sup>9</sup> Rubens drew the statue during his first visit to Rome in 1601-1602.

1. P. Moreno, 'Argomenti lisippeï', *Xenia*, VIII, 1984, pp. 21-22; *Lexicon Mythologiae*, III, 1, pp. 438-439,

no. 141c. A replica in Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania, University Museum (the head is not original) is accompanied by a lion (P. Moreno, *op. cit.*, fig. 3; *Lexicon Mythologiae*, loc. cit., no. 141a, repr.). The sculpture should be viewed from the right side. See P. Jacques' drawing, note 3 below.

2. Inventory of 1584 of the Capranica collection: 'Sopra la loggia... Un Bacco a sedere, le mancano le braccia, grande di naturale' (*Documenti inediti*, IV, pp. iv-v, 379). Aldroandi, *Statue antiche*, p. 220, described the statue standing in the corner of the *cortile* of the Palazzo Capranica with two statues of prisoners standing above it. The *cortile* is illustrated on an engraving by Hieronymus Cock (*Bober-Rubinstein, Handbook*, p. 480, repr.). A. Michaelis, in 'Römische Skizzenbücher nordischer Künstler des XVI. Jahrhunderts', *Jahrbuch des kaiserlich deutschen Archäologischen Instituts*, VI, 1891, p. 229, no. 32, identified the marble incorrectly as Pluto with Cerberus.
3. Paris, Bibl. Nat., Codex Remensis, fol. 70v (*Reinach, Pierre Jacques*, p. 132, repr.; P. Moreno, *op. cit.*, fig. 1). The statue is seen from the right with a panther at Bacchus' side. Girolamo da Carpi also copied the sculpture from the same point of view: Philadelphia, Rosenbach album, fol. 132 (*Canedy, Girolamo da Carpi*, p. 67, pl. 18 R 132).
4. F. Boyer, 'Un inventaire inédit des antiques de la Villa Médicis (1598)', *Revue archéologique*, V, 30, 1929, p. 265: 'Facciata di fuori alla Galleria: (no. 232) 1 Statua di marmo d'un Bacco a sedere che li manca un braccio'. Müller Hofstede, *Rubens in Italien*, p. 144, quoted me incorrectly as saying that Rubens saw the statue in Florence.
5. Inventory of 1676, no. 4; cf. *Mansuelli, Cat. Uffizi*, I, p. 265.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 265 (appendix), no. 6, fig. 326.
7. A.F. Gori, *Museum Florentinum*, III, Florence, 1740, pl. XLVIII; P. Moreno, loc. cit., fig. 2.
8. [Cat. Exh.] *P.P. Rubens*, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Antwerp, 1977, p. 27, no. 3, repr.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 311, no. 137, repr.

#### 4. Faun with Scabillum (De' Medici): Drawing

Technique and measurements unknown.  
Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.

COPIES: (1) Drawing (Fig. 14) with two views of the right foot, Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst, Kongelige Kobberstiksamlings, 'Rubens Cantoor', No. III, 79; black chalk on yellowish paper, 114 × 132 mm.; inscription in pen and brown ink at bottom left: *Apud*

*magnum / Etruria ducem / florentiae*. PROV. Acquired by the Royal Library in Copenhagen presumably in the 17th century; since 1835 in the Museum. LIT. *Jaffé, Antwerp Sketchbook*, I, p. 46, n. 84, pl. XXVII; *Van der Meulen, Sculpture Collections*, p. 156, n. 9; *Garff-Pedersen, Panneels*, pp. 101-102, no. 116, fig. 118.

(2) Drawing (Fig. 10), London, Courtauld Institute Galleries, Princes Gate Collection, *MS Johnson*, fol. 87a; pen and brush in grey ink, touched up in brown ink; height of Faun: 90 mm.; height of feet: 60 mm.; inscription in pen and brown ink below figures: *scabilli ni fallor rectè / sunt in statua antiqua / qu[al]e extat florenti[al]e apud Magnum / ducem Etruri[al]e. Lutatius ad illud statii / et ad inspirata rotari buxa / buxa tibia vel scabillum quod in sacris / tibicines pede sonare consueverunt / hinc crepitus scabillorum apud suetonium et Arnobium / Carolus tamen langius scabillos, putat esse scalmeyen / scaliger in copam cascabillos hispanorum cui adiungit / se casaubonus ad suetonium salmasius vera scabilla putat esse / que pedibus terebantur*. PROV. MS purchased by Captain Maurice Johnson Junior for his father Maurice Johnson (Spalding, Lincs., d.1755) in Brussels c.1742-1744; by descent to Christopher Marsden, sale London (Sotheby's), 23 March 1970, lot 179, acquired by Count Antoine Seilern (d.1978 London); bequeathed by him to the Courtauld Institute Galleries. LIT. *Jaffé, Antwerp Sketchbook*, I, p. 45, n. 83, pl. LXXXIII.

(3) Drawing (Fig. 11), *ibid.*, *MS Johnson*, fol. 139c 'verso'; tracings in red-brown ink, washes in grey; height of Faun: 90 mm.; height of feet: 61 mm. PROV. Same as Copy 2. LIT. *Jaffé, Antwerp Sketchbook*, I, p. 45, n. 83.

(4) Drawing in reverse (Fig. 12), *ibid.*, *MS Johnson*, fol. 139c 'recto'; tracings in red-brown ink, washes in grey; height of Faun: 90 mm.; height of feet: 61 mm. PROV. Same as Copy 2. LIT. *Jaffé, Antwerp Sketchbook*, I, p. 45, n. 83.

(5) Engraving by R. Colin (Fig. 13), in *Rubinius, De Re Vestiarum*, p. 187; 70 × 110 mm.; the detail with the foot on the right is reprinted in J. Spon, *Recherches curieuses d'antiquité*, Lyons, 1683, p. 153. LIT. *Jaffé, Antwerp Sketch-*

*book*, I, p. 45, n. 82, pl. LXXXII; *Van der Meulen, Sculpture Collections*, p. 156, n. 9; *Van der Meulen, Observations*, p. 40; *Van Gelder-Jost, Jan de Bisschop*, p. 92, under nos. 1-3.

An engraving in Albert Rubens, *De Re Vestiarum Veterum*, depicts a *scabillum* (bellows) strapped to a right foot seen from two different angles: from the side and in three-quarter view flanking a smaller-scale figure of a Faun wearing the *scabillum* and holding cymbals in his hands (Fig. 13).

The source is a *Dancing Faun* in the Uffizi Gallery in Florence from the Medici collection (Fig. 9).<sup>1</sup> According to Maffei (1704) the statue first stood in the Villa de' Medici in Rome, and was transferred in the 17th century to Florence.<sup>2</sup> The text in Albert Rubens's book places the statue in the Grandducal collection in Florence.<sup>3</sup> An entry in the *Diarium* of Casiano dal Pozzo (1639) reports that Lucas Holstenius already saw the marble in Florence, 'either in the Galleria [degli Uffizi] or somewhere else in his palace or garden'.<sup>4</sup> A recently rediscovered inventory of 1597 lists Ferdinand de' Medici's antique sculptures on display in the Uffizi. Of the twenty-nine marbles a 'fauno con cembanelle' is listed as no. 11.<sup>5</sup> It was probably sent to Ferdinand in 1577 by the Archbishop of Florence, Alessandro de' Medici,<sup>6</sup> who may have acquired it from the estate of Euralio Silvestri in 1567.<sup>7</sup> Rubens could have studied the marble in Florence, which he visited in October 1600 and again in 1603.

Rubens's drawing is no longer known. The copies listed here show the same details but in different arrangements. The loose sheet, lying in *MS Johnson* between fols. 139 and 140, shows three motifs on the front (Copy 3, usually called 'verso'; Fig. 11) which are also traced on the back. Thus the motifs pictured on the back (Copy 4, usually called 'recto') came out in mirror image (Fig. 12). Arnout Balis has suggested to me<sup>8</sup> that the side of the sheet with the reversed figures could have served the engraver as model for the print,

Copy 5 (Fig. 13), in *De Re Vestiaria Veterum*. Consequently the print pictures the drawing in its correct direction. Since Albert Rubens's book was published posthumously thanks to the intervention of J.G. Graevius, the motifs on the loose sheet may have been copied at the request of Graevius.<sup>9</sup> The prototype for the copyist must have been a second loose sheet in *MS Johnson* (Copy 2, placed between fols. 87 and 88). On this sheet, however, the statue and the details of the right foot are grouped differently (Fig. 10). It is not likely that this reflects the original composition of Rubens's drawing. The inscription on the bottom half of the paper is a paraphrase of the text on p. 185 in *De Re Vestiaria Veterum*.

A sketch in Copenhagen (Copy 1; Fig. 14) shows the enlarged details of the right foot only. The feet are shapeless and the strap of the *scabillum* is missing on the right view. Although Jaffé attributed this drawing to Rubens, it must be a copy. Garff and Pedersen identified the copyist as Willem Panneels.

1. Mansuelli, *Cat. Uffizi*, I, p. 80, no. 51 (Inv. No. 220), pl. 51; Bieber, *Hellenistic Sculpture*, p. 139, figs. 562-567; Haskell-Penny, pp. 205-208, no. 34, fig. 106. The sculpture is part of a group with a *Seated Nymph* (Mansuelli, *Cat. Uffizi*, I, pp. 80-82, no. 52, repr.).
2. A. Maffei and D. de Rossi, *Raccolta di statue antiche e moderne*, Rome, 1704, p. 38, pl. XXXV, engraved by N. Dorigny: 'Fu negl'orti Medici, oggi in Firenze nel Palazzo del Gran Duca'.
3. Rubenius, *De Re Vestiaria*, II, XVII, p. 187: 'Ego puto veram scabillorum formam videri in statua marmorea, quae extat apud magnum Etruriae Ducem Florentiae; quam hinc exhibeo'.
4. F. Matz, 'Das neapler Diarium des Cassiano Dal Pozzo', *Berichte über die Verhandlungen der Königlich Sächsische Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig, Phil.-Hist. Klasse*, 1885, p. 100, no. 10: 'Di questa stessa sorte di statua con questa suola o Calzaretto dice il S. Luca Olstenio d'hauerne uista una simile à Fiorenza fra le statue del Gran Duca, o sia nella Galleria, ò in altra parte de suoi Palazzi ò Giardini'.
5. F. Curti, 'La primitiva esposizione di sculture antiche nella Galleria degli Uffizi: proposte di identificazione', *Xenia*, XVI, 1988, pp. 119, 120, Inventory of 1597, no. 11. A drawing in a sketchbook attributed to Pontormo (Louvre, no. 965) also supported the Florentine location. H. Dütschke, *Antike Bildwerke in Oberitalien*, Leipzig, 1878, III, pp. xix, 243 no. 546, referred to an inventory of 1600 listing

a 'fauno con crotali'. This inventory seems to be lost. I am much obliged to the staff of the Uffizi and the Archivio dello Stato in Florence for their kind efforts in trying to locate the inventory.

6. On 8 May 1577 antique statues were sent to Florence, a torso of a Faun among them (E. Müntz, 'Les collections d'antiques formées par les Médicis au XVIe siècle', *Mémoires de l'Institut National de France, Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, XXXV, 2, 1893, p. 162; F. Curti, op. cit., p. 119).
7. Lanciani, *Scavi*, II, p. 213: Inventory of 1574 of Eurialo Silvestri's collection, listing a 'torso di fauno'. Aldroandi, *Statue antiche*, p. 278, recorded during his visit to Silvestri's collection 'un Fauno ignudo, in pie; e sta in atto, che pare che balli: ma ha le braccia e la testa moderne'.
8. I thank A. Balis for sharing his observations on the drawings in *MS Johnson* with me.
9. Van der Meulen, *Observations*, pp. 39-41. If this was indeed the case, it may prove that *MS Johnson* or at least several of the drawings now bound with it, were in Albert Rubens's possession.

## 5. Resting Faun (Giustiniani): Drawing

Technique and measurements unknown.  
Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.

COPY: Drawing (Fig. 15), Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst, Kongelige Kobberstiksamling, 'Rubens Cantoor', No. III, 49; black chalk, 192 × 80 mm. PROV. Acquired by the Royal Library in Copenhagen presumably in the 17th century; since 1835 in the Museum. LIT. Miesel, *Study Drawings*, p. 323; Van der Meulen, *Sculpture Collections*, p. 154, n. 8.

The copy in Copenhagen (Fig. 15) shows a youth in side view, facing left. He stands in a leaning position. The head has pointed ears, and the left hand rests on the hip. Of the right arm resting on a tree trunk, only the hand is visible. A panther skin is draped diagonally over his chest, covering his back and right shoulder. Hatchings indicate light falling in from the left. The sheet belongs to the corpus of copies made in Rubens's studio, most of which refer to originals by Rubens.

The sculpture with *Resting Faun* by Praxiteles served as model for the drawing. The

Greek original of the fourth century is preserved in numerous replicas,<sup>1</sup> which were known at the time in the Ceoli-Borghese, Mattei, Medici and Giustiniani collections.

The Giustiniani statue (Fig. 16) is mentioned in the essay *De Figuræ Humanæ Staturæ*, which appears in one of the transcripts of Rubens's art-theoretical Notebook, indicating that it was perhaps this marble that the artist studied.<sup>2</sup> The Faun was standing in the Gallery of the Palazzo Giustiniani at San Luigi dei Francesi, where Vincenzo, a wealthy banker, had assembled a large number of antique marbles.<sup>3</sup> Vincenzo had the sculpture engraved and published,<sup>4</sup> and it is now in the Museo Torlonia in Rome.<sup>5</sup> A drawing in a Dal Pozzo album possibly renders the same sculpture facing front.<sup>6</sup> The Faun is seen from an unusual angle on the Copenhagen sheet.

1. G.E. Rizzo, *Prassitele*, Rome, 1932, pp. 34-35, figs. 48-51. Cf. *Haskell-Penny*, pp. 209-210, no. 36, fig. 108: replica Rome, Capitoline Museum.
2. *MS de Ganay*, fol. 22r (see Jombert, *Figure humaine*, p. 13). See Appendix X, n. 7. See also Ch. II, pp. 75-76 concerning the authorship of this essay.
3. C. Gasparri, 'Materiali per servire allo studio del Museo Torlonia di scultura antica', *Atti della Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei*, CCCLXXVII, ser. VIII, XXIV, 2, 1980, p. 80, inventory of 1638 drawn up after the death of Vincenzo: 'Nella Galleria: [no. 158] Una statua di fauno appoggiato a un tronco con un pelle di tigre traversa antico restaurato alto palma 8.1/4 inc.a'. I owe this reference to the kindness of J.J. Feye.
4. *Galleria Giustiniani del Marchese Vincenzo Giustiniani*, Rome, 1631, I, pl. 129. A second replica of the *Resting Faun*, but without pointed ears, also belonged to the Giustiniani collection (ibid., pl. 130; Helbig, *Führer*, 1963-72, IV, p. 257, no. 3286; C. Gasparri, op. cit., p. 170, no. 113).
5. In 1816 the remainder of the Giustiniani collection was acquired by Prince Alessandro Torlonia, the *Resting Faun* among them (C.L. Visconti, *Catalogo del Museo Torlonia di sculture antiche*, third edn, Rome, 1883, no. 113; C. Gasparri, op. cit., p. 170, no. 112).
6. Dal Pozzo album, Windsor, IX, fol. 26 (*Vermeule, Dal Pozzo-Albani*, 1966, p. 57, no. 8809).

## 6. Standing Faun (Ludovisi): Drawing

Technique and measurements unknown.  
*Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.*

COPY: Drawing (Fig. 18), Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst, Kongelige Kobberstiksamling, 'Rubens Cantoor', No. III, 27; black and red chalk, pen and brown ink on yellow paper, 291 × 107 mm. PROV. Acquired by the Royal Library in Copenhagen presumably in the 17th century; since 1835 in the Museum. LIT. *Garff-Pedersen, Panneels*, p. 75, no. 78, fig. 80.

A copy in Copenhagen (Fig. 18) shows a young man almost in frontal view. He stands in *contrapposto* with the weight of his body on his left leg. The head, slightly damaged above the left eye, is turned to the right, the eyes look upward. The right arm is missing. A panther skin (*nebris*) covers the back of the body: its head hangs on the youth's chest and the front paws are slung around his neck, extending over each shoulder; the hind paws hang down from a cord tied around his waist. Slight hatchings cover the background. The drawing is presumably a copy after a lost original by Rubens.

A little-known statue of a *Standing Faun* (Fig. 17) is the source for the drawing. Furtwängler ascribed the marble to Praxiteles,<sup>1</sup> but more recently it was considered a Roman copy of the first century after a Greek original of the fourth century B.C.<sup>2</sup>

The whereabouts of the marble in the early years of the 17th century are unknown. It is first recorded in the collection of Cardinal Ludovico Ludovisi in Rome,<sup>3</sup> displayed on the façade of the Casino Aurora facing the path.<sup>4</sup> In 1896 Leon Somzée acquired the sculpture with several other pieces from the Ludovisi collection,<sup>5</sup> and it is now in Brussels.<sup>6</sup>

The statue has lost its head, left arm and right leg; a strut supports the left leg and keeps the sculpture in its upright position.

However, this support is not rendered on the Copenhagen sheet, and the high open-toed boots are not depicted either: the Faun is shown barefoot and his body is more heavily built than the original.

The choice of this unique marble could support Rubens's authorship of the original drawing. It is the only visual record of the statue, and is therefore interesting from an archaeological point of view, for it renders the marble in a far more complete condition than it now stands.

1. A. Furtwängler, *Collection Somzée*, Munich, 1897, no. 22, pl. XIV.
2. *Palma-de Lachenal-Micheli*, 1986, pp. 76-78, no. II, 37 (Inv. No. B 4535), repr., as a Roman copy. It was acquired at the sale of the Somzée collection in 1904 (see note 5 below). Burchard classified the drawing among the copies after the Antique, but did not identify the sculpture.
3. *Schreiber, Villa Ludovisi*, p. 243, no. 295.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 36, Inventory of 1633: 'nella facciata verso il viale... due statuette una d'un Bacco...'; *Palma, Marmi Ludovisi*, 1983, p. 46, no. 295.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 188, n. 18. See note 1 above.
6. Brussels, Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, Inv. No. 1138; see F. Cumont, *Catalogue des sculptures et inscriptions antiques (monuments lapidaires) des Musées Royaux du Cinquantenaire*, second edn, Brussels, 1913, pp. 17-18, no. 11, repr.

## 7-13 BORGHESE FISHERMAN (‘DYING SENECA’)

### 7. Borghese Fisherman (‘Dying Seneca’) (side view): Drawing (Fig. 21)

Black chalk on thick paper; 460 × 320 mm.; mounted.

Milan, *Biblioteca Ambrosiana*. F.249 inf., fol. 7.

PROVENANCE: ? ‘Monsù Habé’, an unidentified Flemish artist; ? inherited by a compatriot of his in Rome; acquired (? from the latter's heirs) by Padre Sebastiano Resta (1635-1714), donated to the Accademia del Disegno in Milan (*Biblioteca Ambrosiana*), 26 May 1684.

COPY: Drawing (Fig. 20), Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst, Kongelige Kobberstiksamling, ‘Rubens Cantoor’, No. III, 31; black and red chalk, pen and black ink on thick yellow paper, 400 × 248 mm.; top corners and bottom left corner cut off diagonally, bottom right corner rounded. Watermark: figure 4 interlaced with letter W. PROV. Acquired by the Royal Library in Copenhagen presumably in the 17th century; since 1835 in the Museum. LIT. *Falck, Tegninger*, p. 73; *Miesel, Study Drawings*, p. 315; *Fubini-Held*, p. 134, fig. 7; *Vlieghe, Saints*, I, p. 158, under no. 102; *Van der Meulen, Sculpture Collections*, p. 149, n. 5; *Held, Circle*, pp. 97, 99, 100, fig. VIII.12; *Garff-Pedersen, Panneels*, pp. 74-75, no. 77, fig. 79.

EXHIBITED: *Cologne*, 1977, no. 52.

LITERATURE: *Fubini-Held*, p. 134, n. 20, pl. 6; *Müller Hofstede, Kopfstudie*, p. 233, n. 52; *Müller Hofstede, Rubens in Italien*, p. 246, no. 52, repr.; *Held, Circle*, pp. 95, 96, 99, 104 n. 22, fig. VIII.6.

An old man is seen in side view facing left. His ageing body is naked except for a loin cloth. The right arm is bent and extended forwards, the left one downwards. Light contours indicate the cloth slips that hang from his waist, as well as the top of the edge of the basin in which he stands in a stooped position. The balding head is slightly raised and the eyes look upwards. Veins protrude on his neck, chest, arms and hands.

The source of the drawing is a Roman copy in black marble of a Hellenistic statue (Fig. 19).<sup>1</sup> The sculpture was found in a Roman *vigna* near San Mateo and San Giuliano in the second half of the 16th century.<sup>2</sup> As the lower legs were missing it was placed in a basin. Belonging first to the Duke of Altemps,<sup>3</sup> the statue came into the collection of Cardinal Scipione Borghese in the early years of the 17th century.<sup>4</sup> It is now in the Louvre in Paris.<sup>5</sup>

At the time the elderly man was considered to represent Seneca dying from self-inflicted wounds (Tacitus, *Annales*, XV: 60-64). Nero's

teacher slashed the veins of his arms and legs, and bled to death to pre-empt the murderers sent by the Emperor. Moretus' foreword to the 1615 edition of J. Lipsius, *L. Annaei Senecae Opera Omnia* described the sculpture as a body emaciated by age and illness, lean from austere living and manual labour (see note 3). Of particular interest are the remarks on the African traits of the face, similar to Rubens's description of the features of the *Hercules Farnese*.<sup>6</sup> The Renaissance interpretation was accepted until Winckelmann compared the Borghese statue with a newly found replica in the Albani collection (now Rome, Museo dei Conservatori) and labelled the person as a slave.<sup>7</sup> It is now identified as a *Fisherman standing on the Beach*.<sup>8</sup>

The drawing in Milan belongs to an album formerly in possession of Padre Resta.<sup>9</sup> In his foreword in a neatly printed hand, Resta referred to Rubens's Seneca drawing, adding that he knew of the existence of another two, rendering the same statue, which he hoped to acquire.<sup>10</sup>

Miesel and Held dated the drawing to Rubens's second stay in Rome (1605-1608). Müller Hofstede rejected this late date, and moved the sheet, because of its detailed but dry treatment, to Rubens's first visit to Rome (1601-1602). The later date is preferable in my opinion. The work is an example of Rubens's interest in anatomy.

In addition to the Milan drawing, sheets in St Petersburg and Copenhagen show the sculpture from other points of view. The statue was studied from six different angles—a characteristic method when Rubens copied antique statues. They are the oldest visual records of the sculpture. Comparing the Milan sheet to the Copenhagen copy, it is clear that the copyist (identified by Garff and Pedersen as Willem Panneels) has added hatchings in the background (Fig. 20).

The *Borghese Fisherman* inspired Rubens for his figure of *St Francis of Assisi Receiving the Last Communion* (Antwerp, Museum; *K.d.K.*, p. 190).<sup>11</sup>

1. Bieber, *Hellenistic Sculpture*, p. 142, fig. 595.
2. F. Vacca, *Memorie di varie antichità trovate in diversi luoghi della città di Roma, scritte ... 1594*, Memoria 86: 'Me ricordo, ad un uigna rincontro alla detta ui fù trouato un Seneca di marmo nero...' (Schreiber, *Flaminio Vacca*, p. 79); Lanciani, *Scavi*, III, p. 167.
3. J. Lipsius, *L. Annaei Senecae Opera Omnia*, Antwerp, 1615, Preface: 'Prior ex Luculléo marmore fabrefacta, quondam Romae in aedibus ducis AB AEL-TEMPVS visebatur: deinceps Ill.mo Cardinali BORGESIO oblata, inter eius admiranda Antiquitatis monumenta cernitur. Vera est effigies (vt LIPSIANIS eam vocibus describam) in balneo animam iam exhalantis, & in verbis monitisque aureis deficientis, viuudum, acre, igneum aliquid refert... Facies parum formosa, nescio quid Africanum prae se ferat, buccâ hianti, turgentibus labris, naribus distentis; vt hominem Cordubae (in Baeticae prouinciae coloniâ, quae Africae proximè adiacet) & parentibus Cordubensibus natum, minimè requiras' (Judson-Van de Velde, pp. 161-162; Lipsius' text is quoted in full in n. 1). The information in all likelihood stemmed from Rubens; cf. note 6 below.
4. S. Francucci, *Galleria dell'Ill. e Rev. Signor Scipione Cardinale Borghese*, 1613, Canto VII, stanze 428-430 (Rome, Bibl. Vat., Fondo Borghese, ser. IV, no. 102, fol. 124r-v). The statue was first published by Perrier, *Segmenta*, pl. 14. See also Haskell-Penny, pp. 303-305, no. 76, figs. 160-161.
5. Héron de Villefosse, *Marbres*, 1922, pp. 82-83, nos. 470 and 1354; J. Charbonneaux, *La sculpture grecque et romaine au musée du Louvre*, Paris, 1963, p. 100, no. \*1354, repr. The statue is no longer displayed with the basin. Stechow, *Rubens*, p. 29, assumed that the basin was an addition by Rubens.
6. *MS Johnson*, fol. 34r (178.a): 'het aengesicht oock heel gelyck aen de inwoonders van africa een ront hooft, een breet aensicht meer hebbend eenen camues neus oft platten neus, als eenen ahangende ofte arentsneus, mooriaensche lippen en eenen corten hals en uijstekende met schauders...'. Cf. *MS Johnson*, fol. 4r. See also note 3 above.
7. J.J. Winckelmann, *Monumenti antichi inediti*, Rome, 1767, II, p. 256.
8. T. Wiegand, 'Torso eines Fischers aus Aphrodisias', *Jahrbuch der Königlich Preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, XXXVII, 1916, pp. 1-13.
9. In 1955 G. Fubini rediscovered the volume of drawings, which had been in Milan since 1684. Although Burchard never saw the Milan drawings, he was well aware of their existence thanks to Nicodemus Tessin. An entry in his Diary, written during his visit to Milan in 1684, referred to the recent acquisition: 'So wahr dar auch ein grosser Tom voller zeichnungen vom Rubens, welche Padre Resta hineingegeben hat, undt werden die 4 grosse Volumina, so er mir in Rom ghewiesen hat, mit ehesten auch hinein erwartet' (Nicodemus Tessin d. Ys studieresor, ed. O. Siren, Stockholm, 1914, p. 210). For

the history of drawings by Rubens belonging to Padre Resta see J. Wood, 'Padre Resta's Flemish Drawings. Van Diepenbeeck, Van Thulden, Rubens, and the School of Fontainebleau', *Master Drawings*, XXVIII, 1990, pp. 3-53.

10. Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, F.249 inf., fol. 2r: 'Vedranno dunque in stile alquanto più elaborato di mano 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 aquisitarò...'. Julius Held concluded from these words that Resta felt a certain dislike for the drawing. Arnout Balis (private communication) disagrees with this interpretation and suggested a reading of *dispiacendomi* as pertaining to Resta's regret for not owning the other two drawings.
11. *Vlieghe, Saints*, II, pp. 156-159, no. 102, fig. 178.

### 8. Borghese Fisherman ('Dying Seneca') (frontal view): Drawing (Fig. 22)

Black chalk; 460 × 320 mm.; bottom left in pencil 10; bottom right collector's mark of Tsar Paul I of Russia (L.2061). Mounted (in original Cobenzl mount).

*St Petersburg, Hermitage, Print Room*. Inv. No. 5499.

PROVENANCE: Count Charles Philippe Jean de Cobenzl (Ljubljana, 1712-Brussels 1770), from whom purchased by Catherine II of Russia in 1768; offered for sale, Leipzig (Boerner), 29 April 1931, lot 208, but unsold.

EXHIBITED: *Leningrad-Moscow*, 1965-66, no. 4; *Leningrad*, 1978, no. 102; *Punkaharju*, 1991.

LITERATURE: *Roses, Addenda* (4), p. 201; *Glück-Haberditzl*, no. 26, repr.; M.V. Dobroklonsky, 'The graphical Heritage of Rubens' [in Russian], *Iskusstvo*, 1935, 5, no. 143; M.V. Dobroklonsky, *Drawings, Prints and Miniatures in the Hermitage* [in Russian], Leningrad, 1937, p. 50; *Dobroklonsky, Drawings*, no. 2, pl. II (as *Rubens*); *Dobroklonsky, Flemish School*, no. 644; *Miesel, Ancient Art*, p. 33, fig. III; *Miesel, Study Drawings*, p. 315, n. 4, fig. 1 (as *Rubens*); *Fubini-Held*, p. 134, n. 21 (as *Rubens*); A. Pérez Sánchez, 'Dos importantes pinturas del Bar-

roco — Una "Muerte de Seneca" de Rubens reencontrada', *Archivo Español de Arte*, CXLV, p. 9, pl. III; *Kuznetsov, Drawings*, 1965, p. 15, no. 4; *Müller Hofstede, Kopfstudie*, p. 233, n. 51; *Stechow, Rubens*, p. 29; *Judson-Van de Velde*, p. 163, n. 2; *Held, Circle*, pp. 99, 104 n. 21; [A. Larrionov], in *Cat. Exh. Punkaharju*, 1991, p. 134, repr. (as *Rubens*).

The drawing pictures the *Borghese Fisherman* facing front. The basin is indicated by a lightly sketched contour of the top rim only. The sheet has been accepted as an authentic Rubens by Burchard among others. However, it was rightly rejected as a copy by *Judson-Van de Velde*.

The lost original drawing is also reflected in another sheet in St Petersburg (No. 9; Fig. 23) and in one in the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, that served as the preparatory drawing for an engraving by Cornelis Galle I in Justus Lipsius, *L. Annaei Senecae Opera Omnia*, Antwerp, 1615.<sup>1</sup>

The Borghese sculpture served as the model for Rubens's painting *The Death of Seneca* (Fig. 25; Munich, Alte Pinakothek; *K.d.K.*, p. 44), as Wybrand de Geest was the first to recognize.<sup>2</sup> On the painting slight changes have been made to the face.<sup>3</sup>

1. *Judson-Van de Velde*, pp. 160-164, nos. 31, 31a and 31b.

2. *De Geest, Kabinet*, p. 16. It was known to him from an engraving in F. Perrier, *Segmenta Nobilium Signorum* (pl. 14).

3. Cf. *Müller Hofstede, Kopfstudie*, pp. 231-236, fig. 163; he considers a painting with the bust of *Seneca* (Merchtem, Collection Mrs Heymans; fig. 162) to be a preliminary study for the painting in Munich.

### 9. Borghese Fisherman ('Dying Seneca') (frontal view): Drawing (Fig. 23)

Black and red chalk; 460 × 320 mm.; fig leaf pasted on; bottom right in ink PPR and collector's mark of Tsar Paul I of Russia (L.2061). Mounted (original Cobenzl mount cut away).



St Petersburg, Hermitage, Print Room. Inv. No. 5500.

PROVENANCE: Count Charles Philippe Jean de Cobenzl (Ljubljana, 1712-Brussels 1770), from whom purchased by Catherine II of Russia in 1768.

EXHIBITED: *Leningrad-Moscow*, 1965-66, no. 3; *Dresden*, 1970, no. 66; *Leningrad*, 1978, no. 101.

LITERATURE: *Roses, Addenda* (4), p. 201; *Glück-Haberditzl*, no. 26; M.V. Dobroklonsky, 'The Graphical Heritage of Rubens' [in Russian], *Iskusstvo*, 1935, 5, no. 143; M.V. Dobroklonsky, *Drawings, Prints and Miniatures in the Hermitage* [in Russian], Leningrad, 1937, p. 50; *Dobroklonsky, Drawings*, no. 1, pl. I; *Dobroklonsky, Flemish School*, no. 643; *Miesel, Study Drawings*, p. 325, n. 4 (as not Rubens); *Kuznetsov, Drawings*, 1965, pp. 14-15, no. 3; *Müller Hofstede, Kopfstudie*, p. 233, n. 51; *Stechow, Rubens*, p. 29, fig. 15; *Kuznetsov, Risunki*, 1974, no. 6; *Logan, Review Kuznetsov*, p. 300; *Judson-Van de Velde*, p. 163, n. 2; *Held, Circle*, p. 99 (as Rubens); [A. Larionov], in *Cat. Exh. Punkaharju*, 1991, p. 146 (as ? not Rubens).

The drawing shows the *Borghese Fisherman* in front view. The basin is indicated by the rim only. The sheet is faithfully copied after the previous sheet in St Petersburg (No. 8; Fig. 22) on the same scale. *Pentimenti* to the left side and shoulder of the figure show corrections.<sup>1</sup> It differs from the first drawing in small details, notably in the treatment of the loincloth and the face, which has less distinct negroid features.<sup>2</sup> The anatomy is not as natural and detailed, and, on the whole, lacks depth. Although the sheet was accepted by Burchard and several other scholars, *Judson-Van de Velde* rightly disagreed with this. This drawing was copied by an unknown, but reasonably good hand, most likely after the previously discussed sheet in St Petersburg (No. 8).

1. I owe this information to A. Balis.

2. Dr Balis has suggested to me that this might be Rubens's own copy of the previous drawing (No. 8), made in preparation for the painting of *The Death of Seneca* (Fig. 25; *K.d.K.*, p. 44), where the face is similar.

## 10. Borghese Fisherman ('Dying Seneca') (three-quarter view): Drawing

Technique and measurements unknown. *Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.*

COPY: Drawing (Fig. 26), Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst, Kongelige Kobberstiksamlng, 'Rubens Cantoor', No. III, 30; black and red chalk, pen and brown ink, white chalk on thick yellow paper, 388 × 290 mm.; irregularly trimmed all around. Inscription in pen and brown ink in centre left in code: *dit is oock ceneca di ick het / [p]rincepael vant cantoor hebbe / [g]lehaelt desen is heel goet*. Watermark: figure 4 interlaced with letter W. PROV. Acquired by the Royal Library in Copenhagen presumably in the 17th century; since 1835 in the Museum. LIT. *Falck, Tegninger*, p. 73; *Miesel, Study Drawings*, pp. 313, 316, fig. 5; *Fubini-Held*, p. 134, n. 20; *Müller Hofstede, Kopfstudie*, p. 233, n. 53; *Vlieghe, Saints*, I, p. 158, under no. 102; *Müller Hofstede, Rubens in Italien*, p. 246, under no. 52; *Judson-Van de Velde*, p. 164, n. 4; *Held, Circle*, p. 104, n. 20; *Garff-Pedersen, Panneels*, p. 74, no. 76, fig. 78.

The copy in Copenhagen (Fig. 26) shows the *Borghese Fisherman* in three-quarter view facing left. The head is only partially sketched. The hatchings in the background were probably added by the copyist. This is one of the few sheets in the Copenhagen group where the copyist referred in his annotation to an 'original' kept in Rubens's studio. He also remarked that his copy was very close to the model.

**11. Borghese Fisherman ('Dying Seneca') (three-quarter back view): Drawing (Fig. 24)**

Black chalk; 450 × 270 mm.; bottom right collector's mark of Tsar Paul I of Russia (L.2061). Mounted (in original Cobenzl mount). *St Petersburg, Hermitage, Print Room. Inv. No. 5501.*

PROVENANCE: Count Charles Philippe Jean de Cobenzl (Ljubljana, 1712-Brussels 1770), from whom purchased by Catherine II of Russia in 1768.

COPY: Drawing (Fig. 27), Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst, Kongelige Kobberstiksamlng, 'Rubens Cantoor', No. III, 32; black chalk on thick yellow paper, 373 × 204 mm.; large top left corner, small top right corner and bottom left corner cut off diagonally. Watermark: figure 4 interlaced with letter W. PROV. Acquired by the Royal Library in Copenhagen presumably in the 17th century; since 1835 in the Museum. LIT. *Falck, Tegningner*, p. 73; *Miesel, Study Drawings*, p. 315, fig. 3; *Fubini-Held*, p. 134; *Vlieghe, Saints*, I, p. 156, under no. 102; *Kuznetsov, Risunki*, 1974, under no. 7; *Garff-Pedersen, Panneels*, p. 95, no. 105, fig. 107.

EXHIBITED: *Leningrad-Moscow*, 1965-66, no. 5; *Leningrad*, 1978, no. 103.

LITERATURE: *Rooses, Addenda* (4), p. 201; M.V. Dobroklonsky, 'The Graphical Heritage of Rubens' [in Russian], *Iskusstvo*, 1935, 5, no. 142; M.V. Dobroklonsky, *Drawings, Prints and Miniatures in the Hermitage* [in Russian], *Leningrad*, 1937, p. 50; *Dobroklonsky, Drawings*, no. 3, pl. III; *Dobroklonsky, Flemish School*, no. 645; *Miesel, Ancient Art*, p. 33, fig. 4; *Miesel, Study Drawings*, p. 315, n. 4, fig. 2; *Kuznetsov, Drawings*, 1965, p. 15, no. 5; *Müller Hofstede, Kopfstudie*, p. 233, n. 51; *Kuznetsov, Risunki*, 1974, no. 7, repr.; *Logan, Review Kuznetsov*, p.

300; *Judson-Van de Velde*, p. 163, n. 2; *Held, Circle*, p. 99.

The sheet in St Petersburg shows a three-quarter back view of the *Borghese Fisherman*, facing left. The drawing in St Petersburg was accepted as an authentic Rubens by Burchard as well as several other scholars, but rightly rejected by *Judson-Van de Velde*.

The version in Copenhagen (Fig. 27) is smaller and less detailed: the head is indicated in contour only, and part of the slips of the loin cloth, as well as the rim of the basin are omitted. The left hand is unfinished. The anatomy is rather poor. The sheet might have been copied after the drawing in St Petersburg. It is attributed to Willem Panneels (1628/30) by Garff.

**12. Borghese Fisherman ('Dying Seneca') (three-quarter view): Drawing**

Technique and measurements unknown. *Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.*

COPIES: (1) Drawing (Fig. 28), Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst, Kongelige Kobberstiksamlng, 'Rubens Cantoor', No. III, 29; black and red chalk, heightened with white on thick yellow paper, 442 × 294 mm.; small corners cut off at the top. PROV. Acquired by the Royal Library in Copenhagen presumably in the 17th century; since 1835 in the Museum. LIT. *Falck, Tegningner*, p. 73; *Miesel, Study Drawings*, p. 315; *Fubini-Held*, p. 134; *Müller Hofstede, Kopfstudie*, p. 233, n. 53; *Vlieghe, Saints*, I, p. 158, under no. 102; *Müller Hofstede, Rubens in Italien*, p. 246, under no. 52; *Garff-Pedersen, Panneels*, p. 94, under no. 104.

(2) Drawing (Fig. 29), Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst, Kongelige Kobberstiksamlng, 'Rubens Cantoor', No. III, 28; black chalk, pen and brown ink on thick yellow paper, 368 × 257 mm.; large left corner and piece along the top right cut off; inscription in

pen and brown ink at bottom left in code: *het princepael van dese / figuer hebbe ick gehaelt vant / cantoor ende dit is ceneca*. Watermark: figure 4 interlaced with letter W. PROV. Acquired by the Royal Library in Copenhagen presumably in the 17th century; since 1835 in the Museum. LIT. *Falck, Tegninger*, p. 73; *Miesel, Study Drawings*, p. 316, fig. 4; *Fubini-Held*, p. 134, n. 20; *Vlieghe, Saints*, I, p. 158 under no. 102; *Held, Circle*, p. 104 n. 20; *Garff-Pedersen, Panneels*, pp. 93-94, no. 104, fig. 106.

The *Borghese Fisherman* is seen in three-quarter view facing right on both sheets in Copenhagen. The quality of the first drawing (Fig. 28) is fairly good, yet it cannot be attributed to Rubens. It should be considered a copy after a lost sheet, and was probably drawn on the same scale.

The second drawing (Fig. 29) shows the original copied incompletely. The head is only partially sketched; the left hand is indicated in contour only. The background hatchings were probably added by the copyist. The annotation on this sheet informs us that 'the original [model] for this figure' was kept in Rubens's studio. It is copied by the same hand as No. 10, Copy; No. 7, Copy 1; and No. 11, Copy 2. This copyist, identified by Garff and Pedersen as Willem Panneels, often left the head and hands unfinished and added hatchings to the background. The top contour of the head was cut off when the sheet was trimmed.

### 13. Borghese Fisherman ('Dying Seneca') (back view): Drawing (Fig. 30)

Black chalk on thick yellowish paper, 452 × 300 mm.; inscription in pen and black ink in bottom centre: *Seneca esangue alla sangrilia dono* (Padre Resta's handwriting); inscription in black chalk in bottom left corner: *Rubens dall' Antico*.

Chicago, Illinois, Louis G. Davidson Collection.

PROVENANCE: ? 'Monsù Habé', an unidentified Flemish artist; ? inherited by a compatriot of his in Rome; acquired (? sometime after 1684) by Padre Sebastiano Resta (1635-1714), who mounted it into an album which he presented to Philip V of Spain (1683-1746), in or shortly after 1701; ? Orléans Collection; Horace Walpole, Earl of Orford (London and Strawberry Hill, Twickenham, 1717-1797); his sale, London (Robins), 23 June 1942, lot 1262, bought by Tiffin ('A folio, containing upwards of 100 drawings,... specimens by... Rubens [etc.]...', in Morocco, bearing the royal arms of Spain'); sale London (Christie's), 22 November 1966, lot 119, as drawing no. 16 from an album with the shelf number V, bearing the Spanish coat of arms comprising the arms of the Duchy of Milan (used from 1700 until 1714); bought there by Agnew's, London.

EXHIBITED: *Old Master Drawings*, Agnew's, London, 9 May-10 June 1967, no. 28.

LITERATURE: Sales catalogue Christie's, London, 22 November 1966, pp. 16 and 25, lot 119, repr.; *Müller Hofstede, Kopfstudie*, p. 233, n. 54, fig. 165 (as *Rubens*); *Müller Hofstede, Rubens in Italien*, p. 246, under no. 52; *Jaffé, Rubens and Italy*, p. 80, fig. 275 (as *Rubens*); *Garff-Pedersen, Panneels*, p. 94, under no. 104; J. Wood, 'Padre Resta's Flemish Drawings. Van Diepenbeeck, Van Thulden, Rubens, and the School of Fontainebleau', *Master Drawings*, XXVIII, 1990, pp. 7, 45, n. 23 (as *Rubens*).

The sheet in Chicago shows a back view of the *Borghese Fisherman*, the sixth view of the statue. The loin cloth and the rim of the basin are lightly indicated.

The drawing, unknown to Burchard, was attributed to Rubens by Müller Hofstede in 1968. However, the body below the loin cloth is not naturally connected with the top part and the treatment of the skin and muscles do not possess the smoothness of the drawing in Milan (No. 7; Fig. 21). The right elbow and head are quite pedestrian. On the whole, the

drawing lacks the vigour of the Milan sheet. It has belonged to Padre Resta's collection, and could have been one of the drawings alluded to in the foreword to his album in Milan [1684] as then still in other hands but which he was hoping to acquire.<sup>1</sup>

1. See No. 7, note 10. I am most grateful to A. Balis for tracing the history of the drawing. For Padre Resta see J. Wood, loc. cit.

## 14-24 HERCULES FARNESE

### 14. Hercules Farnese (frontal view): Drawing (Fig. 31)

Black chalk on thick paper; 316 × 220 mm.; mounted.

Milan, *Biblioteca Ambrosiana*. F.249 inf., fol. 6.

PROVENANCE: Same as No. 7.

EXHIBITED: *Cologne*, 1977, no. 49.

LITERATURE: *Fubini-Held*, pp. 125, 134, pl. 5; *Winner, Zeichner*, p. 101, under no. 62; *Stechow, Rubens*, p. 28, n. 16; *Jaffé, Rubens and Italy*, p. 79, n. 9; *Müller Hofstede, Rubens in Italien*, p. 240, no. 49, repr.; J. Müller, 'Rubens's Theory and Practice of Imitation', *The Art Bulletin*, LXIV, 1982, p. 236, fig. 1; *Mielke-Winner*, p. 24, under no. 2; K. Renger, [Review of Rubens Exhibitions London and Cologne, 1977], *Kunstchronik*, XXXI, 4, 1978, p. 143; *Held, Circle*, pp. 95, 99, fig. VIII.5.

A nude, athletic man standing in a leaning position is drawn in frontal view. His head is covered with thick curls and a short, curly beard. The right arm is held behind his back. With his left arm he leans on a club covered by a lion's skin. His left leg is placed in front of his right leg. Three fingers of his left hand are missing, and part of the lion's jaw has crumbled. The club rests on a mound of earth.

Shadows are indicated by hatchings in the background.

The drawing renders the famous statue by Lysippus of the *Wearry Hercules*, hiding the apples of the Hesperides behind his back. The original bronze, dating from c. 320 B.C. is known from many replicas.<sup>1</sup> One of the most famous is the colossal statue (3.17m.) by Glycon of Athens placed in the Baths of Caracalla in Rome (Fig. 32). It was unearthed in 1545 under the Pontificate of Paul III and acquired by Cardinal Alessandro Farnese.<sup>2</sup> Its head, both legs and the left hand were missing; the legs were restored in 1547 by Guglielmo della Porta after a design by Michelangelo.<sup>3</sup>

When Aldroandi visited the Palazzo Farnese in 1550, the sculpture stood inside,<sup>4</sup> but by 1560 it was displayed in the courtyard.<sup>5</sup> Here the statue remained until it was transferred to Naples in 1787. In Naples, the original legs which had come to light in 1560 and had been in the possession of the Borghese family, and the head, found in 1563, were reattached.<sup>6</sup> The statue is now in the Museo Nazionale in Naples.<sup>7</sup>

The sheet in Milan belongs to an album assembled by Padre Resta, who in his foreword mentioned the drawing and attributed it to Rubens. However, the head is rather small and broad, the shoulders are too large and the arms overly muscular compared to the rest of the body. Held judged it 'somewhat disappointing', yet accepted it as by Rubens. Müller Hofstede too did not question the attribution, and stated that the artist probably copied the antique sculpture. One should note, however, that certain details are at variance with the early 17th-century appearance of the marble as known from drawings by Goltzius (1591) and van Lint (1639). The position of the head is lower, the lion's head un-restored, the number of fingers differs, the club is missing and the lion's skin is indicated by hatchings where the paws hang down from the club.

Of all the discrepancies, the differing numbers of fingers is most puzzling: Goltzius'

drawing renders the left hand in its complete, restored state, whereas van Lint drew the statue with two fingers broken off.<sup>8</sup> These changes might be due to a restoration in plaster of the left hand which could be easily damaged from time to time. A copy in Copenhagen after a lost Rubens drawing (No. 16, Copy; Fig. 35) is much closer to the original statue, but it pictures the left hand without any fingers.

The *Hercules Farnese* was the epitome of the perfect, male body for Rubens: robust, muscular, broad-shouldered, its torso based on a sturdy cube.<sup>9</sup> He studied the marble from all angles, and made studies of the arms, legs and head, although many of his drawings are only known from copies.<sup>10</sup> In his theoretical studies Rubens focused on the statue, dissecting the head and torso into geometrical (Fig. 42)<sup>11</sup> and stereometrical shapes.<sup>12</sup> He compared the hero to a lion and a bull for his strength and courage (Fig. 41).<sup>13</sup>

As Wybrand de Geest was the first to observe, Rubens used the sculpture as the prototype for the strong, muscular bodies which pervade his *oeuvre*.<sup>14</sup> To give a few examples: a man pulling his shirt over his head in the *Baptism of Christ* (drawing, 1604, Paris, Louvre; text ill. 31), St Christopher on the outer wing of the *Descent from the Cross* (Antwerp, Cathedral; oil sketch: Munich, Alte Pinakothek; K.d.K., p. 53), the executioner on the right in the *Martyrdom of St George* (Bordeaux, Musée des Beaux-Arts) standing in the same position, holding a sword on his back.<sup>15</sup> The drawing of *Hercules in the Garden of the Hesperides* in Paris<sup>16</sup> and the *Hercules* sketch in Rotterdam<sup>17</sup> are inspired by the marble. The motif of a lion's skin draped over a club occurs in the portrait of *Don Gaspar de Guzmán, Count-Duke of Olivares*, in Brussels.<sup>18</sup> A sheet with pen sketches in Berlin (KdZ.no. 3238) shows a nude *Hercules* in three different postures, of which the sketch on the left recalls the Farnese sculpture in back view.<sup>19</sup> A sheet in London with *Hercules standing on Discord* shows a transformation of the statue.<sup>20</sup>

1. F.P. Johnson, *Lysippus*, Durham, N.C., 1927, pp. 195-205, pl. 37, with a list of replicas of which several were known since the 16th century: a copy in the Palazzo Pitti in Florence signed by Lysippus, others in the Piccolomini-da Carpi collection and the Mattei collection. The exaggerated musculature and the position of the lion's head above the left hand as well as the shape of the mound are typical of the Farnese statue. See also Bieber, *Hellenistic Sculpture*, p. 37, fig. 84; D. Krul, *Der Herakles vom Typ Farnese. Kopienkritische Untersuchung einer Schöpfung des Lysip* (Europäische Hochschulschriften, XXXVIII, 5), Frankfurt-Bern-New York, 1985; *Lexicon Mythologiae*, IV, 1, p. 764, no. 702, repr.
2. Lanciani, *Scavi*, II, pp. 181-182 (the discovery date is given as 1546); P. Moreno, 'Il Farnese ritrovato ed altri tipi di Eracle in riposo', *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire, École française de Rome*, XCIV, 1, 1982, pp. 388-392 (discovery date August 1545); Haskell-Penny, pp. 229-232, no. 46, fig. 118.
3. G. Baglione, *Le Vite de' pittori, scultori et architetti*, Rome, 1642, pp. 151-152; M. Marvin, 'Freestanding Sculptures from the Baths of Caracalla', *American Journal of Archaeology*, LXXXVII, 1983, pp. 355-357, pl. 47, figs. 1, 2, 4 ('left hand only complete new part').
4. Aldroandi, *Statue antiche*, p. 158: standing in a room outside the palazzo, 'Ha le ga[m]be, e le mani, moderne...'. The original right hand was reattached, something he might not have known.
5. The engraving by A. Lafréry of 1560 shows the Hercules in the *cortile* of the palazzo (H. Siebenhühner, 'Der Palazzo Farnese in Rom', *Wallraf-Richartz-Jahrbuch*, XIV, 1952, fig. 140). Cf. inventory of 1568: 'Allo entrar del palazzo sotto il portico et nella corte sotto la loggia... Due statue grande di Hercole... col piè di stallò' (*Documenti inediti*, I, p. 74).
6. *Sculture del Palazzo della Villa Borghese detta Pinciana brevemente descritte*, I, Rome, 1796, p. 51: 'Ai lati di questo bel monumento, stavano già collocate le gambe del famosissimo Ercole, conosciuto sotto il nome di Farnesiano, e trasportato nei reali soggiorni di Napoli pochi anni fa'. L. Correr, 'Il Toro e l'Ercole Farnese', *Bullettino Commissione Comunale d'Archeologia*, ser. 5, XXVIII, 1900, pp. 49-53. The statue was reportedly restored by 'Albagini', however, it is not listed among the statues repaired by Carlo Albacini (cf. A. de Franciscis, in *Sannium*, XIX, 1946, pp. 96-110).
7. Ruesch, *Museo Nazionale*, 1911, pp. 90-92, no. 280 (Inv. No. 6001). Tagliolini is mentioned as the restorer of the statue in 1796.
8. Drawing by Goltzius, c.1591; Haarlem, Teylers Museum (*Reznicek, Goltzius*, I, p. 336, no. 225, II, pl. 176). Drawing by P. van Lint, dated *Roma 1639*; Paris, Fondation Custodia (C. van Hasselt and A. Blankert, [Cat. Exh.] *Artisti Olandesi e Fiamminghi in Italia*, Florence, 1966, p. 53, no. 33, pl. XXIX).

9. *MS Johnson, passim*, e.g. fols. 34r-v. See H. Braham, [Cat. Exh.] *Rubens Paintings, Drawings, Prints in the Princes Gate Collection*, Courtauld Institute Galleries, London, 1988-1989, under no. 59.
10. For Rubens's drawings of the head see Nos. 19 and 20. Further studies of the Hercules Farnese, which figured in Rubens's lost art-theoretical Notebook, will be considered under Nos. 18, 19, 22 and 23.
11. *MS Johnson*, fols. 58r (207.a; Fig. 42) and 59r (207.b); cf. *MS de Ganay*, fol. 16 [e,f] (see *Jombert, Figure humaine*, pl. V [f,e], in reverse) and fol. 18r [b,c] (*Jaffé, Antwerp Sketchbook*, I, pl. LXXVII).
12. *MS Johnson*, fol. 57r (205.b) (*Jaffé, Antwerp Sketchbook*, I, pl. LXV); cf. *MS de Ganay*, fol. 17r [c,d] (see *Jombert, Figure humaine*, pl. VI [d,c], in reverse).
13. *MS Johnson*, fol. 51r (203.b) (Fig. 41; *Jaffé, Antwerp Sketchbook*, I, pl. LXIII) and fol. 52r (204.a); *Van Dyck Antwerp Sketchbook*, fol. 69v (*Jaffé, Antwerp Sketchbook*, II, p. 243). Cf. *MS de Ganay*, fol. 16r, inscribed: *Hercules Athletae, / et quicquid supra mo-Idum in robore est, ex / Tauro, Leone (et si / quid addi potest, / Equo, sed ita di- / gestè ac tempera- / tè, vt discerni ne- / queat* (see *Jombert, Figure humaine*, pl. V, in reverse).
14. *De Geest, Kabinet*, p. 8.
15. *Burchard-d'Hulst, Drawings*, p. 54, under no. 29; *Vlieghe, Saints*, II, p. 40, no. 106, fig. 21.
16. *Lugt, Cat. Louvre, École flamande*, II, p. 13, no. 1013 (Inv. No. 20.223), pl. XV.
17. *Held, Oil Sketches*, pp. 331-332, no. 243, pl. 251.
18. *Held, Oil Sketches*, pp. 398-399, no. 295, pl. 292.
19. *Mielke-Winner*, pp. 22-24, no. 2, repr.
20. *Held, Drawings, 1986*, p. 126, no. 148, pl. 145.

### 15. Hercules Farnese (three-quarter view): Drawing

Technique and measurements unknown.  
*Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.*

COPY: Drawing (Fig. 33), Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst, Kongelige Kobberstiksamling, 'Rubens Cantoor', No. III, 34; pen and black ink on thin paper, 292 × 149 mm.; top right corner cut off diagonally. PROV. Acquired by the Royal Library in Copenhagen presumably in the 17th century; since 1835 in the Museum. EXH. *Cologne, 1977*, no. 41. LIT. *Miesel, Ancient Art*, p. 29; *Held, Drawings*, p. 114, under no. 48; *Miesel, Study Drawings*, p. 321; *Fubini-Held*, p. 134; *Müller Hofstede, Beiträge*, p. 286, fig. 209; *Müller Hofstede, Rubens in Italien*, p. 226, no. 41, repr.; *Freedberg, Année Rubens*, p. 85, n. 19; *M. Jaffé, 'Exhibitions for*

the Rubens Year -II', *The Burlington Magazine*, CXX, 1978, p. 134; K. Renger, [Review Rubens Exhibitions London and Cologne, 1977], *Kunstchronik*, XXXI, 4, 1978, p. 144; *Logan, Rubens Exhibitions, 1978*, p. 423; *Held, Circle*, p. 99.

A copy in Copenhagen (Fig. 33) shows the *Hercules Farnese* in three-quarter view facing right. The left arm and both legs below the knee are omitted. Cross-hatchings occur in the background. Müller Hofstede's attribution of this pen sketch to Rubens has not generally been accepted. He surmised that a reduced bronze statuette had served as model for the artist during a visit to Mantua in 1600. However, the extreme popularity of the marble meant that such copies were available both in Italy and the Low Countries.

### 16. Hercules Farnese (three-quarter view): Drawing

Technique and measurements unknown.  
*Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.*

COPY: Drawing (Fig. 35), Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst, Kongelige Kobberstiksamling, 'Rubens Cantoor', No. III, 33; red chalk, pen and black ink on thick paper, 330 × 162 mm.; small top left and larger top right corners cut off diagonally. Watermark: post horn suspended from a star. PROV. Acquired by the Royal Library in Copenhagen presumably in the 17th century; since 1835 in the Museum. LIT. *Miesel, Ancient Art*, p. 29; *Held, Drawings*, p. 114, under no. 48; *Miesel, Study Drawings*, p. 321; *Fubini-Held*, p. 134; *Held, Circle*, p. 99.

The drawing in Copenhagen (Fig. 35), probably a copy of a lost original by Rubens, shows the *Hercules Farnese* in three-quarter view facing right. The fingers and thumb of the left hand are broken off. Slight hatchings cover the background.

This copy is remarkably close to the marble, and renders the Hercules in better proportions than the sheet in Milan (No. 14; Fig. 31). It also shows the sculpture more complete in the area of the club and the lion's skin, yet the left hand is more damaged and does not have a single finger. A possible explanation for this might be that the missing hand was replaced by a plaster restoration from which the fingers kept crumbling away.

### 17. Hercules Farnese (three-quarter view): Drawing (Fig. 36)

Red chalk; 428 × 228 mm.; inscribed below on the right: *oo-*.—*Verso*: sketches of two horses and anatomical studies (with washes applied by a later hand).

*Whereabouts unknown.*

PROVENANCE: Pierre Dubaut (Paris, 1886-); I. von Ustinov, London (1933); with Adam Brothers, London, April 1935; with R.E.A. Wilson, London (cat. November 1935, no. 26).

EXHIBITED: *Amsterdam*, 1933, no. 94, repr.

LITERATURE: C. Norris, 'The Rubens Exhibition at Amsterdam', *The Burlington Magazine*, LXIII, 1933, p. 230; A. Scharf, 'Little-known Drawings by Rubens', *The Connoisseur*, XXXII, 1933, p. 251, pl. III, left; L. Burchard, [Cat. Exh.] *A Loan Exhibition of Works by Peter Paul Rubens, Kt.*, Wildenstein & Co., London, 1950, p. 11, under no. 9; A. Seilern, *Flemish Paintings and Drawings at 56 Princes Gate London SW7*, London, 1955, p. 85, under no. 53; Held, *Drawings*, p. 113, under no. 48 (as *Rubens*); Miesel, *Ancient Art*, p. 29 (as *Rubens*); Miesel, *Study Drawings*, p. 321, n. 17; Fubini-Held, p. 134 (as *Rubens*); Stechow, *Rubens*, p. 28, n. 15 ('perhaps a very early drawing'); Held, *Circle*, pp. 99, 104.

The statue of *Hercules Farnese* is drawn in three-quarter view from below, facing right.

The right arm, the club with the lion's skin and the rectangular base of the pedestal are indicated in contour lines only. The top of the head was cut off when the sheet was trimmed. In the bottom left corner an anatomical study of a right shoulder in back view is added. On the verso of the sheet are two horses and several anatomical studies, also in red chalk.

The sheet was first attributed to Rubens in 1933, and this has been generally accepted. Seilern, who knew the drawing only from a photograph, is the first to question the attribution, and Held did not mention it in the revised edition of his book.

The sketch is drawn in red chalk, a medium rarely used by the master when copying sculptures. The double contours of the arm, leg and face are very pedestrian in appearance. Burchard judged it to be 'the only one original drawing of the *Hercules Farnese*', but in my opinion the drawing is not by Rubens.

### 18. Hercules Farnese (side and back view): Drawing (Fig. 34)

Black chalk; 222 × 268 mm. Vertical line in ink in the centre; in the middle below unidentified collector's stamp; bottom right, stamp of the Museum (L.391) with the Inv. No. ; top right (upside down): *Zucar*.—*Verso*: *Farnese Bull* (see No. 71).

*London, British Museum, Department of Prints and Drawings. Inv. No. 1970-9-19-103.*

PROVENANCE: I. von Ustinow, London (until 1934); bequeathed by E.J. Blaiberg, entered the Museum in 1970.

EXHIBITED: *Amsterdam*, 1933, no. 92, repr.; *An Exhibition of Modern Prints and Drawings and other Recent Acquisitions*, British Museum, London, 1972; *London*, 1977, no. 20v.

LITERATURE: C. Norris, 'The Rubens Exhibition at Amsterdam', *The Burlington Magazine*, LXIII, 1933, p. 230; Miesel, *Ancient Art*, p. 12,

n. 25; Miesel, *Study Drawings*, p. 326, n. 26 (autograph?); Jaffé, *Rubens and Italy*, p. 79, n. 9, fig. 284; Rowlands, *Rubens Drawings*, p. 32, no. 20, repr.; C. McCorquodale, 'Rubens at the British Museum', *Art International*, 1977, p. 47; Van Gelder-Jost, *Jan de Bisschop*, p. 99, n. 1, under nos. 8-11.

Two quick, rough sketches show the *Hercules Farnese* from different angles. On the left the statue is seen from below in side view, facing right; the head is indicated by a contour line only, but the thigh and buttock are drawn in more detail. On the right side of the sheet an extremely sketchy outline indicates the back view of the statue.

Van Gelder and Jost doubted that the sketch pictures a Hercules. This is probably due to the fact that an oval line is drawn around the upper part of the torso suggesting a covering of some sort. But comparison with other drawings of the statue by Rubens confirms that the sketch pictures the *Hercules Farnese*. Moreover, on the recto of the sheet, the *Farnese Bull* (No. 71; Fig. 136) is drawn, which suggests that the artist drew both sculptures during a visit to the Palazzo Farnese.

A sketch of the statue in side view occurs on a drawing by Rubens from his art-theoretical Notebook (known from copies only) showing the statue slightly from above (Fig. 39).<sup>1</sup> The sketch with the back view of Hercules is the only one known.<sup>2</sup>

1. *MS Johnson*, fol. 39r (199.b); *Van Dyck Antwerp Sketchbook*, fol. 44v (Fig. 39; Jaffé, *Antwerp Sketchbook*, II, p. 234, repr.); *MS de Ganay*, fol. 38r (see Jombert, *Figure humaine*, pl. XXII, in reverse). Cf. *MS Johnson*, fol. 49r (202.b; Fig. 49) (Jaffé, *Antwerp Sketchbook*, I, fig. LXII); *Van Dyck Antwerp Sketchbook*, fol. 48v (Jaffé, *Antwerp Sketchbook*, II, p. 235, repr.); *MS de Ganay*, fol. 20r. The right thigh of Hercules is seen in side view. The verso of the one page of Rubens's Notebook which has been preserved in the original (Fig. 38; London, Courtauld Institute Galleries, Princes Gate Collection, Inv. No. PG 427) shows Hercules in side view facing right and a second time in three-quarter view facing right, inscribed: *Ex correspondentia / pectoris et dorsi / et scapularum cum / Mammis Nascatur / Crassitudo cubi. A*

copy is extant in *MS Johnson*, fol. 8r (Jaffé, *Antwerp Sketchbook*, I, pls. X [as 'recto']-XI).

2. The recto (Fig. 37) of the original page from the Notebook mentioned in the previous note, shows sketches of the back of Hercules broken up into geometric shapes and stereometric volumes. It is inscribed: *HPAKΔΕΣ [sic] Vir./ Forma Herculea siue robusti viri supra modum / ex cubo Fundamentum habet. (Ut Columnae Tuscum genus / quod Atletis assimilatur) Tum ex Circulo perfecto / et Equilaterali nascitur Triangulo, / Ex Cubo siue quadrato perfecto Latitudo pectoris / dorsi Scapularum etc. etc. Et Crassitudo pectoris / et dorsi et lumborum / Item natis alte succinctae...* (see also No. 19, note 5). Copied in *MS Johnson*, fol. 8r (Jaffé, *Antwerp Sketchbook*, I, pls. XII [as 'verso'] and XIII).

## 19. Hercules Farnese (head): Drawing (Fig. 43)

Black chalk, heightened with white; 363 × 245 mm.; at bottom centre inscribed in pen and ink: *AVDijck*. Watermark: monogram with letter *M* in a circle (*Briquet*, no. 5335).—*Verso*: another view of the same head (see No. 20). London, Courtauld Institute Galleries, Princes Gate Collection. Inv. No. PG 53.

COPY: Drawing (Fig. 45), Paris, Musée du Louvre, Cabinet des Dessins, Inv. No. 20.408; main drawing in black and red chalk, contours in pen and black ink, 127 × 118 mm. PROV. P. Crozat (1665-1740, Paris), sold by auction in 1741. LIT. *Lugt, Cat. Louvre, École flamande*, II, p. 55, no. 1233.

PROVENANCE: Private collection, Ireland; Leo Franklyn, London, sold to Dr Alfred Scharf, June 1951; acquired from the latter by Count Antoine Seilern (d. 1978, London) in 1951; bequeathed to the Courtauld Institute Gallery in 1978.

EXHIBITED: London, 1988-89, no. 27, repr.

LITERATURE: *Haverkamp Begemann, Olieverfschetsen*, p. 40, under no. 7; A. Seilern, *Flemish Paintings and Drawings at 56 Princes Gate London SW7*, London, 1955, I, p. 85, no. 53, pls.



CIV and CV; *Cat. Exh. Cambridge-New York, 1956*, p. 24, under no. 24; *Miesel, Ancient Art*, p. 50, n. 58; *Miesel, Study Drawings*, p. 321, n. 18; *Held, Drawings*, p. 114, under no. 48; *Fubini-Held*, p. 134, n. 18; M. Jaffé, 'Rubens as a Collector of Drawings, III', *Master Drawings*, IV, 1966, p. 127; *Müller Hofstede, Kopfstudie*, p. 239, nn. 80-81, fig. 171; A. Seilern, *Corrigenda and Addenda to the Catalogue of Paintings and Drawings at Princes Gate London SW7*, London, 1971, pp. 35-36; *Jaffé, Rubens and Italy*, p. 81, pls. 279-280; *Müller Hofstede, Rubens in Italien*, p. 240, under no. 49; *Mielke-Winner*, p. 24, under no. 2; J. Muller, 'Rubens's Theory and Practice of Imitation', *The Art Bulletin*, LXIV, 1982, p. 236, fig. 2; *Held, Circle*, p. 99; *Held, Drawings, 1986*, p. 126, under no. 148; H. Braham, [Cat. Exh.] *Rubens Paintings, Drawings, Prints in the Princes Gate Collection*, Courtauld Institute Galleries, London, 1988-1989, pp. 22-23, no. 27, repr.

The bearded head of the *Hercules Farnese* is drawn in side view facing right with light falling in from the left. The shadows cast by the protruding brow give the eyes a rather brooding look. On the verso of the sheet the head is seen from the same side, but from below (No. 20; Fig. 44).

The colossal sculpture was placed on a pedestal under the portico of the courtyard of the Palazzo Farnese, and therefore it seems technically impossible that the head was drawn *in situ*. It is more likely that a cast was used as the model. A painting by W. van Haecht, *The Studio of Apelles* (The Hague, Mauritshuis), shows that such a cast indeed circulated in the Southern Netherlands at the time.<sup>1</sup>

Count Seilern dated the drawing towards the end of Rubens's stay in Italy.<sup>2</sup> Although Rubens did draw a few marble portrait sculptures there, it was mainly after his return to Flanders that the artist concentrated on physiognomical studies and comparisons (see Ch. IV, p. 144). Rubens's art-theoretical Notebook, now only known from transcripts in *MS*

*Johnson* and *MS de Ganay* (and one original loose sheet), contained a number of facial and head studies of the *Hercules Farnese* and other portrait sculptures.

Rubens was fascinated by the Farnese sculpture and studied the head of the heroic statue in many different ways. The geometric qualities of the face are demonstrated by connecting both eyes and nose, both cheeks and the chin, the jaws and the pit of the throat by a line, so that equilateral triangles occur (Fig. 40).<sup>3</sup> In another instance the round aspects of the face are pointed out: the shape of the head and chin, the swelling of the cheeks and brows, and the curvature of the nose (Fig. 42).<sup>4</sup> The head is dissected into cubes to show its square and geometric forms (London, Princes Gate Collection: original sheet from his art-theoretical Notebook; Fig. 37).<sup>5</sup> Finally, the deep-set eyes, protruding brow and short wiry curls recall the physiognomy of a lion, with whom Hercules shared his courageous behaviour; the muscular neck, on the other hand, resembled that of a bull (Fig. 41).<sup>6</sup>

The London drawing (No. 19) is closely copied in a pen sketch in Paris (Fig. 45). A pen drawing in the Baer collection shows a free interpretation of the head of the statue (No. 21; Fig. 46).

A painting formerly in the collection of Wolfgang Burchard in London is inspired by the head of the *Hercules Farnese*.<sup>7</sup>

The head of Hercules is reflected in that of the commander on the right wing of the altarpiece of the *Raising of the Cross* (Antwerp, Cathedral).<sup>8</sup>

1. *Speth-Holterhoff, Cabinets*, p. 104, fig. 38.

2. The watermark, current in Luxemburg at the end of the 16th century, could support a post-Italian date.

3. *MS Johnson*, fol. 59v (208.a), inscribed: ...*ex antiquo...*; *MS de Ganay*, fol. 17r [a,b] (see *Jombert, Figure humaine*, pl. VI [b,a], in reverse).

4. *MS Johnson*, fol. 58r (207.a), inscribed: ...*ex antiquo lapide Hercules*, and fol. 57r (205.b); *MS de Ganay*, fol. 16r [e,f] (see *Jombert, Figure humaine*, pl. V [c,d], in reverse).

5. Inv. No. PG 427 recto, inscribed: *...Item in capite Tempora / valde plena, Musculi / oculis imminentes & magni et / Carnosi supra modum ad quadraturam / frontis pertinent ad quadraturam / vero integri capilli Anguli barbae ad maxillarum / latera capellatis Temporibus correspondentes / Probatio Cubi ex Herculis Farnesij facie seu capite / Ex Antiquo.* (For the first half of the inscription see No. 18, note 2). Copied in *MS Johnson*, fol. 40r (*Jaffé, Antwerp Sketchbook*, I, pls. XII–XIII).
6. *MS Johnson*, fol. 51r (203.b); *MS de Ganay*, fol. 16r [c,d] (see *Jombert, Figure humaine*, pl. V [d,c], in reverse).
7. *Haverkamp Begemann, Olieverfschetsen*, no. 7, pl. 12; H. Braham, op. cit., p. 22.
8. *Held, Drawings*, 1986, p. 126, under no. 148.

## 20. Hercules Farnese (head): Drawing (Fig. 44)

Black chalk, heightened with white; 363 × 245 mm. Watermark: monogram with letter M in a circle (*Briquet*, No. 5335).—*Verso*: another view of the same head (see No. 19).

*London, Courtauld Institute Galleries, Princes Gate Collection.* Inv. No. PG 53.

PROVENANCE: same as No. 19.

LITERATURE: same as No. 19.

On the verso of the sheet in London (No. 19; Fig. 43) the bearded head of the *Hercules Farnese* is drawn from below in side view, facing right. At top right the profile of the face from the hair down to the nose is indicated; when the sheet was trimmed the tip of the nose and the brow were cut off. The face has an authoritative appearance.

## 21. Hercules Farnese (head): Drawing (Fig. 46)

Pen and ink; 261 × 162 mm.; inscribed at bottom right in pen and ink: *P.P. Rubbens delin.* Watermark: winged eagle.

*Atlanta, Georgia, Dr George Baer.*

PROVENANCE: Collection Nathan, Marseilles; George Isarlo, Paris; H. Schaeffer Galleries,

New York, 1952; acquired by Curtis O. Baer in 1952; Kathy Baer, New Rochelle, N.Y.

EXHIBITED: *Cambridge-New York*, 1956, no. 24; *New York*, 1968–69, no. 45; *Master Drawings from Titian to Picasso. The Curtis O. Baer Collection*, National Gallery, Washington-Museum of Art, Indianapolis-John and Mable Ringling Museum of Art, Sarasota-High Museum of Art, Atlanta-Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore-F. Wight Gallery, Los Angeles, 1985–1987, no. 36; *Padua–Rome–Milan*, 1990, no. 60.

LITERATURE: *Cat. Exh. Cambridge-New York*, 1956, p. 24, no. 24, pl. XIV; *Held, Drawings*, p. 114, under no. 48; J. Rosenberg, 'Rubens' Oil Sketches and Drawings in the Fogg Museum', *Art Quarterly*, XIX, 1956, p. 142; *Miesel, Study Drawings*, p. 326, n. 18; *Jaffé, Rubens and Italy*, p. 81, n. 25, fig. 278; *Vlieghe, Review Jaffé*, p. 473 (as *not Rubens*); *Freedberg, Année Rubens*, p. 90, n. 19; E. Zafran, [Cat. Exh.] *Master Drawings from Titian to Picasso*, Washington-Indianapolis-Sarasota-Atlanta-Baltimore-Los Angeles, 1985–87, no. 36, repr.; *Held, Drawings*, 1986, p. 126, under no. 148 (original?); *Bodart, Rubens*, 1990, p. 158, no. 60, repr.

A head of Hercules is drawn in three-quarter view facing right. Burchard attributed the sheet to Rubens, dating it to his early Italian years, but this has not found widespread acceptance. Rosenberg was one of the first to doubt the attribution, and Held recently questioned his own earlier, positive opinion. In my opinion, the pen drawing is too dry and uniform to justify the attribution to Rubens.

Burchard considered the head of the *Hercules Farnese* to have served as model. However, on that statue the hero stares wearily at the ground, in strong contrast to the Baer drawing with its forceful head and penetrating, intense look. A marble head in the early 17th-century Cesi collection closely resembles the Baer drawing.<sup>1</sup>

1. *Palma-de Lachenal*, 1983, no. 48, repr.

## 22. Hercules Farnese (legs): Drawing

Technique and measurements unknown.  
Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.

COPY: Drawing (Fig. 50), Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst, Kongelige Kobberstiksamling, 'Rubens Cantoor', No. VI, 41; black chalk, pen and brown ink on yellowish paper, 250 × 166 mm.; bottom left tear in paper; inscription in pen and brown ink in bottom left in code: *dese beenen sijn heel goet van omtreck, doch elk / is een defferent been ende dees hebbe ick geteekent / wt een bockden [sic] dat ick vant cantoor gehaelt hebbe*. PROV. Acquired by the Royal Library in Copenhagen presumably in the 17th century; since 1835 in the Museum. LIT. Garff–Pedersen, *Panneels*, p. 86, no. 92, fig. 94 (model unidentified).

The two legs ending just above the knee (seen in three-quarter view facing right) on a drawing in Copenhagen (Copy; Fig. 50) were identified by Burchard as those of the *Hercules Farnese*.<sup>1</sup> As the inscription reveals, two different legs are rendered: i.e. the right leg and the left leg of the marble statue.

When the sculpture was unearthed in the 1540s the antique legs were missing. They were restored by della Porta and remained even when the original legs were found in 1560.

The copyist, identified by Garff and Pedersen as Willem Panneels, drew the sketch after an original which belonged to a sketchbook kept in Rubens's studio according to the inscription. The only known sketchbook with Rubens's drawings after the *Hercules Farnese* is the art-theoretical Notebook, preserved in the transcripts, *MS Johnson* and *MS de Ganay*. These contain sketches of the hips and right thigh of the statue but not any leg studies (Fig. 49).<sup>2</sup> Here the abdomen of Hercules seen from the front is also rendered (Fig. 48).<sup>3</sup>

1. Other leg studies (not by Rubens) of the *Hercules Farnese* are preserved in the Gabinetto delle Stampe

in Rome. See D. di Castro and S.P. Fox, *Disegni dall'antico dei secoli XVI e XVII dalle collezioni del Gabinetto Nazionale delle Stampe* (Xenia Quaderni, 3), Rome, 1983, pp. 91–92, nos. 34–36, repr.

2. *MS Johnson*, fol. 49r (202.b; Fig. 49; Jaffé, *Antwerp Sketchbook*, pl. LXII); *Van Dyck Antwerp Sketchbook*, fol. 48v (Jaffé, *Antwerp Sketchbook*, II, p. 235, repr.); *MS de Ganay*, fol. 20r [b,c,d,e] (see Jombert, *Figure humaine*, pl. VII [a,c,d,e], in reverse).
3. *MS Johnson*, fol. 54r (205.a; Fig. 48; Jaffé, *Antwerp Sketchbook*, pl. LXIV); *Van Dyck Antwerp Sketchbook*, fol. 50r (Jaffé, *Antwerp Sketchbook*, II, p. 236, repr.); *MS de Ganay*, fol. 20r [a] (see Jombert, *Figure humaine*, pl. VII [b], in reverse).

## 23. Hercules Farnese (right leg): Drawing

Technique and measurements unknown.  
Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.

COPY: Drawing (Fig. 51), Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst, Kongelige Kobberstiksamling, 'Rubens Cantoor', No. VI, 25; black chalk, pen and black ink on thin yellowish paper, 303 × 175 mm.; inscription in pen and brown ink at bottom right in code: *deese beenen oock hebbe ick geteekent wt een / bockden [sic] dat ick vant cantoor gehaelt b [sic] / hadde*. Watermark: post horn with monogram. PROV. Acquired by the Royal Library in Copenhagen presumably in the 17th century; since 1835 in the Museum. LIT. Garff–Pedersen, *Panneels*, pp. 86–87, no. 93, fig. 95 (model unidentified).

Two studies on a sheet in Copenhagen (Copy; Fig. 51) rendering a right leg seen respectively from the front and in three-quarter view facing right were identified by Burchard as picturing the leg of *Hercules Farnese* restored by della Porta (see preceding entry). Shadows are indicated by cross-hatchings along the right side.

The annotation by the copyist reveals that the original drawing belonged to a sketchbook kept in Rubens's studio. No studies of legs are found among the copies of drawings from Rubens's art-theoretical Notebook.<sup>1</sup>

Garff and Pedersen identified the copyist as Willem Panneels.

1. Besides the sketches from the Notebook already referred to in the notes to Nos. 14, 18, 19 and 22, there are studies of Hercules' left arm and torso in side view facing left, known from two copies: *MS Johnson*, fol. 47r (201.b; Fig. 47) (*Jaffé, Antwerp Sketchbook*, I, pl. LXI); *Van Dyck Antwerp Sketchbook*, fol. 48r (*ibid.*, II, p. 235, repr.)

## 24. Hercules Farnese (left foot): Drawing

Technique and measurements unknown.  
*Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.*

COPY: Drawing (Fig. 52), Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst, Kongelige Kobberstiksamling, 'Rubens Cantoor', No. VI, 26; black and red chalk, brush and pen in brown ink on thin yellowish paper, 166 × 124 mm. PROV. Acquired by the Royal Library in Copenhagen presumably in the 17th century; since 1835 in the Museum. LIT. *Garff-Pedersen, Panneels*, p. 172, no. 231, fig. 233.

A left foot ending at mid-calf on a drawing in Copenhagen (Copy; Fig. 52) was recognized by Arnout Balis as part of the left leg of the *Hercules Farnese*. Hatchings to the left indicate shadows. Garff and Pedersen attributed the drawing to Willem Panneels (1628/30).

## 25-26 HERMES BELVEDERE (‘ANTINOUS’)

### 25. Hermes Belvedere (‘Antinous’) (frontal view): Drawing

Technique and measurements unknown.  
*Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.*

COPY: Drawing (Fig. 53), Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst, Kongelige Kobberstiksamling, 'Rubens Cantoor', No. III, 26; red

and black chalk, pen and brown ink on thick yellow paper, 299 × 143 mm.; top corners cut off diagonally. PROV. Acquired by the Royal Library in Copenhagen presumably in the 17th century; since 1835 in the Museum. LIT. *Miesel, Ancient Art*, p. 54, n. 80; *Miesel, Study Drawings*, p. 323, fig. 16 (right); *Jaffé, Rubens and Italy*, pp. 20, 80; *Garff-Pedersen, Panneels*, p. 148, no. 197, fig. 199.

A copy in Copenhagen (Fig. 53) shows a nude youth facing front, seen from below. He stands in *contrapposto* with the weight of his body on the right leg. The right arm rests on the hip, while the handleless left arm supports a *chlamys* (mantle) hanging down from the left shoulder. The trunk of a palm tree reinforces the right leg. In this copy, which Garff and Pedersen attributed to Willem Panneels (1628/30), the head is sketched in light contours only. Shadows are indicated by dark hatchings in the background.

The drawing shows the famous *Hermes Belvedere*, a Roman copy after a Greek bronze by Praxiteles (Rome, Vatican Museum; Fig. 54).<sup>1</sup> According to the papal physician, Mercati, the statue had been discovered in a garden near Castel Sant' Angelo, and was acquired by Pope Paul III on 27 February 1543 from Nicolaus de Palis.<sup>2</sup> However, in Aldroandi's description of the statue court, the marble (which was then identified as 'Antinous') was said to have been unearthed near San Martino ai Monti on the Esquiline Hill. Placed in a niche in the north wall of the Belvedere, it was still unrestored as Aldroandi reported.<sup>3</sup> An annotation made c. 1560 by the Augsburg Anonymus in a copy of the 1558 edition of Aldroandi observed that the right arm of the Antinous was restored 'that day in a different kind of stone'.<sup>4</sup> A drawing in Cambridge shows the statue also with the left hand restored,<sup>5</sup> but on the drawing by Goltzius in 1591 the hand is missing again.<sup>6</sup> Visconti recognized the statue as a *Hermes*.<sup>7</sup>

Burchard suggested that the pose of the statue is reflected in Rubens's *Mercury* (Ma-

drid, Prado).<sup>8</sup> Thus the Copenhagen copy may well be derived from an original by Rubens, but the figure on the drawing is much heavier than the marble. Rubens admired the statue for its beautiful proportions, as he recorded in his art-theoretical Notebook.<sup>9</sup>

Another sheet in Copenhagen shows the statue from a different angle (No. 26; Fig. 55).

1. *Amelung, Skulpturen*, II, pp. 132-138, no. 53 (Inv. No. 907), pl. 12; *Bieber, Hellenistic Sculpture*, p. 17; *Helbig, Führer*, 1963-72, I, pp. 190-191, no. 246.
2. M. Mercati, *Metalloteca*, Rome, 1719, p. 363 (*Michaelis, Belvedere*, p. 34, n. 122); *Haskell-Penny*, pp. 141-143, no. 4, fig. 73.
3. *Aldroandi, Statue antiche*, p. 117: 'Dietro al simulacro del Teuere nel muro si vede vna statua di Antinoo ignuda intiera in pie, ma senza vn braccio, ha vna benda auolta su la spalla manca. Fu Antinoo...'; *Michaelis, Belvedere*, pp. 25-26; fig. 1.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 35, n. 126.
5. By Giovanni Bologna?; Cambridge, Trinity College Sketchbook, R.17.3, fol. 12 (E. Filieri, 'Giovanni Bologna e il taccuino di Cambridge', *Xenia*, X, 1985, pp. 17-18, no. 12, repr.). *Bober-Rubinstein, Handbook*, p. 58, no. 10, gives a list of other Renaissance drawings. Cf. *De Cavalleriis, Antiquarum statuarum*, I-II, pl. 5 ('Milo alijs Antinous') and *Vaccarius, Icones*, pl. 53 show the statue with a restored right arm and left hand.
6. Haarlem, Teylers Museum, Inv. No. K III,22 (*Reznicek, Goltzius*, I, p. 325, no. 205; II, pl. 162).
7. E.Q. Visconti, *Musée Pie Clementine*, Milan, 1818, I, pl. 7.
8. Quoted in *Alpers, Torre*, pp. 234-235, no. 39, but according to the author the pose of Mercury is closer to the *Meleager Belvedere* than the *Hermes Belvedere*. No drawings by Rubens are known of the *Meleager* nor is the statue mentioned in his art-theoretical Notebook. The *Meleager*, then known as '*Adonis*', belonged in the early 17th century to the collection of the Bishop Aquino who lived in Palazzo Pichino in Rome.
9. *MS Johnson*, fol. 5; *MS de Ganay*, '*De Figuræ Humanæ Statibus*', fols. 22r, 23r (see Appendix X, n. 3; see also *Jombert, Figure humaine*, pp. 12, 15).

## 26. Hermes Belvedere ('Antinous') (three-quarter view): Drawing

Technique and measurements unknown.  
*Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.*

COPY: Drawing (Fig. 55), Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst, Kongelige Kobberstiksamling, 'Rubens Cantoor', No. III, 25; black chalk, pen and brush in brown ink on thick yellow paper, 309 × 137 mm.; top right corner slightly rounded. Watermark: figure 4 intertwined with letter W. PROV. Acquired by the Royal Library in Copenhagen presumably in the 17th century; since 1835 in the Museum. LIT. *Miesel, Ancient Art*, p. 54, n. 80; *Miesel, Study Drawings*, p. 323, fig. 16 (left); *Jaffé, Rubens and Italy*, p. 80; *Garff-Pedersen, Panneels*, pp. 188-189, no. 255, fig. 258.

A copy in Copenhagen (Fig. 55) shows the *Hermes Belvedere* (Fig. 54; see No. 25) in three-quarter view from below, facing left. The head and tree trunk are drawn in light contours only. Shadows in the background are indicated by hatchings. Garff and Pedersen attributed the drawing to Willem Panneels (1628/30).

## 27. Pothos (De' Medici): Drawing

Technique and measurements unknown.  
*Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.*

COPY: Drawing (Fig. 56), Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst, Kongelige Kobberstiksamling, 'Rubens Cantoor', No. III, 50; red chalk on thick yellow paper, 253 × 121 mm. Watermark: two capital letters C entwined and crowned. PROV. Acquired by the Royal Library in Copenhagen presumably in the 17th century; since 1835 in the Museum. LIT. *Miesel, Ancient Art*, p. 55, n. 80; *Miesel, Study Drawings*, p. 323, n. 20; *Van der Meulen, Sculpture Collections*, p. 156, n. 9.

A copy in Copenhagen (Fig. 56) shows a nude adolescent in frontal view. The eyes bear a distant expression and look upwards towards the raised left arm of which the hand and wrist are missing. The right arm, held in front of the body, reaches towards the drapery. The

figure stands in a leaning position with the left leg crossed over the right one. Light is falling in from the left, casting shadows, indicated by hatchings.

Pictured on this copy is a statue of *Pothos* ascribed to Skopas (fourth century B.C.) and known in several replicas (Fig. 57).<sup>1</sup> This type of statue was identified as 'Apollo with a Duck' in the 16th century.<sup>2</sup> Ferdinand de' Medici owned no less than three similar copies listed in the inventory of 1598 of his collection in Rome — of which one resembles the statue pictured on the drawing (now Florence, Uffizi; Fig. 57).<sup>3</sup>

Willem van Haecht's *Studio of Apelles* (The Hague, Mauritshuis) shows a life-size cast of such a *Pothos*, matching the statue on the Copenhagen copy very well: the left arm is also incomplete.<sup>4</sup> Thus instead of copying the statue in Italy, Rubens could have studied the cast in Antwerp after his return.

A leaning figure occurs frequently in Rubens's *oeuvre*. A drawing of a *Standing Man* (Rotterdam, Museum Boymans-van Beuningen, Inv. No. 6) shows the same pose.<sup>5</sup> The female nudes in Rubens's *Hero crowned by Victory* (Munich, Alte Pinakothek; *K.d.K.*, p. 56) and his *Alliance of Earth and Water* (St Petersburg, Hermitage; *K.d.K.*, p. 109) also betray the influence of the *Pothos* sculpture.

1. Bieber, *Hellenistic Sculpture*, p. 26; W. Müller, 'Zum "Pothos des Skopas"', *Jahrbuch des kaiserlich deutschen Archäologischen Instituts*, LVIII, 1943, pp. 154-167. Engraved gems show that the sculpture originally had wings.
2. Aldroandi, *Statue antiche*, p. 305, describing the *vigna* of da Carpi: 'vno Apollo ignudo senza le braccia, e'l pie sinistro: ha la ueste tutta raccolta sul braccio manco, che si stende fina à terra. si tiene à i piedi vno augello; che pare vna anatra ma è grande; l'Apollo ha bel viso...'. The statue is correctly identified by J.J. Winckelmann, *Monumenti Antichi Inediti*, Rome, 1767, I, p. xli: 'Apollo... ai piedi un cigno'.
3. F. Boyer, 'Un inventaire inédit des antiques de la Villa Médicis (1598)', *Revue archéologique*, V, 30, 1929, pp. 259-270. The statue was transferred to Florence in 1780 (*Documenti inediti*, IV, p. 77, inventory of 1780, no. 5: 'L'Apollo col cigno ai piedi'). See

also Mansuelli, *Cat. Uffizi*, I, pp. 53-54, no. 31 (Inv. No. 261), pl. 32.

4. Speth-Holterhoff, *Cabinets*, pp. 104-105, fig. 38.

5. Dr E. Haverkamp Begemann kindly brought this drawing to my attention.

## 28-29 SILENUS LEANING AGAINST A TREE TRUNK (CHIGI)

### 28. Silenus leaning against a Tree Trunk (Chigi) (frontal view): Drawing (Fig. 58)

Black chalk; 395 × 265 mm. Bottom left mark of Museum of Orléans; below right collector's mark of P. Fourche (L.1039a).

Orléans, Musée des Beaux-Arts. Inv. No. 1716b.

PROVENANCE: Bequeathed in 1922 by Paul Fourche (1840-1922).

LITERATURE: Jaffé, *Rubens and Italy*, p. 82, n. 51, pl. 293; Logan, *Rubens Exhibitions*, 1977, p. 412, under no. 13; Held, *Drawings*, 1986, p. 81, under no. 37.

A corpulent, nude Silenus leaning against a tree trunk is seen in frontal view. The head is crowned by a wreath of grape vines and lowered on his hairy chest; his gloomy face looks towards the ground. His right arm rests on a wine sack that lies on the tree trunk. His right hand holds the spout of the sack. Drapery covers both arms partially. In the background, branches and foliage of a tree are sketched in, indicating that the artist saw the statue in a wooded garden. It is drawn from below eye level, which suggests that the Silenus stood on a fountain.

The model for the drawing is a statue of a *Silenus*, which has been in Dresden since 1728 (Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Skulpturensammlung; Fig. 60).<sup>1</sup> Its whereabouts are unknown before it entered the collection of Cardinal Flavio Chigi (1641-1693).<sup>2</sup>

The drawing was recently discovered and ascribed to Rubens by Jaffé. This attribution has been generally accepted, as it fits in with his graphic *oeuvre*. The Silenus was already known from a sheet in London which shows the statue from another angle (No. 29; Fig. 61). Rubens's drawings are the only ones known of the statue.

1. R. Le Plat, *Recueil des marbres antiques qui se trouvent dans la galerie du Roi de Pologne à Dresde*, Dresden, 1733, pl. 12, engraved by Mart. Preissler; K. Zimmermann, 'Die Dresdener Antiken', *Schriften der Winkelmann-Gesellschaft*, IV, Berlin, 1977, pp. 21-23; Held, *Drawings*, 1986, p. 81, fig. 11. The tree trunk and both lower legs, 16th-century additions, have now been removed.
2. The statue may be identical with a *Silenus*, one of two marbles acquired on 27 February 1663 by Cardinal Chigi. The Cardinal lived in the Palazzo Colonna, purchased on 29 December 1661 (V. Golzio, *Documenti artistici sul Seicento nell'Archivio Chigi*, Rome, 1939, pp. 3, 23-24, 315). The statue was on display in a room on the ground floor (P. de Sebastiani, *Viaggio curioso de' palazzi, e ville più notabili di Roma*, Rome, 1683, p. 22). It was inherited by the Cardinal's nephew, Agostino Chigi, and transferred to the Palazzo Chigi on the corner of the Corso and Piazza Colonna (*Documenti inediti*, II, p. 177; inventory of 1705, no. 42). Agostino died in 1705 and the sculpture was eventually sold to Friedrich August, Elector of Saxony in 1728 with another 159 statues. See note 1 above.

## 29. Silenus leaning against a Tree Trunk (Chigi) (three-quarter view): Drawing (Fig. 61)

Black chalk on white paper; 419 × 256 mm. Piece cut out at bottom right.  
London, British Museum, Department of Prints and Drawings. Inv. No. 5211-58.

PROVENANCE: William Fawkener; bequeathed to the Museum in 1769.

COPY: Drawing (Fig. 59), Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst, Kongelige Kobberstiksamling, 'Rubens Cantoor', No. V, 50; black and red chalk on thick yellowish paper, 455 × 300 mm. PROV. Acquired by the Royal Library

in Copenhagen presumably in the 17th century; since 1835 in the Museum. LIT. *Fubini-Held*, p. 141, n. 39, pl. 9b; *Logan, Rubens Exhibitions*, 1977, p. 412; *Held, Circle*, pp. 97, 105 n. 39, fig. VIII.13.

EXHIBITED: London, 1977, no. 13; Canberra, 1988.

LITERATURE: *Hind, Rubens*, pp. 21-22, no. 51; *Miesel, Ancient Art*, p. 36; *Fubini-Held*, p. 141, n. 39, pl. 9a; *Müller Hofstede, Beiträge*, p. 270, n. 29; *Stechow, Rubens*, p. 28; *Jaffé, Rubens and Italy*, p. 82, n. 51; *Rowlands, Rubens Drawings*, p. 28, no. 13, repr.; *Logan, Rubens Exhibitions*, 1977, p. 412, no. 13; *Held, Circle*, pp. 104-105 n. 39; *Held, Drawings*, 1986, p. 81, no. 37, pl. 17; *Jaffé, Self-portrait*, p. 30, fig. 24.

The corpulent, nude Silenus is drawn in three-quarter view facing right. His legs appear only from the calves up. The sheet was probably trimmed along the bottom and both sides, cutting off parts of the winesack, tree and legs. A copy in Copenhagen (Fig. 59) possibly shows how far the original composition by Rubens extended to the left and right.

The source is the *Silenus* (Fig. 60) also drawn by Rubens in frontal view (see No. 28; Fig. 58). On that sheet the sculpture is shown in full. The drawing in London was attributed by Hind to Rubens, whose authorship was confirmed by the copy in Copenhagen, although the latter is in red chalk. Burchard dated the drawing to 1601-1602, the early years of Rubens's Italian journey, but Held placed it in the later Roman years (1605/6-1608), a preferable date. A *Drunken Silenus* occurs in several compositions by Rubens. On his *Bacchanal* (Moscow, State Pushkin Museum; *K.d.K.*, p. 82) the *Silenus* is literally copied.

### 30. Standing Silenus with a Dish (Mattei): Drawing

Technique and measurements unknown.

*Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost*

COPY: Right half of a drawing (Fig. 62; see No. 140, Copy, for *Dancing Faun* on the left half), Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst, Kongelige Kobberstiksamling, 'Rubens Cantoor', No. III, 41; black chalk and pen in brown ink on thick yellow paper, 217 × 235 mm.; bottom left corner cut off diagonally; right side of paper cut off irregularly; inscription in pen and brown ink in bottom left in code: *dit saterken is heel goet van / omtreck ende dit hebbe ick oock / gehaelt van rubbens cantoor*; inscription in pen and black ink in bottom centre in code: *dit manneken is boven een / luttel te smal van schouweren / ende dat is van onderen int / vercort geteekent*. PROV. Acquired by the Royal Library in Copenhagen presumably in the 17th century; since 1835 in the Museum. LIT. *Miesel, Ancient Art*, p. 56 n. 84, p. 89; *Miesel, Study Drawings*, p. 323; *Garff-Pedersen, Panneels*, pp. 89-90, no. 98, fig. 100.

On the left side of a sheet in Copenhagen (Copy; Fig. 62) a *Dancing Faun* is drawn in side view facing left. On the right side of the sheet a nude *Standing Silenus* faces front, seen from below.

The *Silenus* stands in *contrapposto* with the weight of his body on the left leg. The head with a wispy beard wears a pill-box cap. The right arm holds a dish, the left hand rests on his hip. Drapery covering his left shoulder passes from the back over the left underarm. Part of the drapery and the tree trunk next to the left leg were lost when the sheet was cut down.

An annotation informs us that the 'shoulders are too narrow', and that the figure is 'foreshortened', an explanation for the fact that the legs are too heavy and out of proportion.

The source for this drawing was a *Silenus* formerly in the collection of Cyriacus Mattei standing in the *giardino secreto* with a dish in his hand.<sup>1</sup> The marble can no longer be traced, but it was still in the Mattei collection when Venuti and Amaduzzi prepared their publication on the sculptures (Fig. 64).<sup>2</sup> By then, it had lost its right arm. No other drawing of the statue exists to my knowledge.

The *Dancing Faun* on the left of the Copenhagen sheet is drawn from the Borghese Vase (see No. 140). As the original sculptures were in different locations, the copyist probably combined two separate drawings by Rubens on one sheet. This hypothesis is supported by both inscriptions referring to two different models.

1. *Lanciani, Scavi*, III, p. 90: 'Nel giardinetto secreto et sua loggia: Un fauno di marmoro alto palmi sette et mezzo con un scudella per mano'.

2. *Venuti-Amaduzzi, Vetera monumenta*, I, pl. XLII: 'SILENVS'; present whereabouts unknown.

### 31-32 SILENUS SUPPORTING A WINESKIN (CESI)

#### 31. Silenus supporting a Wineskin (Cesi) (three-quarter view): Drawing

Technique and measurements unknown.

*Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.*

COPY: Right half of a drawing (Fig. 66; see No. 32, Copy, for the left half), Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst, Kongelige Kobberstiksamling 'Rubens Cantoor', No. III, 40; black and red chalk, pen and brown ink on thick yellowish paper, 207 × 293 mm.; bottom left corner cut off; inscription in pen and brown ink in bottom left in code: *dit saterken is goet van / omtreck ende ick heb / dit oock gehaelt / vant cantoor*; inscription in pen and brown ink in bottom right in code: *dit saterken hebbe ick oock al / gehaelt vant cantoor van / rubbens ende is goet van / omtreck*. Watermark: two capi-



tal letters C entwined and crowned. PROV. Acquired by the Royal Library in Copenhagen presumably in the 17th century; since 1835 in the Museum. LIT. *Miesel, Study Drawings*, p. 323; *Van der Meulen, Sculpture Collections*, p. 152, fig. 3b; *Garff-Pedersen, Panneels*, p. 153, no. 204, fig. 206.

On a copy in Copenhagen (Fig. 66) a nude *Silenus* supporting a wineskin on his raised right knee is drawn from two different angles. The sketch on the right renders the corpulent figure in three-quarter view facing left. The sketch on the left (see No. 32, Copy) pictures *Silenus* in back view, and a tree trunk support is sketched in contour only. The drawing is attributed to Willem Panneels by Garff and Pedersen (1628/30). The sheet bears two inscriptions, concerning the model, the location of the originals in Rubens's studio, and the results. This suggests that the draughtsman copied two separate drawings, combining them on one sheet.<sup>1</sup> The originals might have been drawn by Rubens himself, since he certainly had the opportunity to study the model (see below). The sheet in Copenhagen was later trimmed, cutting off the contour of the head of the right sketch as well as most of the left foot of both.

The source for the drawings was a fountain statue of a *Silenus* (Fig. 65) in the garden of Cardinal Cesi on the Borgo Vecchio in Rome. Aldroandi described in detail the fountain placed in the centre of a grassplot in the *giardino secreto*.<sup>2</sup> Artists favoured the piece and often copied it.<sup>3</sup> Rubens visited the Cesi statue garden and probably drew the marble.<sup>4</sup> In Posterla's account of the Cesi sculptures the statue is mentioned by name.<sup>5</sup> Sold in 1760 to Cardinal Albani, it is now on display in the Villa Torlonia-Albani.<sup>6</sup>

1. Unlike another drawing (No. 103, Copy; Fig. 183) showing two views of a statue of an *Eagle* but bearing a single inscription. On yet another sheet (see the copy under Nos. 30 and 140; Fig. 62) which also has two inscriptions, the copyist likewise combined

two drawings, but these rendered two different statues standing in different locations.

2. Aldroandi, *Statue antiche*, p. 124: 'vn Fauno in atto di versare acqua di vno otre, che egli si tiene su la coscia'. See Hülsen, *Römische Antikengärten*, p. 21, no. 67.
3. A drawing by Girolamo da Carpi, Philadelphia, Rosenbach album, fol. 28 (*Canedy, Girolamo da Carpi*, p. 41, pl. 4 R 28) and a print by J. von Sandrart, in his *Teutsche Academie*, Nuremberg, 1679, II, 2, pl. pp, can be added to the list of drawings and engravings in Hülsen, *Römische Antikengärten*.
4. The *Cesi Roma* (text ill. 52) was engraved by C. Galle (text ill. 54) after a lost drawing by Rubens. See Ch. I, p. 10 and Ch. III, p. 101.
5. F. Posterla, *Roma sacra e moderna*, Rome, 1707, p. 77: 'Fra le Statue vi è un Satiro col[n] un otre'; the illustration on p. 79 shows a woodcut by Girolamo Franzini, first published in *Le cose maravigliose*, Venice, 1588, G 14 (this woodcut missing in G. Franzini, *Icones Statuarum Antiquarum Vrbs Romae*, Rome, 1599).
6. S.A. Morcelli, C. Fea and P.E. Visconti, *La Villa Albani*, Rome, 1869, no. 924; *Forschungen zur Villa Albani. Katalog der antiken Bildwerke*, I, ed. P.C. Bol, Berlin, 1989, pp. 107-108, no. 27, figs. 48-49.

### 32. *Silenus* supporting a Wineskin (Cesi) (back view): Drawing

Technique and measurements unknown.  
*Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.*

COPY: Left half of a drawing (Fig. 66; see No. 31, Copy, for the right half), Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst, Kongelige Kobberstiksamlng, 'Rubens Cantoor', No. III, 40. See under No. 31 for more details.

The copy in Copenhagen (Fig. 66) pictures on the left a nude *Silenus* supporting a wineskin on his raised right knee in back view, with the tree-trunk support sketched in contour only. The paper was later trimmed, cutting off the left foot and the base of the statue. The right side of the sheet shows the *Silenus* in frontal view (see No. 31). The marble stood on a fountain in the garden of Cardinal Cesi (Fig. 65).

The two inscriptions on the drawing in Copenhagen suggest the copyist copied two separate drawings kept in Rubens's studio

combining them on one sheet. Garff and Pedersen identified Willem Panneels as the copyist (1628/30). See No. 31.

### 33-36 HEAD OF SILENUS

#### 33. Head of Silenus (frontal view): Drawing (Fig. 67)

Black chalk; 293 × 195 mm.; bottom right collector's mark of J. Richardson Senior (L.2183). — *Verso*: drawing of an elderly bearded man. *Moscow, State Pushkin Museum*. Inv. No. 6208.

PROVENANCE: ? 'Monsù Habé', an unidentified Flemish artist; ? inherited by a compatriot of his in Rome; ? acquired by Padre Sebastiano Resta (1635-1714), after 1684; ? mounted by him into an album which he sold to Giovanni Matteo Marchetti, Bishop of Arezzo (d.1704); ? acquired from the latter's heirs by John, Lord Somers (1650-1716) in 1711, who had the album taken apart; ? his sale, London (Mousseux), 6 May 1717; J. Richardson Senior (London, 1665-1745); Horace Walpole (London, 1717-1799), who again mounted the sheet into an album, bearing his bookmark on the inside of the cover; his sale, London (Robins), 23 June 1842, lot 1264 ('A folio with leaves, within which are pasted 56 drawings, by ...P.P. Rubens [etc.]); Uvedale Price (Foxley, 1747-1829) (his signature on the frontispiece of the album); acquired by Prince P.D. Dolgorukov (Moscow, 1866-1927) in Paris in 1906, donated to the Rumyantsev Museum in Moscow (where the album was taken apart);<sup>1</sup> transferred to the Pushkin Museum in 1924.

COPIES: (1) Drawing (Fig. 68), New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Inv. No. 52.214.1; black chalk and wash, 112 × 150 mm. (an irregularly cut oblong strip of paper, mounted on a larger oval sheet of 232 × 184 mm.); bottom right collector's mark of J. Fitchett Marsh (L.1455). PROV. J. Fitchett Marsh (1818-1880);

Dr Goldstein; Janos Scholz. EXH. *Cambridge-New York, 1956*, no. 16. LIT. *Cat. Exh. Cambridge-New York, 1956*, p. 20 no. 16; *Held, Drawings*, p. 160, no. 164, pl. 179; *Held, The Leopards*, unpag., fig. 9.

(2) Part of a drawing (Fig. 69; head at top right), Paris, Musée du Louvre, Cabinet des Dessins, Inv. No. 20.290; pen and ink, heightened with white, 296 × 401 mm.; inscribed in black chalk: P.P.R. Mounted. LIT. *Michel, Rubens*, pp. 146, 569, repr.; *Evers, Neue Forschungen*, p. 222, fig. 224; *Lugt, Cat. Louvre, École flamande*, II, p. 56, no. 1237, pl. LXXI; *Held, Drawings*, p. 160, under no. 164; *Held, The Leopards*, unpag.

(3) Drawing (Fig. 70), whereabouts unknown; pen and brown ink, brown wash, 236 × 165 mm.; numbered 59 top left; top right corner restored; bottom right collector's mark of the Earl of Warwick (L.2600). PROV. Earl of Warwick (1818-1893); sale, London (Christie's), 8 December 1976, lot 44. LIT. *The Connoisseur*, CXCIV, no. 782, April 1977, p. 301, repr.

(4) Drawing (Fig. 71), whereabouts unknown; black and white chalk, pen and brush in grey-brown, grey washes, on yellow paper, 257 × 210 mm. (octagonal shaped paper); bottom centre collector's marks of J. Richardson Senior (L.2184), J. Thane (L.1544) and T. Hudson (L.2432). PROV. J. Richardson Senior (London, 1665-1745); Thomas Hudson (London, 1701-1779); John Thane (London, 1748-1818); Sir Thomas Lawrence (London, 1769-1830); acquired from his estate by Samuel Woodburn (London, 1786-1853), his sale, London (Christie's), 14 June 1860, lot 1441; sale, London (Sotheby's), 15 May 1947, lot 10; sale, London (Christie's), 29 November 1983, lot 136. EXH. *London, 1835*, no. 94.

EXHIBITED: *Leningrad-Moscow, 1965-66*, no. 9, fig. 2; *Punkaharju, 1991*.

LITERATURE: *Kuznetsov, Drawings, 1965*, p. 17, no. 9, fig. 2; *Kuznetsov, Risunki, 1974*, no. 4, repr.; *Logan, Review Kuznetsov*, p. 300; *Jaffé,*

*Rubens and Italy*, p. 82, fig. 294; Jaffé, *Chatsworth Drawings, 1987-88*, p. 137, under no. 83; [V. Sadkov], in *Cat. Exh. Punkaharju, 1991*, p. 146, repr.

The bearded head of a snub-nosed *Silenus* is drawn in almost frontal view. The widely spaced eyes look upwards from under highly arched brows. A fillet is tied around the balding head which has large pointed ears and thick tufts of hair.

Rubens's drawing was the model for a sheet in New York (Copy 1; Fig. 68), which consists of a central, rectangular piece pasted onto a larger sheet, on which the composition continues. The central piece showing the face of a *Silenus*, with full moustache and part of a beard, is the original part. The original composition is known from Rubens's sheet in Moscow. On the larger sheet, bushy hair and a beard were added. The abruptly ending washes suggest that even the larger sheet was trimmed to its present, oval shape. Held attributed the central section to Rubens, but thought that the surrounding drawing and washes were not by the artist. A drawing sold at Christie's in 1983 (Copy 4; Fig. 71) was copied after the *Silenus* in its new disguise.

A sheet in Paris (Copy 2; Fig. 69) shows the same *Silenus* copied in pen and ink together with another two views of the head. This pen drawing was attributed to Rubens by Evers, but was rejected as such by Lugt, Held and Burchard. The copyist may well have combined several drawings by Rubens on one sheet.<sup>2</sup> See also Nos. 34-35.

The sheet in Moscow was also the model for a drawing last seen at Christie's in 1976 (Copy 3; Fig. 70). Here the spirited countenance of the *Silenus* has been reduced to an expressionless mask.

Rubens probably made his drawing after an antique sculpture, but the source has not been identified. The head may well have belonged to a statue of the type of *Silenus supporting a Wineskin* (Nos. 31-32). A statue in Naples has a head with a similar surprised

expression.<sup>3</sup> The figure of a reclining *Silenus* on the painting by Rubens, *Nature attired by the Graces* (Glasgow, Art Gallery and Museum; K.d.K., p. 61; c.1616) has a similar head crowned with ivy: it might reflect the original marble. The Satyr figure in the *Leopards* in Montreal,<sup>4</sup> and the *Silenus* in the *Nymphs and Satyrs* in Madrid (K.d.K., p. 381) seem to be derived from the same statue.

1. Information on Dolgorukov's album can be found in M. Maiskaya, *I grandi disegni italiani del Museo Pushkin di Mosca*, Milan, 1986, pp. 12, 15 (I owe this reference to Vadim Sadkov and Mrs Maiskaya). I am much obliged to A. Balis for tracing the history of the drawing.

2. As Burchard did not know the sheet by Rubens in Moscow or the copy in New York, he did not relate the drawing to Rubens's *oeuvre*.

3. Reinach, *Répertoire statuaire*, I, pl. 730 B, no. 1765C (Naples). Cf. also pl. 730, no. 1754; pl. 731, no. 1762; pl. 732 nos. 1760 and 1763; pl. 734 D, no. 1765 K. Jaffé, *Chatsworth Drawings, 1987-88*, p. 137, under no. 83 A-B, surmised that the sculpture belonged to Rubens's collection.

4. Held, *The Leopards*, unpag., repr.

### 34. Head of *Silenus* (three-quarter view): Drawing

Technique and measurements unknown.  
*Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.*

COPY: Part of a drawing (Fig. 69; head in centre), Paris, Musée du Louvre, Cabinet des Dessins, Inv. No. 20.290. See No. 33, Copy 2, for more details.

A drawing by Rubens of the *Silenus* head in three-quarter view facing left probably served as a model for the central sketch on an anonymous drawing in Paris (Fig. 69). The sheet pictures another three views of the same marble from different angles. Since the original by Rubens is known for one of these drawings (No. 33; Fig. 67), it is quite possible that the others also refer to drawings by the master.

### 35. Head of Silenus (side view): Drawing

Technique and measurements unknown.  
*Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.*

COPIES: (1) Part of a drawing (Fig. 69; heads at top left and bottom right), Paris, Musée du Louvre, Cabinet des Dessins, Inv. No. 20.290. See No. 33, Copy 2, for more details.

(2) Drawing (Fig. 72), Chatsworth, Derbyshire, the Duke of Devonshire, No. 683A; pen and bistre, 112 × 92 mm., including a strip 2 mm. wide added to the right side. PROV. Presumably acquired by the first (d.1707) or second Duke of Devonshire (1672-1729). EXH. *National Exhibition of Works of Art*, Leeds, 1868, no. 2748; *Old Master Drawings from Chatsworth. A Loan Exhibition from the Devonshire Collection*, The Frick Art Museum, Pittsburgh and other places, 1987-1988, no. 83 B. LIT. *Jaffé, Chatsworth Drawings, 1987-88*, p. 137, no. 83 B, repr. (as *Van Dyck*).

In a drawing in Paris (Copy 1; Fig. 69) the head of a Silenus is rendered from three angles: in frontal view, in three-quarter view facing right, and in side view. Since a drawing by Rubens, now in Moscow (No. 33; Fig. 67), served as model for the head seen from the front, the other views may also go back to an original by the master, presumably in black chalk. (See also No. 34). A sketch of the head facing right is copied twice: at the bottom right and at the top left (when the sheet is placed with the initials *P.P.R.* at the bottom). This same original may also have served as model for a sheet in Chatsworth (Copy 2; Fig. 72) ascribed to Van Dyck.<sup>1</sup> Here the head is seen slightly more from below. On another sketch in Chatsworth the head is seen from a slightly different viewpoint (No. 36; Fig. 73).

1. Burchard did not accept this attribution. An annotation in his files reads: 'recte, *Flemish School*, after P.P. Rubens (?)'.

### 36. Head of Silenus (side view): Drawing

Technique and measurements unknown.  
*Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.*

COPY: Drawing (Fig. 73), Chatsworth, Derbyshire, the Duke of Devonshire, No. 683; pen and bistre, 112 × 92 mm. PROV. Same as No. 35, Copy 2. EXH. *National Exhibition of Works of Art*, Leeds, 1868, no. 2748; *Old Master Drawings from Chatsworth. A Loan Exhibition from the Devonshire Collection*, The Frick Art Museum, Pittsburgh and other places, 1987-1988, no. 83A. LIT. *Jaffé, Chatsworth Drawings, 1987-88*, p. 137, no. 83 A, repr. (as *Van Dyck*).

A sheet in Chatsworth (Copy; Fig. 73), which has been attributed to Van Dyck,<sup>1</sup> shows the head of the Silenus in three-quarter view facing right, and slightly more from the front than on the previous drawing (No. 35, Copy 2; Fig. 72). It is probably also based on a lost drawing by Rubens.

1. Burchard rejected the attribution to Van Dyck. See No. 35, n. 1.

## 37-39 TORSO BELVEDERE

### 37. Torso Belvedere (three-quarter view): Drawing (Fig. 75)

Black chalk on thick greyish paper; 375 × 269 mm.; bottom left collector's marks of Sir J. Reynolds (L.2364), Baron H. de Triqueti (L.1304) and E.J. Poynter (L.874), bottom right mark of Th.Banks (L.2423). Inscribed in pen and black ink, centre right: *Di Vandik a belvedere / di S. Pietro di Roma* (followed by two illegible words); inscribed in black chalk on rock, centre below: ΑΠΟΛΛΟΝΙΟΣ / ΝΕΣΤΟΡΟΣ / ΑΘΗΝΑΙΟΣ / ΕΠΟΙΕΙ. Watermark: foot traveller

with a stick over his shoulder in a circle (cf. *Lugt, Cat. Louvre, École flamande*, II, [appendix], watermark no. 73).

*Antwerp, Rubenshuis*. Inv. No. S.109.

PROVENANCE: Sir Joshua Reynolds (London, 1723-1792); Sir Thomas Banks (London, 1735-1805); his daughter, Mrs Lavinia Forster; her son-in-law, Baron de Triqueti (Paris, 1802-1874); Sir E.J. Poynter (London, 1836-1919), sale, London (Sotheby's), 24 April 1918, lot 250 (as *Van Dyck*), purchased by Agnew; Victor Koch (1933), from whom acquired by Leo Franklyn, London, 4 January 1952; acquired from the latter by the Museum in 1952.

COPY: Drawing (Fig. 76), Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst, Kongelige Kobberstiksamlings, 'Rubens Cantoor', No. III, 58; black chalk, pen and brown ink on thick yellowish paper, 278 × 172 mm., top right corner torn off; inscription in pen and brown ink in bottom centre in code: *dit figuerken hebbe / ick oock vant cantoor gehaelt / ende dit is goet van omtreck*.

PROV. Acquired by the Royal Library in Copenhagen presumably in the 17th century; since 1835 in the Museum. LIT. *Burchard-d'Hulst, Tekeningen*, p. 34, under no. 11; *Miesel, Ancient Art*, p. 26, fig. II. 1; *Miesel, Study Drawings*, p. 318, fig. 10; *Garff-Pedersen, Panneels*, pp. 90-91, no. 99, fig. 101.

EXHIBITED: *Amsterdam*, 1933, no. 93, repr.; *Paris*, 1954, no. 413; *Antwerp*, 1956, no. 11; *Flamanska umetnost XVII veka*, Narodni Muzej, Belgrade, 1957, no. 14; *Tristoletí Nizozemské Kresby 1400-1700, van Eyck, Bosch, Rubens, Rembrandt*, Národní Galerie, Prague, 1966, no. 39; *Antwerp*, 1971, no. 58; *Cologne*, 1977, no. 53; *Birmingham*, 1978, no. 34, repr.; *Düsseldorf-Cologne*, 1979, no. 12, repr.; *Rubens en zijn tijd*, Sheibu Museum of Art, Tokyo, 1982, no. 61, repr.; *Il tempo di Rubens*, Palazzo Medici Riccardi, Florence—Museo di Sant'Agostino, Genoa, 1986-1987, no. 31; *Padua-Rome-Milan*, 1990, no. 57.

LITERATURE: A. Scharf, 'Little-known Drawings by Rubens', *The Connoisseur*, XXXII, 1933, p. 251; C. Norris, 'The Rubens Exhibition at Amsterdam', *The Burlington Magazine*, LXIII, 1933, p. 230; C. Sterling and L. Burchard, 'La découverte et l'histoire d'une oeuvre inconnue de Rubens', *L'amour de l'art*, XVIII, 9, 1937, p. 288, fig. 8; F. Van den Wijngaert, 'De Rubens-tekeningen in Antwerps stadsbezit', *Antwerpen*, II, 1956, p. 73; *Burchard-d'Hulst, Tekeningen*, pp. 33-34, no. 11; *Miesel, Ancient Art*, p. 26, pl. I; *Miesel, Study Drawings*, p. 318, fig. 9; *Müller Hofstede, Beiträge*, p. 270; M. Jaffé, 'Rubens and Italy Part II: Some Rediscovered Works of the First Phase', *The Burlington Magazine*, CX, 1968, p. 179; *Stechow, Rubens*, pp. 25-26, figs. 11-12; C. Schwinn, *Die Bedeutung des Torso vom Belvedere*, Bern, 1973, p. 105; F. Baudouin, *Kunstwerken tentoongesteld in het Rubenshuis*, Antwerp, 1974, no. 15, repr.; *Jaffé, Rubens and Italy*, p. 81, n. 29, pl. 276; *Müller Hofstede, Rubens in Italien*, p. 248, no. 53, repr.; *Held, Drawings*, 1986, p. 77, under no. 28; D. Bodart, in *Cat. Exh. Padua-Rome-Milan*, 1990, pp. 155-156, no. 57, repr.

A torso of a male nude truncated at the neck, shoulders and knees, seated on an animal skin spread over a rock, is drawn in three-quarter view facing right.

The source for the drawing was a fragment of the statue known as the *Torso Belvedere*, generally considered to represent *Hercules Resting*, but more recently identified as *Silenus Marsyas*.<sup>1</sup> The statue is a work of Apollonius, the son of Nestor, of Athens from the first century B.C. (Fig. 74). It is said to have been unearthed on the site of the Palazzo Colonna near SS Apostoli and was in the possession of the Colonna family by 1432. The inscription is recorded by Ciriaco of Ancona, who identified the figure as Hercules.<sup>2</sup> After the death of Prospero Colonna, the torso probably belonged to Andrea Bregno (1421-1506) who lived near the Palazzo Colonna.<sup>3</sup> It is not known when exactly the statue entered the papal collection: a drawing by Maerten van

Heemskerck shows it lying on its back in the Vatican statue court.<sup>4</sup> Johan Fichard was the first to mention it among the ruinous remains in the garden and pointed to its usefulness for artists.<sup>5</sup> His report was written in 1536 shortly after Michelangelo visited the statue court. The artist's high praise explains the sudden interest in the mutilated statue which had gone unnoticed before.<sup>6</sup> The *Torso* was placed next to the Venus of Cnidus along the west wall, as Aldroandi reported, where it was visible from all sides.<sup>7</sup> It was studied by many artists, who greatly admired it for its naturalistic anatomy and drew it from different angles.<sup>8</sup> Removed to Paris in 1797 by Napoleon, the statue was later returned and placed in a separate room in the Vatican Museum.<sup>9</sup>

The drawing in Antwerp was first attributed to Van Dyck by an old inscription, but Burchard correctly placed it in 1927 in Rubens's *oeuvre*. This has generally been accepted. The artist studied the marble from the same angle as Goltzius.<sup>10</sup> He must have made the drawing during the first months spent in Rome as the influence of the statue is already noticeable in his early Italian works: for example, a drawing of the *Baptism of Christ* (Paris, Louvre; text ill. 31),<sup>11</sup> the *Judgement of Paris* (Vienna, Gemäldegalerie der Akademie),<sup>12</sup> *Hercules and Omphale* (Paris, Louvre),<sup>13</sup> the *Mocking of Christ* (Grasse, Chapel of the Municipal Hospital),<sup>14</sup> and the *Martyrdom of St George* (Bordeaux, Musée des Beaux-Arts).<sup>15</sup>

The copyist of the drawing in Copenhagen (Fig. 76) informs us that the original he used was kept in Rubens's studio. It is copied exactly, although the Greek inscription was omitted. This drawing is attributed by Garff and Pedersen to Willem Panneels (1628/30). Other copies in Copenhagen picture the *Torso* from other angles (see under Nos. 38 and 39).

1. Inv. No. 1192; Bieber, *Hellenistic Sculpture*, pp. 179-180, figs. 764-765; G. Säflund, 'The Belvedere Torso, An Interpretation', *Opuscula Romana*, XI, 6, 1976, pp. 63-83; Helbig, *Führer*, 1963-72, I, pp. 211-213, no. 265.

2. *Michaelis, Belvedere*, p. 29, for the provenance; C. Hülsen, in *Rheinische Museen*, XLIX, 1894, p. 423, for Ciriaco of Ancona.
3. A. Schmitt, 'Römische Antikensammlungen im Spiegel eines Musterbuchs der Renaissance', *Münchner Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst*, XXI, 1970, pp. 107-113, fig. 2 (Umbrian sketchbook, private collection, fol. 10v); Haskell-Penny, pp. 311-314, no. 80, fig. 165.
4. Cod. Berlinensis, fol. 63r (Hülsen-Egger, *Heemskerck*, I, pl. 65). Fol. 73r (ibid., pl. 75), depicts the statue standing in an upright position.
5. J. Fichard, *Italia*, published in *Frankfurtisches Archiv für ältere deutsche Literatur und Geschichte*, III, 1815, p. 50: 'Iacent in eadem area, et trunci aliquot statuarum quorum alter praecipue ab artificibus commendatur'. Cf. *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst*, XXIII, 1960, p. 77.
6. G.B. Paggi, *Lettere al Fratello Girolamo*, [1554], in P. Barocchi, *Scritti d'arte del Cinquecento*, I, Bari, 1971, p. 210; Lomazzo, *edn Ciardi*, VI: LI, p. 381; Armenini, *edn Olszewski*, I: VIII, p. 131.
7. Aldroandi, *Statue antiche*, p. 121: 'A ma[n] dritta di queste cappella è vn torso gra[n]de di Hercole ignudo, assisso sopra vn tronco del medesimo marmo: no ha testa, ne braccia, ne ga[m]be. E stato questo busto singularmente lodato da Michel' Angelo. Nella sua basi ha queste lettere greche scritti. ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΟΣ ΝΕΣΤΟΡΟΣ ΑΘΗΝΑΙΟΣ ΕΠΟΙΕΙ'. Cf. *Michaelis, Belvedere*, fig. 1.
8. Bober-Rubinstein, *Handbook*, pp. 166-168, no. 132, repr. The *Torso* is not featured in 16th-century print books.
9. Amelung, *Skulpturen*, II, pp. 9-20, no. 3 (Inv. No. 1192), pl. 2.
10. Haarlem, Teylers Museum, Inv. No. KI.30 (Reznicek, *Goltzius*, I, pp. 322-324, no. 202, II, pl. 156).
11. Held, *Drawings*, 1986, p. 77, no. 28, pl. 28.
12. Müller Hofstede, *Rubens in Italien*, pp. 158-159, under no. 13, fig. K 13,1.
13. F. Baudouin, 'Deux tableaux de Rubens de la collection de la Reine Christine, "Hercule et Omphale" et "La Mort d'Adonis"', in *Queen Christina of Sweden. Documents and Studies*, Stockholm, 1966, pp. 20-32, fig. 2.
14. Vlieghe, *Saints*, II, p. 63, no. 111, fig. 34.
15. *Ibid.*, p. 40, no. 106, fig. 21.

### 38. Torso Belvedere (three-quarter view): Drawing

Technique and measurements unknown.  
Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.

COPIES: (1) Drawing (Fig. 78), Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst, Kongelige Kob-

berstiksamling, 'Rubens Cantoor', No. III, 57; black, red and white chalk on yellowish paper, 277 × 132 mm.; watermark: hand. PROV. Acquired by the Royal Library in Copenhagen presumably in the 17th century; since 1835 in the Museum. LIT. *Miesel, Ancient Art*, p. 26; *Held, Drawings*, 1986, p. 77, under no. 28; *Müller Hofstede, Beiträge*, p. 270; *Garff-Pedersen, Panneels*, pp. 42-43, no. 7, fig. 7.

(2) Drawing (Fig. 79), *ibid.*, 'Rubens Cantoor', No. III, 56; black, red and white chalk on yellowish paper, 291 × 172 mm.; top left and bottom right small corners cut off diagonally. PROV. Same as Copy 1. LIT. *Garff-Pedersen, Panneels*, p. 42, no. 6, fig. 6.

The *Torso Belvedere* is seen in three-quarter view facing left on two copies in Copenhagen (Figs. 78 and 79). The first is slightly smaller than the second one. They both go back to the same original, possibly by Rubens. Garff and Pedersen attributed both copies to Willem Panneels (1628/30).

The *Torso* pictured on these sketches differs in various details from the *Belvedere* marble (Fig. 74). The left thigh is completely broken off, the right side of the chest is also damaged and the animal skin hanging over the rock is missing. Apparently a replica or cast was studied.

### 39. Two Studies of the *Torso Belvedere* (three-quarter view from the back): Drawing

Technique and measurements unknown.  
*Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.*

COPY: Drawing (Fig. 77), Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst, Kongelige Kobberstiksamling, 'Rubens Cantoor', No. III, 59; pen and black ink on thick yellow paper, 230 × 339 mm. PROV. Acquired by the Royal Library in Copenhagen presumably in the 17th century; since 1835 in the Museum. EXH. *Cologne*, 1977, no. 45. LIT. *Miesel, Ancient Art*, p. 26; *Miesel,*

*Study Drawings*, p. 322; *Jaffé, Antwerp Sketchbook*, I, pl. XLVI; C. Schwinn, *Die Bedeutung des Torso vom Belvedere*, Bern, 1973, pp. 104-105, n. 208; *Jaffé, Rubens and Italy*, p. 63, n. 36; *Müller Hofstede, Rubens in Italien*, p. 234, no. 45, repr.; *Logan, Rubens Exhibitions*, 1978, p. 423, under nos. 41-45; K. Renger, [Review Rubens Exhibitions London and Cologne], *Kunstchronik*, XXXI, 1978, p. 144.

A copy in Copenhagen (Fig. 77) shows the *Torso Belvedere* from the back at two different angles: on the left, in three-quarter view facing left; and on the right, in three-quarter view facing right. The rock base is omitted. The sheet has been attributed to Rubens by Müller Hofstede and Jaffé. However, this has met with little acceptance. Copies in *MS Johnson* and *MS de Ganay* show the *Torso* from the same angle as the sketch on the right.<sup>1</sup>

The figure of Paris in Rubens's painting of *The Judgement of Paris* in the Vienna Akademie is clearly derived from the *Torso* seen in back view, but no drawing of the *Torso* seen from this point of view is known by the master.<sup>2</sup>

1. *MS Johnson*, fol. 56r (206.a), inscribed: *heroes; MS de Ganay*, fol. 19r. The back of the *Torso* is analyzed in rectangles. The sketches are among the anatomical studies made by Rubens of the proportions of the human body.

2. *Müller Hofstede, Rubens in Italien*, p. 158, no. 13, fig. K 13,1.

## 40-44 HERCULES MINGENS

### 40. Hercules Mingens (frontal view): Drawing (Fig. 80)

Pen and brush in brown ink; 165 × 68 mm. *Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst, Kongelige Kobberstiksamling*. 'Rubens Cantoor', No. III, 35.

PROVENANCE: Acquired by the Royal Library in Copenhagen presumably in the 17th century; since 1835 in the Museum.

EXHIBITED: *Cologne*, 1977, no. 44a.

LITERATURE: *Held, Drawings*, p. 51; *Miesel, Ancient Art*, p. 51, n. 61; *Miesel, Study Drawings*, p. 322, n. 19; *Müller Hofstede, St Georg*, pp. 79-80, 104, n. 34a, fig. 8; *Müller Hofstede, Beiträge*, p. 284; *Müller Hofstede, Rubens in Italien*, pp. 232-233, no. 44a, fig. K 44d; *Jaffé, Rubens and Italy*, p. 84, n. 98, fig. 299; *Logan, Rubens Exhibitions, 1978*, p. 423, under nos. 41-45; *Vlieghe, Review Jaffé*, p. 473; *Held, Drawings, 1986*, p. 44, n. 12 (as *Rubens*).

A bearded nude man with a club held on his left shoulder is drawn urinating in frontal view. Both feet, the right underarm and left arm with club are sketched in contour lines only. A detail study in the top left shows the head this time in side view to the left. The left leg seen in back view is drawn in contour at the bottom right. This drawing in Copenhagen was probably cut out of a larger sheet;<sup>1</sup> the contour of the right leg in back view was cut off along the right side.

The source was a bronze statuette of a *Hercules Mingens* (urinating Hercules), possibly antique.<sup>2</sup> The parts indicated by contour lines could have been modern restorations.

The drawing was first attributed to Rubens by Müller Hofstede, whose opinion was followed by Jaffé, Logan and Held, but rejected by Vlieghe. Four other sketches in Copenhagen show the same bronze from different angles (Nos. 41-44).

1. See also Nos. 41, 45 and 46.

2. E. Babelon and J.A. Blanchet, *Catalogue des bronzes antiques de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, Paris, 1895, p. 238, no. 570, repr.; *Lexicon Mythologiae*, IV, 1, p. 772, no. 907, repr.; *Reinach, Répertoire statuaire*, II, p. 231, nos. 4-5; III, p. 249, no. 10.

#### 41. Hercules Mingens (three-quarter view from behind): Drawing (Fig. 81)

Pen and brush in brown ink over main drawing in black chalk; 142 × 64 mm. Paper cut out in oval shape.

*Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst, Kongelige Kobberstiksamlng. 'Rubens Cantoor'*, No. III, 39.

PROVENANCE: Acquired by the Royal Library in Copenhagen presumably in the 17th century; since 1835 in the Museum.

EXHIBITED: *Cologne*, 1977, no. 44b.

LITERATURE: *Held, Drawings*, p. 51; *Miesel, Ancient Art*, p. 51, n. 61; *Müller Hofstede, St Georg*, pp. 79-80, 104, n. 34b, fig. 9; *Müller Hofstede, Beiträge*, p. 284; *Müller Hofstede, Rubens in Italien*, pp. 232-233, no. 44b, fig. K 44e; *Jaffé, Rubens and Italy*, p. 84, n. 98; *Logan, Rubens Exhibitions, 1978*, p. 423, under nos. 41-45; *Vlieghe, Review Jaffé*, p. 473; *Held, Drawings, 1986*, p. 44, n. 12 (as *Rubens*).

A statuette of a *Hercules Mingens* is drawn in three-quarter view from behind, facing left. The left hand and club resting on his shoulder are indicated by a contour line only. The sketch was probably cut out of a larger sheet.<sup>1</sup> The attribution to Rubens is doubted by Vlieghe. See No. 40.

1. See also Nos. 40, 45 and 46.

#### 42. Hercules Mingens (frontal view): Drawing

Technique and measurements unknown. *Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.*

COPY: Drawing (Fig. 82), Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst, Kongelige Kobberstiksamlng, 'Rubens Cantoor', No. III, 37; pen and brush in brown ink, 195 × 94 mm. PROV. Acquired by the Royal Library in Copenhagen presumably in the 17th century; since 1835 in the Museum. EXH. *Cologne*, 1977, No. 44c. LIT. *Held, Drawings*, p. 51; *Miesel, Ancient Art*, p. 51, n. 61; *Miesel, Study Drawings*, p. 322, n. 19; *Müller Hofstede, St Georg*, pp. 79-80, 104,



n. 34c, fig. 12; Müller Hofstede, *Beiträge*, p. 284; Müller Hofstede, *Rubens in Italien*, p. 232, no. 44c, fig. K 44a; Jaffé, *Rubens in Italy*, p. 84, n. 98; Logan, *Rubens Exhibitions, 1978*, p. 423, under nos. 41-45; Vlieghe, *Review Jaffé*, p. 473; Held, *Drawings, 1986*, pp. 44, 49, n. 12 (as not *Rubens*).

A copy in Copenhagen (Fig. 82) shows a statuette of a *Hercules Mingens* in frontal view. The right foot and club resting on the left shoulder are less detailed. Hatchings indicate shadows cast by light falling in from the right.

This sketch renders the same bronze statuette as on the previous two drawings although the figure looks broader and the hair is different. Müller Hofstede and Jaffé attributed the sketch to Rubens; this opinion is not shared by Logan, Vlieghe, or Held. This sketch and the following two, all in Copenhagen, are by the same hand; they might be copied after Rubens, or drawn by an assistant (see Nos. 43-44).

### 43. *Hercules Mingens* (three-quarter view): Drawing

Technique and measurements unknown.  
*Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.*

COPY: Drawing (Fig. 83), Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst, Kongelige Kobberstiksamlng, 'Rubens Cantoor', No. III, 36; pen and brush in brown ink over main drawing in black chalk, 188 × 86 mm.; paper damaged below left. PROV. Acquired by the Royal Library in Copenhagen presumably in the 17th century; since 1835 in the Museum. EXH. *Cologne, 1977*, no. 44e. LIT. Held, *Drawings*, p. 51; Miesel, *Ancient Art*, p. 51, n. 61; Müller Hofstede, *St Georg*, pp. 79-80, 104, n. 34e, fig. 11; Müller Hofstede, *Beiträge*, p. 284; Müller Hofstede, *Rubens in Italien*, pp. 232-233, no. 44e, fig. K 44c; Jaffé, *Rubens and Italy*, p. 84, n. 98; Logan, *Rubens Exhibitions, 1978*, p. 423, under

nos. 41-45; Vlieghe, *Review Jaffé*, p. 473; Held, *Drawings, 1986*, p. 44, n. 12 (as not *Rubens*).

A copy in Copenhagen (Fig. 83) shows a statuette of a *Hercules Mingens* in three-quarter view facing right. The club resting on the left shoulder is indicated by a contour line only. The left arm is repeated in a detail study at the top right, seen from the front, as on the sketch with the statue in frontal view (No. 42). Müller Hofstede and Jaffé attributed this sketch to Rubens, but it is by another hand (cf. Nos. 42, 44). See preceding entries.

### 44. *Hercules Mingens* (three-quarter view): Drawing

Technique and measurements unknown.  
*Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.*

COPY: Drawing (Fig. 84), Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst, Kongelige Kobberstiksamlng, 'Rubens Cantoor', No. III, 38; pen and brush in brown ink over main drawing in black chalk, 170 × 80 mm. PROV. Acquired by the Royal Library in Copenhagen presumably in the 17th century; since 1835 in the Museum. EXH. *Cologne, 1977*, no. 44d. LIT. Held, *Drawings*, p. 51; Miesel, *Ancient Art*, p. 51, n. 61; Miesel, *Study Drawings*, p. 322, n. 19; Müller Hofstede, *St Georg*, pp. 79-80, 104, n. 34d, fig. 10; Müller Hofstede, *Beiträge*, p. 284; Müller Hofstede, *Rubens in Italien*, p. 232, no. 44d, fig. K 44b; Jaffé, *Rubens and Italy*, p. 84, n. 98; Logan, *Rubens Exhibitions, 1978*, p. 423; Vlieghe, *Review Jaffé*, p. 473; Held, *Drawings, 1986*, p. 44, n. 12 (as not *Rubens*).

A copy in Copenhagen (Fig. 84) shows a statuette of a *Hercules Mingens* in three-quarter view facing left. The club resting on the left shoulder is indicated by a contour line only. At the top left part of the face is drawn in a separate study, below right a contour sketch shows the left leg separately. Müller Hofstede and Jaffé ascribed this sketch to

Rubens. However, it is obviously by the same hand as the previous two sketches, made by a copyist after an original by Rubens or drawn by an assistant. The figures are heavier than those on the two sketches by Rubens (Nos. 40-41) and the statue is depicted in views different from those by the master.

**45. Standing Mercury: Drawing (Fig. 85)**

Pen and brush in black ink on thick, yellowish paper cut out irregularly on the right side; 157 × 67 mm.

*Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst, Kongelige Kobberstiksamling. 'Rubens Cantoor', No. III, 51.*

PROVENANCE: Acquired by the Royal Library in Copenhagen presumably in the 17th century; since 1835 in the Museum.

EXHIBITED: *Cologne, 1977, no. 42 A.*

LITERATURE: *Müller Hofstede, St Georg, p. 105, n. 34a; Jaffé, Rubens and Italy, p. 84, n. 99, fig. 300; Müller Hofstede, Rubens in Italien, p. 230, No. 42 A, fig. K 42 A; Logan, Rubens Exhibitions, 1978, p. 423, under nos. 41-45; Vlieghe, Review Jaffé, p. 473.*

A nude Mercury stands in *contrapposto* with the weight on his right leg, almost in frontal view. He has wings on his head and holds a purse in his right hand. The left arm is missing; the right underarm and left foot are indicated by a contour line only. The sketch was cut out of a larger sheet, and was possibly part of the same sheet of paper as the *Hercules Mingens* (Nos. 40-41).<sup>1</sup>

A bronze statuette of a *Winged Mercury* holding a purse in his extended right hand was the source for the drawing. The left arm was broken off, and the feet and arm drawn in contour might have been modern restorations. Of the many antique bronzes known,

one at the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris is quite close to the Mercury on the drawing.<sup>2</sup>

The sketch in Copenhagen was attributed to Rubens by Müller Hofstede, accepted by Logan, but not by Vlieghe. It should be dated to shortly before Rubens's departure for Italy or to the first years in Italy.

1. Logan, loc.cit. See also No. 46.

2. E. Babelon and A. Blanchet, *Catalogue des bronzes antiques de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, Paris, 1895, no. 317. Cf. *Reinach, Répertoire statuaire*, II, p. 156, no. 9.

**46-49 STANDING YOUTH**

**46. Standing Youth (three-quarter view): Drawing (Fig. 86)**

Pen and brush in black ink, heightened with white; 167 × 87 mm. Paper cut out irregularly; inscribed at bottom left in ink by later hand: *Gulio Romano.*

*Dresden, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Kupferstichkabinett. Inv. No. C 1967-40.*

COPY: Drawing (Fig. 87), Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst, Kongelige Kobberstiksamling, 'Rubens Cantoor', No. III, 55; pen and brush in black ink on thick yellowish paper, 202 × 108 mm. PROV. Acquired by the Royal Library in Copenhagen presumably in the 17th century; since 1835 in the Museum. EXH. *Cologne 1977, no. 42d.* LIT. *Miesel, Study Drawings, p. 322; Müller Hofstede, St Georg, p. 106, n. 34i; Müller Hofstede, Beiträge, p. 284, no. 6d, fig. 207; C. Dittrich, in Cat. Exh. Dresden, 1970, p. 56, under no. 61; Müller Hofstede, Rubens in Italien, pp. 228-229, no. 42d, fig. 42c; Mielke-Winner, p. 25, under no. 3; Freedberg, Année Rubens, p. 85, fig. 8.*

EXHIBITED: *Dresden, 1970, no. 61; Cologne, 1977, no. 43.*

LITERATURE: C. Dittrich, in *Cat. Exh. Dresden, 1970, p. 56, no. 61, repr.; Jaffé, Rubens and Italy,*

p. 84, n. 101, fig. 301; Müller Hofstede, *Rubens in Italien*, p. 231, no. 43, repr.; Logan, *Rubens Exhibitions, 1978*, p. 423; Vlieghe, *Review Jaffé*, p. 473; Freedberg, *Année Rubens*, p. 85, fig. 9.

A standing nude youth, the weight of his body on his right leg, is drawn in three-quarter view facing left. The right underarm and both feet are indicated by a contour line. The right hand is sketched in a double contour and the left hand, with palm turned down, has five fingers plus a thumb. The head is framed with thick short curls and turns slightly to the left. The sketch may well have belonged to a larger sheet with the *Mercury* (No. 45) and *Hercules Mingens* (Nos. 40 and 41).

A sketch in Copenhagen (Fig. 87) shows the figure seen from the same angle, but its head is now facing the viewer. Hatchings occur in the background around the figure. The sketch is probably a copy after the Dresden drawing, although it is not quite exact. The clinching evidence is provided by the left hand with its five fingers which are more pronounced than on the Rubens drawing. It belongs to a group of four depicting a statuette from different angles, all copied after originals by Rubens (Nos. 46–49, Copies). The copyist has rendered the body of the youth more muscular. Müller Hofstede attributed the Copenhagen set to Rubens; this opinion was rightly rejected by Freedberg. They are by the same hand as three sketches of a *Hercules Mingens* (Nos. 42–44, Copies), also in Copenhagen.

A bronze statuette of a *Bacchus* or an *Athlete*, possibly antique, served as model.<sup>1</sup> Cracks running across the lower underarm and the instep of the foot sketched in contour probably indicate modern restorations.

The attribution of the drawing in Dresden to Rubens by Jaffé has been accepted by Müller Hofstede and Logan, but is doubted by Vlieghe.<sup>2</sup> The sheet has been dated to the first years of Rubens's visit to Italy.

1. E. Babelon and A. Blanchet, *Catalogue des bronzes antiques de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, Paris, 1895, no. 928. The youth's large chest might suggest that he is an *Athlete* rather than a *Bacchus*.

2. This drawing was not known to Burchard.

#### 47. Standing Youth (frontal view): Drawing

Technique and measurements unknown.  
*Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.*

COPY: Drawing (Fig. 88), Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst, Kongelige Kobberstiksamling, 'Rubens Cantoor', No. III, 54; pen and brush in black ink on thick yellowish paper, 195 × 104 mm.; the top left corner cut off diagonally. PROV. Acquired by the Royal Library in Copenhagen presumably in the 17th century; since 1835 in the Museum. EXH. *Cologne 1977*, no. 42c. LIT. *Miesel, Study Drawings*, p. 322; Müller Hofstede, *St Georg*, p. 106, n. 34h; Müller Hofstede, *Beiträge*, p. 284, no. 6c, fig. 206; C. Dittrich, in *Cat. Exh. Dresden, 1970*, p. 56, under no. 61; Müller Hofstede, *Rubens in Italien*, pp. 228–229, no. 42c, fig. 42b; *Mielke-Winner*, p. 25, under no. 3; *Freedberg, Année Rubens*, p. 85.

A copy in Copenhagen (Fig. 88) shows the statuette of a *Standing Youth* in frontal view. The right underarm and left foot are indicated by a contour line only. This sketch belongs to a group of four showing the same bronze from different angles (see Nos. 46, 48 and 49, Copies). They are copied after drawings by Rubens no longer known.

#### 48. Standing Youth (three-quarter view): Drawing

Technique and measurements unknown.  
*Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.*

COPY: Drawing (Fig. 89), Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst, Kongelige Kobberstik-

samling, 'Rubens Cantoor', No. III, 52; pen and brush in black ink on thick yellowish paper, 220 × 92 mm. PROV. Acquired by the Royal Library in Copenhagen presumably in the 17th century; since 1835 in the Museum. EXH. *Cologne, 1977*, no. 42a. LIT. *Miesel, Study Drawings*, p. 322; *Müller Hofstede, St Georg*, p. 106, n. 34f; *Müller Hofstede, Beiträge*, p. 284, no. 6a, fig. 204; C. Dittrich, in *Cat. Exh. Dresden, 1970*, p. 56, under no. 61; *Müller Hofstede, Rubens in Italien*, p. 229, no. 42a, fig. K 42a; *Mielke-Winner*, p. 25, under no. 3; *Freedberg, Année Rubens*, p. 85, fig. 8.

A copy in Copenhagen (Fig. 89) shows the statuette of a *Standing Youth* in three-quarter view facing right. The left foot and right underarm are indicated by a contour line only. This sketch belongs to a group of four depicting a bronze from different angles, drawn after originals by Rubens (see Nos. 46, 47 and 49, Copies).

#### 49. Standing Youth (back view): Drawing

Technique and measurements unknown.

*Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.*

COPY: Drawing (Fig. 90), Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst, Kongelige Kobberstiksamlings, 'Rubens Cantoor', No. III, 53; pen and brush in black ink on thick, yellowish paper, 209 × 114 mm. PROV. Acquired by the Royal Library in Copenhagen presumably in the 17th century; since 1835 in the Museum. EXH. *Cologne, 1977*, no. 42b. LIT. *Miesel, Study Drawings*, p. 322; *Müller Hofstede, St Georg*, p. 106, n. 34g; *Müller Hofstede, Beiträge*, p. 284, no. 6b, fig. 205; C. Dittrich, in *Cat. Exh. Dresden, 1970*, p. 56, under no. 61; *Müller Hofstede, Rubens in Italien*, pp. 228-229, no. 42b, fig. K 42d; *Mielke-Winner*, p. 25, under no. 3; *Freedberg, Année Rubens*, p. 85.

A copy in Copenhagen (Fig. 90) shows the statuette of a *Standing Youth* in back view. The drawing belongs to a group in Copenhagen showing a bronze from different points of view. They are copied after drawings by Rubens (see Nos. 46-48, Copies).

### 50-51 MALE DRAPED STATUES

#### 50. Greek Philosopher (Arundel Homer): Drawing (Fig. 93)

Black chalk; 552 × 361 mm.; inscribed below left in pen and ink 294, and below right 86. Watermark: crown with star (Italian?).

*Berlin-Dahlem, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Kupferstichkabinett. Inv. No. 10.601.*

PROVENANCE: Donated to the Museum in 1920.

EXHIBITED: *Antwerp, 1956*, no. 10; *Antwerp, 1977*, no. 115 (repr.); *Cologne, 1977*, no. 58; *P.P. Rubens, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin, 1977*, no. 10.

LITERATURE: 'Geschenke', *Berliner Museen*, XLI, 1920, col. 231; J. Rosenberg, 'Weitere Federzeichnungen von Rubens im Kupferstichkabinett', *Berliner Museen*, XLIX, 1928, p. 60, fig. 7; E. Bock and J. Rosenberg, *Staatliche Museen zu Berlin. Die niederländischen Meister. Beschreibendes Verzeichnis sämtlicher Zeichnungen*, Berlin, 1930, I, p. 251, no. 10.601, II, pl. 180; H. Kaufmann, 'Overzicht der litteratuur betreffende Nederlandsche kunst, Duitsland', *Oud-Holland*, XLVIII, 1931, pp. 196-197; *Boehring, Homer Bildnisse*, I, p. 136, no. 1, pl. 108; V.H. Poulsen, 'Zum Bildnis Homers', *Acta Archaeologica*, XI, 1940, p. 154, fig. 1; C. P[icard], 'Rubens et le portrait d'Homère', *Revue archéologique*, VI, 18, 1941, pp. 284-285; T. Dohrn, 'Gefaltete und verschränkte Hände. Eine

Studie über die Gebärde in der griechischen Kunst', *Jahrbuch des kaiserlich deutschen Archäologischen Instituts*, LXX, 1955, p. 75, fig. 10; Burchard-d'Hulst, *Tekeningen*, p. 33, no. 10, pl. VI; M. Jaffé, 'Rubens' Drawings in Antwerp', *The Burlington Magazine*, XCVIII, 1956, p. 321; Miesel, *Ancient Art*, p. 53, n. 73; Burchard-d'Hulst, *Drawings*, pp. 27-29, no. 12, repr.; Richter, *Portrait of the Greeks*, I, p. 52; Müller Hofstede, *Beiträge*, p. 270; Stechow, *Rubens*, p. 51, fig. 38; C. van Hasselt, [Cat. Exh.] *Flemish Drawings of the Seventeenth Century from the Collection of Frits Lugt*, London-Paris-Bern-Brussels, 1972, p. 102, under no. 77; Kuznetsov, *Risunki*, 1974, no. 10, repr.; D.E.L. Haynes, 'The Arundel "Homerus" Rediscovered', *The J. Paul Getty Journal*, I, 1974, p. 73, fig. 3; id., *The Arundel Marbles*, Oxford, 1975, pp. 4, 17; F. Baudouin, 'Rubens en de antieke kunst', *Hermeneus*, XLIX, 1977, p. 165, fig. 18; Jaffé, *Rubens and Italy*, p. 82, n. 52, pl. 304; Müller Hofstede, *Rubens in Italien*, p. 258, no. 58, repr.; Mielke-Winner, pp. 45-49, no. 10, repr.; J.G. van Gelder, 'Caspar Netscher's portret van Abraham van Lennep', *Jaarboek Amstelodamum*, LXX, 1978, pp. 233-234; M. Vickers, 'A New Source for Rubens's "Descent from the Cross" in Antwerp', *Pantheon*, XXXIX, 1981, 2, p. 141, n. 19; Van Gelder-Jost, *Jan de Bisschop*, p. 154, under nos. 71-72, n. 1.

An elderly man wearing a short-sleeved *chiton* is drawn in frontal view from below. He stands in *contrapposto* with the weight of his body on the right leg. A *himation* is wrapped around the left shoulder over his back and crosses his chest in a thick roll; the right end is bunched up and secured by the left arm. The hands are clasped together on the chest. The bearded head with curly locks gazes to the left. The left foot and sandal are drawn separately on a larger scale at bottom right. A support behind the right leg is barely visible between the feet. The figure stands out against a background covered with heavy hatchings, indicating shadows.

It remains unknown where Rubens saw the

marble; it was probably displayed in a *palazzo* in Rome. The marble was later in the collection of Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel, who acquired it in Italy between 1613 and 1615, and displayed the sculpture in his mansion on the Strand. A painting attributed to Daniel Mytens portrays the Earl with his statue gallery in the background.<sup>1</sup> The marble is standing in the third niche from the front. Jacob de Gheyn drew the statue while visiting the Earl in 1618. His drawings were later engraved by Jan de Bisschop and published in the *Signorum Veterum Icones*.<sup>2</sup> The statue is here identified on the base as 'HOMERVS'.

In 1691 the Earl of Norfolk in disposing of the Arundel collection donated the sculpture to a former servant, Boyden Cuper. John Aubrey published the statue, then reduced to a headless and legless torso, in 1719.<sup>3</sup> Shortly thereafter every trace of the statue was lost, and even the authenticity of the once so popular marble, known from De Bisschop's prints was questioned. Haynes recently rediscovered the torso,<sup>4</sup> which was recognized by Van Gelder as the long lost 'Homer'.<sup>5</sup> The statue is now at the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford (Fig. 92).<sup>6</sup> Haynes considers the marble a Greek original of post-Lysippian workmanship.

The 1920 attribution of the Berlin drawing to Rubens has never been questioned,<sup>7</sup> and it was probably made during his years in Italy. It is the oldest record of the marble. Burchard-d'Hulst attribute the sheet to his first stay in Rome, but I hesitate to accept this early date. The very loose, free style of the chalk drawing does not seem to fit with the often dry, meticulous, anatomical studies that Rubens made in his early years. Müller Hofstede proposed a date during his second stay in Rome (1605/6-1608), when Rubens was engaged in studies after draped statues.

Rubens's interest in ancient costume is known from his *Roman Itinerary*, which contains a page of notes about sundry pieces of clothing. The first entry concerns 'the use of the *pallium*, worn by Greek philosophers,

which leaves the right shoulder and the entire arm bare, as Diogenes and Socrates wore it'.<sup>8</sup> The Greek *himation* was called a *pallium* in ancient Roman times.<sup>9</sup>

The artist apparently also took particular interest in the footwear of the statue as he focused on the sandal in a detail at bottom right. The *crepida* is fastened with straps on each side to a leather sole and laced around the foot and ankle with a broad leather strap over the instep.<sup>10</sup>

Rubens's identification of the marble is not known. The statue is cut off below the feet on the Berlin sheet, but is labelled *Homer* on the base on De Gheyn's drawing, as noted above. A quite similar statuette (although without hands) belonged to Fulvio Orsini's collection and was identified as Homer (Fig. 91).<sup>11</sup> Cerenus described the philosopher as clasping his hands over his chest.<sup>12</sup>

The artist copied the sculpture closely for the figure of Chronos holding a scythe in his *Council of the Gods* (text ill. 45; Medici cycle, Paris, Louvre; *K.d.K.*, p. 254). However, the *chiton* under the mantle is omitted.

Another drawing in Berlin (KdZ.12166) formerly attributed to Artus Quellin, shows the Arundel sculpture from practically the same angle as on Rubens's drawing.<sup>13</sup> A painting of a couple by Thomas de Keyser (1634) and a portrait of Abraham van Lennep by Caspar Netscher (1672) also picture the statue, derived from the prints of de Bisschop.<sup>14</sup>

and reproductions of the drawings and engravings by various artists); id., *The Arundel Marbles*, Oxford, 1975, pp. 4, 17, pl. 4.

5. J.G. van Gelder, 'Caspar Netscher's portret van Abraham van Lennep uit 1672', *Jaarboek Amstelodammum*, LXX 1978, pp. 233-234.
6. *The Burlington Magazine*, CXXVI, 1984, p. 535, fig. 77: the announcement of the purchase by the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford.
7. Van Gelder-Jost, *Jan de Bisschop*, p. 154: 'if the attribution of the above-mentioned Berlin drawing to Rubens and its dating to the time of his stay in Italy are correct, the "Homer" must have been in an Italian collection by 1608'. The watermark appears to be Italian.
8. Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS Fr.9530, fol. 200v (see Appendix I.3).
9. Wilson, *Clothing Ancient Romans*, pp. 78-79. For the Greek *himation* and *chiton* see M. Bieber, *Griechische Kleidung*, Berlin-Leipzig, 1928 (reprint 1977), p. 80, pl. LI. Cf. R. Kreis-von Schaeuwen, in *Pauly-Wissowa*, XVIII,3, 1949, cols. 250-251: the *pallium* was worn with the *crepida*. See also note 10.
10. *Daremberg-Saglio*, I, 2, pp. 1558-1560, figs. 2056, 2061; Bieber, in *Pauly-Wissowa*, XI, 1922, cols. 1711-1714.
11. *Ursinus*, *Imagines*, pl. 21. Cf. T. Galle, *Cod. Vat. Capp.* 228, fol. 120 (Fig. 91). Rubens knew Galle's unpublished drawings (see Nos. 201-219).
12. Richter, *Portraits of the Greeks*, I, p. 46.
13. Mielke-Winner, p. 47, as late 17th-century Flemish. Van Gelder-Jost, *Jan de Bisschop*, p. 156 n. 5, as c.1630.
14. Van Gelder, op. cit. (note 5), p. 238, repr. The painting (now in the National Gallery in Melbourne, Australia), has recently been identified as a marriage portrait depicting Fredrick van Velthuysen and his first wife Josina van Schonevelt. De Keyser copied de Gheyn's drawing for de Bisschop's engraving (E. Depravian, 'A Double Portrait by Thomas de Keyser in the National Gallery of Victoria', *The Burlington Magazine*, CXXXII, 1990, pp. 710-713, fig. 39).

1. M. Hervey, *The Life, Correspondence and Collections of Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel*, Cambridge, 1921, p. 132, pl. X.
2. J. de Bisschop, *Signorum Veterum Icones*, Amsterdam, [1671], pls. 71 and 72; in his *Dedication* (p. 2) de Bisschop says that De Gheyn drew the statue in England. See Van Gelder-Jost, *Jan de Bisschop*, pp. 153-157, nos. 71-72.
3. J. Aubrey, *Natural History and the Antiquities of Surrey*, London, 1719, V, pl. V (right).
4. D.E.L. Haynes, 'The Arundel Marbles, II', *Archaeology*, XXI, 1968, p. 210, fig. b; id., 'The Fawley Court Relief', *Apollo*, 1972, p. 9, figs. 6 (right) and 20; id., 'The Arundel "Homerus" Rediscovered', *The J. Paul Getty Museum Journal*, I, 1974, pp. 73-80, figs. 2a-d (with an overview of the vicissitudes of the marble

## 51. Togatus with Portrait Head of Nero (Arundel): Drawing (Fig. 95)

Black chalk on thick paper; 470 × 313 mm.; bottom centre collector's mark of P.H. Lankrink (L.2090). Watermark: crowned shield with eagle (Italian?).

Paris, Institut Néerlandais, *Fondation Custodia* (F. Lugt Collection). Inv. No. 5960.

PROVENANCE: P.H. Lankrink (London, 1628-1692); Thorn Drury, sale, London (Sotheby's),

19 March 1947, no. 12 (to Wilson); acquired by F. Lugt in 1947.

EXHIBITED: *Artisti olandesi e fiamminghi in Italia*, Istituto Universitario Olandese, Florence, 1966, no. 41, pl. XVIII; *Flemish Drawings of the Seventeenth Century from the Collection of Frits Lugt*, Institut Néerlandais, Paris, London-Paris-Bern-Brussels, 1972, no. 77.

LITERATURE: Burchard-d'Hulst, *Tekeningen*, p. 33, under no. 10; M. Jaffé, [Review exhibition *Old Master Drawings*, Agnew's, London, 1956], *The Burlington Magazine*, XCIX, 1957, p. 432; Burchard-d'Hulst, *Drawings*, p. 28, under no. 12; Miesel, *Study Drawings*, p. 325, n. 11; M. Jaffé, 'Rubens as a Draughtsman', *The Burlington Magazine*, CVII, 1965, p. 380, under no. 12; Müller Hofstede, *Beiträge*, p. 282, nn. 59, 68, fig. 203; C. van Hasselt, [Cat. Exh.] *Artisti olandesi e fiamminghi in Italia*, Florence, 1966, pp. 61-63, no. 41, fig. XVIII; id., [Cat. Exh.] *Flemish Drawings of the Seventeenth Century from the Collection of Frits Lugt*, London-Paris-Bern-Brussels, 1972, pp. 102-103, no. 77, pl. 36; Jaffé, *Rubens and Italy*, p. 82, n. 54, pl. 305; *De Grummond, Classical Costume*, p. 83, n. 30.

A man clad in a *tunica* and toga is seen in nearly frontal view. The richly pleated toga is draped over his left shoulder around his back, crosses the chest diagonally and is placed over the left shoulder. A large *sinus* falls down to his right knee.<sup>1</sup> His left hand is missing. The feet are shod in tight-fitting *calcei equestres*.<sup>2</sup> The face is framed with thick curls and has a gloomy expression, reminiscent of Nero's physiognomy. In the background may be seen branches of a tree and to the left the corner of a building constructed of large stone blocks with a vine growing at its base.

The garden where Rubens saw the statue has not been identified. The marble has been in the British Museum since 1854, but it bears a different head (Fig. 94).<sup>3</sup> It was a gift from W.P. Williams Freeman and originally belonged to the Arundel collection. Haynes re-

cently recognized the statue pictured on an engraving in John Aubrey's book; it lacked the feet and head.<sup>4</sup> At the time (1719), the marble was in the possession of Boyden Cuper, a former servant of the Duke of Norfolk, to whom in 1691 the lesser statues from the Arundel collection were given.

Ludwig Burchard considered the drawing typical of Rubens's early style, but others have placed it in Rubens's second Roman period (1605/6-1608). This seems more likely since its subject of a statue draped in a toga would have been of interest to his brother Philip. At the time, Rubens was helping Philip prepare a book in which the arrangement of the toga was discussed, and he provided the preparatory drawings for the illustrations (*text ill.* 57; see Ch. III, p. 122). The drawing by Rubens is the oldest record of the statue, and the only evidence of its early 17th-century appearance.

Michael Jaffé<sup>5</sup> suggested that a laureate head of Nero in the Vatican Museum<sup>6</sup> was originally attached to this statue, but there is no reason to assume that the head was separated from the statue while still in Italy, before it was shipped to the Earl of Arundel, who acquired the marble during one of his trips to Italy (1613-1615). In addition, Rubens's drawing does not show the head wearing a laurel wreath.

1. The togatus resembles the statue of M. Nonius Balbus in Naples in the arrangement of the large toga with a large *sinus*, but without an *umbo*, and may be dated to the time of Tiberius (F.W. Goethert, 'Studien zur Kopienforschung', *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Römische Abteilung*, LIV, 1939, p. 187, fig. 40.2).
2. For the *calceus equestris* see H.R. Goette, 'Mulleus-Embas-Calceus', *Jahrbuch des kaiserlich deutschen Archäologischen Instituts*, CIII, 1988, pp. 459-464, figs. 35c, 39.
3. A.H. Smith, *A Catalogue of Sculpture, British Museum*, London, 1904, III, p. 175, no. 1943: 'Head re-joined, appears to belong'.
4. J. Aubrey, *Natural History and Antiquities of Surrey*, London, 1719, V, pl. V (centre); D.E.L. Haynes, 'The Arundel Marbles, II', *Archaeology*, XXI, 1968, p. 210, fig. b (centre); id., *The Arundel Marbles*, Oxford, 1975, pp. 16-17. The author did not know Rubens's drawing.

5. M. Jaffé, op. cit., 1965, p. 380, under no. 12, fig. 45.

6. *Amelung, Skulpturen*, II, pp. 478-479, *sala dei busti*, no. 277, pl. 63.

## 52-53 STATUES OF DRAPED CHILDREN

### 52. Seated Comic Actor (Mattei)

Technique and measurements unknown.

*Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.*

COPY: Drawing (Fig. 96), Oakly Park, Shropshire, the Earl of Plymouth; black chalk on thick paper, 387 × 258 mm.; inscribed in pen and black ink in bottom left: 4. Watermark: pilgrim wearing a hat with three lobes, holding a stick horizontally, in a circle (cf. *Lugt, Cat. Louvre, École flamande*, II, [Appendix], watermark no. 73; *Briquet*, nos. 4563 ff.; Italian 17th century). The mount numbered 51. PROV. Edward Clive, first Earl of Powis (1754-1839), acquired in Italy c.1810; his son Robert H. Clive (1789-1854); by descent to the Earl of Plymouth, sale London (Christie's), 1 July 1986, lot 143 (withdrawn). LIT. *Jaffé, Rubens and Italy*, p. 82, n. 55, pl. 298 (as *Rubens*); *Vlieghe, Review Jaffé*, p. 473 (as *not Rubens*).

A drawing in the Earl of Plymouth's collection (Copy; Fig. 96) shows a figure seated on a square block in three-quarter view facing right and seen from below. He is dressed in a tight-fitting, long-sleeved garment under a sleeveless, knee-length *tunica*; a *himation* is wrapped high around his chest. The mantle is held in place by his left arm which rests on his thighs. The legs are covered with creased leggings (tights), ending in *gallicae*, open-toed sandals fastened with laces.<sup>1</sup> The left foot is crossed over the right foot. A large mask (*larva*) with a wide, twisted trumpet, a wrinkled snub nose and large, bulging eyes with raised brows is worn over the head. *Pentimenti* are drawn lightly around the right and left shoulder and left leg. A detail study at the top

right of the sheet shows the *larva* and the left hand on a larger scale, facing front. Due to a lack of space, the locks on the left side of the mask could not be drawn in full.

The costume and wavy-haired mask (*epi-seistos*) indicate the figure to be a slave, an actor (*Histrion*) of the New Comedy.<sup>2</sup> The drawing pictures the slave taking refuge on an altar while taunting his master.<sup>3</sup> The exact scene with the slave Tranio, awaiting punishment from his master, is described in Plautus, *Moscellaria* (lines 1064, 1095 and 1135).<sup>4</sup> The sculpture rendered here (Fig. 98) belonged to the collection of Cyriacus Mattei and stood in a loggia in the *giardino segreto* of his property on the Celimontana according to the inventory of his estate drawn up in 1614.<sup>5</sup> Spon was the first to publish the sculpture and he reported that it was found on the Quirinal behind Sta Suzanna in 1592.<sup>6</sup> A drawing in one of the Dal Pozzo albums in Windsor renders the same marble and records its location in the Mattei collection.<sup>7</sup> In 1770 it was acquired for the Vatican Museum by Pope Clemens XIV.<sup>8</sup>

Michael Jaffé discovered the drawing in Oakly Park and attributed it to Rubens, dating it to the second Roman period (1605/6-1608).<sup>9</sup> This attribution does not seem acceptable, as the drawing in general is dry and has little depth, although the crisp, shallow pleats of the drapery on the marble are rendered softer and rounder in appearance. It may well be a copy after an original by the master in the same medium and size. Typical of Rubens is the enlarged study of a detail seen from a different angle (cf. the *Arundel Homer*, No. 50, and *Three Figures from a Muse Sarcophagus*, No. 138).

The statue was displayed in the Mattei garden where Rubens had copied several other marbles, among them an *Eagle* (Nos. 103-104) and the *Muse Sarcophagus* (No. 138), mentioned above. The *Comic Actor (Histrion)* accords with the interest shared by Rubens and his brother in ancient clothing and customs: the costume and exotic mask must have appealed to them. Philip was an expert on



Plautus' writings, but there is no indication that he recognized the statue as the slave in Plautus' comedy.<sup>10</sup>

1. For the *gallica* see *Daremberg-Saglio*, IV, 2, p. 1389, fig. 6510; Zahn, in *Pauly-Wissowa*, VII, 1912, cols. 667-668; Hug., in *ibid.*, II A, 1923, col. 755. The sandal is close to the *crepida*.
2. T.B.L. Webster, 'Monuments Illustrating New Comedy', *Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies*, Suppl. 24, second enlarged, revised edn, London, 1969, pp. 36, 217, no. IS 41; W. Beare, *The Roman Stage. A Short History of Latin Drama in the Time of the Republic*, London, 1950, pp. 43-45.
3. M. Bieber, *Die Denkmäler zum Theaterwesen im Altertum*, Berlin-Leipzig, 1920, p. 166, no. 151, pl. 99; *id.*, *The History of the Greek and Roman Theater*, Princeton, N.J., 1939, p. 170, fig. 231; second edn, 1961, p. 150, fig. 557.
4. Plaute [Plautus], *Mostellaria, Persa, Poenulus*, Act V, line 1095 (ed. and trans. by A. Ernout, Paris, 1961, p. 11, 85).
5. *Lanciani, Scavi*, III, p. 90: 'Sotto la detta loggia del detto Giardinetto... Doi figurine con il viso di maschere a sedere con il loro scabilli di noce'.
6. J. Spon, *Miscellanea Erudita Antiquitatis*, Lyons, 1684, p. 312, identified the statue as a *Histrion*; Plautus is not listed among the literary sources. Cf. J.J. Winckelmann, *Monumenti inediti antichi*, Rome, 1767, II, p. 254; *Venuti-Amaduzzi, Vetera monumenta*, I, p. 100, no. XCIX.
7. Dal Pozzo album, Windsor, IV, fol. 10 (*Vermeule, Dal Pozzo-Albani*, 1966, pp. 26-27, no. 8410): the statue is drawn from the same angle. Cf. Dal Pozzo album, Windsor, 10.235 (A-9:184), picturing the same statue and inscribed: *in hortis Matteiorum*.
8. *Lippold, Skulpturen*, III, 2, p. 322, Galleria dei Candabri, no. 60 (191), pl. 148.
9. The sheet was not known to Burchard. Vlieghe, *loc. cit.*, rejected the attribution.
10. Cf. *Catalogus A. Rubens*, where several books by Plautus are listed.

### 53. Boy Urinating: Drawing

Technique and measurements unknown.  
Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.

COPY: Drawing (Fig. 97), Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst, Kongelige Kobberstiksamling, 'Rubens Cantoor', No. III, 42; black, red and white chalk, 188 × 262 mm.; inscription in pen and brown ink in bottom centre in code: *aalen [sic] dese omtreckken sijn / heel goet*

*ende dese hebbe ick / oock van rubbens cantoor gehaelt*. PROV. Acquired by the Museum presumably in the 17th century. LIT. *Falck, Tegninger*, p. 72; *Miesel, Ancient Art*, p. 37; *Miesel, Study Drawings*, p. 323; *Garff-Pedersen, Panneels*, pp. 98-99, no. 111, fig. 113.

A copy in Copenhagen (Fig. 97) shows three sketches of a urinating boy from different angles. The sketch on the left, the largest of the three, renders the boy in side view facing left; in the centre he is shown in three-quarter view facing left; and on the right in frontal view. A round line on the centre sketch indicates a statue base.

The source for the drawing is a marble of a child in a short-sleeved *chiton* gathered at the neck fastened with four buttons on the arms. The *chiton* is gathered in two bunches held by both hands to the chest. The sculpture is now in the store of the Louvre in Paris (Fig. 99),<sup>1</sup> but its 17th-century location is not known. It served as a fountain statue.

The drawing is attributed by Garff and Pedersen to Willem Panneels. It bears an annotation in which the copyist remarked that 'all these contour sketches are very well done' and that he used an original kept in Rubens's studio.

Rubens's drawing is not known, but he used the sculpture on several occasions: a urinating boy in the painting *Bacchus seated on a Barrel* (St Petersburg, Hermitage; *K.d.K.*, p. 409; c.1635-1640; and a copy in Florence, *Uffizi*) resembles the figure on the left of the sketch in Copenhagen; although the position of the left hand was changed, the slightly curved posture of the boy is the same. Three putti standing on steps in *Maria de' Medici's Prosperous Government* (Paris, Louvre; *K.d.K.*, p. 257) are also derived from the sculpture, as well as the child in the *Triumph of Silenus* (formerly Berlin) from Rubens's workshop.<sup>2</sup>

1. *Héron de Villefosse, Marbres*, 1922, p. 38, no. 569 (as from the Borghese collection); *Reinach, Répertoire statuaire*, I, p. 148, pl. 293, no. 2238.

2. P.P. Rubens. *Des Meisters Gemälde (Klassiker der Kunst, V)*, second edn, ed. A. Rosenberg, Stuttgart-Leipzig, 1906, p. 211.

## 54–59 FEMALE NUDE STATUES

### 54–55 HEAD OF A FEMALE STATUE (VENUS?)

#### 54. Head of a Female Statue (Venus?): Drawing

Technique and measurements unknown.  
*Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.*

COPY: Drawing (Fig. 100), Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst, Kongelige Kobberstiksamlng, 'Rubens Cantoor', No. III, 77; black, red and white chalk on thick, yellowish paper, 231 × 176 mm. Watermark: Hand crowned by a globe. PROV. Acquired by the Royal Library in Copenhagen presumably in the 17th century; since 1835 in the Museum. LIT. *Garff–Pedersen, Panneels*, p. 45, no. 14, fig. 14.

A copy in Copenhagen (Fig. 100) shows the head of a woman, looking over her left shoulder, in frontal view. The hair, parted in the middle and gathered in the back, is held by a headband. Ludwig Burchard was of the opinion that this drawing did not picture an antique sculpture, but possibly a statue by François Duquesnoy. Yet the head bears a strong resemblance to the statues of the *Venus of Cnidus*.<sup>1</sup> A similar head was copied by Pierre Jacques.<sup>2</sup> The drawing in Copenhagen was probably copied after an original by Rubens, and Garff and Pedersen identified the copyist as Willem Panneels (1628/30).

Another drawing in Copenhagen pictures the same head seen from a different angle. See No. 55.

1. Cf. Bieber, *Hellenistic Sculpture*, figs. 28 and 29. I thank Dr C.C. Vermeule for discussing the drawing with me.
2. Paris, Bibl. Nat., Cod. Remensis, fol. 16v (*Reinach, Pierre Jacques*, p. 118, fol. 16b; the comparison with the *Juno Cesi*, is not convincing; the latter wears a diadem and not a headband).

#### 55. Head of a Female Statue (Venus?): Drawing

Technique and measurements unknown.  
*Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.*

COPY: Drawing (Fig. 101), Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst, Kongelige Kobberstiksamlng, 'Rubens Cantoor', No. III, 78; black, red and white chalk on thick, yellowish paper, 216 × 178 mm. PROV. Acquired by the Royal Library in Copenhagen presumably in the 17th century; since 1835 in the Museum. LIT. *Garff–Pedersen, Panneels*, p. 45, no. 15, fig. 15.

A copy in Copenhagen (Fig. 101) shows the head of a woman in three-quarter view facing right and from below. The irregular contour of the neck indicates that a marble head belonging to a statue was used as the model.

The head on this copy is identical with the one pictured on the previous drawing but made from another point of view. It is probably copied after an original by Rubens, and Garff and Pedersen identified the copyist as Willem Panneels. See No. 54.

### 56–57 TORSO OF A SEMI-DRAPED FEMALE STATUE (VENUS ANADYOMENE?)

#### 56. Torso of a semi-draped Female Statue (Venus Anadyomene?) (three-quarter view): Drawing

Technique and measurements unknown.  
*Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.*

COPY: Drawing (Fig. 102), Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst, Kongelige Kobberstiksamling, 'Rubens Cantoor', No. III, 68; black and red chalk, pen and brown ink on thin white paper, 293 × 184 mm.; inscription in pen and brown ink in bottom right in code: *dese figuer hebbe ick oock / gehaelt vant cntoor [sic] van / rubbeens [sic] ende desen omtreck / is wel gecopieert*. Watermark: post horn. PROV. Acquired by the Royal Library in Copenhagen presumably in the 17th century; since 1835 in the Museum. LIT. *Miesel, Ancient Art*, p. 41, fig. V/4; *Miesel, Study Drawings*, p. 323, n. 22; *Garff-Pedersen, Panneels*, pp. 154-155, no. 206, fig. 208.

A copy in Copenhagen (Fig. 102) shows the torso of a woman with draped legs from the knees up in three-quarter view facing right. The head and arms of the statue are missing. Hatchings surround the figure.

The original used by the copyist, was kept in Rubens's studio as the annotation on this sheet reveals. The copyist also remarked that 'the contour was well copied'. Garff and Pedersen identified the copyist as Willem Panneels.

The source for the drawing has not been identified; it is the type of *Venus Anadyomene*.<sup>1</sup> Rubens's appreciation for statues of Venus is known from the essay *De Forma Foeminea* in *MS Johnson*, fol. 74r.

1. cf. D. Brinckerhoff, *Hellenistic Statues of Aphrodite. Studies in the History of Stylistic Development*, New York-London, 1978, pl. I. (bottom), Naples, Museo Nazionale.

### 57. Torso of a semi-draped Female Statue (*Venus Anadyomene?*) (side view): Drawing

Technique and measurements unknown.  
*Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.*

COPY: Drawing (Fig. 103), Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst, Kongelige Kob-

berstiksamling, 'Rubens Cantoor', No. III, 69; red chalk, pen and brown ink on thick yellow paper, 201 × 104 mm. Watermark: two capital C's entwined and crowned. PROV. Acquired by the Royal Library in Copenhagen presumably in the 17th century; since 1835 in the Museum. LIT. *Miesel, Ancient Art*, p. 41; *Miesel, Study Drawings*, p. 323, n. 22; *Garff-Pedersen, Panneels*, p. 155, no. 207, fig. 209.

A copy in Copenhagen (Fig. 103) shows the torso of a woman with draped legs in side view seen slightly from the back facing right. Hatchings occupy part of the background.

The source for this copy, which is attributed to Willem Panneels by Garff and Pedersen, has not been identified, and is possibly a *Venus Anadyomene*. See No. 56.

### 58-59 TORSO OF A VENUS PUDICA (DE' MEDICI)

#### 58. Torso of a Venus Pudica (De' Medici) (frontal view): Drawing

Technique and measurements unknown.  
*Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.*

COPY: Drawing (Fig. 108), Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst, Kongelige Kobberstiksamling, 'Rubens Cantoor', No. III, 65; black and red chalk, pen and brown ink on yellowish paper, 393 × 206 mm.; inscription in pen and brown ink at knee height in code: *dit vrouken is heel goet van omtreck ende dit hebbe / ick oock gehaelt vant cantoor van rubbens*. Watermark: two capital letters C entwined and crowned by a post horn. PROV. Acquired by the Royal Library in Copenhagen presumably in the 17th century; since 1835 in the Museum. LIT. *Miesel, Ancient Art*, p. 41; *Miesel, Study Drawings*, p. 323, fig. 17; *Van Gelder-Jost, Rubens and Poelenburgh*, pp. 470-472, fig. 3; *Van Gelder-Jost, Jan de Bisschop*, p. 168, under no. 82; A. Nesselrath, 'The "Venus Belvedere":

An Episode in Restoration', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, L, 1987, p. 208, n. 28; Garff-Pedersen, *Panneels*, pp. 153-154, no. 205, fig. 207.

A copy in Copenhagen (Fig. 108) shows the torso of a nude woman in frontal view; the head and arms are missing. The statue stands in *contrapposto* with the weight on the left leg. The drapery attached to the back is sketched in lightly and covered with hatchings. In the annotation on this copy the draughtsman commented that the 'outlines of the woman are very good' and that the original for his drawing was kept in Rubens's studio. Garff and Pedersen attributed the drawing to Willem Panneels (1628/30).

The drawing shows a statue of a *Venus Pudica*, now in the Uffizi in Florence (Fig. 105), and formerly in the Medici collection.<sup>1</sup> The Venus is 1.89m. high and larger than life-size. The statue was first mentioned by Baldinucci in the *Vita* of Ercole Ferrata who restored the marble with a head, hands and feet in Florence c.1677.<sup>2</sup> An engraving by Gori renders the Venus with a different head and hairstyle, restored drapery and holding an apple.<sup>3</sup> The marble has been identified with one of the three Venus statues seen by Vasari in the collection of Cosimo I in the the Palazzo Pitti in Florence, displayed in the *sala degli statue* together with thirty-four sculptures,<sup>4</sup> although the drapery on the back is not specifically mentioned by Vasari.<sup>5</sup> Its previous home was probably the Vatican Belvedere in Rome.<sup>6</sup> The marble was restored by Bartolomeo Ammannati between 1547 and 1560.<sup>7</sup> A plaster model in the Casa Vasari in Arezzo reveals the newly restored Venus, although her arms were not replaced.<sup>8</sup>

The statue (now displayed without arms and with a different antique head) closely resembles the Venus on the Copenhagen drawings, especially the chipped-off drapery on both sides. But they picture her without a head. Rubens could have drawn the marble in Florence in 1603. The drawing by Rubens,

used by the copyist as model, is presumably lost. The artist may have deliberately not copied the head, or the copyist may have omitted it (cf. Nos. 100-101).

The statue of the goddess on Rubens's painting *The Worship of Venus* in Vienna (*text ill.* 49; *K.d.K.*, p. 324) is close to the Medici marble. It also betrays the knowledge of other statues of the *Venus Pudica* type. Of all the female sculptures it was this type that matched Rubens's concept of ideal female beauty, characterized by 'simplicity and modesty' as an essay in *MS Johnson* (fol. 75r) informs us. From this manuscript, drawings of another *Venus Pudica* are known in copy; but the original marble from which a model in wax was made (as the annotations explain) was not identified (Figs. 106-107).<sup>9</sup> It was endowed with 'delicate elegancies and had firm, oblong buttocks'.<sup>10</sup> The neck of Venus is compared with that of a horse, the animal whose neck was considered the most beautiful of its kind.<sup>11</sup> An essay in *MS Johnson* lists the similarities between the female body and that of a horse: they have in common a small head, large eyes, a narrow chest, slim hips and back, and a long mane of hair.<sup>12</sup>

The statue is nicknamed the 'Greek Venus' on drawings in *MS Johnson*, but this probably refers to the type rather than a specific statue.<sup>13</sup> Wybrand de Geest is the first to refer to Rubens's admiration for the *Venus Pudica*. He assumed that the famous *Venus de' Medici* was the original, but it is not certain that this sculpture was known at the time.<sup>14</sup>

1. Mansuelli, *Cat. Uffizi*, I, pp. 127-128, no. 89 (Inv. No. 155), fig. 89. The restorations (arms and head) were removed in 1945. See also Giorgio Vasari, *Principi, letterati e artisti nelle carte di Giorgio Vasari*, ed. L. Corti, M.D. Davis, C. Davis and J. Kliemann, Florence, 1981, pp. 32-33, no. 9, figs. 72 and 77. This statue of Venus should not be confused with the famous *Venus de' Medici* (Mansuelli, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 69-74, no. 45 [Inv. No. 224], figs. 45a-e).

2. F. Baldinucci, *Notizie de' Professori del disegno*, [Florence, 1681], in F. Baldinucci, *Opere*, Milan, 1812, XIII, pp. 443-445. An entry in the inventory of Ferrata refers to the statue as the *Venus of Belvedere*; see A. Nesselrath, *op. cit.*, pp. 208-209; Van Gelder-

- Jost, *Jan de Bisschop*, p. 168; *Haskell–Penny*, pp. 332–333, no. 91, fig. 176.
3. F. Gori, *Museum Florentinum*, Florence, 1733, III, pl. XXXI; *Giorgio Vasari...*, op. cit. (note 1), fig. 73.
4. M. Mosco, 'Una "Descrittione dell'Apparato delle stanze del Palazzo de' Pitti in Fiorenza"' edita a Venezia nel 1577', *Antichità Viva*, XIX, 1980, p. 14, n. 59. *Van Gelder–Jost, Jan de Bisschop*, p. 168, considered this as not proven.
5. E. Müntz, 'Les collections d'antiques formées par les Médicis au XVIe siècle', *Mémoires de l'Institut National de France. Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, XXXV, Paris, 1893, pp. 160–162 (no. 10); M.D. Davis, 'La Galleria di sculture antiche di Cosimo I a Palazzo Pitti in Fiorenza', in *Le arti del principato medico*, Florence, 1980, pp. 40, 54, cf. fig. 15.
6. *Van Gelder–Jost, Rubens and Poelenburgh*, pp. 465–466; A. Nesselrath, op. cit., p. 209.
7. H. Keutner, 'Die Bronzeveruen des Bartolommeo Ammannati', *Münchener Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst*, 3e ser., XIV, 1963, p. 80. Ammannati's restorations are described in F. Balducci, op. cit. (note 2), p. 385 as told by E. Ferrara (quoted in *Van Gelder–Jost, Rubens and Poelenburgh*, pp. 465–466).
8. H. Keutner, op. cit., p. 81, fig. 4; id., in *Giorgio Vasari...*, op. cit. (note 1), fig. 71; A. Nesselrath, op. cit., fig. 58c.
9. *MS Johnson*, fols. 98r and 99r (240.b; Fig. 107) inscribed: 'huc libenter addidera[m] / [p]ar[tem] femine[i] / corporis qui d. / vinilitus in cera ex / antiquo marmoris / fragmento descriperat / olmn[ibus] delicatioribus elegan- / tiis preditum' 'nates habebat oblongas / [t]u[m] succintas' 'o[mn]ia longiuscula' (*Jaffé, Antwerp Sketchbook*, I, pl. LXXIV); *MS de Ganay*, fol. 64r (see *Jombert, Figure humaine*, pl. XLI, in reverse). Also *MS Johnson*, fol. 99v (235.a), tracings of Venus, inscribed below: 'veneris gr[ati]e[le] 'magnitudo musculi da monte cauallo'. And cf. *MS Johnson*, fols. 96r (235.b; Fig. 143) and 99v (235.a), inscribed above: 'collum femin[ale] pul- / cherim[ale] vt adeas / redeamus similis est / equino quam viri', 'veneri gr[ati]e[le] 'da monte cavallo'; *Van Dyck Antwerp Sketchbook*, fol. 66v (*Jaffé, Antwerp Sketchbook*, II, p. 243, repr.); *MS de Ganay*, fol. 63r.
10. *MS Johnson*, fol. 99r (240.b) (Fig. 107; see note 9).
11. *MS Johnson*, fol. 97r (236.a; Fig. 106) inscribed: 'veneris gre[ci]e[le] 'da monte cavalli' (*Jaffé, Antwerp Sketchbook*, I, fig. LV); *Van Dyck Antwerp Sketchbook*, fol. 67r (ibid., II, p. 243, repr.); *MS de Ganay*, fol. 63r, inscribed: 'Noteert hier die gemeinschap van eenen / Frauwen hals met den hals van een / peerdt. den Frauwen hals is van die / Griecsche Venus. den peerden hals / is van een van die peerden, op Monte / Cauallo' (ibid., I, pl. LIV). See also No. 75, note 6.
12. *MS Johnson*, fols. 74r-v: 'De forma Foeminea', and fol. 90r (231.b): 'pulchritudines equarum cum feminis coequales'; *Van Dyck Antwerp Sketchbook*, fol. 73v (*Jaffé, Antwerp Sketchbook*, II, p. 244, repr.); *MS de Ganay*, fols. 59r–60v: 'De Forma Foeminae'.
13. *MS Johnson*, fol. 97r (see note 11); *MS Johnson*, fol. 99v (see note 9). An inscription on a drawing in Kassel showing the same Venus also refers to the copy as made 'aprais la Venus Grecque' (A. Nesselrath, op. cit., p. 212, n. 53).
14. *De Geest, Kabinet*, pp. 78–79. Jan de Bisschop observes in the Dutch list of illustrations to pls. 47–50 (p. 4): 'Venus Aphroditis gemeenlijck ghenaeamt de Griecckse Venus' (Venus Aphrodite usually named the Greek Venus); see *Van Gelder–Jost, Jan de Bisschop*, p. 130.

### 59. Torso of a Venus Pudica (De' Medici) (side view): Drawing

Technique and measurements unknown.  
Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.

COPY: Drawing (Fig. 104), Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst, Kongelige Kobberstiksamlng, 'Rubens Cantoor', No. III, 66; red, black and white chalk, pen and brown ink on yellowish paper, 255 × 158 mm.; inscription in pen and brown ink at bottom right in code: *dit standeken hebbe ick oock vant cantoor / gehaelt*. Watermark: post horn. PROV. Acquired by the Royal Library in Copenhagen presumably in the 17th century; since 1835 in the Museum. LIT. *Miesel, Ancient Art*, p. 41; *Miesel, Study Drawings*, p. 323; *Van Gelder–Jost, Rubens and Poelenburgh*, pp. 470–472, fig. 5; *Van Gelder–Jost, Jan de Bisschop*, p. 168, under no. 82; A. Nesselrath, 'The "Venus Belvedere": An Episode in Restoration', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, L, 1987, p. 208, n. 28, pl. 56c; *Garff–Pedersen, Panneels*, p. 73, no. 75, fig. 77.

A copy in Copenhagen (Fig. 104) shows a headless female torso in side view facing right. Drapery attached to the hips hangs down to the feet. Hatchings are sketched in the background. The contour of the right leg was later corrected in pen and ink. The inscription on this sheet informs us that the draughtsman copied a drawing kept in

Rubens's studio. Garff and Pedersen identified the copyist as Willem Panneels.

The model for the drawing is a statue of a *Venus Pudica* in the Medici collection (Fig. 105). See No. 58.

## 60-62 FEMALE DRAPED STATUES

### 60. Caryatid (Montalto): Drawing

Technique and measurements unknown. *Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.*

COPY: Drawing (Fig. 113), Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, larger Talman album, fol. 187, no. 76; black chalk on thin white paper, 330 × 227 mm.; height of central figure: 212 mm.; inscriptions in brown ink, at top right: 76, top left: *Bullarum iusta mensura siue magnitudo*, top centre: *magnitudo armillae*, top right: *magnitudo Monilis*, extreme right: *dat digitis gemmas / dat longa Monilia collo / Ouid. 10 Metamorp.* Inscribed centre left on separate slip of paper pasted in: *Haec statua, secundum communem opi= / nionem Cariatidis est, quo nomine appellantur / o[mn]es statucae vel figurae Muliebres. Vice co= / lumnarum, siue Terminum aliquid sustinen= / tes. originem refert Vitruuius, in principio / libri sui. / Conijcitur [sic] autem ex palliolo, ab humeris ele= / uato, et quasi Caput tegente, prout etiam / a bullis per humerum vtrisque demisso, et / ex stola longissima pedes tegente, quae etiam / syrmatata videtur, honestatis gratia, statua[m] / sane esse in habitu virginis vestalis, quod / alienum a statucae huius officio non videtur / quippe, quae potuerit seruisse [sic], pro Termino / ad latus portae, vel antipagamento, alicuius / Templi, velut Custos eiusdem. Certum enim / et perspicuum est, ex Antiquis Monumen= / tis, Virgines Sacras, multum ornatas / incessisse / Hanc volo quae facilis, quae palliolata vagatur, Martial. lib.9. / Apiasti longum tu quoque syrmatata tibi. Mart. lib.12. Bottom left: *Verum quia Cariatidis seruitutem sapit, et / Cariae natio despec-**

*tissima olim fuerit, ab / honestate, simul et dignitate Vestalium / praedicta omnia, praesumo esse aliena / et Cistophoram, id est Virginem Atticam / Mineruae munera portantem esse credo. / idem testante nummo Attico, qui Cisto= / phorus dicitur, ex imagine simili huic / in eodem expressa.* Above central figure collector's mark of J. Talman (L.2462); bottom centre mark of P.H. Lankrink (L.2090). — *Verso*: inscribed in pen and ink: 10, and f 86. Watermark: grapes (five in centre strip) surmounted by trefoil; ball between letters A and P. PROV. P.H. Lankrink (London, 1628-1692); sale, London, 8 May 1693; John Talman (London, 1677-1726), sale, London, 4-10 April 1728; Christopher Turnor (18th century; his book plate on the inside of the front cover of the album); sale, London (Christie's), 13 March 1942, lot 102; purchased later that year for the Museum. LIT. K.T. Parker, *Catalogue of the Collection of Drawings in the Ashmolean Museum, Italian Schools*, Oxford, 1956, II, p. 552, appendix A; Jaffé, *Antwerp Sketchbook*, I, pp. 37-38, n. 47, pl. XXIII; Jaffé, *Rubens and Italy*, p. 82, n. 56; De Grummond, *Classical Costume*, p. 85; J. Wood, 'Some Early Collectors of Rubens Drawings in England', in [Cat. Exh.] *Rubens in Oxford*, Christ Church Gallery, Oxford—Colnaghi, London, 1988, p. 12, fig. 4 (as copy after Rubens); M. Jaffé, in *The Burlington Magazine*, CXXX, 1988, p. 551.

The copy in Oxford (Fig. 113) pictures several chalk sketches, the two larger of which render a Caryatid seen from different angles. In the central sketch the woman is drawn in full in three-quarter view facing left; a contour sketch on the right depicts the top half of the figure in side view facing left. The right arm with drapery, the left foot and ringfinger of the left hand are broken off. The woman wears a foot-length *peplos* belted under the overfold (*apotygma*) and a long shoulder-back mantle fastened on both shoulders with a brooch. A second overfold is turned and folded into a basket (*kalathos*) balanced on her head decorated with palmette and rosette designs. At the top of the sheet three pieces of

jewellery worn by the woman are drawn in actual size. They are identified by inscriptions in Latin: on the left the brooch (*bullae*; see Ch. III, p. 121), then the bracelet (*armilla*), and finally a section of the elaborate necklace (*monile*), consisting of large beads and a three-stranded braid with round pellets and water-drop pendants.

On the far right is a quotation from Ovid (*Metamorphoses*, X: 264), referring to Pygmalion dressing up a female statue: 'He puts gems on her fingers, he puts necklaces on her neck'.<sup>1</sup>

On the left side of the sheet a sizeable slip of paper has been pasted in with a text in Latin written in a neat, regular Humanist hand. The first paragraph, derived from Vitruvius (*De Architectura*, I: 4-5) identifies the statue as a Caryatid and clarifies its function: 'This statue, according to the common opinion, is a Caryatid, by which name are called all statues or figures of a woman holding something up in place of columns or terms. Vitruvius reports their origin, in the beginning of his book'. Then follows a discussion on the dress which is similar to the one worn by Vestal virgins:

'It is conjectured from the little mantle, elevated from the shoulders and almost covering the head, in such a way that it also is hung down from the bullae on either side of the shoulders, and from the very long dress (*stola*), which also seems to partake of the *syрма*, covering the feet for the sake of respectability, that the statue is actually in the costume of a vestal virgin, which indeed does not seem at odds with the function of this statue, which could have served as a term at the side of a door, or in the pediment of some temple, as a guardian of the same. For it is certain and clear, from ancient monuments, that sacred virgins went about much adorned'.

The next two lines quote Martial, *Epigrams*: 'I want this one, who wanders about in a little mantle' (IX: 32), and 'You too have put the long *syрма* on yourself' (XII: 94), a reference to the loose-fitting, long robe with a train. It

is interesting to note that the term *stola* and *syрма* used to describe the dress worn by the Caryatid, also occur in a letter of Peiresc to Rubens.<sup>2</sup>

In a concluding paragraph at the lower left the author discusses the identification of the statue: 'But because the Caryatid knows servitude and the Carian nation was once most despised, I suspect that all the aforesaid things are at odds with the respectability as well as the dignity of Vestals and I believe that [the statue] is a Cistophora, that is, an Attic virgin bearing gifts for Minerva. Bearing witness to the same is an Attic coin, which is called Cistophorus, from an image similar to this represented on it'. The seemingly contradictory association of the humiliated women of Carya with the honourable, chaste Vestal virgin and the more precise identification of the statue as an Athenian maiden called 'cistophora' needs further clarification.

The source for the information on Caryatids is Vitruvius (see above), who related how the women of Carya lost their freedom after being defeated and became the *exempla servitutis*. Their punitive status was eternalized by a new architectural element: burdened by the weight of their shame, female statues clad in long dresses were used as columns to support a roof or entablature, as Vitruvius informs us. As the author of the annotations noted, the Caryatid was dressed as a Vestal maiden. The *sacerdotes vestales*, in service of the goddess Vesta, were required to remain virgins, guarding an eternal flame which burned on an altar in the Temple of Vesta in Rome (cf. Ovid, *Fasti*, lines 283-294). They were dressed in a full, white *tunica* with a *pallium* (mantle) drawn over the head, as shown on coins and statues.

On the other hand, the specific identification as 'an Attic virgin bearing gifts to Minerva', a 'Cistophora', stems from the *kalathos* on her head. The maidens participating in the annual procession celebrating the Panathenaea, a festival honoring Pallas Athena, are clearly described by Ovid (*Metamorphoses*, II: 711-713), who writes: 'It so happens that it was

the festival of Pallas, and on that day in accordance with religious custom, a procession of pure young girls used to carry the sacred symbols to her temple, bearing them on their heads in flower-wreathed baskets'. The Panathenaea also commemorated the birth of Erichthonius, the snake whose education was entrusted to Pallas Athena's care. The goddess, however, hid the monster in a basket of osiers (*cista*) which she confided to the three daughters of Cecrops (Pausanias, I: 18, 2). Herse, one of Cecrops' daughters, became an attendant in the procession (Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, II: 724-725). Thus the coins of Attica dating from Roman imperial times depict a *cista mystica*, a basket with a lid from which a snake is escaping, as a reference to the myth of Pallas Athena.<sup>3</sup> The word, *cistophorus*, here used to describe the statue, is generally applied to these coins.<sup>4</sup>

However, the statue actually pictures a *canephora*, basket-bearer, since the woman carries a tall, uncovered basket, and not a *cista*, which is much lower and always has a conical lid (see Nos. 132-134). The writer of the annotations was apparently more familiar with numismatic than with sculptural terminology.

The actual statue is a larger than life-size Caryatid (*Canephora*, 2.17m.) now in the British Museum in London (Figs. 110, 112).<sup>5</sup> During the Pontificate of Sixtus V (1585-1590) this marble was unearthed on the Via Appia in Rome, together with another Caryatid, now in the Vatican Museum.<sup>6</sup> The second statue is clad in a *chiton* over which a mantle is draped. Both statues were acquired by Sixtus V for his mansion, the Villa Montalto (Negroni-Massimi).<sup>7</sup> Much later, in 1768, Townley purchased one of them and eventually presented it to the British Museum.<sup>8</sup>

In 1766, two more Caryatid statues as well as a detached head were unearthed at the same spot on the Via Appia; they are now in the Villa Torlonia-Albani in Rome.<sup>9</sup> The four marbles are now considered as part of a group of six decorating the Triopion, a sanctuary dedicated to Demeter, erected in c. 165 A.D.

by Herodes Atticus in memory of his wife, a priestess of Demeter.

The Oxford drawing (Fig. 113) renders the sculpture in its unrestored condition. But there is one major difference between the drawing and its model: the head on the drawing carries a *kalathos* into which the overfold is folded upwards; the statue in the British Museum carries an open basket and the overfold is tucked under the mantle (Fig. 112). Thick rolls of hair hang down on the neck and back of the statue. All of this is at variance with the image on the contour sketch on the right of the sheet (Fig. 113). The curls of hair end abruptly against the mantle on the drawing. But the head on the drawing is similar to the head on one of the Caryatids in the Villa Albani, of which the body is an exact mirror image of the London marble (Fig. 109). The Albani statue could not have been known to the draughtsman, since it was found 150 years later. The modern restorations of the London marble agree exactly with the damaged areas indicated on the Oxford sheet and the draughtsman undoubtedly copied this statue, but he apparently added the drapery from another head.

As noted above, the group decorating the Triopion originally consisted of six statues (similar to the six *Korai* of the Erechtheion portico on the Acropolis in Athens), of which at present only four statues plus the head of the missing fifth are preserved. Two of these were already discovered towards the end of the 16th century. However, Winckelmann reported to have seen *three* Caryatids in the Villa Montalto, two of which wore a *peplos* with shoulder mantle fastened with brooches.<sup>10</sup> This description does not fit the second Montalto statue (Vatican Museum) which was wearing a mantle. Winckelmann's information has been rejected as erroneous, yet Bulle noted that a reduced cast of a sixth Caryatid also formerly existed (it was unfortunately incomplete: the *kalathos* was missing).<sup>11</sup> He claimed that this statue (no longer known) resembled the London Caryatid closely, but



that the legs were reversed (the left leg was stretched and the left hand was placed under the breast). For reasons of symmetry the *kalahos* of the sixth sculpture was probably covered with drapery.<sup>12</sup> The draughtsman apparently drew the lost head with the London torso, thus giving the statue two shoulder mantles.

Margarete Bieber observed that the sculptor of the London Caryatid copied an older statue and did not clearly understand the different pieces of clothing.<sup>13</sup> This was made worse by the draughtsman on the Oxford drawing, who has the woman holding a train of the *peplos* with her left hand.

The drawing is reliable, faithfully indicating the damaged areas, but the artist put his own imprint on it: the erect, slender maiden has been transformed into a majestic matron; the *contrapposto* has been changed into a seemingly striding position, transforming the static into a dynamic representation. The voluminous, heavy robe rustles with movement. The eyes have come to life and seem to cast a fleeting glance to the left.

Parker first attributed the sheet to Rubens, and Jaffé followed his opinion. Held too judged the drawing to be by Rubens's hand.<sup>14</sup> Rubens indeed knew the marble and used the torso of the Caryatid for the angel guarding the tomb of Christ on the exterior of the right door of the *Resurrection Triptych* in Antwerp Cathedral in 1612 (Fig. 111).<sup>15</sup> The unusual dress and exquisite jewellery must have appealed to him, and the drawing certainly fits in with his copies after ancient draped sculptures such as the *Flora Farnese* (text ill. 53, 54, cf. Ch. III, p. 102), the *Arundel Homer* (No. 50; Fig. 93) and *Nero Togatus* (No. 51; Fig. 95). Fragments of an *Itinerary* dating to his Italian years show Rubens's interest in clothing of the Ancients and their usage.<sup>16</sup> But Rubens rarely annotated his drawings so elaborately.

According to A.M. Hind (quoted by Parker) the notes accompanying the sketches are in the handwriting of 'Philip Rubens'. Peter Paul's brother (1574-1611) displayed a scho-

larly knowledge of ancient clothing in his *Electorum Libri II* (1608), and briefly alluded to the garb of Vestal virgins on pp. 65-67. Bracelets are discussed on p. 40. But Philip's style is witty and elegantly phrased, and this writing is not in Philip's hand. Jaffé ascribed the neat Humanist hand to Philip's son of the same name. The latter is not known to have occupied himself with archaeology or art history, and this in my opinion disqualifies him.

Clearly the annotations were composed by a classical scholar, knowledgeable on ancient clothing and particularly interested in female jewellery, probably a numismatist. The person meeting these qualifications and more importantly with access to Rubens's drawings, is the artist's son, Albert (1614-1657).<sup>17</sup>

The drawing in Oxford ties in with Albert's archaeological writings in more than one respect. In his treatise, *Dissertatio de Gemma Augustaea*, he alluded to a forthcoming essay on female jewellery when he discussed the *bullae* on p. 217: 'Sed de his alijsque ornamentis muliebribus latius agam Deo volente' ('But on these and other female ornaments I shall go into more extensively elsewhere, God willing'). Whether the proposed essay was ever written, remains unknown. It might have been among the papers left at the time of his early death. Those notes pertaining to ancient clothing were edited and published by J.G. Graevius in *De Lato Clavo Libri Duo*, the first section of the *De Re Vestiaria Veterum* published posthumously in 1665. On pp. 98-99 the use of jewellery by Roman women is only briefly alluded to.

The identification of the statue as a *Cistophora* fits in well with Albert's research on a coin of Augustus (*De Re Vestiaria Veterum*, pp. 259-277). Albert called the object flanked by two snakes a *cista mystica*, a low basket with conical lid from which a snake emerges, well-known from cistophoric coins (see notes 3 and 4). He also labelled the attendant carrying the *cista* in sacrificial scenes a *cistifer*.<sup>18</sup> The connection between cistophoric coins made in the text for the drawing is correct; the Goddess

was associated with snakes and Erichthonius was considered the founder of the City of Athens. Again however, the high, uncovered *kalathos* of our drawing is not to be confused with a *cista mystica*.

The phrasing of the Latin text is not very fluent and this could point to Albert as the author, although the neat clerical hand is certainly not Albert's. The slip with text is pasted in and evidently replaces another text which was cut away. The slip of paper bears the same watermark with grapes, which occurs often in French paper and can probably be dated to the second quarter of the 17th century.<sup>19</sup>

Rubens derived the angel on the *Resurrection Triptych* (Antwerp, Cathedral; Fig. 111) from the *Montalto Caryatid*, and the Rubenesque features in the Baroque recreation of the classical sculpture tend to confirm his authorship. The learned nature of the drawing would suggest that Rubens drew the statue during his second visit to Rome (1605/6-1608). Yet the watermark may point to a later date. In that case the sheet could be a copy after Rubens, which Albert might have intended to publish.

Human figures supporting architecture can be found frequently in Rubens's work: prime examples occur in the *Achilles* series designed in the 1630s. Here both males and females carry flower-filled baskets on their heads. In all cases they are herms, an idea already formulated in the sketch showing the statue in side view. Herms are also depicted on his *Daughters of Cecrops discovering Erichthonius* (Vaduz; *K.d.K.*, p. 124), a drawing of *Bathing Women* in Berlin,<sup>20</sup> and his designs for the title-page of *Aquilonius, Optica* (1613)<sup>21</sup> and the *Pompa Introitus Ferdinandi* (1641).<sup>22</sup>

1. I am grateful to Nancy T. de Grummond for translating the Latin annotations.
2. Peiresc to Rubens, 9 June 1622 (*Roses-Ruelens*, II, p. 435).
3. E. Beulé, *Les monnaies d'Athènes*, Paris, 1858, pp. 356-357, fig. 3; J. Svoronos, *Corpus of the Ancient Coins of Athens*, 1923, revised edn, 1975, nos. 32-36, pl. 94. The Panathenaea was celebrated in the first month of the Greek year *Hecatombaion*; see H.W.

Parke, *Festivals of the Athenians*, London, 1977, pp. 23, 33, 42-43.

4. F. Imhoof-Blumer, 'Die Münzen der Dynastie von Pergamon', *Abhandlungen der königl. preuss. Akademie von Wissenschaften zu Berlin, Phil.-Hist. Klasse*, 1884, pp. 28-33, pl. IV; *Daremberg-Saglio*, I, 2, p. 1205. The last sentence of the annotation at the bottom left seems to refer to a coin with a Caryatid statue issued in Attica. I have not been able to find such a coin. Statues of women holding a *cista* on their head have been found in Eleusis (H. Hoermann, *Die inneren Propyläen von Eleusis*, Berlin-Leipzig, 1932, pl. 50).
5. A.H. Smith, *A Catalogue of Sculpture in the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities, British Museum*, London, 1904, III, pp. 99-102, no. 1746. The statue was first published by G.A. Guattani, *Monumenti antichi inediti*, Rome, 1788, V, pp. LX-LXIV, pl. 1: the statue is restored and correctly identified as a Caryatid.
6. *Amelung, Skulpturen*, I, pp. 65-68, no. 47, pl. 7, *braccio nuovo*.
7. G. Pinarola, *L'Antichità di Roma*, Rome, 1703, II, p. 40: 'Della Villa Montalto... avanti alla Porta dell'entrata dall parte di dentro vi è una Piazza di sfera rotonda, ornata di statue cioè di Ersilia in habito di Vestale, e Pomona, & altre statue con il modio in capo bellissimo'. F.W.B. von Ramdohr, *Über Mahlerei und Bildhauerarbeit in Rom für Liebhaber des Schönen in der Kunst*, Leipzig, 1787, II, p. 115: 'Villa Negroni. In den Hauptgebäude unten auf der Diele und in einem Zimmer darneben, ein Grosser Vorrath von Statuen. Ich hebe zwei heraus weibliche Figuren mit Körben auf dem Haupte, welche ehemals zu Caryatide gedient zu haben scheinen. Ihre Köpfe sind reizend und ihre Gewänder schön. Sie tragen vielen weiblichen Schmuck'. The statues do not seem to be listed in the 1655 inventory of Francesco Peretti (*Documenti inediti*, IV, pp. 2-26).
8. B. Cook, 'The Townley Marbles in Westminster and Bloomsbury', *British Museum Yearbook*, II, 1977, pp. 34-78, fig. 24.
9. H. Bulle, 'Die Karyatiden von der Via Appia', *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Römische Abteilung*, IX, 1894, pp. 134-161; A.K. Neugebauer, 'Herodes Atticus, ein antiker Kunstmäzen', *Die Antike*, X, 1934, pp. 92-121; S. Karusu, 'Die Antiken vom Kloster Luku in der Thyreatis', *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Römische Abteilung*, LXXVI, 1969, pp. 261-262, n. 27; H. Kammerer-Grothaus, 'Der Deus Rediculus im Triopion des Herodes Atticus', *ibid.*, LXXXI, 1974, pp. 140-149, pl. 89, 2; E. Schmidt, 'Zu einigen Karyatiden in Athen, Rom und London', *Archäologischer Anzeiger*, 1977, pp. 257-274; Bieber, *Ancient Copies*, pp. 106-107, figs. 477-480; Helbig, *Führer*, 1963-72, IV, pp. 182-183, no. 3218 (Inv. No. 19), pp. 311-312, no. 3335 (Inv. No. 628) and p. 313, no. 3337 (Inv. No. 725).

10. J.J. Winckelmann, *Geschichte der Kunst*, VI, 1, 31, published in his *Sämtliche Werke*, edn J. Eiselein, 1825, IV, p. 360, describing mantles fastened on the shoulders with brooches: 'und an zwo andern Statuen mit Körben auf dem Kopfe, das ist: Caryatiden, in der Villa Negroni, welche alle drei in Lebensgrösse sind'.
11. H. Bulle, op. cit. (note 9), p. 139.
12. Of the five Caryatids preserved no two statues are the same, but certain details recur on different statues: e.g. the jewellery and *kalathos* are similar on the statues in London, Albani 725 and Albani 628 (Bieber, *Ancient Copies*, figs. 475-477). The heads of Albani 19 (H. Kamerer-Grothaus, loc.cit.) and Vat.47 (E. Schmidt, op. cit., fig. 9) are the same. The mantle and position of the right hand of Albani 628 (Bieber, *Ancient Copies*, fig. 476) and Vat.47 (E. Schmidt, op. cit., fig. 9) are alike. Albani 725 and the London statue (Bieber, *Ancient Copies*, figs. 475 and 477) wear the same *peplos* and mantle, yet they are each other's mirror image. Therefore it seems very likely that another statue with a *kalathos* and shoulder mantle draped into it formerly existed. An engraving by G.B. Piranesi shows a reconstruction of the six statues (A.K. Neugebauer, op. cit., fig. 17).
13. The folds of the *peplos* and mantle merge together (Bieber, *Ancient Copies*, p. 107, figs. 479-480).
14. Julius Held in private communication. Burchard did not know the sheet.
15. Freedberg, *Epitaphs*, p. 55, assumed that the *Ceres Mattei* (Vatican Museum) served as model.
16. Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS Fr. 9530, fol. 200v (see Appendix I.3 and Ch. III, pp. 114-121).
17. Rubenius, *De Re Vestiarum*, p. 122: 'Hoc mihi suadet imago Romuli, quam ex ueteri signo expressam inveni inter schedas patris' [Italics mine] (cf. Van der Meulen, *Observations*, pp. 40-41). On Albert's use of his father's files see Chapter II, note 87.
18. O. Jahn, 'Die Cista Mystica', *Hermes. Zeitschrift für classischen Philologie*, III, 1869, p. 318; *Daremberg-Saglio*, I, 2, p. 1205. Martial, *Epigrams*, V: 17, used the word for a person of low social status.
19. E. Heawood, *Watermarks mainly of the 17th and 18th centuries (Monumenta chartae papyraceae historiam illustrantia)*, I, Hilversum, 1950, cf. no. 2279, p. 24.
20. Glück-Haberdtz, no. 187.
21. Judson-Van de Velde, no. 10, figs. 55-56.
22. *Ibid.*, no. 81, figs. 273-274.

## 61. Palliata as Ceres (Borghese): Drawing

Technique and measurements unknown.  
Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.

COPIES: (1) Drawing (Fig. 115), Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst, Kongelige Kobberstiksamling, 'Rubens Cantoor', No. III, 62; black chalk, pen and brown ink, 267 × 111 mm.; top corners cut off diagonally. Watermark: bunch of grapes crowned by letter B. PROV. Acquired by the Royal Library in Copenhagen presumably in the 17th century; since 1835 in the Museum. LIT. R. Baumstark, 'Ikonographische Studien zu Rubens Kriegs- und Friedensallegorien', *Aachener Kunstblätter*, XLV, 1974, pp. 129-130, fig. 5; Van der Meulen, *Sculpture Collections*, p. 151, n. 6, repr.; Held, *Oil Sketches*, p. 121, under no. 78; Freedberg, *Christ after the Passion*, p. 35, under no. 3, copy 1; Garff-Pedersen, *Panneels*, pp. 88-89, no. 97, fig. 99.

(2) Engraving by Lucas Vorsterman (Fig. 116), 284 × 185 mm.; inscription centre below: S. CATHARINA ex marmore antiquo, below left: *Cu[m] priuileg.*, below right: *L. Vorsterman*]. LIT. *Basan*, p. 83, no. 14; *V.S.*, p. 114, no. 34; *Dutuit*, VI, p. 131, no. 14; *Hymans, Vorsterman*, p. 97, no. 56; *Rooses*, II, p. 146, no. 335; V, p. 328, under nos. 334-338; R. Baumstark, op. cit., p. 129, n. 22; *Freedberg, Christ after the Passion*, p. 36, under no. 8, fig. 7.

A copy in Copenhagen (Fig. 115) shows a draped female in three-quarter view facing left. She stands in *contrapposto* with the weight on her right leg; the left one is flexed and placed to the back. She wears a full *chiton*, and a thin *pallium* is wrapped around her body, drawn over her head and thrown over her left shoulder. From a pleat of the mantle the right arm extends upwards. The left arm reaches down and holds the edge of the mantle and two poppy seed capsules.

This drawing was probably copied after an original by Rubens. Garff and Pedersen attributed it to Willem Panneels (1628/30).

A popular statue type of a *Priestess of Ceres* with a portrait head of an empress of the second or third century A.D. served as model.<sup>1</sup> In the early 17th century such a *palliata* belonged to the collection of Tiberio Ceoli in

Rome, where it was drawn by Andrea Boscoli (c.1590).<sup>2</sup> It was among the sculptures purchased by Cardinal Scipione Borghese on 1 December 1607 from the estate of Tiberio Ceoli (d. 10 August 1605).<sup>3</sup>

The statue, of Severan workmanship, now in the Villa Borghese in Rome (Fig. 114),<sup>4</sup> does not hold poppy capsules, but it closely resembles the figure on the Copenhagen drawing (Fig. 115). Rubens drew a number of sculptures from the Ceoli-Borghese collection.

Reinhold Baumstark assumed that a *palliata* statue now in the Villa Poggio Imperiale served as model,<sup>5</sup> but the head covered by a thick *velum* does not match the one on the Copenhagen drawing. Also, two fingers of the left hand of the marble are stretched out, which is not the case on our figure. The cinquecento whereabouts of this sculpture, which was drawn by Maerten van Heemskerck, are not known.

The Borghese marble, newly acquired by Scipione, apparently inspired Rubens for his figure of St Domitilla on the second design for the altarpiece for Sta Maria in Vallicella. This oil sketch can be dated precisely to February or March 1608.<sup>6</sup> The draping of the mantle of the saint is similar to the statue, although the fabric is much thicker and falls in heavy pleats.

The *palliata* statue occurs several times in Rubens's work. It was literally adopted in his painting in St Petersburg, *The Worship of Ceres* (Fig. 117), where the statue is standing in a niche.<sup>7</sup> The marble is seen in frontal view, which may indicate that a second drawing by Rubens formerly existed.

The *palliata* was also used for the St Martina on the right wing of the *Resurrection Triptych* of 1612 in the Cathedral in Antwerp, where it is rendered from the same angle as on the Copenhagen copy. The right hand now holds a palm branch.<sup>8</sup>

The *St Catherine* on an engraving by Lucas Vorsterman 'after an ancient marble' as the legend informs us, again pictures the same statue holding a sword in three-quarter view,

placed in a niche (Copy 2; Fig. 116). For the allegorical figure of Peace in the *Conclusion of Peace* (Medici cycle, Paris, Louvre), the marble was once more the source of inspiration, now seen from the front.<sup>9</sup> Finally, a female figure on the ship in Rubens's *Maria de' Medici disembarking in Marseilles* (Paris, Louvre) reflects the top half of the sculpture.<sup>10</sup>

1. Bieber, *Ancient Copies*, pp. 165-166, figs. 738-742.
2. Rome, Gabinetto delle Stampe, Inv. No. 130649; inscribed: *del Sr. Tiberio Ceuli in strada giulia*. See A. Forlani, 'Andrea Boscoli', *Proporzioni*, 1963, p. 164, no. 306; *De Lachenal, Collezione Borghese*, fig. 16.
3. Inventory of 1 December 1607, no. 18: 'Cerrere vestita alta p. 71/2 sc.60' standing near the Scala Maestra is possibly identical with the *Ceres* sculpture (*De Lachenal, Collezione Borghese*, pp. 84-86. This author, pp. 52-53, did not identify the Boscoli drawing with the Borghese *Ceres* statue).
4. Bieber, *Ancient Copies*, p. 166, n. 25, Casino in Villa Borghese, sala VIII, no. CIIC, figs. 743-744; H.J. Kruse, *Römische weibliche Gewandstatuen des zweiten Jahrhunderts N. Chr.*, Göttingen, 1968 (1975), p. 249, no. 30 (Inv. No. 774), pl. 9; A. Linfert, *Kunstzentrum hellenistischer Zeit. Studien an weiblichen Gewandfiguren*, Wiesbaden, 1976, p. 160, n. 640, no. 7 (with a list of replicas).
5. G. Capecchi, L. Lepore and V. Saladino, *La Villa del Poggio Imperiale (Collezioni fiorentine di Antichità, 1)*, Rome, 1979, no. 63, pls. LXXVIII-LXXIX: the head is reworked. The *Ceres* was probably among 25 sculptures which came to Florence from the Belvedere cortile in 1569 (*Michaelis, Belvedere*, p. 66, no. 18). A similar *palliata* without ears of wheat was drawn by Girolamo da Carpi (Philadelphia, Rosenbach album, fol. 91; see *Canedy, Girolamo da Carpi*, pp. 57-58, pl. 12 R.91), assumed to be picturing the statue in the Villa Poggio Imperiale. It resembles the Borghese sculpture more closely.
6. Müller Hofstede, *Rubens in Italien*, p. 168 (colour repr. on p. 344); Held, *Oil Sketches*, pp. 543-545, no. 398, pl. 388.
7. Haberditzl, *Die Antike*, p. 277, fig. 18: the illustration renders a different *Ceres* statue, also in the Borghese collection, which has little in common with the sculpture under discussion. Burchard proposed the *Pudicitia Mattei* (Rome, Vatican Museum) as model, but this is a different type of statue. See Ch. I, p. 61, text ill. 23.
8. Rooses, II, p. 146, no. 335; Freedberg, *Christ after the Passion*, pp. 35-37, no. 3, fig. 5.
9. K.d.K., p. 261; O. Brendel, 'Die Friedensgöttin', in *Corolla L. Curtius*, Stuttgart, 1937, p. 215, fig. 69.
10. K.d.K., p. 248.

## 62. Portrait Statue as Ceres (Mattei): Drawing (Fig. 119)

Red chalk; 420 × 226 mm.; inscribed in pen and black ink at bottom right: 4, in chalk: 6. Bottom left collector's mark of Sir T. Lawrence (L.2445).

London, British Museum, Department of Prints and Drawings. Inv. No. 1946-7-13-1004.

PROVENANCE: Sir Thomas Lawrence (London, 1769-1830); acquired from his estate by Samuel Woodburn (London, 1786-1853), sale Christie's, London, 4-8 June 1860, lot ?; acquired there by Sir Thomas Phillipps (Cheltenham, 1792-1872), by descent to Thomas Fitzroy Phillipps Fenwick (1856-1938); presented anonymously to the Museum (in 1946?).

EXHIBITED: London, 1977, no. 19; Cologne, 1977, no. 59.

LITERATURE: A.E. Popham, *Catalogue of Drawings in the Collection formed by Sir Thomas Phillipps, now in the possession of his grandson T. Fitzroy Fenwick of Thirlestaine House, Cheltenham*, 1935, p. 16, no. 17; Burchard-d'Hulst, *Drawings*, p. 28, under no. 12; Müller Hofstede, *Beiträge*, p. 271, n. 32, fig. 188a; Rowlands, *Rubens Drawings*, p. 32, no. 19, repr.; Müller Hofstede, *Rubens in Italien*, p. 260, no. 59, repr.; Logan, *Rubens Exhibitions, 1978*, pp. 423-424, no. 59 (as not Rubens).

A woman wearing a full, high-belted *chiton* is drawn in three-quarter view facing right, from below. Her feet in high-soled sandals protrude from under the dress. A thin *himation* (mantle) is artfully arranged around the body. The right arm placed on the hip is covered by the mantle; the extended left hand holds poppy capsules and ears of wheat. The head turned to the left is only lightly indicated.

The source is a Hellenistic portrait statue of Ceres, in the Vatican Museum since 1770 (Fig. 118).<sup>1</sup> It was acquired by Pope Benedict XIV

from the Mattei collection. In the 1614 inventory of Cyriacus Mattei's estate the statue is listed as an empress standing in front of a column of the side wall of the *palazzo* facing the Prato.<sup>2</sup> The marble was later lavishly praised by J. Richardson for its high quality and exquisite drapery.<sup>3</sup> Rubens could have been attracted to it for the same reason, as he had a special interest in clothing.

The drawing in London was originally attributed to an Italian artist. Ludwig Burchard and R.-A. d'Hulst were the first to publish it as a work by Rubens. However, the rendering of the drapery is quite pedestrian; the thin strap holding the *chiton* on the left shoulder is omitted, the pleats in general are lacking the substance of fabric. Also, the ankle and foot at the bottom right are very poorly defined. When we compare the sheet with the drawing in Chicago picturing *Three Figures from a Muse Sarcophagus* (No. 138; Fig. 269), the striking effect of the clothing sketched in a few lines is totally lacking on the sheet under discussion. I have expressed my doubts about the attribution on an earlier occasion,<sup>4</sup> and Anne-Marie Logan later agreed with me. In my opinion the drawing can at most qualify as a copy after an unknown original by the master.

Rubens copied several Mattei statues, probably during his second Roman period. The Ceres sculpture does not seem to have been used in his *oeuvre*.<sup>5</sup>

1. Lippold, *Skulpturen*, III, 2, pp. 410-411, Galleria dei Candelabri VI, no. 5 (Inv. No. 253c), pls. 174 and 175; Helbig, *Führer*, 1963-72, I, p. 447, no. 568; Haskell-Penny, pp. 181-182, no. 22, fig. 94.

2. Lanciani, *Scavi*, III, p. 91: 'Nella facciata de fianco del detto palazzo verso il prato: ...Un'altra Imperatrice nell'ultimo pilastro vestita con un papavero in mano'; Venturi-Amaduzzi, *Vetera monumenta*, I, pl. XXX.

3. J. Richardson, *An Account of the Statues, Bas-reliefs, Drawings and Pictures, in Italy and France, &c with Remarks*, second edn, London, 1754, pp. 177-178: 'The Villa Mattei... *Livia Augusta*, One of the finest Figures in Rome, and the most engaging. The Air of the Head excessively Good, and the Drapery exquisite. This Statue has a vast Grace and Dig-

nity...one Hand cover'd with Drapery, but not hid...'

4. Rubens Symposium, Cologne, December 1977.
5. John Rowlands surmised that this statue was used as model for the *Ceres* painting in St Petersburg, but the marble depicted is the *Borghese Ceres* (see No. 61). David Freedberg suggested (*Freedberg, Epitaphs*, p. 55) that the right angel on the outside of the doors of the *Resurrection Triptych* (Antwerp, Cathedral; *Freedberg, After the Passion*, no. 4, fig. 1) was based on the *Ceres Mattei*; however, the source was the *Montalto Caryatid* (see No. 60).

### 63. Sleeping Hermaphrodite (Borghese): Drawing (Fig. 121)

Red chalk on white paper, heightened in white with brush; 250 × 390 mm. Bottom left collector's mark of E. Bouverie (L.325), centre right mark of P.H. Lankrink (L.2090), bottom right mark of L. Lucas (L., *Suppl.* 1733a), J. Richardson Senior (L.2183) and J.C. Robinson (L.1433). Inscribed on the mount by Richardson Junior: *Rubens dopo l'Antico*.

New York, Metropolitan Museum, Walter C. Baker Collection. Inv. No. 1972.118.286.

PROVENANCE: P.H. Lankrink (London, 1628-1692); J. Richardson Senior (London, 1665-1745), sale London, 22 January 1747, lot 19 ('two from the antique Hermaphrodite'); E. Bouverie (Delapré Abbey, 1767-1858); J.C. Robinson (London, 1824-1913); Lionel Lucas (London, 1822-1862); his nephew Claude Lucas, sale London (Christie's), 9 December 1949, lot 96; Walter C. Baker, New York.

EXHIBITED: *Cambridge-New York*, 1956, no. 1, pl. II; *The Walter C. Baker Collection of Drawings*, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 1960, no. 43.

LITERATURE: C. Virch, *Master Drawings in the Collection of Walter C. Baker*, 1962, p. 33, no. 43, repr.; Miesel, *Study Drawings*, p. 318, n. 10, fig. 11; Fubini-Held, p. 138, n. 37; A. Parronchi, 'Il "Cupido dormiente" di Michelangelo', in *Stil und Überlieferung in der Kunst des Abendlandes. Akten des 21. Internationalen Kongresses für*

*Kunstgeschichte in Bonn* 1964, Berlin, 1967, II, p. 125; Jaffé, *Rubens and Italy*, p. 81, n. 42, pl. 290; Van der Meulen, *Sculpture Collections*, p. 150, n. 5; Held, *Circle*, pp. 102-103, n. 37; Held, *Drawings*, 1986, p. 82, under no. 38.

A nude figure lying on its stomach is drawn from above. A sheet of drapery underneath it is looped around the upper left arm and over the left leg. The head faces right.

The source was a *Sleeping Hermaphrodite*, of which at least two replicas were known in the early 17th century. Held assumed that the sculpture in the Medici collection was the model, but the Louvre marble with naturally flowing hair is much closer to the drawing (Fig. 120).<sup>1</sup> It was previously in the Villa Borghese in Rome. Unearthed during the excavations for the construction of the Sta Maria della Vittoria in 1608, it was subsequently acquired by Cardinal Scipione Borghese.<sup>2</sup> Rubens must have copied the statue shortly after its discovery, as he left Rome in October 1608. The relaxed position of the head on the marble has been changed to a slightly raised position on Rubens's drawing, thereby suggesting that the sleeping figure has just woken up. The hair is also more freely copied. On the drawing the drapery extends further than is now the case. This could have been cut down when Gian Lorenzo Bernini added a marble mattress in 1630.<sup>3</sup> The *Borghese Hermaphrodite* was first published in 1638 by Perrier.<sup>4</sup>

1. Froehner, *Sculpture antique*, pp. 345-346, no. 374; Bieber, *Hellenistic Sculpture*, p. 146, fig. 623. Rowlands and Held also attribute a drawing in London of the *Borghese Hermaphrodite* to Rubens (Rowlands, *Rubens Drawings*, p. 31, no. 18, repr.; Held, *Drawings*, 1986, pp. 81-82, no. 38, pl. 37). It has been accepted by Burchard and Logan as by Van Dyck (Logan, *Rubens Exhibitions*, 1977, p. 412, no. 18; K. Renger, [Review exhibition London, 1977], *Kunstchronik*, April 1978, p. 135, as *not Rubens*).

2. J. Lalande, *Voyage d'un François en Italie*, Paris, 1769, V, p. 117: '...fut trouvée dans les ruines des thermes de Dioclétien, en creusant les fondations du portail de la Victoire. Le Cardinal Borghese paya toute la construction de la façade pour avoir la figure; le pied qui est en l'air a été restauré par le Bernin, &

tout le matelas est de lui'; M. Armellini, *Le Chiese di Roma dal secolo IV al XIX*, Rome, 1942, pp. 333, 1382–1383; *Fubini–Held*, p. 138, n. 38; *Haskell–Penny*, pp. 234–236, no. 48, fig. 120.

3. I. Faldi, 'Note sulle sculture borghesini del Bernini', *Bollettino d'Arte*, XXXVIII, 1953, pp. 142, 146, doc. VI.

4. *Perrier, Segmenta*, pl. 90.

1. M. Delcourt, *Hermaphrodite. Myths and Rites of the Bisexual Figure in Classical Art*, trans. J. Nicholson, London, 1961, p. 63.

2. G. Franzini, *Icones Statuarum Antiquarum Urbis Romae*, Rome, 1599, pl. D 13: 'HERMAFRODITAE. IN AED. SABELLIS'. The statue is pictured in side view.

3. *Froehner, Sculpture antique*, pp. 347–348, no. 376, as from the Borghese collection; *Reinach, Répertoire statuaire*, I, p. 372, pl. 670, no. 1549.

## 64. Ithyphallic Hermaphrodite Anasyrma: Drawing

Technique and measurements unknown.  
*Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.*

COPY: Drawing (Fig. 123), Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst, Kongelige Kobberstiksamlng, 'Rubens Cantoor', No. III, 48; black chalk and pen and black ink on thin yellow paper, 198 × 84 mm. PROV. Acquired by the Royal Library in Copenhagen presumably in the 17th century; since 1835 in the Museum. LIT. *Miesel, Ancient Art*, p. 56, n. 90; *Miesel, Study Drawings*, p. 323, n. 21; *Van der Meulen, Antique Sculpture*, p. 150.

A drawing in Copenhagen (Copy; Fig. 123) shows an ithyphallic, androgynous figure in three-quarter view facing left. The belted *chiton* is pulled up by both hands revealing its nakedness. A long mantle draped over both shoulders hangs down along its sides. The model for the drawing in Copenhagen is a *Hermaphrodite Anasyrma*,<sup>1</sup> a Hellenistic marble found on Monte Porzio and acquired by Jacopo Savelli.<sup>2</sup> It might have adorned a fountain in his *palazzo* constructed in the Roman theatre of Marcellus in Rome. It later came into the Borghese collection and is now in the store of the Louvre in Paris (Fig. 122).<sup>3</sup>

The marble is copied in its unrestored condition. The drawing is one of a group (the 'Rubens Cantoor') of which several are copies after Rubens, including perhaps this one. To my knowledge no other drawing of this marble exists.

## 65-101 STATUE GROUPS

### 65-69 CENTAUR TORMENTED BY CUPID (BORGHESE)

#### 65. Centaur tormented by Cupid (Borghese) (side view): Drawing (Fig. 124)

Black chalk; 463 × 397 mm. Inscribed at top left in ink: *No. 60*; bottom right collector's mark of Tsar Paul I of Russia (L.2061). Mounted (in original Cobenzl frame). *Moscow, State Pushkin Museum*. Inv. No. 7099.

PROVENANCE: Count Charles Philippe Jean de Cobenzl (Ljubljana, 1712–Brussels, 1770); purchased by Catherine II in 1768; acquired by the Museum in 1930.

COPY: The cupid only, left half of a drawing (Fig. 125; see No. 69, Copy 2, for the right half), Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst, Kongelige Kobberstiksamlng, 'Rubens Cantoor', No. III, 17; black and red chalk, pen and brown ink on thick yellow paper, 182 × 289 mm.; inscription in pen and brown ink in bottom left in code: *dit kinneken sit op dijen sentaurus die men / van besijden siet*. Watermark: Two capital letters C entwined over a Lotharian cross. PROV. Acquired by the Museum presumably in the 17th century. LIT. *Falck, Tegninger*, p. 73; *Held, Drawings*, p. 51; *Miesel, Ancient Art*, p. 35; *Miesel, Study Drawings*, p. 324; *Haverkamp Begemann, Achilles*, p. 100, n. 11; *Van der Meulen, Sculpture*

*Collections*, p. 150, n. 5; *Held, Drawings, 1986*, p. 44; *Garff-Pedersen, Panneels*, pp. 156-157, no. 209, fig. 211.

EXHIBITED: *Leningrad, 1965*, no. 7.

LITERATURE: *Kuznetsov, Drawings, 1965*, p. 16, no. 7, pl. I; *Stechow, Rubens*, p. 28, fig. 13; *Kuznetsov, Risunki, 1974*, no. 12, repr.; *Haverkamp Begemann, Achilles*, p. 100, n. 12; *Jaffé, Rubens and Italy*, p. 82, n. 48, pl. 316.

The drawing shows an elderly Centaur in side view to the right and looking over his right shoulder at a Cupid who sits on his back in side view facing right. The Centaur has a full beard and his head is covered with thick curly locks of hair. He wears a painful expression, since his hands are tied behind his back. The chubby, young Cupid with a wreath of ivy on his head and clasped belt around his waist looks up and smiles at the Centaur. The Centaur's foreleg and the Cupid's right ankle and foot are broken off, and the arms of Cupid are also missing. Hatchings indicate shadows in the background.

A marble statue group of an *Elderly Centaur tormented by Cupid* copied after a Hellenistic bronze original of the second century B.C., a work of the Rhodian school, was the source for the drawing. It forms a pendant to another group with a *Young Centaur fettered by Cupid*. They illustrate the Hellenistic epigram of Love's influence on a young and elderly Centaur.<sup>1</sup>

The sculpture of the elderly Centaur is said to have been found in the early years of the 17th century near the Hospital of San Giovanni in Laterano on the site of the ancient Villa Fonseca in Rome.<sup>2</sup> It is first mentioned by Felini as standing in the Palazzo Borghese near the Ripetta.<sup>3</sup> However, it is not listed in the inventory of the collection of G.B. Borghese which was housed there. In all likelihood it belonged to Scipione Borghese's collection. One of the poems written by S. Francucci (1613) on the highlights of Sci-

pione's Gallery extols the 'Amor che frena un Centauro' on display in the 'Palazzo nel Borgo'.<sup>4</sup> It was first engraved by Perrier after it was restored.<sup>5</sup> The sculpture is now in the Louvre in Paris (Fig. 128).<sup>6</sup>

The drawing in the Pushkin Museum has been attributed to Rubens by Kuznetsov and this has been accepted by Stechow, Haverkamp Begemann, Jaffé and Logan.<sup>7</sup> Although the very expressive face of the Centaur has been rendered rather lifeless, I would not challenge the attribution.

A copy in Copenhagen shows the Cupid only (Fig. 125, left side). The annotation observes that it was originally sitting on the back of a Centaur and that the original was kept in Rubens's studio. The Moscow sheet may have served as model. Garff and Pedersen identified the copyist as Willem Panneels.

Other studies by Rubens of the statue group from different angles are also known from copies in Copenhagen and an anonymous engraving (Nos. 66-69). These works are the oldest record of the sculpture, and they picture the marble before restoration.

The motif of a Centaur carrying a child on its back was used in Rubens's design for *Achilles instructed by Chiron* (Rotterdam, Museum Boymans-van Beuningen) and in a painting of the Rubens school of *Nessus and Dejanira* (Hanover, Museum).<sup>8</sup> The Centaur on *Dejanira receiving the Poisoned Shirt from Nessus*, attributed to Rubens's workshop (Potsdam, Bildergalerie Sanssouci) is inspired by the same sculpture.<sup>9</sup>

1. *Bieber, Hellenistic Sculpture*, pp. 140-141, figs. 581 and 583; *Haskell-Penny*, pp. 179-180, no. 21, fig. 93.

2. F. Martinelli, *Roma ricercata nel suo sito*, Roma, 1644, pp. 111-112: 'vn Centauro con vn' Amore in groppo, che lo batte, trouato nel vigna del Fonseca'.

3. P.M. Felini, *Trattato nuovo delle cose maravigliose dell' Almà Città di Roma*, Rome, 1610, p. 213: 'Del Palazzo delli Borghesi... à Ripetta...vn Centauro caualcato da vn' Amore, cosa molto rara'.

4. Scipione Francucci, *La Galleria dell' Ill. e Rev. Signor Scipione Cardinale Borghese*, canto VII, stanze 454-459 (Rome, Bibl. Vat., Fondo Borghese, ser. IV, no. 102, fols. 130v-131v).

5. *Perrier, Segmenta*, pls. 7-8.



6. Froehner, *Sculpture antique*, pp. 293-294, no. 299; *Héron de Villefosse, Marbres*, 1922, p. 37, no. 562.  
 7. Logan, *Review Kuznetsov*, p. 300 (the drawing is implicitly accepted as it is not included among the rejected). The drawing was not known to Burchard.  
 8. Kieser, *Antikes*, p. 130, n. 46; *Haverkamp Begemann, Achilles*, p. 102, no. 2a, figs. 13, 15.  
 9. G. Eckardt, *Die Gemälde in der Bildergalerie von Sanssouci*, Potsdam-Sanssouci, 1975, pp. 59-60, no. 59, repr. The group of Nessus and Dejanira is copied in an engraving by P. Pontius, *V.S.*, p. 238, no. 65, 'Livre à dessiner', pl. [18].

## 66. Centaur tormented by Cupid (Borghese) (side view): Drawing

Technique and measurements unknown.  
*Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.*

COPIES: (1) Drawing (Fig. 129), Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst, Kongelige Kobberstiksamling, 'Rubens Cantoor', No. VII, 4; black and red chalk on thick yellowish paper, 433 × 353 mm. Watermark: escutcheon with horn, monogram with letters DA. PROV. Acquired by the Royal Library in Copenhagen presumably in the 17th century; since 1835 in the Museum. LIT. *Falck, Tegninger*, p. 73; *Held, Drawings*, p. 51; *Miesel, Ancient Art*, p. 35; *Miesel, Study Drawings*, p. 324; *Haverkamp Begemann, Achilles*, p. 100, n. 11; *Van der Meulen, Sculpture Collections*, p. 150, n. 5, fig. 1a; *Held, Drawings, 1986*, p. 44; *Garff-Pedersen, Panneels*, p. 72, under no. 73.

(2) Drawing (Fig. 127), *ibid.*, 'Rubens Cantoor', No. III, 14; black and red chalk, pen and brown ink on thick yellowish paper, 323 × 292 mm.; large top corners cut off; inscription in pen and brown ink at bottom right in code: *desen sentaurus hebbe ick geteekent / naer eenen van rubbens die ick oock / vant cantoor gehaelt heb*. Watermark: two capital letters C entwined with a post horn. PROV. Acquired by the Royal Library in Copenhagen presumably in the 17th century; since 1835 in the Museum. LIT. *Falck, Tegninger*, p. 73; *Kieser, Antikes*, p. 130, n. 46; *Held, Drawings*, p. 51; *Miesel, Ancient Art*, p. 35; *Miesel, Study Drawings*, p. 324; *Haverkamp Begemann, Achilles*, p. 100, n. 11; *Held,*

*Drawings, 1986*, p. 44; *Garff-Pedersen, Panneels*, p. 72, no. 73, fig. 75.

(3) Engraving by P. Pontius in reverse (Fig. 126), pl. [19] of his 'Livre à dessiner', first edn P. van Avont [n.d.]; second edn A. Voet. LIT. *Le Comte, Cabinet*, I, p. 137; *Basan*, pp. 242-243, no. 33.14; *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, p. 348, no. 1357; *V.S.*, p. 238, no. 65.[13]; *Dutuit*, VI, p. 257; *Rooses*, V, pp. 24-26, no. 1229.19; *Van den Wijngaert, Prentkunst*, pp. 84-85, no. 557; *Jaffé, Antwerp Sketchbook*, I, pp. 38-39; *Hollstein*, XVII, p. 200, no. 157.II; *Jaffé, Rubens and Italy*, p. 82, n. 49; *Van der Meulen, Sculpture Collections*, p. 150, n. 5, fig. 1b.

A lost drawing by Rubens is known from three copies (Figs. 126, 127, 129), which show the sculpture of the *Centaur tormented by Cupid* slightly more from the front than on the previous drawing (cf. Fig. 124). The tree trunk is omitted. The first copy (Fig. 129) is of good quality and is possibly a reliable study after Rubens's original. The hatchings in the background are very clumsy.

On the second copy (Fig. 127) only the Centaur is pictured: its head is rendered in less detail and the hatchings in the background are heavier. The Cupid is indicated from the waist down in contour lines. The annotation is more explicit than on other drawings and is very interesting because it informs us that the original model was a drawing by Rubens kept in his studio. Garff and Pedersen attributed this second sheet in Copenhagen to Willem Panneels (1628/30).

Rubens's lost drawing served also as model for the engraver Paul Pontius (Copy 3; Fig. 126). The statue group is seen in mirror image on his print. Jaffé surmised that Pontius made the engraving after Rubens's death.<sup>1</sup>

1. For the 'Livre à dessiner', see No. 184, n. 12.

**67. Centaur tormented by Cupid (Borghese) (Centaur three-quarter view): Drawing**

Technique and measurements unknown.  
*Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.*

COPY: Drawing (Fig. 130), Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst, Kongelige Kobberstiksamling, 'Rubens Cantoor', No. III, 16; black chalk on thick yellowish paper, 244 × 214 mm.; large top left and bottom left corners cut off diagonally. Watermark: monogram with letter *W* (*Briquet*, no. 8896). PROV. Acquired by the Royal Library in Copenhagen presumably in the 17th century; since 1835 in the Museum. LIT. *Falck, Tegninger*, p. 73; *Kieser, Antikes*, p. 130, n. 46; *Held, Drawings*, p. 51; *Miesel, Ancient Art*, p. 35, fig. V,2; *Miesel, Study Drawings*, p. 324; *Haverkamp Begemann, Achilles*, p. 100, n. 11; *Held, Drawings, 1986*, p. 44; *Garff-Pedersen, Panneels*, pp. 95–96, no. 106, fig. 108.

A copy in Copenhagen (Fig. 130) shows only the Centaur of the Borghese statue group, rendered in three-quarter view facing front. The head of the Centaur, facing left, has pointed ears which are not visible on the other drawings of the statue. The tree trunk is omitted. Slight hatchings occur in the background. Garff and Pedersen attributed the drawing to Willem Panneels (1628/30).

**68. Centaur tormented by Cupid (Borghese) (Centaur side view): Drawing**

Technique and measurements unknown.  
*Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.*

COPY: Drawing of the Centaur only (Fig. 131), Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst, Kongelige Kobberstiksamling, 'Rubens Cantoor', No. III, 13; red chalk, 332 × 310 mm.; top right corner cut off diagonally. PROV. Acquired

by the Royal Library in Copenhagen presumably in the 17th century; since 1835 in the Museum. LIT. *Falck, Tegninger*, p. 73; *Kieser, Antikes*, p. 130, n. 46; *Held, Drawings*, p. 51; *Miesel, Ancient Art*, p. 35, fig. V,2; *Miesel, Study Drawings*, p. 324, fig. 19; *Haverkamp Begemann, Achilles*, p. 100, n. 11; *Held, Drawings, 1986*, p. 44; *Garff-Pedersen, Panneels*, p. 137, no. 175, fig. 177.

A copy in Copenhagen (Fig. 131) shows only the Centaur of the Borghese statue group, rendered in side view facing left. The Cupid is omitted, but its left leg is indicated by a contour line. The head of the Centaur and tree trunk are lightly sketched. Hatchings occur in the background. This sheet is attributed by Garff and Pedersen to Willem Panneels (1628/30).

**69. Centaur tormented by Cupid (Borghese) (back view): Drawing**

Technique and measurements unknown.  
*Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.*

COPIES: (1) Drawing (Fig. 132), Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst, Kongelige Kobberstiksamling, 'Rubens Cantoor', No. III, 15; black, red and white chalk on thick yellowish paper, 447 × 295 mm.; an obtuse corner cut away at the top right; inscription in pen and brown ink in bottom left in code: *het princepael van desen sentaurus hebbe ick oock / vant cantoor gehaelt*. PROV. Acquired by the Royal Library in Copenhagen presumably in the 17th century; since 1835 in the Museum. LIT. *Falck, Tegninger*, p. 73; *Kieser, Antikes*, p. 130, n. 46; *Held, Drawings*, p. 51, fig. 16; *Miesel, Ancient Art*, p. 35; *Miesel, Study Drawings*, p. 324, fig. 18; *Haverkamp Begemann, Achilles*, p. 100, n. 11; *Van der Meulen, Sculpture Collections*, p. 150, n. 5; *Held, Drawings, 1986*, p. 44; *Garff-Pedersen, Panneels*, p. 41, no. 4, fig. 4.

(2) The cupid only, right half of a drawing (Fig. 125); see No. 65, Copy, for more details.

A drawing of the *Centaur tormented by Cupid* statue in back view was kept in Rubens's studio and served as model for the first copy in Copenhagen (Fig. 132), as its annotation reveals. But only the Centaur is copied in detail, and the lower part of the body of Cupid is indicated by a contour sketch. The detail of the Cupid was copied separately on another sheet (Copy 2; Fig. 125) together with a Cupid seen from the front, derived from a different drawing (No. 65). This sheet is interesting as it pictures the Cupid in unrestored condition: the arms and wings are broken off. The head is indicated by a contour line only. Garff and Pedersen attributed both copies in Copenhagen to Willem Panneels (1628/30).

### 70. Three Studies of the Child embracing a Goose (Cesi): Drawing

Technique and measurements unknown.  
*Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.*

COPY: Drawing (Fig. 134), Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst, Kongelige Kobberstiksamling, 'Rubens Cantoor', No. III,23; black, red and white chalk, pen and brown ink on thin paper, 203 × 330 mm.; inscription in pen and brown ink at bottom centre in code: *dees drij kinnekens sijn goet van omtreck / ende hebbe dees oock gehaelt vant cantoor*. Watermark: figure 4 interlaced with letter W. PROV. Acquired by the Museum presumably in the 17th century. LIT. *Held, Drawings*, p. 51; *Miesel, Ancient Art*, p. 37, fig. V,3 (centre and right sketch); *Miesel, Study Drawings*, p. 323, n. 25; *Jaffé, Rubens and Italy*, p. 81, n. 36; *Van der Meulen, Sculpture Collections*, p. 152, n. 7, fig. 4b; *Held, Drawings, 1986*, p. 44; *Garff-Pedersen, Panneels*, p. 98, no. 110, fig. 112.

A copy in Copenhagen (Fig. 134) shows three sketches of a chubby infant embracing a goose. From left to right, the group is seen facing front, in three-quarter view facing

right, and in three-quarter view to the left. Hatchings occur around each figure.

The inscription informs us that the drawing used by the copyist was kept in Rubens's studio. The copyist was pleased with the results, remarking that 'the outlines of these three children are good'. Garff and Pedersen attributed the sheet to Willem Panneels (1628/30). Rubens's original is now lost.

The source is a Roman copy of the Hellenistic sculpture group by Boethus of Chalcidion described by Pliny (*Nat. Hist.*, XXXIV: 84) of which several replicas were known in the 17th century.<sup>1</sup> The marble in the collection of Cardinal Cesi differed from the others in that the bird curls itself around the body of the child and rests its head against the cheek of the infant (Fig. 133), as it does on the Copenhagen sheet. The sculpture was on display in the Cardinal's *antiquarium* on a special revolving base together with a statue of a *Leda*, as Aldroandi reported.<sup>2</sup> In 1622 the marble was sold to Cardinal Ludovisi;<sup>3</sup> it is now in the Museo Nazionale delle Terme in Rome.<sup>4</sup> An engraving by Cornelis Galle documented Rubens's visit to the Cesi collection (see Ch. I, p. 49).

The Cesi sculpture is mentioned in the text of *MS Johnson* (fol. 100r), which discusses perfect representations of infants.<sup>5</sup> The bird is called a swan here in spite of Pliny's text. Three sketches in Van Dyck's Antwerp Sketchbook (fol. 65r) show a toddler standing in a similar pose but without the goose.<sup>6</sup>

The figure of the child is reflected in *The Worship of Ceres* by Rubens (St Petersburg, Hermitage; Fig. 117), where the second putto from the left stands in the same wide-legged posture as the middle one in the Copenhagen sketches.<sup>7</sup> One of the Cupids in the *Lamentation of Adonis* (private collection, Bedford, N.Y.; formerly Duits collection) was also derived from the statue.<sup>8</sup>

1. *Bieber, Hellenistic Sculpture*, pp. 81-82, cf. fig. 285; *Bober-Rubinstein, Handbook*, pp. 233-234, no. 200, cf. fig. 200a.

2. *Aldroandi*, *Statue antiche*, p. 132: 'vn bel Cupido ... che abbraccia vn Cigno'; *Hülsen, Römische Antikengärten*, p. 34, no. 144.
3. *Schreiber*, *Villa Ludovisi*, p. 48, no. 11; on p. 27 (line 27) the statue is listed in the inventory of the marbles acquired in 1622 by Cardinal Ludovisi; cf. p. 34, inventory of 1633 (fol. 44).
4. *Palma-de Lachenal*, 1983, p. 111, no. 47 (Inv. No. 8565bis), repr.
5. *MS Johnson*, fol. 100r: 'De Pueris' (see Appendix IX, n. 6); same text in *MS de Ganay*, fol. 47r (see *Jombert*, *Figure humaine*, p. 47). Cf. also *MS Johnson*, fol. 32r: 'Saturnus'.
6. *Jaffé*, *Antwerp Sketchbook*, II, fol. 65r. I thank A. Balis for pointing this out to me.
7. *Haberdtztl*, *Die Antike*, p. 279, fig. 19 (replica in Paris, Louvre); L. Steinberg, 'Rubens' Ceres in Leningrad', *Art News*, LXX, 8, December 1971, pp. 42-43, repr. (replica in Munich, Glyptothek).
8. F. Baudouin, 'Rubens en de antieke kunst', *Hermeus*, XLIX, 1977, p. 163, fig. 12.

## 71. Farnese Bull (Punishment of Dirce): Drawing (Fig. 136)

Black chalk on white paper; 222 × 268 mm.—*Verso*: *Hercules Farnese*, two views (see No. 18). London, British Museum, Department of Prints and Drawings. Inv. No. 1970-9-19-103.

PROVENANCE: I. von Ustinov, London (until 1934); bequeathed by E.J. Blaiberg, entered the Museum in 1970.

EXHIBITED: *Amsterdam*, 1933, no. 92, repr.; *London*, 1977, no. 20.

LITERATURE: C. Norris, 'The Rubens Exhibition at Amsterdam', *The Burlington Magazine*, LXIII, 1933, p. 230, pl. I D; A. Scharf, 'Little-known Drawings by Rubens', *The Connoisseur*, XXXII, 1933, p. 251; *Miesel*, *Ancient Art*, p. 12, n. 25; *Miesel*, *Study Drawings*, p. 326, n. 26; *Stechow*, *Rubens*, p. 27, n. 14; *Jaffé*, *Rubens and Italy*, p. 80, n. 21, pl. 282; *Rowlands*, *Rubens Drawings*, p. 32, no. 20 (repr. p. 33); C. McCordale, 'Rubens at the British Museum', *Art International*, 1977, p. 47.

The front half of a bull with a braided rope tied around its horns is drawn in side view facing right. The forelegs are partially indicated by a few, sketchy lines.

The model for the drawing is a bull crowning the marble statue group with the *Punishment of Dirce by Zethus and Amphion*. The Hellenistic original, described by Pliny (*Nat. Hist.*, XXXVI: 33-34) as a work of Apollonius and Tauriskos of Tralles, is preserved in a copy dating from the third century A.D. that decorated the Baths of Caracalla in Rome (Fig. 135).<sup>1</sup> The group was excavated in August 1545 and acquired for the Farnese collection.<sup>2</sup> Aldroandi described the sculpture as picturing 'Hercules Combating the Bull'.<sup>3</sup> In 1579 the statue group was restored by G.B. Bianchi. First known as the 'Monte del Torro',<sup>4</sup> it was correctly identified by Girolamo Ferrucci in 1585.<sup>5</sup> The marble was placed in a wooden shed in the second courtyard of the Palazzo Farnese and could be viewed on request. It was transferred to Naples in 1788 and restored as a fountain sculpture for the Villa Reale in Chiaja in 1791.<sup>6</sup> It was removed to the Museo Nazionale in Naples in 1826.<sup>7</sup>

The 'Toro Farnese' was considered one of the major attractions to visitors in Rome in the 17th century because of its very large dimensions and the expressive faces.<sup>8</sup> Although it was published on engravings, artists rarely studied the group.<sup>9</sup>

The London drawing first became known at the exhibition of 1933 in Amsterdam, where it was attributed to Rubens. The fragmentary condition of the statue on the drawing suggests that the artist worked from a cast: only the tops of the fingers grasping the snout of the animal are rendered, the right ear is omitted and the right horn is only partially indicated. On the other hand, the two rough sketches of the *Hercules Farnese* on the *verso* of the sheet (No. 18) would suggest that Rubens studied the original statue *in situ*. He may have drawn it from an elevated position. Rubens's visit to the Farnese collection is con-

firmed by an engraving of the *Flora Farnese* (text ill. 54, Ch. III, p. 102).

Rubens's admiration for the Farnese Bull is first mentioned by Wybrand de Geest; the artist is said to have judged it an excellent piece.<sup>10</sup> Rubens's drawings of the wattle of a cow as comparison with the throat of Emperor Galba (see No. 126) are preserved in transcripts of his art-theoretical Notebook.<sup>11</sup>

1. Bieber, *Hellenistic Sculpture*, pp. 133-134, fig. 529; *Lexicon Mythologiae*, III, 1, pp. 636-637, no. 7, repr.
2. Lanciani, *Scavi*, II, pp. 161, 181; Haskell-Penny, pp. 165-167, no. 15, fig. 85; M. Marvin, 'Freestanding Sculptures from the Baths of Caracalla', *American Journal of Archaeology*, LXXXVII, 1983, p. 367, as found in the Palaestra.
3. Aldroandi, *Statue antiche*, pp. 162-163: 'e fra gli altri quelli di Hercole, e del toro Maratonio... Egli è vn grandissimo monte di marmo bianco, sul quale Hercole combattendo col toro, il tiene con vn mano per lo corno, con vn altra gli stringe, e torce la bocca...'
4. Inventory of 1568: 'Al Torro. Il monte col Torro con 4 statue intorno' (*Documenti inediti*, I, p. 75).
5. A. Fulvio, *L'Antichità di Roma*, [Venice, 1585], 1588 edn, appendix by Girolamo Ferrucci, pp. 190-191: 'Fauola di Zeto, d'Anfione, & Dirce rappresentata da Appollonio, & Taurisco... che hoggidi è nel Palazzo dell'Illustrissimo signor Cardinal Farnese'... 'si vedono nel secondo cortile di detto Palazzo di Farnese verso la via Giulia, & benche siano chiuse d'ogn'intorno, nondimeno, à chi desidera vederle chiesto licenza cortesamente si mostrano'. Illustration on p. 190 of woodcut by G. Franzini (reprinted in *Icones Statuarum Antiquarum Urbis Romae*, Rome, 1599, B 4). See H. Siebenhüner, 'Der Palazzo Farnese in Rom', *Wallraf-Richartz-Jahrbuch*, XIV, 1952, p. 151, fig. 134.
6. *Documenti inediti*, I, p. 181: inventory of 1796, no. 129; L. Corraera, 'Il Toro e l'Ercole Farnese', *Bollettino Comunale d'Archeologia*, XXVIII, 1900, pp. 44-49.
7. Ruesch, *Museo Nazionale*, 1911, pp. 80-83, no. 260 (Inv. No. 6002); Lanciani, *Scavi*, II, p. 176.
8. G.K. von Wertheim, *Delitiae Italiae*, Frankfurt, [1600], p. 183: 'Gehet weiters hinaus in den andern Hof / da werdet ihr ein Steinwerck sehen / darüber ein hölzerner Hütten / der den Schlüssel zu eröffnen hat / ist ein Steinmetz... Allda so ihr hinein kompt / sehet ihr ein gewaltigen Stier / zwo Statue oder Personen / ein Hund / einen Schaaflhirten / und die Concubina in Person wie sie gewesen / welche dem Stier mit irem Haar an seine Hörner gebunden / vund von demselben also öffentlich geschleiff ist worden...'; J. Furtenbach, *Novae Itinerarium Italiae*, Ulm, 1627, p. 137; H. Welsch,

*Wahrhaftige Reissbeschreibung Teutschland, Croatien, Italien*, Stuttgart, 1631, p. 66.

9. A drawing in Codex Basel, U IV, fol. 82, inscribed H. Bock [15]83 (A. Michaelis, 'Römische Skizzenbücher nordischer Künstler des XVI. Jahrhunderts. Das Baseler Skizzenbuch, III', *Jahrbuch des kaiserlich deutschen Archäologischen Instituts*, VII, 1892, p. 89). A drawing by Girolamo da Carpi (London, British Museum, Inv. No. 1946-7-15-307r) shows the shepherd only (Canedy, *Girolamo da Carpi*, p. 120, pl. 48, no. BM3). Engravings in *De Cavalleriis, Antiquarium statuarum*, III-IV, pl. 3; *Vaccarius, Icones*, pl. 21; G. Franzini, *Icones Statuarum Antiquarum*, Rome, 1599, pl. B 4; *Perrier, Segmenta*, pl. 100.
10. *De Geest, Cabinet*, p. 110 (repr. p. 108): 'uitsteekende en heerlijk heeft het Rubbens genoemt'. He stated that the Farnese Bull was used as model in his work, but live animals were usually pictured. K. van Mander, *Den grondt der edel vry schilderconst*, Haarlem, 1603, IX: 40-41 (edn H. Miedema, Utrecht, 1973, I, p. 233), praised the sculpture skilfully carved in one piece of marble.
11. *MS Johnson*, fols. 67r (211.a), 68r (211.b; Fig. 193), 72r (214.a); *MS de Ganay*, fols. 11r, 15r (see *Jombert, Figure humaine*, pls. II, IV, in reverse).

## 72-74 GAULISH CHIEFTAIN KILLING HIS WIFE AND HIMSELF (LUDOVISI)

### 72. Gaulish Chieftain killing his Wife and Himself (Ludovisi) (frontal view): Drawing

Technique and measurements unknown.  
*Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.*

COPY: Drawing (Fig. 137), Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst, Kongelige Kobberstiksamling, 'Rubens Cantoor', No. III, 19; graphite, black, red and white chalk, pen and brown ink on thick yellowish paper, 317 × 148 mm.; large top right corner cut off diagonally. Inscription in pen and brown ink in bottom right in code: *dese teekeninge hebbe ick oock / gehaelt vant cantoor / ende dit vrouwen aermken / is een weijnich te groot*. Watermark: figure 4 interlaced with letter W. PROV. Acquired by the Royal Library in Copenhagen presumably in the 17th century; since 1835 in the Museum.

LIT. Held, *Drawings*, p. 51; Miesel, *Study Drawings*, p. 323, fig. 15 (right); Held, *Drawings*, 1986, p. 44; Garff-Pedersen, *Panneels*, pp. 71-72, no. 72, fig. 74.

A copy in Copenhagen (Fig. 137) shows in frontal view a man thrusting a sword into his own chest, while holding a woman who is falling to the ground. He is nude except for a *chlamys* fastened around his neck. The *peplos* worn by the woman is slipping from her right shoulder; her right arm hangs down. The legs of the man are sketched only lightly; of the woman only head and right arm are rendered in detail. Garff and Pedersen have attributed the sheet to Willem Panneels (1628/30). The copyist informs us that the model was found in Rubens's studio, and he criticized the right arm of the woman as too large. Rubens must have been less interested in the body of the woman, limply sinking to the ground, than in the man stabbing himself with one powerful blow. The blank staring eyes of the woman, directed towards the ground, have been changed on the drawing to look towards the spectator. Two other sheets in Copenhagen show parts of the sculpture (Nos. 73 and 74; Figs. 139-140).

The source for the drawing is a marble statue group of a Gaul committing suicide after first having killed his wife (Fig. 138).<sup>1</sup> The marble dates from Trajanic or early Antonine times and is a copy of a Hellenistic bronze,<sup>2</sup> which might have been part of a large monument erected for Attalus I in commemoration of his victory over the Gauls (240-230 B.C.).<sup>3</sup> It is now in the Museo Nazionale delle Terme in Rome,<sup>4</sup> and is first recorded in the 1622 inventory of the collection of Cardinal Ludovico Ludovisi.<sup>5</sup> The statue was found without the right arm of the man, but was restored by I. Buzzi in c.1623.<sup>6</sup> For lack of earlier documents it has been surmised that the marble was excavated during the construction of the Villa Ludovisi in 1622.<sup>7</sup> However, Rubens had already used the figure of the chieftain for the Discord in his *Council of the*

*Gods* (text ill. 45; Paris, Louvre, Medici cycle; *K.d.K.*, p. 254), first described in a document of August 1622 and finished in 1623.<sup>8</sup> Also, a reduced model of the group is pictured on *A Cabinet of an Amateur*, formerly in the Kleefeld collection in Brussels, dated to c.1621 by Speth-Holterhoff.<sup>9</sup> The chieftain is also reflected in Rubens's *Death of Dido* (Paris, Louvre; *K.d.K.*, p. 408) in the woman killing herself.

The Copenhagen drawings are probably the oldest record of the statue group. If they do go back to originals by Rubens, the discovery date can be moved back, probably even to the early years of the 17th century. The statue was first published by Perrier in 1638, identified as 'Pyramus and Thisbe'.<sup>10</sup>

1. Bieber, *Hellenistic Sculpture*, p. 80, figs. 281-283.
2. Helbig, *Führer*, 1963-72, III, pp. 255-256, no. 2337.
3. A. Schober, 'Das Gallierdenkmal Attalos I in Pergamon', *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Römische Abteilung*, LI, 1936, pp. 104-124; H. von Steuben, in Helbig, *Führer*, 1963-72, II, pp. 240-242, no. 1436, with a reconstruction of the monument.
4. Palma-de Lachenal, 1983, pp. 147-152, no. 64 (Inv. No. 8608), repr.; Haskell-Penny, pp. 282-284, no. 68, fig. 149.
5. Schreiber, *Villa Ludovisi*, pp. 112-115, no. 92; p. 29: inventory of 1633; Palma, *Marmi Ludovisi*, 1983, p. 70 (fol. 42, no. 15), repr.
6. M.Y. Bruand, 'La restauration des sculptures antiques du Cardinal Ludovisi', *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire, école française de Rome*, LXVI, 1956, p. 407; Palma, *Marmi Ludovisi*, 1983, p. 24.
7. Schreiber, *Villa Ludovisi*, pp. 10-12; Palma, *Marmi Ludovisi*, 1983, p. 19.
8. J. Thuillier, 'La "Galerie de Médicis" de Rubens et sa genèse: un document inédit', *Revue de l'art*, IV, 1969, pp. 60-61, no. 15.
9. Now in Brussels, Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique (Inv. No. 6853). Speth-Holterhoff, *Cabinets*, p. 81, pl. 21, attributed the painting to Frans Francken II; U.A. Härtling reattributed it to Hieronymus Francken in *Studien zur Kabinettmalerei des Frans Franken II. 1581-1642. Ein repräsentativer Werk-katalog*, Hildesheim-Zürich-New York, 1983, no. B 382, fig. 32.
10. Perrier, *Segmenta*, pl. 32.

### 73. Gaulish Chieftain killing his Wife and Himself (Ludovisi) (Torso of Chieftain frontal view): Drawing

Technique and measurements unknown.  
*Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.*

COPY: Drawing (Fig. 139), Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst, Kongelige Kobberstiksamling, 'Rubens Cantoor', No. III, 18; black, red and white chalk, pen in brown ink on thick yellowish paper, 290 × 223 mm.; small top right and bottom left corners cut off diagonally. PROV. Acquired by the Royal Library in Copenhagen presumably in the 17th century; since 1835 in the Museum. LIT. *Held, Drawings*, p. 51; *Miesel, Ancient Art*, p. 53, n. 73; *Miesel, Study Drawings*, p. 323, fig. 15 (left); *Held, Drawings, 1986*, p. 44; *Garff-Pedersen, Panneels*, p. 190, no. 257, fig. 260.

A copy in Copenhagen (Fig. 139) shows in frontal view a torso of a man, his right arm raised and his left stretched to the left. The head is not drawn. Both hands and legs might have been cut off when the sheet of paper was trimmed. Dark hatchings occur in the background.

The statue group of the *Gaulish Chieftain killing his Wife and Himself* was the source for this drawing (Fig. 138; see No. 72). The torso of the figure of Discord in Rubens's *Council of the Gods* (text ill. 45; Paris, Louvre, Medici cycle; *K.d.K.*, p. 254) is seen from a similar angle as the one on the drawing, thus making it conceivable that the Copenhagen copy is derived from an original by the master. Garff and Pedersen identified the copyist as Willem Panneels.

### 74. Gaulish Chieftain killing his Wife and Himself (Ludovisi): Drawing

Technique and measurements unknown.  
*Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.*

COPY: Drawing (Fig. 140), Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst, Kongelige Kobberstiksamling, 'Rubens Cantoor', No. VI, 40; black and white chalk on yellowish paper, 267 × 205 mm. PROV. Acquired by the Royal Library in Copenhagen presumably in the 17th century; since 1835 in the Museum. LIT. *Garff-Pedersen, Panneels*, p. 100, no. 113, fig. 115.

A copy in Copenhagen (Fig. 140) shows two motifs. The main one consists of the lower half of a standing figure, its legs placed wide apart. To the left, a left arm is drawn. Slight hatchings are sketched in to the left of the right leg and to the left of the arm.

Garff and Pedersen identified the legs as belonging to the Gaul killing himself, and the arm to his wife (Fig. 138; see also Nos. 72-73). However, both are in mirror image. Garff and Pedersen suggested they were a counterproof, but they may also be tracings of a drawing which is no longer known (cf. No. 4, Copies 3 and 4). Garff and Pedersen attributed the drawing to Willem Panneels (1628/30).

### 75. Horse Tamer (Alexander and Bucephalus) (Monte Cavallo): Drawing

Technique and measurements unknown.  
*Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.*

COPY: Drawing (Fig. 141), Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst, Kongelige Kobberstiksamling, 'Rubens Cantoor', No. III, 22; red chalk over main drawing in black chalk on thick yellow paper, 294 × 190 mm. Watermark: escutcheon (cf. also No. 1). PROV. Acquired by the Royal Library in Copenhagen presumably in the 17th century; since 1835 in the Museum. LIT. *Held, Drawings*, p. 116, under no. 52; *Miesel, Ancient Art*, p. 55, n. 80; *Miesel, Study Drawings*, p. 323; *Held, Drawings, 1986*, p. 127, under no. 150, pl. 151.

A copy in Copenhagen (Fig. 141) shows a nude youth in three-quarter view facing right from below. He stands with his legs wide apart, and looks over his left shoulder. A mantle hangs down from his raised left arm. The sheet was probably trimmed, as part of the left hand and legs are missing.

The source for this drawing was the left figure of a marble statue group, the so-called *Horse Tamers* (or 'cavalli marmorei') (Fig. 142). They are colossal copies of Greek originals of the fifth century B.C. and date from the time of Hadrian, when they stood in front of the Baths of Constantine. The statue group is one of the few public monuments that survived the Middle Ages. It stood on the Quirinal Hill in Rome, which thus became known as 'Monte Cavallo'.<sup>1</sup> According to the old inscriptions on the base, the sculptures were attributed to the Greek artists, Phidias and Praxiteles: the left group became known as the *Opus Phidiae*, the one on the right as the *Opus Praxitelis*. Since 1550 they were also identified as Alexander the Great and his horse Bucephalus or Philip of Macedonia. The ancient medieval setting on brick walls, well-known from numerous 16th-century drawings,<sup>2</sup> was replaced on the initiative of Pope Sixtus V in 1598. Domenico Fontana restored the horses which were placed on new pedestals with inscriptions standing in front of the Papal Palazzo Quirinale, then under construction.<sup>3</sup> One of the first foreign artists to record the *Horse Tamers* in their new setting was Hendrick Goltzius; he drew both statue groups in 1591.<sup>4</sup> The sculptures received praise for the dynamic rendering of the horses' bodies and the use of perspective.<sup>5</sup>

Although the Copenhagen drawing might be a copy after Rubens, Burchard was not convinced that such an original ever existed. However, drawings by Rubens, only known from copies in *MS Johnson*, show the neck of a horse labelled 'from Monte Cavallo' from two different angles.<sup>6</sup> The neck of the horse is also compared to that of a statue of a 'Greek Venus' or *Venus Pudica*, and it was noted that

the resemblance of the neck of Venus to a horse was even greater than to that of a man (Figs. 106, 143).

A sheet in Berlin (*text ill.* 30) shows the *Opus Phidiae* in its entirety as Held observed,<sup>7</sup> and Müller Hofstede recognized one of the *Horse Tamers* in a galloping horse on Rubens's *Battle between Greeks and Amazons* (drawing; London, British Museum), which has the same cropped mane.<sup>8</sup> The influence of the *Horse Tamers* is certainly noticeable in his painting *The Abduction of the Daughters of Leucippus* (Munich, Alte Pinakothek; *K.d.K.*, p. 131).<sup>9</sup> Both *Horse Tamers* are also depicted in the *Entry of Henry IV in Paris* (Florence, Uffizi; *K.d.K.*, p. 317) standing on the triumphal arch,<sup>10</sup> and were used for the design of the *Arcus Ferdinandi*, one of the decorations for the *Pompa Introitus Ferdinandi*. However, Gevaerts' text to the engraving by Theodoor van Thulden refers to the Dioskuroi in front of the Capitoline Palace and not to the group on Monte Cavallo.<sup>11</sup> The left group is also used in Rubens's design for a fresco *Alexander the Great holding a Thunderbolt*, painted on the artist's house, known only from a copy in Copenhagen.<sup>12</sup> The heads of the horses are clearly reflected in Rubens's sketch of *Neptune calming the Tempest* (Cambridge, Mass., Fogg Art Museum) where the right horse tilts his head in the same position.<sup>13</sup> The statue is named in the essay *De Figuræ Humanæ Statibus* as a prototype of a body in action.<sup>14</sup>

1. Aldroandi, *Statue antiche*, p. 311: 'In monte cauallo sono i duo belli caualli marmorei, onda ha il colle tolto il nome...'
2. Bober-Rubinstein, *Handbook*, pp. 159-161, no. 125, *Opus Fidiaie*, figs. 125i, c and d; Haskell-Penny, pp. 136-141, no. 3, fig. 71; *Lexicon Mythologiae*, III, 1, p. 619, no. 77, repr.
3. A. Michaelis, 'Monte Cavallo', *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Römische Abteilung*, XIII, 1898, pp. 248-274; P.G. Hübner, 'Die Aufstellung der Dioskuren von Monte Cavallo', *ibid.*, XXVI, 1911, pp. 318-322; *Stechow, Rubens*, p. 64, fig. 53.
4. Haarlem, Teylers Museum, Inv. No. K III, 2 and Case N, no. 17, *Opus Fidiaie* (Reznicek, Hendrik Goltzius, pp. 91, 343, nos. 237-238, figs. 142-143).



5. *Lomazzo*, edn Ciardi, I: II, pp. 35-36 and VI: V, p. 288; K. van Mander, *Den grondt der edel vry schilder-const*, Haarlem, 1604, IX: 27 (edn H. Miedema, Utrecht, 1973, I, p. 229; II, p. 565).
6. *MS Johnson*, fol. 97r (236.a; Fig. 106), inscribed at top left 'veneris Grec[al]e', bottom right 'da monte cavalli' (*Jaffé*, *Antwerp Sketchbook*, I, fig. LV); *Van Dyck Antwerp Sketchbook*, fol. 67r (ibid., II, p. 243). Cf. *MS Johnson*, fol. 96r (235.b; Fig. 143) inscribed 'collum femin[al]e pulcher-/ rim[al]e, ut ad eas redeamus / magis similis est equino / quam viri'; *Van Dyck Antwerp Sketchbook*, fol. 66v (ibid., II, p. 243). See also above, No. 58, note 9. The two folii (96r and 97r) in *MS Johnson* are combined on *MS de Ganay*, fol. 63r, inscribed: 'Noteert hier, die gemeinschap van eenen / Frauwen hals met den hals van een / peerdt. den Frauwen hals is van die / Griecsche Venus. den peerden hals / is van een van die peerden, op Monte / Cauallo' (ibid., I, pl. LIV). See above, No. 58, notes 9 and 11. Cf. also *MS Johnson*, fol. 90r (231.b): 'pulchritudines equarum cum feminis coeuales'; *Van Dyck Antwerp Sketchbook*, fol. 73v (ibid., II, p. 244, repr.). See above, No. 58, note 12.
7. *Held*, *Drawings*, 1986, pp. 127-128, no. 150, pl. 131.
8. *Müller Hofstede*, *Rubens in Italien*, p. 181, no. 24, repr.
9. *Stechow*, *Rubens*, pp. 63-65, fig. 52.
10. I. Jost, 'Bemerkungen zur Heinrichsgalerie des P.P. Rubens', *Nederlands kunsthistorisch jaarboek*, XV, 1964, p. 213.
11. C. Gevartius, *Pompa Introitus Honori Ser. Prin. Ferdinandi Austriaci Hispaniarum Infantis Etc. in Vrhem Antverpiam*, Antwerp, 1642, p. 106, pl. 26; J.R. Martin, *The Decorations for the Pompa Introitus Ferdinandi (Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard, XVI)*, Brussels-London-New York, 1972, p. 144, no. 36, fig. 67.
12. *McGrath*, *Painted Decoration*, p. 254, n. 34, fig. 29b.
13. *Held*, *Oil Sketches*, I, pp. 227-228, no. 146, pl. 156.
14. *MS de Ganay*, fol. 22v (see Appendix X, n. 11); *Jom- bert*, *Figure humaine*, p. 13.

## 76-93 LAOCOON GROUP (BELVEDERE)

### 76. Laocoon Group (Belvedere) (three-quarter view): Drawing (Fig. 145)

Black chalk on thick paper; 475 × c.354 mm.; a drawing of the older son, which was originally on a separate sheet (No. 91), was cut out along the left contours of the figure and joined to the present sheet on the right, partly over-

lapping it; thus combined: 475 × 457mm. Mounted.

*Milan*, *Biblioteca Ambrosiana*. F.249 inf., fol. 4.

PROVENANCE: ? 'Monsù Habé', an unidentified Flemish artist; ? inherited by a compatriot of his in Rome; acquired (? from the latter's heirs) by Padre Sebastiano Resta (1635-1714), donated to the Accademia del Disegno of Milan (Biblioteca Ambrosiana), 26 May 1684.

COPY: Drawing (Fig. 146), Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst, Kongelige Kobberstiksamling, 'Rubens Cantoor', No. III, 1; black, red and white chalk on thick paper, 380 × 258 mm.; cut out around the figures; inscription in pen and brown ink in bottom centre in illegible Greek letters. Watermark: two capital letters C entwined and crowned by a post horn. PROV. Acquired by the Royal Library in Copenhagen presumably in the 17th century; since 1835 in the Museum. LIT. *Falck*, *Tegninger*, p. 73; *Oldenbourg*, *Rubens*, 1922, p. 193; *Held*, *Drawings*, p. 51; *Miesel*, *Ancient Art*, p. 27, fig. II, 2; *Burchard-d'Hulst*, *Drawings*, p. 32, under no. 15; *Fubini-Held*, p. 131, fig. 6; H.H. Brummer, *The Statue Court in the Vatican Belvedere*, Stockholm, 1970, p. 93, fig. 79 (erroneously as Milan, Ambrosiana); *Müller Hofstede*, *Rubens in Italien*, p. 252, under no. 55; *Held*, *Circle*, p. 97, fig. VIII.11; *Held*, *Drawings*, 1986, p. 80, under no. 34; *Garff-Pedersen*, *Pan-neels*, pp. 75-76, no. 79, fig. 81.

EXHIBITED: *Cologne*, 1977, no. 54.

LITERATURE: *Fubini-Held*, pp. 125, 131, pl. 1 and fig. 9; *Stechow*, *Rubens*, pp. 22-23, fig. 9; *Jaffé*, *Rubens and Italy*, p. 81, pl. 307; *Müller Hofstede*, *Rubens in Italy*, p. 250, no. 54, repr.; L. Konecny, 'Rubensovo umuceni Sv. Tomáe. Ikonograficky komentár', *Umeni*, XXVI, 1978, pp. 211-221, fig. 3; *Held*, *Circle*, pp. 95, 97, fig. VIII.1; *Held*, *Drawings*, 1986, p. 80, under no. 34.

The *Laocoon* group is seen in three-quarter view facing left. The sheet in Milan is com-

posed of two separate drawings: a large one on the left with the elderly father seated next to his younger son and a smaller one on the right (No. 91) with the oldest son, carefully matched along the contours. This is clearly visible from the hatchings in the background of the main drawing that do not continue on the piece added on the right.

The original composition of the drawing on the left is known from a copy in Copenhagen (Fig. 146). Garff and Pedersen identified the copyist as Willem Panneels. Panneels misunderstood the pleats of the drapery hanging down over the altar under Laocoon and the snake held by his outstretched hand. On his copy the younger son is rendered in contour sketch only and the inscription along the bottom is illegible.

No statue group was more popular in Rome than the *Laocoon*, a work of the Rhodian artists Agesandros, Polydorus and Athenodorus (Fig. 144).<sup>1</sup> On 14 January 1506 the sculpture was unearthed in a *vigna* near Sta Maria Maggiore at the site of the *sette sale* near the Golden House of Nero. It was immediately identified as the group described by Pliny (*Nat. Hist.*, XXXVI: 37), who considered it the most important sculpture in Antiquity. An engraving by Marco Dente shows the group before its restoration by Montorsoli in 1532: the right arm of Laocoon and the younger son were missing as well as the fingers of the right hand of the older son and the head of the snake. The right arm of the priest, replaced in terracotta in an outstretched position, proved to be incorrect when the original was later found:<sup>2</sup> the forearm was originally bent towards the head giving the body a more powerful expression. A reconstruction by Baccio Bandinelli was much closer to the original.<sup>3</sup>

The naturalistic sculpture, with its realistic rendering of nude bodies and the expressive physiognomy of the father gasping for air, the dying younger son and the frightened elder son, was considered unequalled in art.<sup>4</sup> As an *exemplum doloris* it attracted many artists to

study the marble.<sup>5</sup> Most draughtsmen copied the marble in its entirety, but Rubens, like Maerten van Heemskerck before him, recorded the sculpture from all sides, thereby taking it apart to investigate it in detail.

Only five (six) drawings by Rubens are known from originals.<sup>6</sup> Four (five) were in the possession of Padre Sebastiano Resta, who possibly obtained them from a certain 'Monsù Habé',<sup>7</sup> and mounted them in an album; he probably combined the two drawings on one sheet as Held suggested. Resta's introduction to the album shows that he recognized the drawings of the 'Leoconte' to be by Rubens. Among the copies of the *Laocoon* group in Copenhagen are two that correspond to drawings in Milan (Nos. 76 and 81), and another dozen which must also derive from originals by Rubens. Some of the annotations on these copies indeed mention that the models were kept in Rubens's studio. They supply additional views of the *Laocoon* group and detail studies.

The question has often been raised whether it was possible from a technical point of view to study the side and the back of the original marble.<sup>8</sup> The group was placed on a high pedestal in the central niche in the south wall of the papal statue garden. This is well known from the many descriptions of the Belvedere.<sup>9</sup> The drawing by Francesco da Olanda shows it as a rather tight-fitting enclosure, which left no space to circulate around the marble.<sup>10</sup> The Venetian ambassadors visiting the courtyard in 1523 described it as a 'cappelata'.<sup>11</sup> The situation probably had not changed when Jonathan Richardson wrote his account in the early 18th century. His report is interesting in that it explicitly states that spectators could walk around the marble.<sup>12</sup> Therefore the studies of Laocoon's torso seen from the side and the back views could indeed have been drawn *in situ*. But we should not exclude the possibility that Rubens also used casts or copies to investigate several parts more closely, such as the head of Laocoon, seen sep-

arately on a Copenhagen copy (No. 84; Fig. 154).

There is no doubt that Rubens drew the sketch in Milan from the original: the unre-stored condition corresponds to that recorded by other artists.<sup>13</sup> However, on another sheet in Milan with the younger son (No. 92; Fig. 163) the number of missing fingers and toes is different: all but the large toe of his right foot and the fingers of the right hand are broken off. This might indicate that Rubens used a different model.

No separate drawing is known of the priest in full. Yet there could have been one, as copies in the transcripts of Rubens's art-theoretical Notebook show him in side view.<sup>14</sup> These do no justice to Rubens or to the sculpture: the wild, prancing, obese man is an insult to both. In spite of the large number of drawings Rubens made of the group, it is not referred to in the text of *MS Johnson*. The statue group is mentioned in the essay *De Figuræ Humanae Statibus* for its representation of seated figures.<sup>15</sup>

The influence of the *Laocoon* sculpture in Rubens's *oeuvre* was pervasive; it ranges from his early paintings such as *Christ Crowned with Thorns* (Grasse, Municipal Hospital; 1602) and *Hercules and Omphale* (Paris, Louvre; c.1605) to his *Martyrdom of St Thomas* (Prague, National Gallery; 1638). The early borrowings from the sculpture prove that the artist drew the *Laocoon* group during his first visit to Rome in 1601-1602, when he concentrated mainly on anatomical studies and often copied a sculpture from several angles.

1. Bieber, *Laocoon*, 1967, suggested a date of the first half of the first century. G.M.A. Richter, *Three Critical Periods in Greek Sculpture*, Oxford, 1951, pp. 66-70, dates the sculpture c.150 B.C. See also Helbig, *Führer*, 1963-72, I, pp. 162-166, no. 219.

2. F. Magi, 'Il ripristino del Laocoonte', *Memorie della Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia*, ser. III, IX, 1960, pp. 5-59, pls. I-L; *Amelung, Skulpturen*, II, pp. 181-205, no. 74; pl. 20.

3. F. Magi, op. cit., fig. 1; M. Bieber, op. cit., pl. 5.

4. *Lomazzo, edn Ciardi*, II: XVI, p. 145: 'Laocoonte, con i figliuoli, dove una statua si vede in atto di dolersi, l'altra di morire e la terza di aver compassione...'

5. *Bober-Rubinstein, Handbook*, pp. 152-155 no. 122, listing many Renaissance drawings and prints; *Haskell-Penny*, pp. 243-247, no. 52, fig. 125.

6. Several of Rubens's drawings evidently belonged to Erasmus Quellin II (d. 1678). The inventory of his estate (*Denucé, Konstkamers*, p. 286) records: 'Lachon met slanghen, Rubbens' (cf. No. 76). Further on (*ibid.*, p. 289): 'Lachons borst, naer anticq, Rubbens' (cf. No. 77); 'sone Lachon, Rubbens' (cf. Nos. 92-93); 'Twee Lachons voeten, Rubbens' (cf. Nos. 88-89).

7. *Fubini-Held*, p. 126, n. 6; *Held, Circle*, p. 96, n. 6; *Held, Drawings*, 1986, p. 80.

8. M. Winner, 'Zum Nachleben des Laokoon in der Renaissance', *Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen*, XVI, 1974, p. 120, n. 112; Müller Hofstede, *Rubens in Italien*, p. 252, under no. 55.

9. For an anthology of 16th-century descriptions see J.S. Ackerman, *The Cortile del Belvedere* (Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, III), Vatican City, 1954, pp. 142-149, and H.H. Brummer, *The Statue Court in the Vatican Belvedere*, Stockholm, 1970, pp. 265-272, appendix I.

10. Library of the Escorial, MS A/e ij 6, fol. 9v (c.1537-1540/1541) (E. Tormo y Monzó, *Os desenhos das Antighualhas que vio Francisco d'Ollanda*, Madrid, 1941, p. 63).

11. J.S. Ackerman, op. cit., p. 145.

12. J. Richardson, *An Account of the Statues, Bas-reliefs, Drawings and Pictures in Italy, France, &c with Remarks*, second edn, London, 1754, p. 275: 'The Garden of the Belvedere, Or rather the Cortile, for 'tis not a Garden, tho' so call'd... Round it are Statues shut with Doors as in Closets...'; pp. 276-277: 'The Laocoon stands in a sort of Nich, not so near the Wall, but that one may go around it: 'Tis upon a Pedestal near the height of a Man from the Ground, and much Bigger than the Life... Part of its Beauty is however impair'd, for the Right-arm of the Principal Figure (for 'tis a Groupe)... is lost, and one of Terra Cotta substituted in its place. This being Rough, Unfinish'd, and not good Work, and moreover of a Colour Disagreeable, the Eye is something offended. An Arm was begun for it by *Mich. Angelo*, but not Finsh'd, as it is it lies down by the Figures, All which are Damag'd in several other parts...'. The statue group remained there until it was transferred to Paris in 1796.

13. A drawing of Hendrick Goltzius (1591) shows the feet complete, the right hand of the younger son with two fingers, as well as the right hand of the older son damaged (Haarlem, Teylers Museum, Inv. No. K III 33; see *Reznick, Goltzius*, p. 327, no. 209, pl. 171). Cf. a drawing by Pierre Perret (c.1581) in Dresden (Kupferstichkabinett, Inv. No. C 1968-

- 627; see C. Dittrich, in *Cat. Exh. Dresden, 1970*, no. 49, repr.).  
 14. *MS Johnson*, fol. 65r; *MS de Ganay*, fol. 40r (see *Jom-  
 bert, Figure humaine*, pl. XXIV, in reverse).  
 15. *MS de Ganay*, fol. 22v (see Appendix X, n. 12; *Jom-  
 bert, Figure humaine*, pp. 13-14).

**77. Laocoon Group (Belvedere)  
 (Torso of Laocoon three-quarter  
 view): Drawing (Fig. 150)**

Black chalk on thick paper; 456 × 296 mm.; all corners cut off diagonally and restored; bottom left blind collector's mark of Sir T. Lawrence (L.2445); bottom right collector's mark of the Kupferstichkabinett in Dresden (L.166). *Dresden, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Kupferstichkabinett*. Inv. No. C 1874-22a.

PROVENANCE: ?E. Quellin (Antwerp, 1606-1678); Sir Thomas Lawrence (London, 1769-1830); Samuel Woodburn (London, 1786-1853); his sale, London (Christie's), 8 June 1860, lot 914 (bought by Evans); acquired by the Museum from Homann, London, in 1874.

COPIES: (1) Drawing (Fig. 147), Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst, Kongelige Kobberstiksamlng, 'Rubens Cantoor', No. III, 5; black chalk, heightened with white on thick yellow paper, 448 × 291 mm.; all corners cut off diagonally. PROV. Acquired by the Royal Library in Copenhagen presumably in the 17th century; since 1835 in the Museum. LIT. *Falck, Tegninger*, p. 73; *Oldenbourg, Rubens*, 1922, p. 193; *Held, Drawings*, p. 51, fig. 15; *Miesel, Study Drawings*, p. 316; *Burchard-d'Hulst, Drawings*, pp. 31-33, under no. 15; *Fubini-Held*, p. 131; C. Dittrich, in *Cat. Exh. Dresden, 1970*, under no. 60; *Müller Hofstede, Rubens in Italien*, p. 252, under no. 55; *Held, Drawings*, 1986, p. 80, under no. 34; *Garff-Pedersen, Panneels*, p. 132, under no. 166.

(2) Drawing (Fig. 148), *ibid.*, 'Rubens Cantoor', No. III, 3; black and red chalk on yellowish paper, 290 × 191 mm.; inscription in pen and brown ink in bottom right in code:

*Dit is laocoon ende is hool [sic] goet gecopieert /  
 ende hebbe het princepael oock gehaelt / van rubens  
 cantoor*. Watermark: post horn. PROV. Acquired by the Royal Library in Copenhagen presumably in the 17th century; since 1835 in the Museum. LIT. *Falck, Tegninger*, p. 73; *Oldenbourg, Rubens*, 1922, p. 193; *Miesel, Study Drawings*, p. 316, fig. 7; *Burchard-d'Hulst, Drawings*, p. 32, under no. 15; *Fubini-Held*, p. 131; C. Dittrich, in *Cat. Exh. Dresden, 1970*, under no. 60; *Müller Hofstede, Rubens in Italien*, p. 252, under no. 55; *Held, Drawings*, 1986, p. 80, under no. 34; *Garff-Pedersen, Panneels*, pp. 132-133, no. 166, fig. 168.

EXHIBITED: *London, 1835*, no. 19; *Brussel, 1967*, no. 80, repr.; *Dresden, 1970*, no. 60; *Schedewri Risunki, Hermitage, Leningrad, 1972*; *Antwerp, 1977*, no. 116, repr.; *The Splendor of Dresden; Five Centuries of Art Collecting*, National Gallery of Art, Washington - Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York - Fine Arts Museums, San Francisco, 1978, no. 590, repr.

LITERATURE: *Held, Drawings*, p. 130, under no. 80; *Burchard-d'Hulst, Drawings*, pp. 31-33, no. 15, repr.; *Miesel, Study Drawings*, p. 316, fig. 6; *Fubini-Held*, p. 131, nn. 12-14, fig. 8; *Bieber, Laocoon, 1967*, p. 19; *Jaffé, Rubens and Italy*, p. 81, n. 30, fig. 307; C. Dittrich, in *Cat. Exh. Dresden, 1970*, pp. 55-56, no. 60, repr.; *Müller Hofstede, Rubens in Italien*, p. 252, under no. 55; *Held, Circle*, pp. 98, 102, fig. VIII 14; *Held, Drawings, 1986*, p. 80, under no. 34

The upper part of Laocoon's body is seen in three-quarter view facing right from below. Although Burchard and d'Hulst suggested the possibility that Rubens made the drawing after a plaster cast, it is technically possible to draw the torso of Laocoon from this angle without the younger son obstructing his view.<sup>1</sup> This explains the close-up view on the drawing. It was made during Rubens's first visit to Rome in 1601-1602. Maerten van Heemskerck drew a torso without head, legs

and arms, which greatly resembles the torso of Laocoon, seen from exactly the same point of view.<sup>2</sup> A drawing by Rubens of the chest of Laocoon formerly belonged to E. Quellin.<sup>3</sup>

A copy in Copenhagen renders the Rubens drawing in its actual size quite faithfully, but without the drapery (Copy 1; Fig. 147).<sup>4</sup> A second copy in Copenhagen is of poorer quality, yet the copyist using an original kept in Rubens's studio expressed his satisfaction with the results, which he judged 'very good' (Copy 2; Fig. 148). Not knowing the original marble, he misunderstood the snake held by the raised hand (reproducing only half of it) and omitted the drapery. This copy is attributed to Willem Panneels by Garff and Pedersen.

1. I am very much obliged to Dr C. Van de Velde of the Rubenianum in Antwerp for checking out the exact angles of the figures of the original sculpture against Rubens's drawings.

2. Codex Berolinensis, I, fol. 23v (Hülsen-Egger, *Heemskerck*, I, pl. 24).

3. Denucé, *Konstkamers*, p. 286; see No. 76, n. 6.

4. Garff and Pedersen, loc. cit., suggested that the copy was traced from Rubens's original.

### 78. Laocoon Group (Belvedere) (Torso of Laocoon side view): Drawing

Technique and measurements unknown.  
*Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.*

COPY: Drawing (Fig. 149), Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst, Kongelige Kobberstiksamling, 'Rubens Cantoor', No. III, 4; red chalk on yellowish paper, 346 × 190 mm.; top corners cut off diagonally. Watermark: figure 4 interlaced with letter W. PROV. Acquired by the Royal Library in Copenhagen presumably in the 17th century; since 1835 in the Museum. LIT. *Garff-Pedersen, Panneels*, p. 133, no. 167, fig. 169.

A copy in Copenhagen (Fig. 149) shows the upper part of Laocoon in side view facing

right from below. The snake is indicated in light contours. The point of view is slightly different from the one on the drawing in Dresden (No. 77; Fig. 150). Garff and Pedersen attributed the drawing to Willem Panneels (1628/30).

### 79. Laocoon Group (Belvedere) (Torso of Laocoon three-quarter view): Drawing

Technique and measurements unknown.  
*Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.*

COPY: Drawing (Fig. 151), Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst, Kongelige Kobberstiksamling, 'Rubens Cantoor', No. III, 6; red chalk, 296 × 221 mm.; top corner cut off diagonally, bottom edge rounded. Watermark: figure 4 interlaced with letter W. PROV. Acquired by the Royal Library in Copenhagen presumably in the 17th century; since 1835 in the Museum. LIT. *Garff-Pedersen, Panneels*, p. 134, no. 169, fig. 171.

A drawing in Copenhagen (Copy; Fig. 151) shows the torso of Laocoon in three-quarter view facing left. The head, left forearm with the snake and thighs are indicated by contour lines. This drawing is possibly after an original by Rubens now lost. Garff and Pedersen attributed it to Willem Panneels (1628/30).

### 80. Laocoon Group (Belvedere) (Torso of Laocoon frontal view): Drawing

Technique and measurements unknown.  
*Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.*

COPY: Drawing (Fig. 152), Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst, Kongelige Kobberstiksamling, 'Rubens Cantoor', No. III, 7; black and red chalk on thin white paper, 207 × 226 mm.; top right and bottom corners cut

off diagonally. PROV. Acquired by the Royal Library in Copenhagen presumably in the 17th century; since 1835 in the Museum. LIT. *Garff–Pedersen, Panneels*, pp. 135–136, no. 172, fig. 174.

A copy in Copenhagen (Fig. 152) shows the torso of Laocoon in nearly frontal view. The drawing is attributed to Willem Panneels by Garff and Pedersen.

**81. Laocoon Group (Belvedere)  
(Laocoon in back view): Drawing  
(Fig. 153)**

Black chalk on thick paper; 440 × 283 mm.; piece cut out of the paper on the right side, just below centre. Mounted.  
*Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana*. F.249 inf., fol. 5.

PROVENANCE: Same as No. 76.

COPY: Right half of a drawing (Fig. 156; see No. 82, Copy, for the left half), Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst, Kongelige Kobberstiksamling, 'Rubens Cantoor', No. III, 8; red chalk, 234 × 348 mm.; all corners cut off diagonally. PROV. Acquired by the Royal Library in Copenhagen presumably in the 17th century; since 1835 in the Museum. LIT. *Falck, Tegninger*, p. 73; *Oldenbourg, Rubens*, 1922, p. 193; *Miesel, Ancient Art*, pl. II,4; *Miesel, Study Drawings*, p. 316; *Burchard–d'Hulst, Drawings*, p. 32, under no. 15; *Fubini–Held*, p. 128, fig. 4; *Jaffé, Antwerp Sketchbook*, II, p. 226; *Müller Hofstede, Rubens in Italien*, p. 252, under no. 55; *Held, Circle*, p. 97, fig. VIII.9; *Held, Drawings*, 1986, p. 80, under no. 34; *Garff–Pedersen, Panneels*, pp. 134–135, no. 170, fig. 172.

EXHIBITED: *Cologne*, 1977, no. 55.

LITERATURE: *Fubini–Held*, pp. 125, 131, pl. III; *Jaffé, Antwerp Sketchbook*, I, pp. 65–66, pl. XXX; II, pp. 225–226; *Bieber, Laocoon*, 1967, p. 19, fig. 11; *Müller Hofstede, Rubens in Italien*, p. 252, no.

55; *Held, Circle*, p. 95, fig. VIII.3; *Held, Drawings*, 1986, p. 80, no. 34, pl. 34.

The back of Laocoon is drawn in three-quarter view facing left from below. Although it has been assumed that the artist worked from a cast, there was a walking space between the base and the wall according to J. Richardson, and the original could be viewed from the rear.<sup>1</sup> This accounts for the close-up view of the figure.

The drawing is by Rubens, although the execution is freer and looser in style than the others after this statue group. The head is far less detailed than the one on the Dresden sheet (No. 77; Fig. 150), which might have been made earlier.

On the copy in Copenhagen the head and the drapery below Laocoon's behind are omitted, and hatchings are added to the background (Fig. 156). To the left was added a sketch of the left arm of much larger dimensions seen from a slightly higher point of view. The copyist apparently combined two drawings on one sheet (see under No. 82). It is attributed to Willem Panneels by Garff and Pedersen.

1. *Held, Drawings*, 1986, p. 80: 'The theory that Rubens drew the Laocoon group from a plaster copy, rejected by me in my 1964 study...still fails to convince me fully'. Cf. *Van Gelder–Jost, Jan de Bisschop*, p. 141 n. 4, under no. 56. For Richardson see note 12 under No. 76 above.

**82. Laocoon Group (Belvedere) (left  
arm of Laocoon back view): Drawing**

Technique and measurements unknown.  
*Whereabouts unknown, presumably lost.*

COPY: Left half of a drawing (Fig. 156). See No. 81, Copy, for more details.

On the left side of the sheet in Copenhagen (Fig. 156), a large detail shows Laocoon's left arm seen in back view from below. The arm

is drawn from a higher point of view than the sketch in back view of Laocoon on the right half of the same sheet. The latter renders him from the same angle as on Rubens's drawing in Milan which must have served as model (No. 81; Fig. 153). However, the detail of the left arm does not occur on the Milan sheet. Apparently, a separate Rubens drawing existed of the enlarged left arm. A study of the back of Laocoon seen from the same angle is also only known from a copy (No. 83; cf. Fig. 155). It may have figured on the very same sheet as this arm. Garff and Pedersen attributed the sheet in Copenhagen to Willem Panneels (1628/30).

### 83. Laocoon Group (Belvedere) (Laocoon back view): Drawing

Technique and measurements unknown.  
*Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.*

COPY: Drawing (Fig. 155), Chatsworth, Derbyshire, the Duke of Devonshire, *Van Dyck Antwerp Sketchbook*, fol. 28v; pen and brown ink, 210 × 160 mm. LIT. *Jaffé, Antwerp Sketchbook*, II, pp. 225–226, repr.; *Held, Drawings*, 1986, p. 80, under no. 34.

A drawing in *Van Dyck's Antwerp Sketchbook*, probably copied after Rubens (Fig. 155), shows the priest Laocoon, again from the back in three-quarter view facing left, from below. The original may have been on the same sheet as the original of the enlarged left arm on the previous drawing (No. 82; cf. Fig. 156), since both are seen from the same angle.

### 84. Laocoon Group (Belvedere) (Two Studies of the Head of Laocoon): Drawing

Technique and measurements unknown.  
*Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.*

COPY: Drawing (Fig. 154), Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst, Kongelige Kobberstiksamling, 'Rubens Cantoor', No. III, 2; black and red chalk, pen and brown ink, 177 × 276 mm. Inscription in pen and brown ink at bottom centre in code: *dees twee tronien dat sijn beijde de tronien van den lacon [sic] / ende ick heb dees oock vant cantoor gehaelt*; below this in pen and black ink in uncoded Dutch: *Thuus Een vercort tronie van Een vrou*; in pen and black ink in top centre 2 (crossed out), and 1. Watermark: two capital letters C entwined over Lotharian cross, crowned. PROV. Acquired by the Royal Library in Copenhagen presumably in the 17th century; since 1835 in the Museum. LIT. *Falck, Tegninger*, p. 73; *Oldenbourg, Rubens*, 1922, p. 193; *Held, Drawings*, p. 51, fig. 14; *Miesel, Study Drawings*, p. 316; *Burchard-d'Hulst, Drawings*, p. 32, under no. 15; *Fubini-Held*, p. 131; *Müller Hofstede, Rubens in Italien*, p. 252, under no. 55; *Held, Drawings*, 1986, p. 80, under no. 34; J. Garff, in [Cat. Exh.] *Christian IV and Europe*, Copenhagen, 1988, p. 297, fig. 9; *Garff-Pedersen, Panneels*, pp. 155–156, no. 208, fig. 210.

A copy in Copenhagen (Fig. 154) shows the head of Laocoon from two different angles. The head on the left is seen foreshortened in three-quarter view facing left from below. The drawing on the right renders the head in side view facing left. Hatchings occur around both. An annotation on this sheet informs us that the copyist used a drawing kept in Rubens's studio. Garff and Pedersen attributed the copy to Willem Panneels (1628/30).

As the *Laocoon* group was displayed on a high base, it seems impossible that the head was copied *in situ*. A wavy line, below the hair on both sketches, possibly indicates the truncation of the model. This might have been a loose marble head: an ancient replica belonged to the Maffei collection, as Aldroandi reported.<sup>1</sup>

On the other hand Rubens could have used a cast. A head of Laocoon, standing on a shelf

together with other busts and heads, is pictured on J. Brueghel (with Rubens), *The Sense of Sight* (Madrid, Prado; *text ill.* 84). Such a head possibly belonged to Rubens's collection: 'A great head of Laocoon' is listed in the 1635 indenture of the Duke of Buckingham's estate, who is known to have purchased most of his antiquities from Rubens.<sup>2</sup> Rubens's physiognomical studies usually date from after his return to Antwerp and it may well be that this lost drawing also dates from after his years in Italy. Maerten van Heemskerck also studied the head of the priest separately.<sup>3</sup>

The Head of Christ in the central panel of Rubens's *Raising of the Cross* (Antwerp, Cathedral; *K.d.K.*, p. 36) could have been inspired by the suffering expression on the face of Laocoon, and his lips are also slightly parted.

The second inscription on the copy in Copenhagen referring to a drawing with a foreshortened female head is not clear. Two drawings in Copenhagen show the head of a woman seen from such an angle (Nos. 54 and 55).

1. *Aldroandi*, *Statue antiche*, p. 241.

2. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Rawlinson A 341, fol. 36v (see Appendix VII.1).

3. Cod. Berolinensis, I, fol. 39r (*Hülßen-Egger*, *Heemskerck*, I, pl. 40).

### 85. Laocoon Group (Belvedere) (left thigh of Laocoon three-quarter view): Drawing

Technique and measurements unknown.

*Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.*

COPY: Drawing (Fig. 162), Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst, Kongelige Kobberstiksamling, 'Rubens Cantoor', No. III, 10; black and red chalk, 248 × 183 mm.; left bottom corner cut off diagonally; inscription in pen and brown ink in bottom left in code: *dit is een been van lacon [sic] ende hebbe / dit oock vant cantoor gehaelt*. PROV. Acquired by the Royal Library in Copenhagen presumably in

the 17th century; since 1835 in the Museum. LIT. *Falck*, *Tegninger*, p. 73; *Oldenbourg*, *Rubens*, 1922, p. 193; C. Sterling and L. Burchard, 'La découverte et l'histoire d'une oeuvre inconnue de Rubens', *L'Amour de l'art*, XVIII, 9, 1937, p. 288, fig. 10; *Held*, *Drawings*, p. 51; *Miesel*, *Ancient Art*, p. 50, n. 51; *Miesel*, *Study Drawings*, p. 316; *Burchard-d'Hulst*, *Drawings*, p. 32, under no. 15; *Fubini-Held*, p. 131; *Müller Hofstede*, *Rubens in Italien*, p. 252, under no. 55; *Held*, *Drawings*, 1986, p. 80, under no. 34; *Garff-Pedersen*, *Panneels*, pp. 133-134, no. 168, fig. 170.

A copy in Copenhagen (Fig. 162) shows the left thigh of Laocoon in three-quarter view facing right. Dark hatchings are added in the background. An annotation by the copyist reveals that he used a drawing kept in Rubens's studio. Garff and Pedersen attributed the copy to Willem Panneels (1628/30).

A drawing by Maerten van Heemskerck shows the left thigh of the priest from a slightly higher point of view.<sup>1</sup> The position of the legs of Hercules in Rubens's *Hercules and Omphale* (Paris, Louvre), is derived from the marble, as Sterling noted.

1. Cod. Berolinensis, I, fol. 67v (*Hülßen-Egger*, *Heemskerck*, I, pl. 69).

### 86. Laocoon Group (Belvedere) (left thigh of Laocoon three-quarter view): Drawing

Technique and measurements unknown.

*Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.*

COPY: Drawing (Fig. 161), Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst, Kongelige Kobberstiksamling, 'Rubens Cantoor', No. VI, 36; black and red chalk, pen and brown ink, 194 × 179 mm. Watermark: bunch of grapes crowned by monogram with letters AB. PROV. Acquired by the Royal Library in Copenhagen presumably in the 17th century; since



1835 in the Museum. LIT. *Falck, Tegninger*, p. 73; *Oldenbourg, Rubens*, 1922, p. 193; *Miesel, Study Drawings*, p. 316; *Burchard-d'Hulst, Drawings*, p. 32, under no. 15; *Fubini-Held*, p. 131; *Müller Hofstede, Rubens in Italien*, p. 252, under no. 55; *Held, Drawings*, 1986, p. 80, under no. 34; *Garff-Pedersen, Panneels*, p. 136, no. 174, fig. 176.

A copy in Copenhagen (Fig. 161) shows the inside of the left thigh of Laocoon in three-quarter view. A few hatchings are drawn at the bottom along the inside of the thigh. Garff and Pedersen attributed the drawing to Willem Panneels (1628/30).

**87. Laocoon Group (Belvedere) (right leg of Laocoon frontal view):  
Drawing**

Technique and measurements unknown.  
*Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.*

COPY: Drawing (Fig. 159), Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst, Kongelige Kobberstiksamling, 'Rubens Cantoor', No. III, 11; black and red chalk, 288 × 141 mm.; top right and large bottom left corners cut off diagonally. PROV. Acquired by the Royal Library in Copenhagen presumably in the 17th century; since 1835 in the Museum. LIT. *Falck, Tegninger*, p. 73; *Oldenbourg, Rubens*, 1922, p. 193; *Held, Drawings*, p. 51; *Miesel, Ancient Art*, p. 27, fig. II, 3 (left); *Miesel, Study Drawings*, p. 317, fig. 8 (left); *Burchard-d'Hulst, Drawings*, p. 32, under no. 15; *Fubini-Held*, p. 131; *Müller Hofstede, Rubens in Italien*, p. 252, under no. 55; *Held, Drawings*, 1986, p. 80, under no. 34; *Garff-Pedersen, Panneels*, p. 136, no. 173, fig. 175.

A copy in Copenhagen (Fig. 159) shows the right leg of Laocoon in frontal view. Hatchings occur in the background. Garff and Pedersen attributed the drawing to Willem Panneels (1628/30).

**88. Laocoon Group (Belvedere) (right leg of Laocoon frontal view):  
Drawing**

Technique and measurements unknown.  
*Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.*

COPY: Drawing (Fig. 160), Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst, Kongelige Kobberstiksamling, 'Rubens Cantoor', No. III, 12; red chalk, pen and dark brown ink, 295 × 154 mm.; bottom left and top right corners cut off diagonally. Watermark: figure 4 interlaced with letter W. PROV. Acquired by the Royal Library in Copenhagen presumably in the 17th century; since 1835 in the Museum. LIT. *Falck, Tegninger*, p. 73; *Oldenbourg, Rubens*, 1922, p. 193; *Held, Drawings*, p. 51; *Miesel, Ancient Art*, p. 27, fig. II, 3 (right); *Miesel, Study Drawings*, p. 317, fig. 8 (right); *Burchard-d'Hulst, Drawings*, p. 32, under no. 15; *Fubini-Held*, p. 131; *Müller Hofstede, Rubens in Italien*, p. 252, under no. 55; L. Konecny, 'Rubensovo umucení S. Tomáe: ikonografický komentár', *Umení*, XXVI, 1978, pp. 211–221, fig. 4; *Held, Drawings*, 1986, p. 80, under no. 34; *Garff-Pedersen, Panneels*, p. 158, no. 211, fig. 213.

A copy in Copenhagen (Fig. 160) shows the bent right leg of Laocoon in frontal view. Dark hatchings are drawn in the background. Garff and Pedersen attributed the drawing to Willem Panneels (1628/30). A drawing by Rubens of Laocoon's foot belonged formerly to Erasmus Quellin.<sup>1</sup>

Konecny pointed out that the legs of Christ in Rubens's painting, *Christ Crowned with Thorns* (Grasse, Municipal Hospital; *K.d.K.*, p. 2; 1602) are in a position similar to those on the drawing.

1. *Denucé, Konstkamers*, p. 286; see No. 76, n. 6.

### 89. Laocoon Group (Belvedere) (left leg of Laocoon back view): Drawing

Technique and measurements unknown.  
*Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.*

COPY: Drawing (Fig. 158), Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst, Kongelige Kobberstiksamling, 'Rubens Cantoor', No. III, 9; black and red chalk, 286 × 140 mm.; both top corners and bottom left corner cut off diagonally; inscription in pen and brown ink in bottom centre in code: *eenen voet van laocoon*. PROV. Acquired by the Royal Library in Copenhagen presumably in the 17th century; since 1835 in the Museum. LIT. *Falck, Tegninger*, p. 73; *Oldenbourg, Rubens*, 1922, p. 193; *Held, Drawings*, p. 51; *Miesel, Study Drawings*, p. 316; *Burchard-d'Hulst, Drawings*, p. 32, under no. 15; *Fubini-Held*, p. 131; *Müller Hofstede, Rubens in Italien*, p. 252, under no. 55; *Held, Drawings*, 1986, p. 80, under no. 34; *Garff-Pedersen, Panneels*, p. 135, no. 171, fig. 173.

A copy in Copenhagen (Fig. 158) shows the back of the left leg of Laocoon in three-quarter view facing left. A few light hatchings occur to the left side of the instep. Garff and Pedersen attributed the drawing to Willem Panneels (1628/30).

When standing close to the back of the Vatican marble, the leg is indeed visible in the same position as on the drawing, but the toes cannot be seen.<sup>1</sup> Maerten van Heemskerck drew the leg from the same point of view.<sup>2</sup>

1. I owe this information to Dr C. Van de Velde.

2. Cod. Berolinensis, fol. 23v (*Hülsen-Egger, Heemskerck*, I, pl. 24).

### 90. Laocoon Group (Belvedere) (left foot of father, right foot of eldest son): Drawing

Technique and measurements unknown.  
*Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.*

COPY: Drawing (Fig. 157), Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst, Kongelige Kobberstiksamling, 'Rubens Cantoor', No. VI, 20; black and red chalk, brown ink on yellowish paper, 173 × 216 mm.; inscription in pen and brown ink at bottom right in code: *het princepael van dese voeten hebbe ick oock vant cantoor gehaelt / ende sij zijn heel goet van omtreck*. Watermark: post horn. PROV. Acquired by the Royal Library in Copenhagen presumably in the 17th century; since 1835 in the Museum. LIT. *Garff-Pedersen, Panneels*, pp.157-158, no. 210, pl. 212.

A sheet in Copenhagen (Copy; Fig. 157) shows the left foot of Laocoon and the right foot of his oldest son in three-quarter view facing left, as Garff and Pedersen observed. They are seen from the same point of view as on the drawing in Milan, which pictures the entire group (No. 76; Fig. 145). Hatchings occur to the side of the feet. The drawing is probably copied after an original by Rubens. Garff and Pedersen attributed the sheet to Willem Panneels (1628/30). A drawing by Rubens of Laocoon's foot belonged to Erasmus Quellin.<sup>1</sup>

1. *Denucé, Konstkamers*, p. 286; see No. 76, n. 6.

### 91. Laocoon Group (Belvedere) (Elder son frontal view): Drawing (Fig. 145)

Black chalk on thick paper; 475 × c.107/c.168 mm.; at the left cut out along the figure and pasted on another Rubens drawing (No. 76); thus combined: 475 × 457 mm. Mounted. *Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana*. F.249 inf., fol. 4.

See No. 76 for more details.

The older son of Laocoon is seen in three-quarter view facing left. Along his left side light hatchings are drawn. The sheet in Milan in its present state consists of two parts; the smaller one, on the right, renders the older son

cut out along a contour. It was pasted onto a larger drawing of Laocoon with his younger son (No. 76). Held surmised that this was done by Padre Resta.

The posture of Laocoon's elder son is reflected in Rubens's painting, *The Rape of Ganymede* (Vienna, Schwarzenberg collection; *K.d.K.*, p. 39). For the man standing on the ladder in his *Descent from the Cross* (Antwerp, Cathedral; *K.d.K.*, p. 52) the artist used the same figure.

## 92. Laocoon Group (Belvedere) (Younger son frontal view): Drawing (Fig. 163)

Black chalk on thick paper; 411 × 260 mm. Mounted.

Milan, *Biblioteca Ambrosiana*. F.249 inf., fol. 6.

PROVENANCE: Same as No. 76.

EXHIBITED: *Cologne*, 1977, no. 56.

LITERATURE: *Fubini-Held*, pp. 125, 133, pl. 4; *Bieber, Laocoon*, 1967, p. 19, n. 12a, fig. 12; *Müller Hofstede, Rubens in Italien*, p. 254, no. 56, repr.; *Freedberg, Année Rubens*, p. 85, n. 19; *Held, Circle*, pp. 95, 98, fig. VIII.4; *Held, Drawings*, 1986, p. 81, no. 35, pl. 35.

Rubens's drawing shows the younger son of Laocoon in frontal view from below. He is being strangled by a snake coiled around his arm and legs. Hatchings are drawn in the background. The fingers of his right hand and four toes of his right foot are missing. Strangely enough, on the Milan drawing with the entire group, the younger son's right foot is complete and the right hand has a few fingers (No. 76; Fig. 145). On another sheet in Milan with the younger son, now seen from the back, the right foot is depicted with all its toes, which corresponds to the 17th-century appearance of the sculpture (No. 93; Fig. 164). Therefore it seems doubtful that the Vatican

marble served as model for the drawing under discussion.

The rather dry execution of the sketch would make an early date likely (1601-1602). The sheet was attributed by Padre Resta to Rubens; this has in general been accepted, but has been doubted by Freedberg.

Rubens used the figure of the younger son in his *Rape of Ganymede* (Madrid, Prado; *K.d.K.*, p. 392); his legs recall those of the man lying in the foreground of Rubens's *Worship of the Brazen Serpent* (London, National Gallery; *K.d.K.*, p. 315), as Burchard and d'Hulst observed.<sup>1</sup>

1. *Burchard-d'Hulst, Drawings*, pp. 32-34, under no. 15.

## 93. Laocoon Group (Belvedere) (Younger son back view): Drawing (Fig. 164)

Black chalk, heightened with white on thick paper; 443 × 265 mm. Mounted.

Milan, *Biblioteca Ambrosiana*. F.249 inf., fol. 5.

PROVENANCE: Same as No. 76.

EXHIBITED: *Cologne*, 1977, no. 57.

LITERATURE: *Fubini-Held*, pp. 125, 133, pl. 2; *Bieber, Laocoon*, 1967, p. 19; *Müller Hofstede, Rubens in Italien*, p. 256, no. 57, repr.; *Held, Circle*, pp. 95, 98, fig. VIII.2; *Held, Drawings*, 1986, p. 81, no. 36, pl. 36.

Rubens's drawing renders the younger son of Laocoon seen from the back from below; the drapery covering the altar is sketched in lightly. As there was a walking space between the sculpture and the wall, it was indeed possible to draw the sculpture from this point of view.<sup>1</sup>

In contrast to the drawings of the son seen from the front (No. 92; Fig. 163), where the right foot lacks four toes, all five are rendered

on this sketch, thus recording the actual condition of the marble (Fig. 144). The head of the son is less detailed than the body. An early date in Rubens's first Roman period seems acceptable for the sheet. The drawing was first attributed to Rubens by Padre Resta; his attribution has never been doubted.

1. Dr C. Van de Velde kindly checked the situation. An etching by Jan de Bisschop, in his *Icones*, pl. 56, shows the elder son of Laocoon in back view (*Van Gelder-Jost, Jan de Bisschop*, p. 141, no. 56).

## 94. Pan Instructing Daphnis (Cesi): Drawing

Technique and measurements unknown.  
*Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.*

COPY: Drawing (Fig. 167), Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst, Kongelige Kobberstiksamling, 'Rubens Cantoor', No. III, 20; black and red chalk, pen and brown ink on thin paper, 209 × 139 mm.; inscription in pen and brown ink in bottom right: *Pan en Appollo / naer Antijck*. Watermark: post horn with monogram with letter W. PROV. Acquired by the Royal Library in Copenhagen presumably in the 17th century; since 1835 in the Museum. LIT. *Miesel, Ancient Art*, p. 37; *Miesel, Study Drawings*, p. 323; *Van der Meulen, Sculpture Collections*, p. 152, n. 7, *Garff-Pedersen, Panels*, p. 104, no. 120, fig. 122.

A copy in Copenhagen (Fig. 167) shows a nude youth in side view facing left from below. He sits on a rock holding a *syrix* (shepherd's flute) with seven pipes and is embraced by a Satyr. The rock is indicated by a thin contour line. Heavy hatchings occur in the background. Garff and Pedersen attributed the drawing to Willem Panneels (1628/30).

The inscription in Dutch identifies the couple as 'Pan and Apollo, copied after the Antique'. A marble of Pan teaching the shepherd Daphnis to play the *syrix* by Helio-

dorus (as described by Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, XXXVI: 35), is preserved in several replicas, three of which were known in Rubens's day.<sup>1</sup> The probable source is the replica then in the Cesi collection. Drawings by Dosio and Poussin also show the same statue group with the right hand of Daphnis placed over the satyr's right arm.<sup>2</sup> It belonged to the Cesi collection and was Cardinal Cesi's favourite piece: according to Aldroandi it was displayed in his *antiquarium* in a special niche encrusted with marble.<sup>3</sup> Cardinal Ludovisi bought the group in 1622.<sup>4</sup> It is now in the Museo Nazionale delle Terme in Rome (Fig. 165).<sup>5</sup> Currently, Daphnis clutches the *syrix* with both hands, and the satyr's fingers are restored in a different position from those on the Copenhagen drawing.

Drawings and engravings by earlier artists show the statue from a frontal point of view (Fig. 166).<sup>6</sup> The angle from which it is drawn on the Copenhagen sheet is rather unusual, although Perrier's engraving renders the marble from a similar point of view.<sup>7</sup>

This drawing belongs to a group of copies in Copenhagen (the 'Rubens Cantoor'), several of which go back to originals by Rubens. The artist's visit to the Cesi collection is documented by an engraving by Cornelis Galle I after a lost drawing made by Rubens at the time (*text ill. 54*; see Ch. I, p. 49). But we should keep in mind that a copy of the sculpture was known in Antwerp, as is revealed in *The Sense of Sight* by J. Brueghel and Rubens (Madrid, Prado; *text ill. 84*).

The shepherd may have inspired Rubens for the figure of Mercury in his painting of *Mercury and Argus* (Dresden, Gemäldegalerie; *K.d.K.*, p. 410).<sup>8</sup>

1. Bieber, *Hellenistic Sculpture*, p. 147, fig. 628; *Lexicon Mythologiae*, III, 1, p. 351, no. 8c.

2. G.A. Dosio: Cod. Berolinensis, fol. 78 (C. Hülsen, *Das Skizzenbuch des Giovannantonio Dosio*, Berlin, 1933, p. 37, no. 179, pl. CII). N. Poussin: drawing in Chantilly, P 225 (W. Friedlaender and A. Blunt, *The Drawings of Nicolas Poussin*, V (Studies of the Warburg Institute, V, 5), London, 1974, pp. 26-27, no. 294, pl. 241). A chalk drawing by Joseph Heintz, inscribed

- HEintz [first two letters in monogram] *Romae 1593, Pallalazzo* [Cardinalis] *Caests*, records the restored statue group very precisely (Vienna, Albertina, Inv. No. 3319; see J. Zimmer, in [Cat. Exh.], *Prag um 1600. Kunst und Kultur am Hofe Rudolfs II*, Villa Hügel, Essen, 1988, no. 210, fig. 23). An engraving in *De Cavalleriis, Antiquarum statuarum*, I-II, pl. 22, is not very accurate (Fig. 166).
3. *Aldroandi, Statue antiche*, p. 131: '...vn Satiro con le gambe e pie caprini, che abbraccia vn garzonetto, che li è appresso, e vuole insegnarli di sonare vna sampogna di sette canne, che ha il putto in mano. Sono amendue intieri, ignudi, & assisi sopra vna basi antica, che è d'vn pezzo istesso con le statue...'
4. *Schreiber, Villa Ludovisi*, pp. 44-45, no. 4; p. 27, line 26 lists the statue in the inventory of the marbles acquired in 1622 by Cardinal Ludovisi.
5. *Palma-de Lachenal*, 1983, pp. 90-94, no. 38 (Inv. No. 8571), repr. The head and neck, the right arm, *syrinx* and left underarm are among the modern restorations.
6. *Hilsen, Römische Antikengärten*, p. 33, no. 141, listing Renaissance drawings and engravings of the marble. *Haskell-Penny*, pp. 286-288, no. 70, fig. 151.
7. *Perrier, Segmenta*, pl. 44.
8. H.G. Evers, *Peter Paul Rubens*, Munich, 1942, p. 412, pl. 232.

## 95-97 RIVER NILE: CHILDREN (BELVEDERE)

### 95. River Nile: Four Children (Belvedere): Drawing

Technique and measurements unknown.  
*Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.*

COPY: Drawing (Fig. 170), London, Courtauld Institute Galleries, Princes Gate Collection, *MS Johnson*, fol. 112 recto; black chalk on thin white paper, 210 × 160 mm.; inscribed in pen and black ink at top left: *cira* [sic] *Nilum*, at top right: *In hortis vaticanis*. Watermark: cockatrice. PROV. MS bought in Brussels c.1742-1744 by Captain Maurice Johnson Junior for his father Maurice Johnson (Spalding, Lincs., d.1755); by descent to Christopher Marsden, sale London (Sotheby's), 23 March 1970, lot 179, acquired by Count Antoine Seilern (d.1978, London); bequeathed by him to the

Courtauld Institute Galleries. LIT. *Jaffé, Antwerp Sketchbook*, I, p. 99.

A page in *MS Johnson* depicts four children in varying positions (Fig. 170). The sketches in black chalk were probably traced from original drawings by Rubens in their actual size and medium.<sup>1</sup>

As the inscription informs us, the children were derived from the colossal sculpture personifying the *River Nile*, then in the statue court of the Belvedere (Fig. 174).<sup>2</sup> Of the sixteen children romping around on the giant reclining river god, the child at the top left, seen in frontal view with both arms partially missing, is seated above the Sphinx's head. The infant at the bottom left of the sheet in three-quarter view facing right, of which only the torso remains, is perched on the Nile's shoulder. The toddler at the bottom right, seen in back view, its right arm broken off, is climbing up the large right arm of the river god. Of the fourth infant, standing on the other side of the arm, only the head and its outstretched left arm are visible, drawn in a contour sketch.

On the drawing much of the heavily damaged sculpture is partially restored; a drawing by Hendrick Goltzius shows the actual, mutilated condition of the marble.<sup>3</sup>

The sculpture, a Roman copy of a sculpture of the Alexandrian school,<sup>4</sup> was found in 1513 near Sta Maria sopra Minerva at the ancient location of a Temple of Isis and was recognized from the description in Pliny (*Nat. Hist.*, XXXVI: 58). Acquired by Pope Julius II, it was displayed in the statue court of the Belvedere across from the *River Tiber* (cf. No. 98) and served as a fountain.<sup>5</sup> It was completely restored in 1744 by Gaspar Sibilla. Removed to Paris by Napoleon in 1803, it was returned to the Belvedere in 1816 and is now placed in the *braccio nuovo* of the Vatican Museum.

Two other sheets in *MS Johnson* (fols. 113 and 114; see under Nos. 96-97; Figs. 171, 172) picture children of the Nile. In his essay *De Pueris*, Rubens praised the sculpture for its excellent representations of playful children.<sup>6</sup>

1. Jaffé, *Antwerp Sketchbook*, I, p. 99.
2. Amelung, *Skulpturen*, I, pp. 124–134, Braccio Nuovo, no. 109, pl. XVIII; Helbig, *Führer*, 1963–72, I, pp. 338–339, no. 440 (Inv. No. 2300).
3. Haarlem, Teylers Museum, Inv. No. K III 21 (*Reznicek*, *Goltzius*, pp. 322–324, no. 203, pl. 158). See also *Bober–Rubinstein, Handbook*, pp. 103–104, no. 67, repr.: of the Renaissance drawings listed there some show the marble partly restored as on Rubens's drawings.
4. Bieber, *Hellenistic Sculpture*, pp. 100–101, figs. 407–409; Haskell–Penny, pp. 272–273, no. 65, fig. 142.
5. Aldoandi, *Statue antiche*, pp. 115–116: 'Nel mezzo del giardino si veggono duo simulacri di fiumi antichi bellissimi; e sta ciascuno di loro coricato sopra la sua basi, e si riguardano l'un l'altro:... L'altro è il simulacro del Nilo fiume dell'Egitto, che giace col fianco sinistro sopra vna sphinge... e con la man manca tieni il corno della copia: e li sono di ogni intorno sopra xvij. putti del marmo istesso...'. The Nile was placed on the south side of the court with its back towards the *Laocoon* (*Michaelis, Belvedere*, p. 24, fig. 1).
6. *MS Johnson*, fol. 100r: 'De Pueris' (see Appendix IX, n. 3); *MS de Ganay*, fol. 47r (see *Jombert, Figure humaine*, p. 47). In the essay 'De Figuris Humanis', river gods are mentioned as noteworthy representations of reclining figures (*MS de Ganay*, fol. 22v; see Appendix X, n. 16; *Jombert, Figure humaine*, p. 14). Cf. *MS Johnson*, fol. 32r.

## 96. River Nile: A Child (Belvedere): Drawing

Technique and measurements unknown.  
*Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.*

COPY: Drawing (Fig. 171), London, Courtauld Institute Galleries, Princes Gate Collection, *MS Johnson*, fol. 113 recto; black chalk on thin white paper, 210 × 160 mm.; inscription in pen and black ink at top left: *circa Nilum*. Watermark: cockatrice. PROV. Same as No. 95, Copy. LIT. *Jaffé, Antwerp Sketchbook*, I, p. 99.

A page in *MS Johnson* (Fig. 171) shows a child seen from behind, with its head missing and its right leg bent in a raised position. The drawing may well go back to an original drawing by Rubens, now lost.

The source is a child climbing up the right ankle of the colossal statue of the *River Nile* in the Vatican Museum. See Nos. 95 and 97.

## 97. River Nile: A Child (Belvedere): Drawing

Technique and measurements unknown.  
*Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.*

COPY: Drawing (Fig. 172), London, Courtauld Institute Galleries, Princes Gate Collection, *MS Johnson*, fol. 114 recto; black chalk on thin white paper, 210 × 160 mm.; inscribed in pen and black ink at top left: *circa Nilum*. Watermark: cockatrice. PROV. Same as No. 95, Copy. LIT. *Jaffé, Antwerp Sketchbook*, I, p. 99.

A page in *MS Johnson* (Fig. 172) shows a child from the back in three-quarter view facing left, standing with its legs apart and its arms raised. The sketch is probably traced after an original drawing by Rubens, now lost.

The infant standing at the foot of a cornucopia held by the *River Nile* in the Vatican Museum was the source for the drawing. The head is restored differently now. See Nos. 95 and 96.

## 98. River Tiber: She-Wolf with Romulus and Remus (Belvedere): Drawing (Fig. 168)

Black chalk on thick white paper; 355 × 484 mm.; inscribed in Rubens's handwriting in pen and black ink at top left: *fecerat et viridi foetam Mauortis in antro / Procubuisse lupam geminos huic ubera circum / Ludere pendentis pueros Et lambere matrem / Impavidos illam tereti Ceruice reflexa / Mülcere alternos et Corpora fingere lingua*; inscribed in pen and black ink in Padre Resta's handwriting along bottom edge: *Il Bellori nella vita di Rubens parla della sua eruditione, e come ornaua i suoi studij di pittura con Poesia, e con versi di Virgilio & altri*

*Poeti; in segno di che si osseruino li sud.ti versi di Virgilio da lui qui trascritti de la lupa / romana.*  
Mounted.  
Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana. F.249 inf., fol. 8.

PROVENANCE: Same as No. 76.

EXHIBITED: Cologne, 1977, no. 50.

LITERATURE: *Fubini-Held*, pp. 125, 134-136, pl. 7; *Stechow, Rubens*, pp. 37-39, fig. 24; *Müller Hofstede, Rubens in Italien*, p. 242, no. 50, repr.; *Mielke-Winner*, p. 36, under no. 5; *Jaffé, Rubens and Italy*, p. 81; *Held, Circle*, pp. 95, 97, 100-101, fig. VIII.7; *Held, Oil Sketches*, p. 506, under no. 369, pl. 361.

A she-wolf lying on her right side and nursing two chubby infants is drawn in three-quarter view. The snout and right ear of the wolf are broken off: both children are headless and several of their limbs missing. Reeds were added behind the wolf, and undulating lines drawn in front of the group indicate waves. In the bottom left is a separate frontal study of the wolf's head.

The group is part of a colossal sculpture representing the personification of the *River Tiber*, now in the Louvre in Paris (Fig. 169).<sup>1</sup> It dates from Roman imperial times and decorated the Temple of Isis and Serapis on the Campus Martius in Rome. The statue was unearthed near San Stefano del Cacco in January 1512 and placed as a fountain in the Belvedere statue court the following year.<sup>2</sup>

The *Tiber* was frequently copied by artists visiting the Vatican,<sup>3</sup> but Rubens singled out the detail of the *Lupa* for a detailed study. He copied it faithfully, recording the damaged condition as no artist before him. His drawing reliably documents the exact state of the sculpture up to missing details such as the chipped-off toes of the infants, yet the hard surface of the stone and the stylized anatomy of the animal were changed into natural flesh and bones.

In the top left, Rubens added four lines from Virgil (*Aeneid*, XIII: 630-634). It is an example of his erudition, as Resta noted in the annotation along the bottom edge, observing that Rubens often inscribed his studies of paintings with poems of ancient authors.

The addition of reeds and waves makes the drawing in its present state more or less a preparatory study for Rubens's painting of the same subject (Rome, Museo Capitolino; *K.d.K.*, p. 180), but it was in the first instance a study after the antique marble.

In his art-theoretical Notebook, Rubens recommended the twins as a perfect example of children's figures for their round and delicate bodies.<sup>4</sup> He reused the child seen from the back (restoring its head and arm) for one of the toddlers playing in the foreground on his *Virgin adorned with Flowers* (Vaduz, Liechtenstein collection) and for one of the children in his *Infant Christ with St John and Angels* (in mirror image; Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum; *K.d.K.*, p. 103).<sup>5</sup> The *Lupa with Twins* occurs several times in Rubens's oeuvre: on a helmet in *Decius Mus relating his Dreams* (Vaduz, Liechtenstein collection; *K.d.K.*, p. 142), on a frontispiece in J. de Hemelaer, *Numismata Imperatorum Romanorum* (Antwerp, 1615),<sup>6</sup> and the title-page of J. Lipsius, *L.A. Senecae Opera Omnia* (Antwerp, 1634),<sup>7</sup> as well as on the *Triumphant Roma* (The Hague, Mauritshuis).<sup>8</sup>

1. *Froehner, Sculpture antique*, pp. 411-415, no. 449. The group was removed to France by Napoleon and not returned. See also *Amelung, Skulpturen*, I, pp. 124-134, under no. 190; *Haskell-Penny*, pp. 310-311, no. 79, fig. 164.

2. *Aldroandi, Statue antiche*, p. 115: 'L'vn di essi è il simulacro del Teuere, e giace col fianco dritto poggiato sopra vna Lupa, che ha i duo bambini al petto, che pare, che si giuochino con le mammelle: & ha sotto il braccio dritto il corno della copia, pieno di frutti e fiore...'. The statue of the Tiber was placed on the north side of the statue court, its back towards the niche with *Antinous* (*Michaelis, Belvedere*, pp. 24-25, n. 69, fig. 1).

3. Other artists usually drew the *Tiber* sculpture in its entirety; see *Bober-Rubinstein, Handbook*, pp. 102-103, no. 66, repr.

4. *MS Johnson*, fol. 100r, 'De Pueris' (see Appendix IX, n. 4); *MS de Ganay*, fol. 47r (see *Jombert, Figure humaine*, p. 47). Cf. also *MS Johnson*, fol. 32r, 'Saturnus'.
5. *Held, Oil Sketches*, pp. 505-506, no. 396, fig. 361.
6. *Scheller, Rockox*, pp. 65-66, n. 112, fig. 22.
7. *Judson-Van de Velde*, pp. 301-303, no. 73, fig. 246.
8. *Held, Oil Sketches*, pp. 84-85, no. 51, pl. 52.

## 99. A Roman Couple in the Disguise of Venus and Mars (Borghese): Drawing (Fig. 175)

Black chalk; 458 × 314 mm.; inscribed in pen and ink in bottom left 25, in bottom right 6.; bottom right collector's mark of Tsar Paul I of Russia (L.2061). Mounted (original Cobenzl mount cut away).

*St Petersburg, Hermitage, Print Room. Inv. No. 5498.*

PROVENANCE: Count Charles Philippe Jean de Cobenzl (Ljubljana, 1712-Brussels, 1770); purchased from him by Catherine II of Russia in 1768.

EXHIBITED: *Leningrad*, 1940, no. 7, pl. 1; *Antwerp*, 1956, no. 10a; *Mästarteckningar från Eremitaget, Leningrad*, Nationalmusei, Stockholm, 1963, no. 49; *Leningrad*, 1965, no. 8; *Selections from the Drawing Collection of the State Museum Hermitage, Collection C. Cobenzl*, Hermitage, Leningrad and Moscow, Pushkin Museum, 1969, no. 66; *Dresden*, 1970, no. 65; *Brussels-Rotterdam-Paris, 1972-1973*, no. 80, pl. 81; *Drawings by West European and Russian Masters from the Collection of the State Hermitage and the Russian Museums in Leningrad*, University of Manchester, Manchester, 1974, no. 20, pl. 23; *Tegninger fra det Statslige Eremitage-Museum og det Statslige Russiske Museum i Leningrad*, Thorvaldsen Museum, Copenhagen, 1975, no. 83; [Cat. Exh.] *Hermitage and Tretyakov Master Drawings and Watercolors*, Melbourne, 1978, pp. 32-33, no. 11; *Leningrad*, 1978, no. 105.

LITERATURE: *Dobroklonsky, Drawings*, p. 15, no. 7, pl. VII; *Dobroklonsky, Flemish School*, p. 132,

no. 642; *Burchard-d'Hulst, Tekeningen*, p. 117, no. 10a, p. 129; M. Jaffé, 'Rubens' Drawings at Antwerp', *The Burlington Magazine*, XCVIII, 1956, p. 321; *Miesel, Ancient Art*, p. 50, n. 56; *Burchard-d'Hulst, Drawings*, pp. 29-30, no. 13, repr.; *Miesel, Study Drawings*, p. 319, n. 12, fig. 12 (doubts Rubens's authorship); *Fubini-Held*, p. 138, n. 36; *Kuznetsov, Drawings, 1965*, pp. 16-17, no. 8; *Müller Hofstede, Beiträge*, p. 270; C. Dittrich, in *Cat. Exh. Dresden, 1970*, p. 58, no. 65, repr.; I. Kuznetsov, in *Cat. Exh. Brussels-Rotterdam-Paris, 1972-73*, pp. 54-55, no. 80, fig. 81; *Kuznetsov, Risunki*, 1974, no. 11, repr.; *Van der Meulen, Sculpture Collections*, p. 149, n. 5; *Jaffé, Rubens and Italy*, p. 82, n. 45; *Held, Circle*, p. 102, n. 36.

A couple, a woman embracing a man, is seen in frontal view from below. The woman is clad in a full, unbelted *tunica* with short, buttoned sleeves; a mantle is draped over her left shoulder and back and gathered on the left, slightly bent knee. The face framed with undulating hair made up in a braided chignon, is looking at the man standing to her left. She has put her left arm on his back and her right hand reaches out to the bandelier fastened across his chest. He stands in *contrapposto* with the weight on his left leg, the right one placed forward. He has a beard and moustache, and his curly locks are covered with a crested helmet decorated with sea monsters. His left hand touches the hilt of a dagger fastened to the bandelier. A cuirass is placed on a tree trunk behind his left leg. A round contour indicates the pedestal on which the figures stand.

A marble statue group of a couple with portrait heads of Hadrian and his wife Sabina, represented as Venus and Mars, served as model for the drawing (Fig. 173).<sup>1</sup> The group, formerly in the collection of Scipione Borghese, is now in the Louvre in Paris.<sup>2</sup> It was first published on an engraving in *Perrier, Segmenta* identified as 'Alij Faustina[m] cum gladiatore, alij Volumniam uxorem Gneo Martio Coriolano pro patria supplicante[m]



putant'.<sup>3</sup> The statue group became known as *Faustina and the Gladiator* (see note 5).

Dobroklonsky's attribution to Rubens has usually been accepted, except by Miesel. The artist could have made the drawing in Rome. Some (held among them) have dated the sheet to his first stay in Rome, but Dobroklonsky and others have given it a later date (1605/06-1608). It has been assumed that he saw the group in the collection of Cardinal Scipione Borghese, who after his appointment as Cardinal in 1605 started to collect ancient sculptures. However, his purchase of a 'Faustina with a Gladiator' from a Cesare Brutatello for 150 *scudi* is only recorded on 14 October 1620.<sup>4</sup> According to Martinelli the group was excavated in a *vigna* belonging to a certain Santarelli near Sta Maria Maggiore.<sup>5</sup> An undated invoice lists repairs 'for having restored the group of Faustina and the Gladiator embracing each other'.<sup>6</sup> On 18 March 1621 the mason, Giuseppe de Giacomo, handed in his bill for pedestals for the statues of Faustina, a Silenus and a Gladiator,<sup>7</sup> and around the same time they were put on display in the Villa Borghese on the Pincio. This makes it unlikely that Rubens could have seen the marble in the collection of Scipione Borghese.<sup>8</sup>

The drawing in St Petersburg seems to be the earliest record showing the group in its restored condition. It is a faithful representation of the marble, yet a few changes have been made. The face of the woman on the statue is expressionless and looks right past her husband, but on the drawing the face is directed towards her spouse with a tender look. Furthermore, the superficial, wide pleats of the drapery have been rendered as fine, supple-looking fabric and the overly smooth surface of the marble bodies has gained texture resembling skin and muscles, a few veins have been added to the hands of the man, the woman's hair falls more naturally.

The marble, so highly praised by Perrier, is now criticized for its unorganic, inexact rendering of the mantle, which in the front seems to consist of two separate pieces of fabric

wound around each other.<sup>9</sup> This detail is clearly visible on the St Petersburg drawing.

The tender touching gesture of 'Faustina' is reflected in the figure of Mary in Rubens's *Descent from the Cross* (St Petersburg, Hermitage; *K.d.K.*, p. 90) and in Minerva in his *Flight of Maria de' Medici from Blois* (Paris, Louvre, Medici cycle; *K.d.K.*, p. 259), where the figure of Maria de' Medici was inspired by the 'Gladiator' as Burchard observed.

1. Bieber, *Hellenistic Sculpture*, pp. 159-160, n. 11; Bieber, *Ancient Copies*, p. 44, fig. 109; *Lexicon Mythologiae*, II, 1, p. 544, no. 350, repr. The sculpture is dated to c.150 A.D.

2. Froehner, *Sculpture antique*, pp. 161-162, no. 131 (Inv. No. MA 1009).

3. Perrier, *Segmenta*, pl. 21.

4. C.H. Heilman, 'Die Entstehungsgeschichte der Villa Borghese in Rom', *Münchener Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst*, ser. III, XXIV, 1973, p. 112, n. 147. The document, Archivio Borghese 352, referred to in the note was not available. (I am much obliged to Dr C. Van de Velde for perusing the Borghese Archives and finding the document in note 6 pertaining to the restoration of the group). Scipione acquired a large number of statues from the Ceoli collection in 1607, but no statue group of a *Faustina and Gladiator* is listed in the inventory of the sale. In S. Francucci's poem on the collection of Scipione no mention is made of the group. Scipione's statue group should not be confused with a similar marble which included a Cupid, but was of smaller dimensions and was acquired by Giovanni Battista Borghese from the Della Porta estate in 1609.

5. F. Martinelli, *Roma ricercata nel suo sito*, Rome, 1644, pp. 110-111: '...vn gruppo di Faustina con vn gladiatore suo amante, che fu ritrouato nella Vigna di Monsignor Santarello à S. Maria Maggiore'.

6. 'Ill.mo Sigr. Cardinal Borghese. Lauori fatti alla Vignia di V.S. Ill.ma Imprima p hauerre accomodato il Gracciatore [sic] che cascono li fachini quando lo portauano.— 5

E più p. hauerre restaurato il Groppo di faustina et il Gracciatore [sic] le quali si abbracciano insieme p. hauerri fatto mezzo pennachio la punta del naso, il membro, una mano che piglia il manico dello stocho coln] altri pezzi de legacci dello stocho et altri pezzi della corazza et hauerri fatto tre dita alla mano dritta e le pontà delli dita delli piedi. Per hauer fatto alla faustina abbracciati insieme hauerri fatto mezza testa di dietro et un ciglio et il naso e piu hauerri fatto dua mani una de dietro e l'altra che piglia un pezzo de legaccio della cintura del d.o Gracciatore [sic] et insieme a dieci pezzi de pieghe alla d.a faustina — 22

E più p. hauer fatto un pezzo di peduccio di Mischio lustro, et hauere attachato braccia a figure et hauer fatto deti et altri restauramenti, ogni cosa a mie spese — 3

[signed] Carlo Falcinetti \_\_\_\_\_  
30

(To his illustrious Lordship Cardinal Borghese. Work done in the vineyard of your Excellency. First of all for having fixed the gladiator which the porters dropped when they carried it—5. And furthermore for having restored the group of Faustina and the Gladiator embracing each other, for having repaired half of the plume of the helmet, the tip of the nose, his male member, a hand holding the hilt of the sword, and other pieces of the strings of the hilt of the sword and other pieces of the cuirass, and having repaired three fingers of the right hand and the tips of the toes. For having repaired the embracing Faustina, for having repaired the back half of the head, and an eyebrow and the nose, and furthermore having repaired both hands one in the back, the other grasping a piece of the string of the belt of the gladiator and also ten pieces of the pleats of the said Faustina—22. And furthermore, having repaired a piece of the pedestal of polished spotted marble, and having attached arms to figures, and having made the above and other restorations, everything at my expense—3. Total 30. [Signed] Carlo Falcinetti).

Rome, Vatican Archives, Archivio Borghese 4174. The undated and unpaginated document is filed with the masonry bills of 1608-1623 between records of 1619 and 1621. See note 7.

7. *Ibid.*: 'Adi 18. Marzo 1621. Mesura et Stima de Lavori di Scarpello... fatti da Mro Giosepepe di Giacomo scarpellino... p. fare li tre Piedestalli di alabastro... Piedestallo della Statua di Faustina... '2.o Piedestallo sotto la Statua di Sileno' and '3.o Piedestallo sotto la Statua del Gladiatore'.

The *Silenus with Bacchus* and the *Gladiator* were displayed with *Faustina and the Gladiator* in the same room adjacent to the Galleria in the Villa Borghese; see F. Martinelli, *op. cit.* (note 5), pp. 110-111.

8. Scipione's collection in the years 1605-1610 was supposedly displayed in the 'Palazzo al Borgo'. See Ch. I, p. 53.
9. *Bieber, Ancient Copies*, p. 44, fig. 109.

## 100-101 WRESTLERS (DE' MEDICI)

### 100. Torso of a Wrestler (De' Medici) (top figure back view): Drawing

Technique and measurements unknown. *Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.*

COPY: Drawing (Fig. 177), Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst, Kongelige Kobberstiksamling, 'Rubens Cantoor', No. V, 44; black and red, pen and brown ink on thin yellowish paper, 175 × 197 mm. PROV. Acquired by the Royal Library in Copenhagen presumably in the 17th century; since 1835 in the Museum. LIT. *Van der Meulen, Sculpture Collections*, p. 156, n. 9, fig. 5B; *Garff-Pedersen, Panneels*, p. 166, no. 224, fig. 226.

A drawing in Copenhagen (Copy; Fig. 177) shows a torso of a stooping nude man in back view from above. The head is omitted. Hatchings indicate shadows in the background.

Burchard identified the drawing as the top figure of a statue group of *Wrestlers* (Fig. 176). The marble is a unique copy after a Greek bronze of the third century B.C.,<sup>1</sup> and was found headless together with the Niobid group on the ancient site of the Horti Lamiani in Rome in 1583.<sup>2</sup> An engraving in *De Cavalieriis* renders the sculpture from the back in unrestored condition.<sup>3</sup> It was acquired by Ferdinand de' Medici and put on display in his Villa on the Pincio in Rome, in the first room facing the Piazza del Popolo, as the inventory of 1598 reveals.<sup>4</sup> The marble has been in Florence since 1677, in the Tribuna of the Uffizi.<sup>5</sup>

The sheet belongs to the corpus of copies in Copenhagen, and is attributed to Willem Panneels by Garff and Pedersen. It may be based on an original by Rubens. He could have drawn the marble in Rome, purposely omitting the restored head; but on the other hand, a reduced copy of this statue group may have circulated in Antwerp, since it appears in *The Sense of Sight* by J. Brueghel and Rubens (Madrid, Prado; *text ill.* 84).

The pose of the *Wrestler* is reflected in Rubens's drawings of a *Male Nude* in Oxford (Ashmolean Museum),<sup>6</sup> and *Two Wrestlers* (Paris, Institut Néerlandais, Fondation Custodia).<sup>7</sup> A second sheet in Copenhagen pictures the *Wrestlers* from a different angle (No. 101, Copy; Fig. 178).

1. Bieber, *Hellenistic Sculpture*, p. 77, fig. 267; M. Achenbach-Kosse, 'Die Ringergruppe in Florenz', *Antiker Kunst*, XXXII, 1989, 2, pp. 71-80, pl. 17,1.
2. F. Vacca, *Memorie di varie antichità trovate in diversi luoghi della Città di Roma, scritte... 1594*: 'Me ricordo, poco fuori di porta San Giouanni furono trouate molte statue di marmo le quali non erano altro che la fauola di Niobe; le comprò il Gran Duca Ferdinando di Toscana... ui erano ancora doi che lottauano, molto ben fatti, et di buon maestro' (Schreiber, *Flaminio Vacca*, p. 76, Memoria 75). See also Lanciani, *Scavi*, III, p. 111; E. Mandowsky, 'Some Notes on the Early History of the Medicean "Niobides"', *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, XLI, 1953, pp. 252-264.
3. *De Cavalleriis, Antiquarum statuarum*, III-IV, pl. 11: 'Filij Niobes luctantes'; Haskell-Penny, pp. 337-339, no. 94, figs. 11 and 179.
4. F. Boyer, 'Un inventaire inédit des antiques de la Villa Médicis (1598)', *Revue archéologique*, V, 30, 1929, p. 260, no. 22.
5. F. Boyer, 'Le transfert des antiques de Médicis de Rome à Florence', *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, LXXIV, 1932, 1, pp. 211-216; Mansuelli, *Cat. Uffizi*, I, pp. 92-94, no. 61 (Inv. No. 216), fig. 62; II, p. 188 (inventory of 1704, no. 2136).
6. Burchard-d'Hulst, *Drawings*, pp. 78-79, no. 45, repr.
7. [Cat. Exh.] *Flemish Drawings of the Seventeenth Century from the Collection of Frits Lugt*, London-Paris-Bern-Brussels, 1972, p. 103, no. 78, pl. 49 (Inv. No. 3020).

### 101. Torso of a Wrestler (De' Medici) (defeated figure frontal view): Drawing

Technique and measurements unknown.  
*Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.*

COPY: Drawing (Fig. 178), Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst, Kongelige Kobberstiksamlng, 'Rubens Cantoor', No. I, 14; black and red chalk, pen and brown ink on thick yellowish paper, 180 × 195 mm.; inscription in pen and brown ink in bottom left: *onder is dit*. Watermark: figure 4 interlaced with letter W. PROV. Acquired by the Royal Library in Copenhagen presumably in the 17th century; since 1835 in the Museum. LIT. *Van der Meulen, Sculpture Collections*, p. 156, n. 9, fig. 5C; *Garff-Pedersen, Panneels*, p. 166, no. 225, fig. 227.

A drawing in Copenhagen (Copy; Fig. 178) shows the torso of a nude man bent head first towards the ground in back view from above. The head and left hand are indicated by a contour line. Hatchings indicate shadows in the background.

The inscription 'this is below' provided a clue to Burchard's identification of the model for the drawing, as the youth being defeated in the statue group of the *Wrestlers* in the Medici collection (Fig. 176). See No. 100.

The drawing is attributed to Willem Panneels by Garff and Pedersen. His model may have been an original by Rubens. The head and hand, modern restorations, might have been omitted on purpose.

## 102-107 ANIMAL SCULPTURES

### 102. Boar (De' Medici): Drawing

Technique and measurements unknown.  
*Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.*

COPY: Drawing (Fig. 179), Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst, Kongelige Kobberstiksamlng, 'Rubens Cantoor', No. Ad R.C., 1; black and white chalk, pen and brown ink on blue paper, 342 × 212 mm.; large top left corner and both bottom corners cut off diagonally; inscription in pen and brown ink at centre left in code: *dit is een vercken naer antijck*. PROV. Acquired by the Royal Library in Copenhagen presumably in the 17th century; since 1835 in the Museum. LIT. J. Garff, 'Rubens Cantoor 30.3-25.9. Udvalgte tegninger af Willem Panneels', *Billedstof*, III, 1988, pp. 7-8, repr.; *Garff-Pedersen, Panneels*, pp. 174-175, no. 236, fig. 239.

A copy in Copenhagen (Fig. 179) shows a wild boar lying partially on its left side, the head in side view facing left. The animal's back is missing from this sheet: it was possibly cut off. The frontal part of the body is supported

on its outstretched front legs. The sheet is attributed to Willem Panneels by Garff and Pedersen.

The source is a marble of a *Boar* now in the Uffizi in Florence (Fig. 180).<sup>1</sup> It was possibly unearthed in the *vigna* of Paolo Ponti in Rome and displayed in his house on Strada del Popolo, where Aldroandi saw it in 1550.<sup>2</sup> The sculpture was acquired by Pope Julius III<sup>3</sup> and in 1560 by Pope Pius IV, who had it restored.<sup>4</sup> When Cosimo I, Grand Duke of Tuscany, visited Pius IV in November 1561, the Pope donated fourteen antique marbles to him, the *Boar* among them.<sup>5</sup> They finally arrived in Florence in 1567 and were displayed in the Palazzo Pitti in Cosimo's recently built *Antiquarium* (1561-1562). Vasari immediately recorded the acquisitions.<sup>6</sup> Alessandro Pezzano from Bologna described the statue standing in the *sala grande* in all its splendour in 1576.<sup>7</sup> The marble was transferred to the newly constructed Galleria degli Uffizi and placed in the corridor.<sup>8</sup> Bocchi was one of the first to see the statue standing in its new location.<sup>9</sup> The marble with the wild boar sensing danger and raising itself to its feet was displayed together with a statue of a youthful man clad in a short tunic and mantle standing in an attacking attitude<sup>10</sup> and would be labelled by some the 'Calydonian Boar'. A full-size copy was made by Valerio Cioli in 1598.<sup>11</sup>

The drawing in Copenhagen probably refers to an original by Rubens. On his painting *The Calydonian Boar Hunt* (known only from a copy), the boar is seen from the same angle as on the Copenhagen sheet.<sup>12</sup>

1. Mansuelli, *Cat. Uffizi*, I, pp. 78-80, no. 50 (Inv. No. 63), fig. 50; M.D. Davis, 'La Galleria di sculture antiche di Cosimo I a Palazzo Pitti', *Le arti del principato Mediceo*, Florence, 1980, p. 37; Haskell-Penny, pp. 161-163, no. 13, fig. 83.

2. Aldroandi, *Statue antiche*, edn Venice 1568, pp. 193-194 (cf. Reinach, *Pierre Jacques*, p. 48). The collection of Paolo Ponti is not mentioned in the first edition published in Venice in 1556. See also Lanciani, *Scavi*, III, p. 160.

3. T. Falck, 'Studien zur Topographie und Geschichte der Villa Giulia in Rom', *Römisches Jahrbuch für*

*Kunstgeschichte*, XIII, 1971, p. 173; M.D. Davis, op. cit., p. 37, n. 17; H. Keutner, [Review of G.A. Mansuelli, *Galleria degli Uffizi, Le sculture*, 1958], *Kunstchronik*, XIII, 1960, p. 230.

4. T. Falk, op. cit., pp. 132, 167, docs.749-750.

5. M.D. Davis, op. cit., pp. 33-34; H. Keutner, loc. cit.

6. G. Vasari, *Le vite de' più eccellenti pittori, scultori e architettori*, Florence, 1568, III, p. 2: 'Anticaglie, che sono nella sala del Palazzo de' Pitti... ci è un porco cigniale in atto di sospetto' (cf. L. Bloch, 'Eine Athletenstatue der Uffiziengallerie', *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Römische Abteilung*, VII, 1892, pp. 6-7, n. 1).

7. M. Mosco, 'Una "Descrizione dell'apparato delle stanze del Palazzo de' Pitti in Fiorenza" edita a Venezia nel 1577', *Antichità Viva*, XIX, 1980, pp. 13, 20, *sala dei nicchie*.

8. M. Cristofani, 'Per un storia del collezionismo archeologico nella Toscana granducale. Doni e acquisti di statue antiche nella seconda metà del XVI secolo', *Le arti del principato Mediceo*, Firenze, 1980, p. 27; E. Müntz, 'Les collections d'antiques formées par les Médecins au XVIe siècle', *Mémoires de l'Institut National de France, Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, XXXV, 2, 1893, p. 154 (inventory of 1588).

9. F. Bocchi, *Le bellezze della Città di Firenze*, Florence, 1591, (reprint 1971), p. 50; 1667 edn, p. 105; M.D. Davis, op. cit., pp. 42-43.

10. Mansuelli, *Cat. Uffizi*, I, appendix, p. 264, no. 4, fig. 324. The statue of 'Meleager' was lost in the fire of 1762.

11. H. Keutner, loc. cit. (note 3).

12. A. Balis, *Rubens. Hunting Scenes (Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard, XVIII, 2)*, London, 1986, figs. 31-32, p. 92: 'Rubens appears to have been inspired by the antique marble *Boar* in the Uffizi at Florence'.

## 103-104 EAGLE WITH SPREAD WINGS (MATTEI)

### 103. Eagle with Spread Wings (Mattei) (three-quarter and frontal view): Drawing

Technique and measurements unknown.  
Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.

COPY: Drawing (Fig. 183), Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst, Kongelige Kobberstiksamling, 'Rubens Cantoor', No. III, 80; black and red chalk on thin yellowish paper, 216 × 328 mm.; left top corner damaged; inscription in pen and black ink in bottom

centre in code: *dese twee arens hebbe ick oock van cantoor / van rubbens gehaelt*. PROV. Acquired by the Royal Library in Copenhagen presumably in the 17th century; since 1835 in the Museum. LIT. *Falck, Tegninger*, p. 73; *Miesel, Ancient Art*, p. 50, n. 54; M. Jaffé, 'Rubens and Jove's Eagle', *Paragone*, XXI, no. 245, 1970, pp. 22-23, n. 13, pl. 29; J.R. Martin and C. Lazzaro Bruno, 'Rubens's Cupid Supplicating Jupiter', in *Rubens before 1620*, ed. by J.R. Martin, Princeton, N.J., 1972, p. 13, n. 15, fig. 9; *Garff-Pedersen, Panneels*, pp. 138-139, no. 178, fig. 180.

A copy in Copenhagen (Fig. 183) shows an eagle with spread wings from two different angles. The sketch on the left renders the bird in three-quarter view facing right; a round line indicates the base of a statue. On the right the bird is seen in frontal view slightly facing left. Shadows in the background are indicated by hatchings.

An annotation reveals that the drawings were copied from originals in Rubens's studio. The copyist, identified as Willem Panneels by Garff and Pedersen, probably used one sheet on which both sketches occurred. The sequence of the drawing is obvious from the overlapping of the wings in the centre: the sketch on the left preceded the drawing on the right. This detail should support Rubens's authorship of the original model, for he followed the same procedure in copying three figures from a *Muse Sarcophagus* (No. 138; Fig. 269).

The source for the drawings was the statue of an *Eagle* in the collection of Cyriacus Mattei on the Celimontana. It was displayed under a loggia of the *giardino segreto* according to the inventory drawn up after the death of Cyriacus in 1614.<sup>1</sup> The sculpture drew admiring words from Jonathan Richardson.<sup>2</sup> In 1770 the marble was among the sculptures sold to Pope Clemens XIV; it is now in the Vatican Museum (Fig. 181).<sup>3</sup> The Copenhagen copy shows the statue in its 17th-century condition: the tail and legs are now restored differently. A second sheet in Copenhagen renders the

statue from yet another point of view (No. 104, Copy; Fig. 182).

The eagle in Rubens's *Cupid Supplicating Jupiter* (New York, Forbes Collection) is similar to the bird on the left of the sketch, as observed by Jaffé and Martin, although they did not identify the antique source. To my knowledge Rubens is the only artist to have drawn this statue.

1. *Lanciani, Scavi*, III, p. 90: 'Sotto la detta loggia del detto Giardinetto... Un'Aquila in piedi con l'Ale sollevate sopra un piedestallo con lettere'. (Not in *Venuti-Amaduzzi, Vetera monumenta*).
2. J. Richardson, *An Account of the Statues, Bas-reliefs, Drawings and Pictures in Italy, France, &c with Remarks*, second edn, London, 1754, p. 180: 'An Eagle, Antique; call'd the Famous Eagle of the Mattei. My Father has several Drawings of the Head of it by Giulio Romano'. A drawing of an Eagle by G. Romano in Paris (École des Beaux-Arts, Inv. No. EBA 325) has only a distant resemblance with the *Mattei Eagle*.
3. *Amelung, Skulpturen*, II, p. 385, *sala degli animali*, no. 226, pl. 43; *Reinach, Répertoire statuaire*, II, p. 769, no. 2.

## 104. Eagle with Spread Wings (Mattei) (side view): Drawing

Technique and measurements unknown.  
*Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.*

COPY: Drawing (Fig. 182), Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst, Kongelige Kobberstiksamling, 'Rubens Cantoor', No. III, 81; black and red chalk on thick, yellowish paper, 246 × 209 mm.; large corner top right cut off diagonally; inscription in pen and brown ink in bottom right in code: *desen arent hebbe ick oock vant cantoor gehaelt*. PROV. Acquired by the Royal Library in Copenhagen presumably in the 17th century; since 1835 in the Museum. LIT. *Miesel, Ancient Art*, p. 50, n. 54; *Garff-Pedersen, Panneels*, p. 139, no. 179, fig. 181.

A copy in Copenhagen (Fig. 182) shows an eagle with wings outspread in side view facing left. As the inscription reveals, the model

for the sketch was kept in Rubens's studio. The copyist is identified as Willem Panneels by Garff and Pedersen.

The source is the statue of an *Eagle* then in the Mattei collection (Fig. 181). See No. 103.

## 105-107 HEAD OF A HORSE

### 105. Head of a Horse: Drawing

Technique and measurements unknown.  
*Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.*

COPY: Drawing (Fig. 185), Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst, Kongelige Kobberstiksamlng, 'Rubens Cantoor', No VI, 81; red and black chalk on thin white paper, 248 × 198 mm.; both top and bottom corners cut off diagonally; inscription in pen and brown ink at bottom right in code: *Dit hebbe ick oock vant cantoor van rubbens gehaelt*. PROV. Acquired by the Royal Library in Copenhagen presumably in the 17th century; since 1835 in the Museum. LIT. *Falck, Tegninge*, p. 73; *Kieser, Antikes*, p. 134, n. 50; *Jaffé, Rubens and Italy*, p. 80, n. 20, pl. 297; *Garff-Pedersen, Panneels*, pp. 137-138, no. 177, fig. 179.

A copy in Copenhagen (Fig. 185) shows the head of a horse in three-quarter view facing right. Shadows in the background are indicated by hatchings. The original drawing, according to the annotation, was kept in Rubens's studio. Garff and Pedersen identified the copyist as Willem Panneels.

The source for the drawing has not been identified. Ludwig Burchard thought it might be a detail from the statue group of the *Horse Tamers* ('*cavalli marmorei*') on the Quirinal Hill (see under No. 75; Fig. 142), and Jaffé as well as Garff and Pedersen came independently to the same conclusion. However, the noses of these horses are smooth, their mouths do not hold a bit, the lips are round and elongated and the manes are comb-shaped. In contrast, the head on the Copenhagen drawing has

protruding veins, wears a bit and has a broad mane. On a second copy in Copenhagen the same head is drawn from a different angle (No. 106, Copy; Fig. 184).

### 106. Head of a Horse: Drawing

Technique and measurements unknown.  
*Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.*

COPY: Drawing (Fig. 184), Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst, Kongelige Kobberstiksamlng, 'Rubens Cantoor', No. VI, 80; black and red chalk on thin white paper, 150 × 168 mm.; inscription in pen and brown ink at bottom right in code: *oock al vant cantoor van rubbens gehaelt*. Watermark: bunch of grapes. PROV. Acquired by the Royal Library in Copenhagen presumably in the 17th century; since 1835 in the Museum. LIT. *Falck, Tegninge*, p. 73; *Kieser, Antikes*, p. 134, n. 50; *Garff-Pedersen, Panneels*, p. 137, no. 176, fig. 178.

A copy in Copenhagen (Fig. 184) shows the head of a horse in three-quarter view facing right from below. The mouth is closed, but a bit and teeth are visible between the lips. The annotation reveals that the original drawing was kept in Rubens's studio. Garff and Pedersen identified the copyist as Willem Panneels.

Ludwig Burchard incorrectly identified the model for the drawing as one of the heads in the statue group of the *Horse Tamers* ('*cavalli marmorei*') on the Quirinal Hill. See No. 105.

### 107. Head of a Horse (Maddaloni/De' Medici): Drawing (Fig. 187)

Black chalk with touches of white chalk on white paper; 194 × 157 mm.  
*Paris, Institut Néerlandais, Fondation Custodia (F. Lugt Collection)*. Inv. No. J5424.

PROVENANCE: C. Fairfax Murray (1849-1919); Victor Koch, London.

EXHIBITED: *Brussels*, 1938-39, no. 57.

LITERATURE: *Jaffé, Rubens in Italy*, p. 82, n. 57, pl. 296; *Mitsch, Rubenszeichnungen*, p. 232, under nos. 134-151.

The head of a horse is seen in side view facing right. The mouth holding a bit is slightly opened, and the comb-shaped mane ends in a tufted forelock on top of the head. The head is cut off at the neck. Cross-hatchings indicate light falling in from the left casting shadows in the background. When the sheet was trimmed, part of the back of the neck was cut off on the left side and hatchings were cut off at the top.

The source for the drawing was possibly a copy of a Greek (?) bronze *protome* of a horse, now in the Museo Nazionale, Naples (Fig. 186).<sup>1</sup> It entered the Museum in 1809 from the Palace of the Counts of Carafa di Maddaloni and originally was in possession of Count Diomedo Carafa di Maddaloni who received it as a gift from Lorenzo de' Medici in 1471.<sup>2</sup> It was copied after a bronze head of a horse belonging to Lorenzo de' Medici.<sup>3</sup>

Vasari mentioned the Maddaloni bronze in the first edition of his *Vite* as an antique, but changed this opinion in the second edition, calling it a work of Donatello.<sup>4</sup>

The drawing is in black chalk, a medium usually reserved for copying stone models. It is possible that the draughtsman did not have access to the original bronze in Naples, but had a plaster cast at his disposal. This hypothesis is supported by the missing top of the forelock and the damaged edge of the neck.

Burchard among others attributed the drawing to Rubens, but Mitsch rightly doubted this. The broad, parallel chalk strokes are by the hand of a different artist. Stylistically the drawing fits in with the heads of the *Column of Trajan* (Nos. 143-160) and the *Battle of the Lapiths and Centaurs* (Paris, Institut Néer-

landais, Fondation Custodia, F. Lugt Collection, Inv. No. 5422).<sup>5</sup>

1. W. Rolfs, 'Der neapler Pferdekopf und das Reiterdenkmal für König Alfons', *Jahrbuch der königlich Preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, XXIX, 1908, pp. 123-136, fig. 1; M. Crutwell, *Verrocchio*, London, 1904, pp. 198-199.
2. Florence, Archives, Carteggio privato Medici, file 27, letter 395. I owe this information to the Census of Works of Art known to Renaissance Artists, in the Institute of Fine Arts (N.Y.U.), New York. Cf. [Cat. Exh.] *Mostra Medicea*, Florence, Palazzo Medici, 1939, p. 79, no. 1 (Naples head, repr.) and no. 2 (Florence head).
3. The bronze belonged to the Medici family in the 15th century, and stood in Lorenzo de' Medici's time in the garden of the palace in Via Larga. It was confiscated by the Signoria in 1495 ('una testa di bronzo di cavallo che era nell'orto'; cf. E. Müntz, *Les collections des Médicis au XVIe siècle*, Paris, 1888), but later returned. The head was displayed as part of a fountain decoration in the second courtyard of the Palazzo Medici (since 1659 owned by the Riccardi family). In 1815 it entered the Museo Archeologico in Florence (W. Amelung, *Führer durch die Antiken zu Florenz*, Munich, 1897, p. 276, no. 270). It is mounted on a collar of the 17th century. See M. Crutwell, *op. cit.*, pp. 197-198, pl. XLVII; K. Kluge and K. Lehmann-Hartleben, *Die antiken Grossbronzen*, Berlin-Leipzig, II, 1927, p. 80, n. 7. The bronze in Naples (Fig. 186) is not an exact copy of the Medici head. Called by Crutwell 'a glorified copy of the Florence antique', its skin is more naturalistic with protruding veins on the side of the head; the lip has fewer wrinkles behind the bit, the neck has fewer folds, and eyeballs were added.
4. *Vasari, edn Milanese*, II, p. 409. M. Crutwell, *loc. cit.*, attributed the bronze copy in Naples to Verrocchio. It was listed in the 1582 inventory of Maddaloni as 'un cavallo di bronzo opera di Donatello' (information from the Census cited in note 2 above).
5. *Jaffé, Rubens in Italy*, pl. 16.

## 108-119 TWELVE FAMOUS GREEK AND ROMAN MEN

In 1638 Rubens finalized his last archaeological project: a series of twelve prints picturing famous Greek and Roman men. Legends at the bottom provide information on the engravers, the models and their identifications, and nine engravings bear the date 1638. The

legends are uniform and were obviously the work of one hand.

The models were, as the legends disclose, ancient marble portrait sculptures: heads, busts and herms. Also mentioned is the 17th-century whereabouts of one sculpture, the herm of *Demosthenes* (No. 112), belonging to the Antwerp burgomaster Nicolaas Rockox. The marble was acquired in 1622 and aroused a great deal of interest. Rockox's new acquisition is also referred to by name in Peiresc's letter of May 1624 written to the Italian archaeologist Girolamo Aleandro. The French scholar inquired after unpublished portraits of *persone illustre* ('be it on gems, marble or metal') which could be engraved and added to the Gem Book which Rubens was preparing.<sup>1</sup>

No information is given about the location of the other eleven portrait sculptures. But the person who immediately comes to mind is Rubens himself, who possessed a considerable collection of portrait sculptures, acquired in 1618 from Sir Dudley Carleton. Thus it would not be at all surprising if the artist turned to his own collection for the sculptures featured on the eleven engravings. However, only in a few cases is there meagre positive evidence to support this.

The legends give the names of four different artists who worked on the series: Boetius à Bolswert who engraved the *Julius Caesar* (No. 109); Paul Pontius, whose contribution consisted of no less than five plates: *Hippocrates*, *Nero*, *Scipio*, '*Socrates*' and *Sophocles* (Nos. 113, 114, 116, 118 and 119); Lucas Vorsterman I, who executed the *Brutus*, '*Democritus*', '*Plato*' and *Seneca* (Nos. 108, 111, 115 and 117)<sup>2</sup> and Hans Witdoeck whose share consisted of the engravings with the busts of '*Cicero*' and '*Demosthenes*' (Nos. 110 and 112).

When the plates were engraved, and before lettering, proof impressions were pulled which Rubens closely examined.<sup>3</sup> Five proof prints have survived showing corrections indicated by the master: areas are blocked out with white paint, details changed or added in

black ink (Nos. 110b, 112b, 114b, 116b and 117b).

Most of the alterations were implemented, and as the finishing touch the legends were added. The last step was made in 1638 apparently, as nine prints bear this date. Bolswert's print with *Julius Caesar* is undated, but must have been finished before his death in 1633.<sup>4</sup> Therefore the 1638 date does not pertain to every engraving in the series but rather indicates the completion of the series as a whole.

The legend at lower left '*P.P. Rubens delin[ea]vit*' explicitly credits the master for making the preparatory drawings. Drawings are known today for only six engravings, and they vary in technique and quality (see under Nos. 108a, 109a, 111a, 114a, 115a and 117a). Given the care with which the project was executed, it is most likely that the artist had a hand in the preliminary drawings. This may have meant providing the engraver with a fairly rough chalk sketch<sup>5</sup> or a fully detailed work drawing. The rather coarse, but vigorous pen drawings with the heads of *Brutus* (No. 108a; Fig. 188), *Nero* (No. 114a; Fig. 208) and *Seneca* (No. 117a; Fig. 224) could possibly justify an attribution to Rubens. The sheet with *Julius Caesar* (No. 109a; Fig. 190) is more problematical. It is extensively worked up with the brush in a painterly way. Burchard suggested that these corrections were possibly worthy of Rubens's name, but I am less convinced. Other drawings which seem also to have played a role in a preparatory stage are certainly not by Rubens, and have accordingly been treated here as copies. The drawings of *Democritus* (No. 111a, Copy; known only from photographs; Fig. 199) and *Plato* (No. 115a, Copy 1; Fig. 212) are perhaps the work of Vorsterman I. This engraver definitely made the finely detailed pen drawing in Paris of the *Plato* herm (No. 115a, Copy 2; Fig. 214) which he followed closely for the engraving. That drawing bears his familiar monogram, concealed by hatchings.

Some of the later vicissitudes of the sheets are interesting. Everard Jabach (1607/10-



1695) in all likelihood purchased the preparatory study for the print with *Julius Caesar* (No. 109a) at the sale of Rubens's collection of drawings in August 1657. The drawings with *Nero* (No. 114a) and *Seneca* (No. 117a) were probably at first acquired by Pierre Crozat (1665-1740); both then entered the collection of J.D. Lempereur (1701-1779) and remained together until 1910 when they appeared at the sale of the estate of Henri Duval in Liège and became separated. Duval also acquired the drawing of *Socrates* (No. 118a), first traced in the catalogue of the estate of Jacob Spex (1776). The latter had paired the sheet with the matching engraving of Pontius.

Paignon-Dijonval (1708-1792) and his grandson, Vicomte Morel de Vindé (1759-1842) owned the drawing of *Democritus* (then identified as 'Socrates'; No. 111a, Copy), later in the possession of S. Woodburn. He also owned a drawing of the herm of *Plato* (then identified as 'Epicure'; No. 115a, Copy 2). Furthermore, a third sheet picturing an ancient marble with the so-called 'Cato' belonged to his collection.<sup>6</sup> The interesting, yet puzzling entry could not be matched up with any of the drawings currently known.

Possibly not all the preliminary studies were drawings. Roosees described a grisaille painting corresponding to the *Scipio Africanus* (No. 116a).

1. Peiresc to Aleandro, 10 May 1624; Roosees-Ruelens, III, p. 292. The series, *Twelve Famous Greek and Roman Men*, is discussed in more detail in Ch. IV, pp. 142-152.

2. A.M. Logan, 'Prints after Rubens' [Review of I. Pohlen, *Untersuchungen zur Reproduktionsgraphik der Rubenswerkstatt (Beiträge zur Kunstwissenschaft, 6)*, Munich, 1985], *Print Quarterly*, V, 1988, p. 79, suggested that Vorsterman's four prints were 'probably engraved in the early 1620s'. This date is unlikely in my opinion: Rubens had started the engravings for his Gem Book in 1622, but the suggestion to add a few marble portrait busts was only made in 1624 (see note 1), at a moment when Vorsterman had long left the studio. He probably engraved the plates after his return to Antwerp in 1630 (cf. Hymans, *Vorsterman*, pp. 44-45). Renger, *Rubens Dedit*, p. 161, observed that the preliminary drawings

seem to be 'typisch für Rubens' Arbeitsweise am Ende seines Lebens...'

3. P. de Chennevières and A. de Montaiglon, *Abécédario de P.J. Mariette*, Paris, 1858-59, V, p. 118: 'Presque tous sont dans la collection du roy, retouchés de la main de Rubens avec une intelligence merveilleuse'; see also Roosees, V, p. 5.
4. Renger, *Rubens Dedit*, p. 163: 'Bolswert's Mitarbeit bei den hauptsächlich 1638 datierten Stichen lässt fragen, ob die Blätter als geschlossene Serie geplant waren...'. 'Gegen die Annahme einer Folge spricht zunächst das unterschiedliche Format der Blätter'.
5. Cf. A.M. Logan, op. cit., p. 80.
6. Bénard, *Paignon-Dijonval*, p. 66, no. 1343: 'Les bustes de Caton et de Socrate, d'après les marbres antiques: deux d. à la plume lavés de bistre sur papier blanc; h.7 po. sur 6 po.'

### 108. Head of Marcus Junius Brutus: Engraving (Fig. 189)

Engraving by L. Vorsterman I; 287 × 195 mm.; legend centre below: M. BRVTVS IMP. / *Ex marmore antiquo.*, bottom left: P.P. Rubens delin. / L. Vorstermans sculpsit A<sup>o</sup> 1638., bottom right: *Cum priuilegijs Regis Christianissimi. / Principum Belgarum et Ordinum Batauaiae.*

LITERATURE: *Le Comte, Cabinet*, I, p. 110; *Hecquet, Rubens*, p. 120, no. 43.3; *Basan*, p. 164, no. 6.10; *Del Marmol, Catalogue*, p. 79, no. 1101.10; *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, pp. 332-333, no. 1264; *V.S.*, p. 224, no. 25.10; *Dutuit*, VI, p. 209, no. 6.10; *Roosees*, V, p. 14, no. 1217; *Roosees, Vie*, p. 345; *Hymans, Vorsterman*, p. 121, no. 102; *Van den Wijngaert, Prentkunst*, p. 104, no. 743; N.T. de Grummond, [Cat. Exh.] *Prints after Rubens*, Chapel Hill, N.C., 1968, pp. 46-48, no. 37; B.L.D. Ihle, in *Cat. Exh. Rotterdam, 1969*, p. 41, no. 69; *Renger, Rubens Dedit*, p. 163; N.T. de Grummond, [Cat. Exh.] *Rubens in Prints*, Williamsburg, Va.- Little Rock, Ark., 1977, p. 9, no. 6; *Bodart, Incisione*, p. 80, no. 149, repr.; *Zijlstra-Zweens, Karakterkoppen*, p. 205; *Cat. Exh. Bremen, 1977*, p. 60, no. 57; *Pohlen, Untersuchungen*, p. 276, no. 46; *Bodart, Rubens, 1985-86*, pp. 69-70, no. 103, repr.

The head of a young man with short hair combed forward, an intense look in his eyes,

is seen in three-quarter view facing left. He is identified as *Marcus Iunius Brutus* on the print. Using the drawing now in St Petersburg (No. 108a; Fig. 188) Lucas Vorsterman I engraved the print, which shows the bust in mirror image. The drawing was copied closely, and only the cross-hatchings on the brow and forehead were reduced.

According to the legend, an antique sculpture with the portrait of Brutus served as model. The unidentified marble arguably belonged to Rubens and might be identical with a head he acquired from Sir Dudley Carleton in 1618.<sup>1</sup> The sculpture was probably included in the sale to the Duke of Buckingham in 1626, since a *Brutus* is listed in the 1635 indenture of the estate of the Duke.<sup>2</sup> A similar head is pictured on *The Sense of Sight* by Jan Brueghel and Rubens (Madrid, Prado; text ill. 84).

The effigy of Brutus (85 B.C.-42 B.C.), one of the slayers of Julius Caesar, is represented on Republican coins minted in 44-42 B.C.<sup>3</sup> The obverse of a silver denar, pictured on an engraving by Galle and described by Faber, might have been instrumental in Rubens's identification of the sculpture.<sup>4</sup> The profile shows the same coarse features. Bernoulli identified several marbles tentatively as Brutus: a togatus statue in Naples closely resembles the Brutus under consideration.<sup>5</sup>

The text identifying the portrait is the same as the legend on an *aureus* minted by Pedanius Costa (43-42 B.C.), reading 'M. BRVTVS IMP.' from which it could have been copied (see note 3).

Vorsterman's print belongs to a series of twelve picturing Famous Greek and Roman Men, of which he engraved four plates. The engraving of *Brutus* came out reasonably well.

1. The 1615 shipping list mentions: 'nella cassa no. 17 sono... 6 Testa di Brutto' (Muller, *Rubens's Museum*, p. 582).

2. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Rawlinson A 341, fol. 35v (see Appendix VII.1).

3. E.A. Sydenham, *The Coinage of the Roman Republic*, London, 1952 (reprint 1975), p. 202, no. 1295, pl. 30.

4. Faber, *Illustrium Imagines*, p. 50, pl. 82: 'M. IVNIVS BRVTVS'.

5. Bernoulli, *Römische Ikonographie*, I, p. 193, fig. 27.

### 108a. Head of Marcus Junius Brutus: Drawing (Fig. 188)

Pen and brown ink over main drawing in black chalk, washes; 257 × 165 mm.; below right collector's mark of Tsar Paul I (L.2061). Mounted (original Cobenzl mount).

St Petersburg, Hermitage, Print Room. Inv. No. 5461.

PROVENANCE: Count Charles Philippe Jean de Cobenzl (Ljubljana, 1712-Brussels, 1770); acquired by Catherine II of Russia in 1768.

COPY: Drawing, whereabouts unknown; pen in brown ink, grey washes over black and red chalk, 249 × 165 mm.; corners cut off diagonally. PROV. sale, London (Sotheby's), 21 March 1973, lot 54 (as *Vorsterman*); sale, Amsterdam (Mak van Waay), 3 May 1976, lot 216.

EXHIBITED: *Leningrad*, 1965, no. 38, pl. 24; *Zeichnungen aus der Ermitage zu Leningrad*, Berlin, 1975, no. 46, repr.; *Leningrad*, 1978, no. 119.

LITERATURE: Kuznetsov, *Drawings*, 1965, pp. 29-30, no. 38, pl. 24; Kuznetsov, *Risunki*, 1974, no. 145, repr.; Renger, *Rubens Dedit*, p. 165, n. 121; Logan, *Rubens Exhibitions*, 1978, p. 431, under no. 50 (as *not Rubens*).

The drawing shows the head of *Marcus Junius Brutus* in three-quarter view facing right. The pen sketch and the main drawing in black chalk are probably by Rubens. Logan rejected an attribution to the master himself.<sup>1</sup>

Lucas Vorsterman I used the sketch as the preparatory drawing for the print (No. 108; Fig. 189).

1. A. Balis also felt unsure about an attribution to Rubens (private communication). I have not had the chance to study this drawing in St Petersburg.

### 109. Bust of Julius Caesar: Engraving (Fig. 191)

Engraving by B. à Bolswert; 285 × 208 mm.; legend centre below: C. CAESAR DICT. PERPETVO. / *Ex marmore antiquo.*, bottom left: P.P. Rubens delin. / B a Bolswert sculpsit., bottom right: Cum priuilegiis Regis Christianissimi. / *Principum Belgarum et Ord. Batauaiae.*

COPIES: (1) Engraving by Thomas Holloway, 27 September 1788, in J.C. Lavater, *Essays on Physiognomy*, trans. H. Hunter, London, 1, 1789, facing p. 257; 269 × 228 mm.

(2) Anonymous engraving, in reverse, 353 × 216 mm.

LITERATURE: *Le Comte, Cabinet*, I, p. 110; *Hecquet, Rubens*, p. 120, no. 43.1; *Basan*, p. 164, no. 6.9; *Del Marmol, Catalogue*, p. 79, no. 1101.9; *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, pp. 332-333, no. 1264; *V.S.*, p. 224, no. 25.9; *Dutuit*, VI, p. 209, no. 6.9; *Rosenberg, Rubensstecher*, p. 99, repr.; *Rooses, V*, p. 14, no. 1216, pl. 350; *Rooses, Vie*, pp. 69 (repr.), 331, 345; *Van den Wijngaert, Prentkunst*, p. 30, no. 31; B.L.D. Ihle, in *Cat. Exh. Rotterdam*, 1969, p. 43, no. 70 B, pl. XVI b; [Cat. Exh.] *Prenten naar Rubens*, Museum Boymans-van Beuningen, Rotterdam, 1972, p. 4, no. 6; *Hollstein*, III, p. 69, no. 380; *Renger, Rubens Dedit*, p. 163; *Bodart, Incisione*, pp. 26-27, no. 22, repr.; *Zijlstra-Zweens, Karakterkoppen*, p. 205; B. Gaehtgens, in *Cat. Exh. Göttingen*, 1977, pp. 23-25, no. 3, fig. 2; *Cat. Exh. Bremen*, 1977, p. 59, no. 53; J. Heynen, in *Cat. Exh. Cologne*, 1977, II, p. 98, fig. 103; *Cat. Exh. Karlsruhe*, 1977-78, p. 27, no. 2; *Cat. Exh. Lisbon*, 1978, no. 6; *Pohlen, Untersuchungen*, p. 17, no. 3; [Cat. Exh.] *Prenten naar Rubens: 24 werken gegraveerd door de gebroeders à Bolswert*, Groningen-Leeuwarden, 1983, pp. 186-187, no. 3; *Bodart, Rubens*, 1985-86, p. 69, no. 102, repr.

The laureate head of a Roman emperor wearing a cuirass with a head of Medusa is seen nearly in profile facing left. The caption on the

print identifies the bust as *C. Julius Caesar*. Following the drawing in Paris closely (No. 109a; Fig. 190) Boetius à Bolswert engraved the plate which shows the bust in reverse.

The caption on the print reveals that the model for the drawing was a bust of *Julius Caesar*. This unidentified marble presumably belonged to Rubens's collection and was among the marbles he acquired from Sir Dudley Carleton in 1618.<sup>1</sup> The bust was probably included in the sale to the Duke of Buckingham in 1626, and is listed in the Indenture of the estate of the Duke in 1635 as a *Julius Caesar*.<sup>2</sup> Dubuisson-Aubenay noticed the bust in the Gallery during his visit to the Buckingham collection.<sup>3</sup>

Rubens's identification of the bust, probably not an antique,<sup>4</sup> might have been based on an engraving by Galle of a gem in the Farnese collection.<sup>5</sup> The caption on Bolswert's print is nearly the same as the legend on an *aureus* minted in 40 B.C., reading 'C. CAESAR DICT. PERP. PONT. MAX.'. Rubens omitted the last two words.<sup>6</sup>

This is the only print of the series engraved by Boetius à Bolswert, who died in 1633. It is a good example of his refined technique.

Rubens also drew the marble portrait of Caesar, seen from different angles, for physiognomical studies. Copies of these drawings are preserved in transcripts of his projected art-theoretical Notebook. The skin of the throat seen from the front and in side view was compared to the wattle of a bull (Fig. 193).<sup>7</sup> The facial similarities with a horse are noted on another sketch (Fig. 194).<sup>8</sup>

An artistic adaptation of the marble by Rubens is seen on a painting in Berlin (Fig. 195)<sup>9</sup> and an oil sketch that was formerly in Ludwig Burchard's collection.<sup>10</sup> Among the sketches after Roman coins there is also one of *Julius Caesar* (No. 188).

1. The 1615 shipping list mentions: 'Nella cassa no. 23 sono... 37 Testa di Giulio Cesare' (*Muller, Rubens's Museum*, p. 582).

2. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Rawlinson A 341, fol. 35r (see Appendix VII.1).

3. Halkin, *Dubuisson-Aubenay*, p. 184: 'Une [teste] de Jules César'.
4. Cf. H. von Heintze, 'Ein spätantikes Bildnis Caesars', in *Studies in Classical Art. A Tribute to P.H. von Blanckenhagen*, New York, 1979, pp. 291-304, pls. LXXXI,2-LXXXII,2 (Rome, Vatican Museum); R. West, *Römische Porträt Plastik*, Munich, 1933, p. 78, pl. XIX, no. 73. On falsifications of Caesar's portraits see E. Paul, *Gefälschte Antike*, Vienna-Munich, 1982, pp. 22-24.
5. Faber, *Illustrium Imagines*, p. 49, pl. 80: 'C. IVLIVS CAESAR'.
6. E.A. Sydenham, *The Coinage of the Roman Republic*, London, 1952 (reprint 1975), p. 206, no. 1321, pl. 30.
7. *MS Johnson*, fol. 73r (214.b), inscribed above bottom sketch: 'iulii celsaris', at top right: 'ex vacca'. Also *MS Johnson*, fol. 68r (211.b; Fig. 193), inscribed at bottom: 'iulius Cesar' (*Jaffé, Antwerp Sketchbook*, I, pl. LXVII); *MS de Ganay*, fol. 10r below (Fig. 194; see *Jombert, Figure humaine*, pl. I, in reverse).
8. *MS Johnson*, fol. 95r (234.a; Fig. 192), inscribed along the top: 'eodem loco qd cum viro comune habeat Equis...', below this on the right: 'facies quae ab equo / derivari dici potest / oportet ut... oblonga / naso longo et recto / osseo tum facies sicca et / gen[ae] oss[ae] delicata / et tenera' and on the left: 'Julius Cesar ex Equo'; *Van Dyck Antwerp Sketchbook*, fol. 66r (*Jaffé, Antwerp Sketchbook*, II, p. 242, repr.); *MS de Ganay*, fol. 10r (Fig. 194), inscribed at top right: 'Een Mans troni, vt een peerdts hooft / het welck merckelyc was in Julio Caesare. / die gemeinscappen syn alhier genotiert. / alsoo dat het aensicht, 'twelck vt een / peerdt genomen wort, moet langworpich / syn, met eenen langen rechten, ende been- / achtige[n] neuse, het aensicht ooc hert, ende / die kaecken beenachtich, nochtans delicaet / ende teer' (see *Jombert, Figure humaine*, pl. I, in reverse).
9. H. Börsch-Supan, *Die Gemälde im Jagdschloss Grunewald*, Berlin, [1964], pp. 12-14, no. 1, repr.
10. M. Jaffé, 'Rubens's Roman Emperors', *The Burlington Magazine*, CXIII, 1971, p. 300, fig. 2.

### 109a. Bust of Julius Caesar: Drawing (Fig. 190)

Pen and brown ink over main drawing in black chalk, brown and grey washes, heightened with white; 262 × 192 mm.; indented with the stylus; bottom left mark of Musée du Louvre (L.1886). — *Verso*: paraph of Jabach (L.2959). Watermark: two capital letters C entwined and crowned.

Paris, Musée du Louvre, Cabinet des Dessins. Inv. No. 20.225.

PROVENANCE: Everard Jabach (Cologne-Paris, 1610-1695), from whom acquired for the Royal French Collection in 1676 ('dessins de rebut').

EXHIBITED: *Brussels*, 1938-39, no. 6, repr.; *Rotterdam*, 1939, no. 6, repr.; *Paris*, 1954, no. 42; *Antwerp*, 1956, no. 99; *Paris*, 1978, no. 50.

LITERATURE: *Rooses*, V, p. 14, under no. 1216; *Rooses, Vie*, p. 69, repr.; *Michel, Rubens*, p. 80, repr.; *Glück-Haberdtztl*, p. 41, no. 100, repr.; *Lugt, Cat. Louvre, École flamande*, p. 30, no. 1085, pl. LI; *Van den Wijngaert, Prentkunst*, p. 30, under no. 31; *Burchard-d'Hulst, Tekeningen*, pp. 87-88, no. 99; *Miesel, Ancient Art*, p. 76, n. 155; *Miesel, Study Drawings*, p. 313; *Stechow, Rubens*, p. 35; *Renger, Rubens Dedit*, p. 165, n. 120, fig. 23; *Sérullaz, Rubens*, p. 59, no. 50, repr.; *Logan, Rubens Exhibitions*, 1978, p. 431, no. 50 ('retouches by Rubens'); C. Monbeig-Goguel and F. Viatte, *Dessins de la collection Everard Jabach acquis en 1671 pour la collection royale (Musée du Louvre. Cabinet des dessins: Répertoire systématique des fonds, I)*, Paris, 1978, unpag. ('Dessins dits de "rebut"', no. 20.225).

The drawing of the laureate head in brown ink is applied with a brush over an underlying sketch in black chalk. Lugt judged the chalk sketch too dry and uniform to be by Rubens's hand, but he attributed the brushwork to the master. Burchard first believed the drawing to be done by an engraver, although later he suggested that perhaps the corrections in brush were the work of the artist himself.<sup>1</sup> However, the hatching in a darker colour added to the cheek, jawline and neck are also rather shapeless and pedestrian, and in my opinion is not worthy of the master himself.

The drawing served as model for the engraving by Boetius à Bolswert, one in a series of twelve portrait busts of Famous Greek and Roman Men (Fig. 191). Several other preliminary drawings for this series are extant, but only the sheet in Paris<sup>2</sup> is executed with the brush and has coloured washes.

Burchard and d'Hulst dated the drawing to c.1624. This is acceptable, since Rubens was then working on the illustrations for a Gem Book and had considered adding portrait busts to the publication.<sup>3</sup>

1. His note of 1925: 'Nichts von Rubens selber, nur vom Stecher. Von ein- und derselben Hand sowohl aufgelegt als auch retuschiert'. Later: 'von Rubens vielleicht nur die Korrektur mit Tinte'.
2. Everard Jabach probably acquired it at the sale of Rubens's collection of drawings on August 1657 (cf. *Rooses*, V, p. 4; *Mielke-Winner*, p. 6).
3. Peiresc to Aleandro, 10 May 1624 (*Rooses-Ruelens*, III, p. 292): only the *Demosthenes* (No. 112) is mentioned by name.

### 110. Bust of 'Cicero' (Julius Caesar?): Engraving (Fig. 196)

Engraving by H. Witdoeck; 335 × 228 mm.; legend centre below: M. TVLLIVS CICERO. / *Ex marmore antiquo.*, bottom left: *P.P. Rubens delin.* / *H. Witdoeck sculp.* Ao. 1638, bottom right: *Cum priuilegiis Regis Christianissimi. / Principum Belgarum et Ord. Bataviae.* States: I before lettering and retouching (see No. 110b); II as described.

COPIES: (1) Drawing, whereabouts unknown; brush and grey ink; inscribed: *Rubens*. PROV. Art market, London, 1940 (seen by Burchard).

(2) Mezzotint engraving (in reverse) by J. Faber Senior (c.1650-1721). LIT. *V.S.*, p.224, no. 26; *Le Blanc, Manuel*, II, p. 208, no. 1; *Wurzbach*, I, p. 524, no. 1; *Rooses*, V, p. 16.

(3) Engraving by J.-J. Flipart (1719-1782); LIT. *Blanc, Manuel*, II, p. 240, no. 11.

(4) Engraving by L.J. Cathelin, dated 1762. LIT. *V.S.*, p. 141, no. 43; *Rooses*, V, p. 14, under no. 1215.

(5) Anonymous engraving, published by Colnaghi (18th century). LIT. *V.S.*, p. 141, no. 44bis; *Rooses*, V, pp. 13-14, under no. 1215.

LITERATURE: *Le Comte, Cabinet*, I, p. 110; *Hecquet, Rubens*, p. 120, no. 43.5; *Basan*, p. 164, no. 6.8; *Del Marmol, Catalogue*, p. 79, no. 1101.8; *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, pp. 332-333, no.

1264; *V.S.*, p. 223, no. 25.8; *Dutuit*, VI, p. 209, no. 6.8; *Rooses*, V, pp. 13-14, no. 1215; *Rooses, Vie*, p. 345; *Van den Wijngaert, Prentkunst*, p. 106, no. 771; B.L.D. Ihle, in *Cat. Exh. Rotterdam*, 1969, p. 44, no. 72; *Renger, Rubens Dedit*, p. 163; *Bodart, Incisione*, p. 147, no. 315, repr.; B. Gaetgens, in *Cat. Exh. Göttingen*, 1977, p. 119, no. 84, fig. 47; *Zijlstra-Zweens, Karakterkoppen*, p. 204; J. Heynen, in *Cat. Exh. Cologne*, 1977, II, p. 97, fig. 102; *Cat. Exh. Lisbon*, 1978, no. 101; *Pohlen, Untersuchungen*, pp. 283-284, no. 50; *Bodart, Rubens*, 1985-86, p. 69, no. 101; J.M. Muller, *Rubens: The Artist as Collector*, Princeton, N.J., p. 151, under no. 8, fig. 131.

The bust of a man with sleek short hair and a fringed scarf around the neck is seen in three-quarter view facing right. The caption below identifies the portrait as *M. Tullius Cicero*. According to the legend Hans Witdoeck engraved the print after a preparatory drawing by Rubens. This drawing is not known, but it probably pictured the bust in mirror image to the print.

The source was an antique marble, as the caption reveals. From the correspondence with Peiresc it is known that a head of *Cicero* belonged to Rubens's collection.<sup>1</sup> The artist promised to send the French scholar a drawing of it.<sup>2</sup>

The effigy of the Roman orator (106-43 B.C.) was known from a bronze coin, minted in Magnesia on the Siplyos (Asia Minor) in 27 B.C. with the name inscribed in full in Greek letters on the legend.<sup>3</sup> Such a coin was in the possession of Fulvio Orsini and was published by Faber (Fig. 232).<sup>4</sup> In identifying his sculpture Rubens probably based his interpretation on this coin, which bears a strong resemblance to his marble. However, a bust inscribed 'CICERO' belonging to the collection of Cyriacus Mattei, also illustrated in Faber, pictures the orator with a balding head.<sup>5</sup> A bust in Berlin is very similar to the one on Witdoeck's print; it is a Renaissance creation and portrays *Julius Caesar* (Fig. 197).<sup>6</sup>

The legend in the centre below is similar to the one on Galle's print, which originates with coins.<sup>7</sup>

The print is one of two plates Witdoeck engraved for the set of twelve engravings with Famous Greek and Roman Men. It is dated 1638, a year in which Witdoeck was active in Rubens's workshop (1635-1640).

1. Peiresc to Gevaerts, 17 January 1620 (*Rooses-Ruelens*, II, p. 240).
2. Peiresc to Gevaerts, 3 October 1620 (*ibid.*, p. 257).
3. *Bernoulli, Römische Ikonographie*, I, p. 134, Coinplate II, no. 49; H. Mattingly, *Roman Coins*, London, 1928 (reprint 1960), pp. 196, 298, pl. LI, 4; E.Q. Visconti, in *Römische Porträts*, Darmstadt, 1974, pp. 50-52, n. 22, 4.
4. *Faber, Illustrium Imagines*, pp. 80-85, pl. R: 'M. TVLLIVS CICERO / Apud Fuluium Vrsinum / in nomismate aereo'.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 81, pl. 146. The Mattei bust is now in the Wellington Museum (Apsley House) in London. The inscription is condemned as a 16th-century falsification (H.R. Goette, 'Zum Bildnis des "Cicero"', *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Römische Abteilung*, XCII, 1985, pp. 294-298).
6. B. Gaetgens, in *Cat. Exh. Göttingen, 1977*, p. 119, no. 84, fig. 47a. On the falsifications of Cicero's portraits see E. Paul, *Gefälschte Antike*, Vienna-Munich, 1982, pp. 23-24, pl. 24.
7. Cf. *Ursinus, Imagines*, p. 80, no. 2, showing a coin inscribed 'M. TVLLIM CICERO'.

### 110a. Bust of 'Cicero' (Julius Caesar?): Drawing

Technique and measurements unknown.  
*Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.*

An engraving by Hans Witdoeck (No. 110; Fig. 196) with the portrait sculpture of Cicero was made, according to the legend, after a preparatory drawing by Rubens, but no such drawing is known.

### 110b. Bust of 'Cicero' (Julius Caesar?): Retouched Engraving (Fig. 198)

Engraving (No. 110, State I), washes in black and white paint with brush; 335 × 228 mm.; bottom left inscribed in pen and ink: 262.8; bottom centre early 19th-century mark of the Print Room of the Bibliothèque Nationale (L.408).

*Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Estampes. CC 34 j réserve fol. 115, Inv. No. C 10.516.*

PROVENANCE: P.J. Mariette (Paris, 1694-1775); acquired for the Royal Collection in 1775.

LITERATURE: *Rooses*, V, p. 15; *Van den Wijngaert, Prentkunst*, p. 106, under no. 771; *Renger, Rubens Dedit*, p. 167, fig. 28; *Zijlstra-Zweens, Karakterkoppen*, p. 205; *Pohlen, Untersuchungen*, p. 283, under no. 50.

After Hans Witdoeck finished engraving the plate with the bust of Cicero, a proof impression *avant la lettre* was made. On this proof Rubens indicated several corrections he wanted to have made. Shadows were added on the right in black paint, the contour of the throat and nose were slightly narrowed, the right brow and eyes were touched up and the contour of the neck raised. A major change was made to the drapery on the right shoulder, which was considerably expanded. On the final state of the print the fringe clearly extends over the earlier background (Fig. 196).

### 111. Bust of 'Democritus': Engraving (Fig. 201)

Engraving by L. Vorsterman; 263 × 209 mm.; legend centre below: DEMOCRITVS GELASINVS ABDERITES / *Ex marmore antiquo.*, bottom left: *P.P. Rubens delin. / L. Vorsterman sculp.*, bottom

right: *Cum privilegijs Regis Christianissimi./ Principum Belgarum. et Ord. Bataviae.*

COPIES: (1) Anonymous drawing (Fig. 200),<sup>1</sup> St Petersburg, Hermitage, Print Room, Inv. No. 5459; pen in black ink over main drawing in black chalk, 242 × 199 mm.; below right collector's mark of Tsar Paul I (L.2061); mounted (original Cobenzl mount). PROV. Count Charles Philippe Jean de Cobenzl (Ljubljana, 1712-Brussels, 1770); acquired by Catherine II of Russia in 1768.

(2) Engraving (in reverse) by B. Kilian II after a drawing by J. Sandrart, in *Sandrart, Teutsche Academie*, 1679, pl. I facing p. 52. LIT. *Hollstein, German*, XVI, p. 203, no. 710.

(3) Mezzotint engraving (in reverse) by J. Faber Senior (c.1650-1721). LIT. *V.S.*, p. 224, no. 26; *Blanc, Manuel*, II, p. 208, no. 1; *Wurzbach*, I, p. 524, no. 1; *Rooses*, V, p. 16.

(4) Engraving by J.H. Lips, 1777. LIT. *Rooses*, V, p. 12, under no. 1210; *Bodart, Rubens*, 1985-86, p. 68, under no. 96.

(5) Engraving (in reverse) by W. Blake, in J.C. Lavater, *Essays on Physiognomy*, trans. H. Hunter, London, I, 1789, pl. 25 facing p. 159. LIT. G. Keynes, *A Bibliography of W. Blake*, New York, 1921, p. 234.

(6) Anonymous engraving (in reverse), inscribed *Tom.5 Pl. 232*.

LITERATURE: *Le Comte, Cabinet*, I, p. 110; *Hecquet, Rubens*, p. 120, no. 43.10; *Basan*, p. 164, no. 6.3; *Del Marmol, Catalogue*, p. 79, no. 1101.3; *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, pp. 332-333, no. 1264; *V.S.*, p. 223, no. 25.3; *Dutuit*, VI, p. 208, no. 6.3; *Rosenberg, Rubensstecher*, p. 59, repr.; *Hymans, Vorsterman*, p. 122, no. 103; *Rooses*, V, p. 12, no. 1210; *Rooses, Vie*, p. 345; H. Knackfuss, *Rubens*, Bielefeld-Leipzig, 1903, p. 7, pl. 4; *Van den Wijngaert, Prentkunst*, p. 104, no. 744; B.L.D. Ihle, in *Cat. Exh. Rotterdam*, 1969, p. 45, no. 73 B; *Renger, Rubens Dedit*, p. 163; *Bodart, Incisione*, pp. 79-80, no. 147, repr.; *Zijlstra-Zweens, Karakterkoppen*, p. 203; *Rowlands, Rubens Drawings*, p. 93, under no. 110; *Cat. Exh. Bremen*, 1977, p. 63, no. 62; *Van*

*Gelder-Jost, Jan de Bisschop*, pp. 277-278, under no. 51; *Pohlen, Untersuchungen*, p. 278, no. 47; *Bodart, Rubens*, 1985-86, pp. 67-68, no. 96, repr.

The draped bust of a balding, elderly man is seen in three-quarter view facing left. He has a short, curly beard and a tuft of hair on top of his head. A triangular niche is indicated in contour only, and it can be concluded that the plate remained unfinished. An anonymous drawing may have served as model for the engraving (No. 111a, Copy; Fig. 199). The print shows the herm in mirror image.

The legend identifies the laughing man as Democritus. The half-opened mouth is characteristic of the philosopher, who was described by Sidonius Apollinaris (*Epistolae*, IX: 14) as 'risu labris apertis'.

The marble possibly belonged to Rubens's collection, although there is no evidence to back up this supposition. Blankert pointed out that it is the first portrait to be identified as Democritus.<sup>2</sup> The same bust, now on a pedestal, was engraved by Jan de Bisschop<sup>3</sup> and is featured on J. de Lairese's *Allegory of Drawing*.<sup>4</sup>

No certified portrait of Democritus is known and the sculpture was probably not antique, in spite of the legend on the print.<sup>5</sup> Also, the identification may not be correct, for the head with its Silenic features could represent Socrates.

In 1603, Rubens painted a *Heraclitus and Democritus* in which the head of Democritus is of a different type.<sup>6</sup> Alpers suggested that the facial type of a later *Democritus* (Madrid, Prado), which Rubens painted for the Torre de la Parada in 1636, was derived from the bust.<sup>7</sup>

The text identifying the bust on the engraving (Fig. 201) reads 'The laughing Democritus from Abdera'. It departs from Rubens's usual phrasing as the patronym is missing. The birthplace of Democritus was Abdera. Classical sources attest to this, but they are not in agreement on the name of his father. 'Gelasinus' (with a dimple), a word used by Martial

(*Epigrams*, VII: 25, 6), was a fitting epithet for the philosopher and replaced the patronym.

The *Democritus* is the least successful of the four prints Vorsterman engraved for the series of Twelve Famous Greek and Roman Men. The rather ugly head is emphasized by the light background.

1. I thank Alexey Larionov for bringing this drawing to my attention; he ascribed it to Lucas Vorsterman I. See No. 115, Copy 3 for its companion.
2. A. Blankert, 'Heraclitus en Democritus', *Nederlands kunsthistorisch jaarboek*, XVIII, 1967, p. 50, fig. 49.
3. *Van Gelder-Jost, Jan de Bisschop*, pp. 277-278, under no. 51.
4. E. de Jongh, 'The artist's apprentice and Minerva's secret: an allegory of drawing by Jan de Lairese', *Simiolus*, XIII, 1983, p. 208, figs. 5, 9 and 10.
5. *Richter, Portraits of the Greeks*, I, p. 120. A coin allegedly minted in Abdera is listed in Orsini's collection (*De Nolhac, Orsini*, p. 196, fol. 81, no. 256: 'Ma. de Abderiti con testa di Democrito, nel rouescio un grifo').
6. Presumably the painting now in Princeton, Collection Mr and Mrs J. Seward Johnson (*Jaffé, Rubens and Italy*, p. 68, fig. 222; *Bodart, Rubens, 1985-86*, no. 4).
7. *Alpers, Torre*, p. 269, no. 61, fig. 195.

## 111a. Bust of 'Democritus': Drawing

Technique and measurements unknown.

*Whereabouts unknown, presumably lost.*

COPY: Drawing, whereabouts unknown (Fig. 199); pen and brown ink, 295 × 224 mm.; indented with a stylus; bottom left collector's dry mark of Thomas Lawrence (L.2445) and inscribed in ink: *VH* (in monogram) *31 march 1838*. PROV. Paignon-Dijonval (Paris, 1708-1792); his grandson, Ch.G. Vicomte Morel de Vindé (Paris, 1759-1842); acquired from the latter by Samuel Woodburn (London, 1786-1853) in 1816, and sold to Sir Thomas Lawrence (London, 1769-1830); acquired from his estate by S. Woodburn in 1835; C.S. Bale (London, 1791-1880), sale London (Christie's), 9 June 1881, lot 2448; London, art dealer (1930); Ludwig Burchard (1886-1960, London). EXH. *London, 1835*, no. 36; ?London, March 1838

(Woodburn's exhibition of the Lawrence Collection). LIT. *Bénard, Paignon-Dijonval*, p. 66, no. 1343; [S. Woodburn], [Cat. Exh.] *The Lawrence Gallery. First Exhibition. A Catalogue of One Hundred Original Drawings by Sir P.P. Rubens, Collected by Sir Thomas Lawrence*, (Royal Academy, London, 1835), p. 14, no. 36 (as 'Socrates'); G.F. Waagen, *Kunstwerke und Künstler in England und Paris*, Berlin, I, 1837, p. 447 (as 'Socrates').

The drawing from the Lawrence collection (Copy; Fig. 199) shows the bust of *Democritus* in three-quarter view facing right; it may have served as model for the engraving by Lucas Vorsterman I (Fig. 201). On the print Rubens is credited with the preparatory drawing.

Burchard did not accept the drawing under discussion as a work by the master, and proposed that the author was Lucas Vorsterman I. The technique seems too coarse for Vorsterman (cf. No. 115a, Copy 2; Fig. 214), but the hatchings certainly suggest that an engraver made the drawing.<sup>1</sup> Its pedigree is partly the same as that of the herm of 'Plato' (No. 115a, Copy 2).<sup>2</sup>

The head of *Democritus* is also drawn more from the front on a Rubens sketch in London (No. 120; Fig. 236).

1. G.F. Waagen, loc. cit., saw the drawing at the 1835 exhibition of the art dealer Woodburn and remarked: 'Einige andere Zeichnungen haben meinem Gefühl nach gar nichts mit Rubens zu schaffen, wie ein Kopf des Socrates, der mit der Feder in der regelmässigen Art eines Kupferstechers aus der Schule des Golzius gemacht ist'.
2. In the early literature the drawing has been identified as *Socrates*. Cf. *Bénard, Paignon-Dijonval*, p. 66, no. 1343: 'Les bustes de Caton et de Socrate, d'après les marbres antiques: deux d. à la plume lavés de bistre sur papier blanc; h. 7 po. sur 6 po'; *The Lawrence Gallery*, op. cit., p. 14, no. 36: 'Bust of Socrates - a highly finished Drawing, great expression: engraved, and was among the acquisitions made by the Duke of Buckingham, of Rubens. Finished pen. Size, 11 1/8 inches by 8 3/4 inches. From the collection of Marquis Vindé'. Sales catalogue C.S. Bale, London (Christie's), 9 June 1881, lot 2448: 'HEAD OF SOCRATES From the Duke of Buckingham's and Sir T. Lawrence's Collections'. Burchard ident-



ified the drawing as depicting the bust of *Democritus*.

## 112. Herm of 'Demosthenes' (Anakreon): Engraving (Fig. 205)

Engraving by H. Witdoeck; 331 × 232 mm.; legend centre below: DEMOSTHENES DEMOSTHENIS F. ATHENIENSIS ORATOR. / *Ex marmore antiquo. apud D. NICOLAVM ROCKOXIVM. Antuerpiae., bottom left: P.P. Rubens delineavit. / H. Witthouck sculpsit. A<sup>o</sup>. 1638., bottom right: Cum priuilegiis Regis Christianissimi. / Principum Belgarum et Ord. Batauaiae. States: I before lettering and retouching (see No. 112 b); II as described.*

COPIES: (1) Engraving (in reverse) by B. Kilian II after a drawing by J. Sandrart, in *Sandrart, Teutsche Academie*, 1679, pl. H, facing p. 50. LIT. *Hollstein, German*, XVI, p. 203, no. 709.

(2) Mezzotint engraving (in reverse) by J. Faber Senior (c.1650-1721). LIT. *V.S.*, p. 224, no. 26; *Le Blanc, Manuel*, II, p. 208, no. 1; *Wurzbach*, I, p. 524, no. 1; *Rooses*, V, p. 16.

(3) Anonymous engraving published by Colnaghi (18th century). LIT. *Rooses*, V, p. 13, under no. 1213; *Bodart, Rubens*, 1985-86, p. 68, under no. 99.

LITERATURE: *Le Comte, Cabinet*, I, p. 110; *Hecquet, Rubens*, p. 120, no. 43.7; *Basan*, p. 164, no. 6.6; *Del Marmol, Catalogue*, p. 79, no. 1101.6; *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, pp. 332-333, no. 1264; *V.S.*, p. 223, no. 25.6; *Dutuit*, VI, p. 209, no. 6.6; *Rooses*, V, p. 13, no. 1213, fig. 349; H. Knackfuss, *Rubens*, Bielefeld-Leipzig, 1903, p. 10, fig. 5; *Rooses, Vie*, p. 345; *Van den Wijngaert, Prentkunst*, p. 106, no. 772; *Miesel, Ancient Art*, p. 13, n. 33; *Renger, Rubens Dedit*, p. 163; [Cat. Exh.] *Bilder nach Bildern*, Münster, 1976, no. 146, repr.; *Bodart, Incisione*, p. 147, no. 314, repr.; *Zijlstra-Zweens, Karakterkoppen*, p. 204; *Scheller, Rockox*, p. 23, fig. 6; R. Scheller, 'Rubens tekent Demosthenes', *Gentse bijdragen tot de kunstgeschiedenis*, XXIV, 1976-78, pp. 204-205; B. Gaehtgens, in *Cat. Exh. Göttingen*, 1977, p. 121,

no. 85, fig. 47b; *Cat. Exh. Bremen*, 1977, no. 64; J. Heynen, in *Cat. Exh. Cologne*, 1977, II, p. 98, fig. 100; *Cat. Exh. Lisbon*, 1978, no. 102; *Pohlen, Untersuchungen*, pp. 285-286, no. 51; *Bodart, Rubens*, 1985-86, pp. 68-69, no. 99, repr.

Hans Witdoeck's engraving of a herm with the bearded, balding, head of a middle-aged man in frontal view was possibly made after a drawing by Rubens (No. 112a).

The herm is identified on the print as *Demosthenes*. The legend also indicates that the sculpture was in possession of Nicolaas Rockox, the burgomaster of Antwerp (1560-1640), who owned a number of antiquities. The Demosthenes herm is the first item on the inventory of his *marmora antiqua*.<sup>1</sup>

The sculpture entered Rockox's collection sometime in 1621 or 1622, as the new acquisition is first mentioned in a letter by Peiresc of 22 April 1622.<sup>2</sup> The French scholar considered it a most interesting piece and often discussed it in his correspondence with Rubens. He asked the artist for a drawing and shortly thereafter received a cast in wax of the herm.<sup>3</sup> Although Peiresc did not doubt the sculpture to be antique, he questioned the authenticity of a Greek inscription engraved on the shaft. He was also nonplussed about the semi-baldness.<sup>4</sup> Rubens pointed to Plutarch's *Life of Demosthenes* where the orator is described as having shaved off half of his hair.<sup>5</sup> Apparently neither of the scholars disagreed with the identification of the portrait as Demosthenes (384-322 B.C.).<sup>6</sup>

In a letter of 10 May 1624 to Aleandro, Peiresc alluded to the possibility that marble portrait busts of royal or famous people from Antiquity would be added to the Gem Book (see Vol. I, Ch. IV, p. 136). He mentioned only the herm of *Demosthenes* by name.<sup>7</sup>

At the time of Rockox's death the sculpture was displayed in the upstairs front room of his house, the *Gulden Rinck* on the Keizerstraat.<sup>8</sup> Frans Francken's painting, *The Art Gallery of Rockox* (Munich, Alte Pinakothek; text ill. 87), pictures the herm placed on a shelf

between the door and the window.<sup>9</sup> After Rockox's death the herm was sent with another sixty sculptures to Sweden and came into the possession of Queen Christina.<sup>10</sup> It is now in the National Museum in Stockholm (Fig. 203). The sculpture, an original of the fourth century B.C., is now identified as the likeness of Anakreon.<sup>11</sup> The modern shaft with falsified inscription has been removed. A cast in Antwerp (Museum Plantin-Moretus) records the 17th-century appearance of the herm (Fig. 202).<sup>12</sup>

In comparing Witdoeck's representation (showing the herm in mirror image) with the original marble, several discrepancies are obvious. The skull is too high and too square in shape. The fillet running around the head is omitted and the curly hair and beard are more exuberant on the print. In short, the marble head is none too faithfully copied by Witdoeck; for this reason the sculpture, although already published in 1911,<sup>13</sup> went unrecognized as the model for the print for so long.<sup>14</sup>

The text of the legend, 'Demosthenes, the son of Demosthenes, orator from Athens', is not known from inscriptions on sculptures, and was probably composed in the Greek fashion by Rubens using information from Plutarch.<sup>15</sup> The word 'orator' was added to distinguish him from another Demosthenes, also a native of Athens, who was a commander in the Peloponnesian war.

Witdoeck's print belongs to the series of twelve Famous Greek and Roman Men, for which he engraved two plates. The herm, seen full face, looks rather massive and makes the print one of the least successful of the set.

1. Scheller, *Rockox*, p. 69, fig. 23.
2. Peiresc to Rubens, 22 April 1622 (*Rooses-Ruelens*, II, p. 390).
3. Peiresc to Rubens, 9 June 1622 (*ibid.*, p. 435); Peiresc to Rubens, 8 July 1622 (*ibid.*, p. 456); Peiresc to Rubens, 15 July 1622 (*ibid.*, p. 460).
4. Peiresc to Rubens, 21 July 1622 (*ibid.*, p. 468); Peiresc to De Maugis, 27 July 1622 (*ibid.*, III, p. 4).
5. Peiresc to Rubens, 29 July 1622 (*ibid.*, III, p. 6); Peiresc to Rubens, 4 August 1622 (*ibid.*, pp. 12-13). For the passage on the Greek orator see Plutarch, *Lives*,

trans. by Dryden, revised by A.H. Clough, New York, 1854, p. 1026.

6. The iconography of Demosthenes was established in 1753 after the discovery of an inscribed herm. See Richter, *Portraits of the Greeks*, II, pp. 217-218, no. 12, figs. 1438-1440; the author does not make any mention of the semi-baldness. No other sculpture seems to exist of a semi-bald Demosthenes.
7. Peiresc to Aleandro, 10 May 1624 (*Rooses-Ruelens*, III, pp. 292-294). As Rooses pointed out, Witdoeck's print of *Demosthenes* had not yet been made at that time.
8. Scheller, *Rockox*, pp. 74-76; Denucé, *Konstkamers*, p. 90. O. Neverov, 'Dai tesori d'arte di Cristina di Svezia', *Xenia, Semestrle di Antichità*, VII, 1984, p. 80, erroneously stated that the *Demosthenes* herm belonged to Rubens's collection.
9. M. Varshavskaya, *Van Dyck Paintings in the Hermitage* [in Russian], Leningrad, 1963, p. 104, repr.; Scheller, *Rockox*, figs. 7-8.
10. H.H. Brummer, 'Till belysning av drottning Christinas antiksamling i Stockholm', *Konsthistorisk Tidskrift*, XXXII, 1963, pp. 16-33, fig. 2.
11. Richter, *Portraits of the Greeks*, I, p. 77, no. 9, figs. 281-282 (Inv. No. NM sk 65); Scheller, *Rockox*, p. 25, figs. 10-11. The hair on the left side of the marble is clearly filed down. The portrait of Anakreon was certified with the discovery of an inscribed herm in 1884. See Richter, *Portraits of the Greeks*, I, p. 76, no. 1, figs. 271, 272, 274.
12. Scheller, *Rockox*, p. 27, figs. 13-14.
13. H. Brising, *Antik Konst i National Museum*, Stockholm, 1911, pp. 101-102, no. 65, fig. XLIII.
14. Scheller, *Rockox*, pp. 21-27.
15. Hülsen, *Hermeninschriften*, p. 181, nos. 45\* and 46\*.

## 112a. Herm of 'Demosthenes' (Anakreon): Drawing

Technique and measurements unknown.  
Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.

According to the legend on the engraving by Hans Witdoeck of a herm of *Demosthenes* (No. 112; Fig. 205), a drawing by Rubens served as model. This drawing is not known.<sup>1</sup>

From Peiresc's letter to Aleandro of 10 May 1624, Burchard concluded that a preparatory drawing of the Demosthenes herm existed at that time. He believed it to have been comparable to the half-page illustration of a herm of Euripides in *Faber, Illustrium Imagines*, pl.

60, that was also reproduced in *Rubenius, De Re Vestiaria*, p. 161 (see also No. 204).

1. An illustration in *Michel, Rubens* (p. 93), identified as a drawing by Rubens in the Louvre, in fact shows the proof print (No. 112b; Fig. 204) in reverse.

### 112b. Herm of 'Demosthenes' (Anakreon): Retouched Engraving (Fig. 204)

Engraving (No. 112, State I); washes in black and white paint with the brush; 331 × 232 mm.; bottom left in pen and ink: 263.8; bottom centre early 19th-century mark of the Print Room of the Bibliothèque Nationale (L.409). *Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Estampes*. CC 34 j réserve, fol. 113, Inv. No. C.10.518.

PROVENANCE: P.J. Mariette (Paris, 1694-1775); acquired for the Royal Collection in 1775.

LITERATURE: *Rooses*, V, p. 15; *Michel, Rubens*, p. 93 (repr. in reverse); *Van den Wijngaert, Prentkunst*, p. 106, under no. 772; *Renger, Rubens Dedit*, p. 167, fig. 22; *Zijlstra-Zweens, Karakterkoppen*, p. 205; *Pohlen, Untersuchungen*, pp. 285-286, under no. 51.

A proof print *avant la lettre* was made after Hans Witdoeck engraved the plate with the herm of *Demosthenes*. Rubens was far from satisfied with the results and indicated corrections he wished to have made on the proof print. These alterations were rather drastic. On the left side of the head excessive curls were blocked out with white paint; in pen and ink an ear was drawn, and curls were added to the beard. On the right side additional curls were drawn below and above the ear. But the largest modification concerned the left shoulder, which was originally undraped and considerably lower: the contour was raised and the drapery was extended thus matching the height of the right shoulder. A more balanced picture of the apparently lop-sided

sculpture was created this way.<sup>1</sup> The corrections implemented on the plate are still rather visible (Fig. 205).

1. An engraving by Lucas Vorsterman I of 1625 with the *Portrait of Nicolaas Rockox* shows the herm with the sagging left shoulder (M. Hendrickx, 'Recherches sur le portrait de Rockox par Antoine Van Dyck', *Académie royale de Belgique, Bulletin de la Classe des Beaux-Arts*, XXI, 1939, p. 82, fig. 1; *Scheller, Rockox*, figs. 4-5).

### 113. Herm of 'Hippocrates' (Lysias?): Engraving (Fig. 207)

Engraving by P. Pontius; 308 × 218 mm.; legend centre below: HIPPOCRATES HIRACLIDAE F. COVS. / *Ex marmore antiquo.*, bottom left: .PP.[sic] *Rubens delineavit.* / *P. Pontius sculp. A<sup>o</sup>. 1638.*, bottom right: *Cum priuilegijs Regis Christianiss. / Principum Belgarum. et Ord. Bataviae.*

COPIES: (1) Engraving (in reverse) by B. Kilian II after a drawing by J. Sandrart, in *Sandrart, Teutsche Academie*, 1679, pl. H facing p. 50; LIT: *Hollstein, German*, XVI, p. 203, no. 709.

(2) Mezzotint engraving (in reverse) by J. Faber Senior (c.1650-1721). LIT. *V.S.*, p. 224, no. 26; *Le Blanc, Manuel*, II, p. 208, no. 1; *Wurzbach*, I, p. 524, no. 1; *Rooses*, V, p. 16.

(3) Engraving by G. van der Gucht. LIT. *V.S.*, p. 139, no. 26; *Rooses*, V, p. 13, under no. 1211.

LITERATURE: *Le Comte, Cabinet*, I, p. 110; *Hecquet, Rubens*, p. 120, no. 43.11; *Basan*, p. 164, no. 6.4; *Del Marmol, Catalogue*, p. 79, no. 1101.4; *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, p. 332, no. 1264; *V.S.*, p. 223, no. 25.4; *Dutuit*, VI, p. 208, no. 6.4; *Rooses*, V, p. 13, no. 1211; *Rooses, Vie*, p. 345; *Van den Wijngaert, Prentkunst*, p. 84, no. 554; B.L.D. Ihle, in *Cat. Exh. Rotterdam*, 1969, p. 46; no. 76; *Hollstein*, XVII, p. 199, no. 152; *Renger, Rubens Dedit*, p. 163; *Bodart, Incisione*, p. 111, no. 232, repr.; *Zijlstra-Zweens, Karakterkoppen*, p. 203; *Cat. Exh. Bremen*, 1977, p. 62, no. 61; J. Heynen, in *Cat. Exh. Cologne*, 1977, II, p. 98, fig. 99; *Pohlen, Untersuchungen*, p. 237,

no. 26; *Bodart, Rubens, 1985-86*, p. 68, no. 97, repr.

The herm with the balding, bearded head of a middle-aged man is seen nearly in profile facing left. According to the legend it was engraved by Paul Pontius after a preparatory drawing by Rubens.

The marble is identified as *Hippocrates* and it probably belonged to Rubens's collection. The same herm is featured on Rubens's *Portrait of Ludovicus Nonnius* (London, National Gallery; Fig. 206) where it is seen from the same angle. There a Greek inscription on the side of the shaft reads ΠΠΟΚΡΑΤΗΞ [sic]. This text is missing on Pontius' print, which shows the herm in mirror image. On the painting, *Venus and Cupid in the Gallery of an Art Collector* (Philadelphia, J.J. Johnson Collection; text ill. 86) by Jan Brueghel II, a similar marble of Hippocrates stands on the second shelf on the left.

The legend identifying the portrait as the Greek physician reads: 'Hippocrates, the son of Herakleidos from Cos'. No similar inscription is known, except for a spurious one recorded by Pirro Ligorio. It is doubtful whether Rubens could have known it, and he might have composed the text himself in the Greek fashion using the full name with patronym.

The bust resembled the effigy on a coin inscribed 'ΠΠΟΚΡΑΤΗΣ' engraved by Galle (Fig. 233).<sup>1</sup> The identification of the herm, however, is incorrect. The balding head with locks of hair parted above the right ear is a tell-tale mark of portraits now recognized as Lysias.<sup>2</sup>

Pontius' print came out looking very handsome and is the best of the five plates he contributed to the series of Famous Greek and Roman Men. It compares well to Vorsterman's engraving of *Plato* (No. 115; Fig. 215).

1. *Faber, Illustrium Imagines*, p. 45, pl. 71: 'HIPPOCRATES', illustrating a bronze coin allegedly minted in Cos in Orsini's collection (*De Nolhac, Orsini*, p. 212, fol. 121, no. 6: 'Ma. de Coi con testa d'Hipocrate, nel rouerscio un serpe auoltato à una

bachetta ΚΩΙΩΝ'). This coin is not mentioned by Richter (see note 2).

2. *Richter, Portraits of the Greeks*, II, p. 208, no. 2, figs. 1343-1345 (Rome, Capitoline Museum). The inscription is considered spurious (*Hülsen, Hermeninschriften*, p. 188, no. 82\*).

### 113a. Herm of 'Hippocrates' (Lysias?): Drawing

Technique and measurements unknown.  
*Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.*

An unknown preparatory drawing by Rubens served as model for the engraving by Paul Pontius of a herm of *Hippocrates* (No. 113; Fig. 207).

### 114. Head of Nero: Engraving (Fig. 211)

Engraving by P. Pontius; 312 × 200 mm.; legend centre below: IMP. NERO CAESAR AVGVSTVS. / *Ex marmore antiquo.*, bottom left: *P.P. Rubens delineauit. / P. Pontius sculpsit. A<sup>o</sup>. 1638.*, bottom right: *Cum priuilegiis Regis Christianissimi. / Principum Belgarum et Ord. Bataviae.* States: I before lettering and retouching (see No. 114b); II as described.

LITERATURE: *Le Comte, Cabinet*, I, p. 110; *Hecquet, Rubens*, p. 120, no. 43.4; *Basan*, p. 164, no. 6.12; *Del Marmol, Catalogue*, p. 79, no. 1101.12; *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, p. 332, no. 1264; *V.S.*, p. 224, no. 25.12; *Dutuit*, VI, p. 209, no. 6.12; *Rooses*, V, p. 15, no. 1219, pl. 351; *Rooses, Vie*, pp. 298, 345; *Van den Wijngaert, Prentkunst*, p. 84, no. 556; B.L.D. Ihle, in *Cat. Exh. Rotterdam*, 1969, p. 47, no. 78 B, pl. XI,b; *Renger, Rubens Dedit*, p. 163; [Cat. Exh.] *Rubens: A Variety of Interests*, Cambridge, Mass., 1974, no. 22; *Hollstein*, XVII, p. 199, no. 153; *Bodart, Incisione*, p. 112, no. 234, repr.; B. Gaetgens, in *Cat. Exh. Göttingen*, 1977, p. 78, no. 50; *Zijlstra-Zweens, Karakterkoppen*, pp. 204-206; *Cat. Exh. Bremen*, 1977, p. 60, no. 55; *Cat. Exh. Karlsruhe*, 1977-78, p. 34, no. 26; *Cat. Exh. Lisbon*, 1978, no. 69;

*Pohlen, Untersuchungen*, p. 238, no. 27; *Bodart, Rubens, 1985-86*, p. 70, no. 105, repr.

The head of a youthful man with a mass of curly hair, a wispy beard and a light moustache is seen in three-quarter view facing left on Pontius' engraving. Using the drawing in Cambridge (No. 114a; Fig. 208), the engraver followed his model closely and added a semi-circular niche with centre stone. The print shows the bust in mirror image.

The legend identifies the portrait as *Nero Caesar*. The bust almost certainly belonged to Rubens and had been acquired from Sir Dudley Carleton in 1618.<sup>1</sup> It was probably sold to the Duke of Buckingham in 1626: a marble of *Nero* displayed in the Gallery is listed in the Indenture of his estate of 1635<sup>2</sup> and was seen by Dubuisson-Aubenay.<sup>3</sup> A similar head is pictured on *The Sense of Sight* by Jan Brueghel and Rubens (*text ill.* 84).

The physiognomy of *Nero* is well known from coins. Rubens drew several of these (Nos. 194 and 195a; Figs. 384, 383) and therefore his identification seems correct. However, most of the portraits of the Roman emperor (37-68 A.D.) were destroyed after his principate, which led to a large number of falsifications in the Renaissance. The Rubens head, probably such a falsification, resembles a sculpture in the Capitoline Museum in Rome, long considered to be an authentic effigy of the last portrait type issued on coins during the final years of *Nero's* reign (64-68 A.D.).<sup>4</sup> However, this head too is a restored and re-worked fragment.<sup>5</sup>

The legend in the centre below is obviously derived from coins. A copper coin struck in Lugdunum (Lyons) in mid 66 A.D. to early 67 A.D. bears the legend 'IMP. NERO CAESAR AVG.'<sup>6</sup> Rubens apparently used such a coin.

Pontius' print belongs to the series of twelve Famous Greek and Roman Men, for which he engraved five plates, all dated 1638. It has been suggested that the engraving of *Nero* was intended as the pendant to Vorsterman's print of the head of *Seneca* (No. 117; Fig.

223), but the heavy niche does not balance the landscaped setting of the *Seneca* very well.

1. The 1615 shipping list mentions: 'Nella cassa No. 21 sono... 38 Testa di Nerone' (*Muller, Rubens's Museum*, p. 582). Cornelis van der Geest apparently also owned a bust of *Nero*. It is pictured by W. van Haecht on his painting of that collector's gallery (Antwerp, Rubenshuis) as the pendant to the bust of *Seneca* (J.S. Held, 'Artis Pictoriae Amator', in *Held, Circle*, pl. V,3 marked i). Both may be copies of Rubens's marbles. A plaster cast of a portrait head of *Nero* belonged to the Plantin-Moretus family and is still in the Museum Plantin-Moretus (Inv. No. 8076). A bust of *Nero* was owned by Rembrandt and is listed in the inventory of 1656 on fol. 32v (K. Clark, *Rembrandt and the Italian Renaissance*, New York, 1966, p. 200, no. 156).
2. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Rawlinson A 341, fol. 36r (see Appendix VII.1).
3. *Halkin, Dubuisson-Aubenay*, p. 184.
4. *Bernoulli, Römische Ikonographie*, II, 1, p. 391, no. 2, fig. 55; H. Stuart Jones, *A Catalogue of the Ancient Sculptures Preserved in the Museo Capitolino, Rome*, Oxford, 1912, p. 191, stanza degli imperatori, no. 16, pl. 48.
5. U.W. Hiesinger, 'The Portraits of Nero', *American Journal of Archaeology*, LXXIX, 1975, p. 119, n. 31: 'One should finally stop identifying Nero as the subject of a head in the Capitoline Museum'. P. Zanker, 'Galba, Nero, Nerva. Drei barocke Charakterstudien', in *Studies in Classical Art. A Tribute to P.H. von Blanckenhagen*, New York, 1979, pp. 307-310.
6. *Mattingly, Coins*, I, p. clxxxiii, legend no. 2; p. 271, legend c and d (Lugdunum), no. 361, pl. 47, 2. The coins minted in Rome usually read: 'IMP. NERO. CLAUD. CAESAR AVG.'

### 114a. Head of Nero: Drawing (Fig. 208)

Pen and brown ink over main drawing in black chalk on thick yellow paper; 276 × 198 mm.; foxing; below right collector's mark of J.D. Lempereur (L.1740). Mounted.— *Verso*: upper centre inscribed No. 23, lower right G, GA, and cabinet de l'empereur.

Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University, Fogg Art Museum. Inv. No. 1932.360.

PROVENANCE: Pierre Crozat (Paris, 1665-1740); J.D. Lempereur (Paris, 1701-1779), his sale, Paris, 24 May 1773, lot 305; Henri Duval

(Liège, d.1910), his sale, Amsterdam (Muller), 22-23 June 1910, lot 335; Charles Alexander Loeser (1864-1928, Florence), bequeathed to the Museum, entered in 1932.

EXHIBITED: *Cambridge-New York, 1956*, no. 27; *Antwerp, 1956*, no. 130; Pomona College, Claremont, Calif., 1960; *Rubens: A Variety of Interests*, Fogg Art Museum, Cambridge, Mass., 1974, no. 21; *Birmingham, 1978*, no. 50.

LITERATURE: A. Mongan and P. Sachs, *Drawings in the Fogg Art Museum of Art*, Cambridge, Mass., 1940, pp. 251-252, no. 485, fig. 251; *Goris-Held*, p. 43, no. 112; *Burchard-d'Hulst, Tekeningen*, p. 88, under no. 99, pp. 106-107, no. 130 (as *Rubens*); *Cat. Exh. Cambridge-New York, 1956*, p. 26, no. 27, pl. XVII; J.S. Held, 'Drawings and Oil Sketches by Rubens from American Collections', *The Burlington Magazine*, LXXXVIII, 1956, p. 123; J. Rosenberg, 'Rubens' Oil Sketches and Drawings in the Fogg Museum', *Art Quarterly*, XIX, 1956, p. 142; *Miesel, Ancient Art*, p. 76, n. 155; *Miesel, Study Drawings*, p. 313; *Stechow, Rubens*, p. 36, fig. 22; J.D. Farmer, [Cat. Exh.] *Rubens & Humanism*, Birmingham Museum of Art, Birmingham, Ala., 1978, p. 59, no. 50, repr. p. 24; *Renger, Rubens Dedit*, p. 165, n. 121, fig. 25; *Zijlstra-Zweens, Karakterkoppen*, p. 205, fig. 1; *Logan, Rubens Exhibitions, 1978*, p. 431, under no. 50 (as not *Rubens*).

The drawing with the head of *Nero* served as model for the engraving by Paul Pontius (No. 114; Fig. 211). The rather coarse drawing in pen and ink overlays a sketch in black chalk, but does not follow it exactly. The chalk sketch is clearly visible on a photograph taken with infrared light (Fig. 209). Several differences can be observed. The ear, curls of hair and neck contour on the right side of *Nero's* head have been redrawn with the pen at a higher level, and the edge of the pedestal on the right side was omitted.

Burchard judged the drawing to be entirely by Rubens. With the infrared photograph at

hand, it does seem justified to ascribe the main drawing in chalk to the master, and the forceful corrective penwork is also worthy of Rubens.

Mariette saw two drawings by Rubens drawn after antique portrait busts in the collection of Crozat.<sup>1</sup> In my opinion the drawing with the head of *Nero* was one of them, although it is not mentioned by name in his 1741 catalogue of Crozat's drawings.<sup>2</sup> At the sale of Crozat's collection the drawing was apparently acquired by Lempereur: it bears the collector's mark at the bottom right and is listed in the sale catalogue of 1773.<sup>3</sup> Later, the sheet ended up in the possession of Henri Duval in Liège and was sold in 1910.<sup>4</sup>

1. *Abécédario de P.J. Mariette*, ed. P. de Chennevières and A. de Montaiglon, V, Paris, 1858-59, p. 118: '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'. Mariette judged it drawn by Rubens's hand, although it was little or not at all in the taste of the antique (cf. *Rooses*, V, p. 15, no. 1219). The other drawing in the Crozat collection seen by Mariette was apparently the head of *Seneca*, now in New York, which was also acquired by Lempereur (see No. 117a). F. Lugt, in his entry on the Lempereur collection, writes: 'La plupart des dessins italiens et hollandais provenaient de la collection Crozat' (*L.*, p. 314, under no. 1740).
2. It should be pointed out that a drawing of *Democritus* (No. 111a, Copy 1) and one of *Plato* (No. 115a, Copy 2) were also together for a long time.
3. *Catalogue d'une riche collection... du cabinet de M\* [Lempereur]*, Paris, 24 May, 1773, lot 305: 'deux têtes à la plume, d'après l'antique'.
4. *Catalogue des dessins anciens formant la collection de M. Henri Duval de Liège*, sale Amsterdam (Frederik Muller) 22-23 June 1910, p. 56, lot 335: 'Buste de Néron. Gravé par P. Pontius... Cabinet-Lempereur'.

## 114b. Head of Nero: Retouched Engraving (Fig. 210)

Engraving (No. 114, State I); washes in black and white paint with the brush; 312 × 200 mm.; bottom left in pen and ink: 275.8; bottom centre early 19th-century mark of the Print

Room of the Bibliothèque Nationale (L.408). Paris, *Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Estampes*. CC 34 j réserve, fol. 112, Inv. No. C 10.517.

LITERATURE: *Rooses*, V, p. 15; *Van den Wijngaert, Prentkunst*, p. 84, under no. 556; *Renger, Rubens Dedit*, p. 167, fig. 27; *Zijlstra-Zweens, Karakterkoppen*, p. 206, fig. 2; *Pohlen, Untersuchungen*, pp. 238-239, under no. 27.

Using the drawing in Cambridge (No. 114a; Fig. 208), Paul Pontius engraved the plate with the head of Nero. Rubens was apparently not satisfied with the results. A proof print *avant la lettre* shows the corrections Rubens wished to have made (Fig. 210). With black paint the hair is trimmed on the side all the way down to behind the left ear. Excessive hatchings on the left brow, forehead, cheeks and chin were whitened out. The right ear was blocked out with white paint. The alterations were indeed implemented, but only the trimming of the hair is visible on the final state, as the design in the background does not quite match (Fig. 211).

### 115. Herm of 'Plato' (Epicure?): Engraving (Fig. 215)

Engraving by L. Vorsterman; 295 × 188 mm.; legend centre below: PLATO ARISTONIS F. ATHE- NIENSIS. / *Ex marmore antiquo.*, bottom left: P.P. *Rubens delin.* / L. *Vorsterman sculp.*, bottom right: *Cum privilegiis Regis Christianissimi / Principum Belgarum et Ord. Bataviae.*

COPIES: (1) Painting, whereabouts and dimensions unknown. PROV. Brussels art market, 1938. LIT. *Van den Wijngaert, Prentkunst*, p. 104, under no. 745.

(2) Drawing by Jan Lutma (?) (?1584-1669), Paris, Institut Néerlandais, Fondation Custodia (F. Lugt Collection), Inv. No. I 8049; pen and ink, washes, 288 × 166 mm. PROV. acquired in 1963.<sup>1</sup>

(3) Anonymous drawing (Fig. 213),<sup>2</sup> St Petersburg, Hermitage, Print Room, Inv. No. 5460; pen in black ink over main drawing in black chalk, 273 × 185 mm.; below left collector's mark of Tsar Paul I (L.2061); mounted (original Cobenzl mount). PROV. Count Charles Philippe Jean de Cobenzl (Ljubljana, 1712-Brussels, 1770); acquired by Catherine II of Russia in 1768.

(4) Engraving (in reverse) by B. Kilian II after a drawing by J. Sandrart, in *Sandrart, Teutsche Academie*, 1679, pl. I facing p. 52. LIT. *Hollstein, German*, XVI, p. 203, no. 710.

(5) Mezzotint engraving (in reverse) by J. Faber Senior (c.1650-1721). LIT. *V.S.*, p. 224, no. 26; *Le Blanc, Manuel*, II, p. 208, no. 1; *Rooses*, V, p. 16; *Wurzbach*, I, p. 524, no. 1.

LITERATURE: *Le Comte, Cabinet*, I, p. 110; *Hecquet, Rubens*, p. 120, no. 43.12; *Basan*, p. 164, no. 6.5; *Del Marmol, Catalogue*, p. 79, no. 1101.5; *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, pp. 332-333, no. 1264; *V.S.*, p. 223, no. 25.5; *Dutuit*, VI, p. 208, no. 6.5; *Rooses*, V, p. 13, no. 1212; *Rooses, Vie*, p. 345; *Hymans, Vorsterman*, p. 122, no. 105; *Van den Wijngaert, Prentkunst*, p. 104, no. 745; B.L.D. Ihle, in *Cat. Exh. Rotterdam*, 1969, p. 49, no. 80 C; *Renger, Rubens Dedit*, p. 165; *Bodart, Incisione*, p. 80, no. 148, repr.; B. Gaehtgens, in *Cat. Exh. Göttingen*, 1977, pp. 112-113, no. 77, fig. 44c; *Zijlstra-Zweens, Karakterkoppen*, p. 203; *Cat. Exh. Bremen*, 1977, p. 63, no. 63; *Pohlen, Untersuchungen*, p. 279, no. 48.

A herm of a middle-aged man with a curly beard, his head covered with dishevelled locks, is seen nearly in profile facing left on the print. Using his drawing in Paris as the working model (No. 115a, Copy 2; Fig. 214), Lucas Vorsterman I engraved the plate. The engraving is enlarged on all sides and shows the herm in mirror image.

The legend identifies the marble as the portrait of Plato. The unidentified herm probably belonged to Rubens's collection. A similar sculpture is pictured on Jan Brueghel II, *Venus and Cupid in the Gallery of an Art Collector*

(Philadelphia, J.J. Johnson Collection; *text ill.* 86), placed on the lowest shelf.

The legend, 'Plato, son of Aristo, the Athenian', is the Latinized version of an inscription on a headless herm belonging to Octavianus Zeno in the 16th century. The marble was first published by Statius, from whom Rubens may have copied the inscription.<sup>3</sup>

The identification of the portrait is certainly incorrect, yet the marble might very well have been an antique sculpture of Hellenistic workmanship. The face has very personal features: bags under the eyes, crow's feet at the outer corners of the eyes, a prominent nose and deep furrows on the forehead. These characteristics match the physiognomy of Epicure (343/342-271 B.C.). Several replicas remain of this type.<sup>4</sup>

Vorsterman's print belongs to the series of twelve Famous Greek and Roman Men, for which he engraved four plates. The Plato is one of the best. Two of Vorsterman's engravings bear the date of 1638. The Plato is undated, but it was probably made at the same time.

1. The late Dr J.G. van Gelder kindly brought this unpublished drawing to my attention.
2. I thank Alexey Larionov for bringing this drawing to my attention; he ascribed it to Lucas Vorsterman I. See No. 111, Copy 1, for the companion.
3. Statius, *Inlustrium Virorum*, pl. XVIII; Ursinus, *Imagines*, p. 53, copied Statius' print; Faber, *Illustrium Imagines*, pp. 64-65, refers to Zeno's herm. The inscription was still accepted as antique by Hülsen, *Hermeninschriften*, p. 170, no. 37. Richter, *Portraits of the Greeks*, II, p. 168, dismissed the inscription as a modern falsification.
4. Richter, *Portraits of the Greeks*, II, pp. 194-200, esp. p. 196, no. 10, fig. 1168. Nicolaas Rockox also owned a herm of Plato, but its effigy did not resemble Rubens's portrait sculpture; see Scheller, *Rockox*, pp. 28-31, fig. 17.

## 115a. Herm of 'Plato' (Epicure?): Drawing

Technique and measurements unknown.  
*Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.*

COPIES: (1) Drawing (Fig. 212), New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, Inv. No. III,161; pen and brown ink over main drawing in black chalk, 260 × 172 mm.; inscribed in brown ink below left: *P. Rubens*. PROV. C. Fairfax Murray (1849-1919), from whom acquired by J. Pierpont Morgan in 1910. LIT. *Fairfax Murray, Drawings*, III, no. 161; *Goris-Held*, p. 56, no. A 101; *Miesel, Ancient Art*, p. 76, n. 155; *Renger, Rubens Dedit*, p. 165, n. 121, fig. 24; *Logan, Rubens Exhibitions, 1978*, p. 431, under no. 50 (as *not Rubens*).

(2) Drawing by L. Vorsterman I (Fig. 214), Paris, Institut Néerlandais, Fondation Custodia (F. Lugt Collection), Inv. No. 5949; pen and brown ink, 247 × 162 mm.; inscribed in pen and ink at bottom right with monogram of Lucas Vorsterman I: LV (entwined). Mounted on a sheet with an architectural frame and the inscription in ink at bottom left: *L. Vorsterman*. PROV. ? Paignon-Dijonval (Paris, 1708-1792); ? his grandson Ch.G. Vicomte Morel de Vindé (Paris, 1759-1842); ? acquired from the latter by Samuel Woodburn (1786-1858, London) 1816. LIT. *Bénard, Paignon-Dijonval*, no. 1358 ('Epicure').

The model for Vorsterman's engraving (Fig. 215) must have been a drawing by Rubens showing a herm of Plato in side view facing right. Two such drawings are known, but they cannot be attributed to Rubens. Held, too, considered the drawing in New York (Copy 1; Fig. 212) 'probably only a copy'. It is reminiscent of the style of Lucas Vorsterman I, who was certainly responsible for the other sheet, now in Paris (Copy 2; Fig. 214), as his monogram (LV) appears, though barely visible, at the bottom right.<sup>1</sup> Apparently the engraver made his own highly finished working model. The drawing in New York which is less detailed may reflect a lost sketch by Rubens, since he is credited with having provided such a drawing in the legend on Vorsterman's print. In his drawing in Paris, Vorsterman made the marble look remarkably realistic.



The drawing in New York is possibly identical with the one listed by Bénard as 'Epicure' in his catalogue of the Paignon-Dijonval collection.<sup>2</sup> Of the four engravings Vorsterman contributed to the series his description can only apply to the Plato.

For the identification of the portrait as Epicure see No. 115.

1. This hitherto unpublished drawing was kindly brought to my attention by the late Dr J.G. van Gelder.
2. Bénard, *Paignon-Dijonval*, p. 67, no. 1358: 'Buste d'Epicure, d'après le marbre antique; ce buste est gravé par Vorsterman, dans la suite des Empereurs et Philosophes anciens, d'après Rubens et ce d. pourroit être de Vorsterman; il est exécuté à la plume sur le papier blanc; h. 10 p. sur 8 p'. The drawing with the head of *Democritus* also belonged to this collection (see No. 111a, Copy; Fig. 199).

## 116. Bust of 'P. Cornelius Scipio Africanus': Engraving (Fig. 217)

Engraving by P.Pontius; 301 × 215 mm.; legend centre below: P. CORNELIVS SCIPIO AFRICANVS. / *Ex marmore antiquo.*, bottom left: P.P. Rubens delineauit. / P. Pontius sculpsit. A°. 1638., bottom right: *Cum priuilegijs Regis Christianissimi. / Principum Belgarum et Ord. Batauiaie.* States: I before lettering and retouching (see No. 116b); II as described.

LITERATURE: *Le Comte, Cabinet*, I, p. 110; *Hecquet, Rubens*, p. 120, no. 43.2; *Basan*, p. 164, no. 6.7; *Del Marmol, Catalogue*, p. 79, no. 1101.7; *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, p. 332, no. 1264; *V.S.*, p. 223, no. 25.7; *Dutuit*, VI, p. 209, no. 6.7; *Rosenberg, Rubensstecher*, p. 93, repr.; *Rooses*, p. 13, V, no. 1214; *Rooses, Vie*, p. 345; *Van den Wijngaert, Prentkunst*, p. 84, no. 555; B.L.D. Ihle, in *Cat. Exh. Rotterdam*, 1969, p. 49, no. 81; *Renger, Rubens Dedit*, p. 163; *Hollstein*, XVII, p. 199, no. 154, repr.; *Bodart, Incisione*, p. 111, no. 233, repr.; *Zijlstra-Zweens, Karakterkoppen*, p. 204; *Cat. Exh. Bremen*, 1977, p. 59, no. 54; *Cat. Exh. Lisbon*, 1978, no. 68; *Van Gelder-Jost, Jan de Bisschop*, p. 278, under no. 52; *Pohlen, Unter-*

*suchungen*, pp. 240-241, no. 28; *Bodart, Rubens*, 1985-86, p. 69, no. 100, repr.

An engraving by Paul Pontius shows the bust of a man, in three-quarter view facing left, his head clean-shaven and wearing a cuirass with a head of Medusa. The legend in the bottom left credits Rubens with the work drawing for the engraver, but only a grisaille painting with the same effigy is known to have existed (No. 116a). A print by Jan de Bisschop shows the same bust from a different angle.<sup>1</sup>

The portrait was identified by Rubens as Scipio Africanus. The source has not been discovered, but was possibly a marble belonging to Rubens, although there is little evidence to support this. In the 1635 Indenture of the Duke of Buckingham's estate a 'Cornelius Scipio' is listed as standing in the great Chamber.<sup>2</sup> This sculpture might have been part of the sale of Rubens's antiquities in 1626.

In all likelihood Rubens's interpretation was based on a portrait in the Cesi collection belonging to the Duke of Aquasparta as illustrated by Galle, in Faber's *Illustrium Imagines* (Fig. 234).<sup>3</sup> The Roman consul (235 B.C.-183 B.C.) is said to have shaved off his hair and beard (Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, VII: 59). As a result, shaved heads were long considered to portray Scipio Africanus, but they are now recognized as a specific class of people rather than a single individual.<sup>4</sup>

The text with the full name of Scipio is similar to the title of Galle's engraving from which Rubens might have copied it (see note 3).

The print belongs to a series of Twelve Famous Greek and Roman Men, for which Pontius engraved five plates, all dated 1638. When compared to Bolswert's engraving of a similar cuirassed bust (No. 109; Fig. 191), the coarseness of Pontius' technique is obvious: the treatment of the skin is less refined, the drapery protruding from under the cuirass is rigid and the cuirass lacks the hard metal shine.

1. *Van Gelder-Jost, Jan de Bisschop*, p. 278, no. 52.

2. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Rawlinson A 341, fol. 36v (see Appendix VII.1).
3. Faber, *Illustrium Imagines*, pp. 28-30, pl. 49: 'P. CORNELIVS SCIPIO AFRICANVS'. Faber reports the basalt bust to be 'in pietra nigra', but the caption on the engraving incorrectly indicates it as made of marble. *Aldroandi, Statue antiche* (p. 136) was the first to report that the Cesi sculpture was identified as the portrait of Scipio Africanus. It is also illustrated on a woodcut by G. Franzini, *Icones statuarum antiquarum Urbis Romae*, Rome, 1599, pl. A 11: 'SCIPIO AFRIC. APUD ILL. FED. CAESI'. The head is now in Rome, Palazzo Rospigliosi (*Palma-de La-chenal-Micheli, 1986*, pp. 112-116; no. III, 6, repr.).
4. W. Dennison, 'A New Head of the "Scipio" Type', *American Journal of Archaeology*, IX, 1905, pp. 11-43, no. 5, fig. 3. On the falsifications of the Scipio Africanus portraits see E. Paul, *Gefälschte Antike*, Vienna-Munich, 1982, pp. 106-108, fig. 77. The sculpture is considered to picture a priest of the Egyptian god Isis.

### 116a. Bust of 'P. Cornelius Scipio Africanus': Painting

Brownish oil paints heightened with white on oak panel; 30.5 × 24 cm.

*Whereabouts unknown.*

PROVENANCE: A. Houyet (Brussels), sale Brussels (Le Roy), 2 April 1867, lot 87; J.-B. Foucart (Valenciennes), sale Valenciennes, 12-14 October 1898, lot 94; purchased there by M.C. Hoogendijk (1866/67-1911, The Hague), 1907-1912 on loan to the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam; sold at the sale of his estate, Amsterdam (Muller), 14 May 1912, lot 71.

LITERATURE: *Rooses, Addenda* (4), pp. 191, 194; M. Rooses, 'L'oeuvre de Rubens, Addenda et corrigenda [5]', *Rubens-Bulletijn*, V, 1897-1910, p. 326 ('Julius Caesar'); *Rooses, Vie*, p. 345; *Catalogus der schilderijen in het Rijksmuseum*, 1908, no. 2068a.

Rooses reported that the grisaille painting, not seen since 1912, depicted the bust of *Scipio Africanus*. The Roman commander wears a *paludamentum* and is seen in three-quarter view facing right, in reverse to the engraving by

Paul Pontius (No. 116; Fig. 217). Rooses attributed the painting to Rubens and dated it to the last years of his life. He considered that it served Pontius as model for the engraving. It should be noted that for most of the other prints in this series of Famous Greek and Roman Men, a drawing rather than a grisaille painting served the engraver as a model. The 'Rubens delineavit' in the legend of the engraving by Pontius (No. 116) seems also to refer to a drawing, but no such drawing has yet come to light.

A painting after Rubens with a *Scipio Africanus* is listed in the inventory of Jan Meurs drawn up in October 1652.<sup>1</sup>

1. *Denucé, Konstkamers*, p. 134.

### 116b. Bust of 'P. Cornelius Scipio Africanus': Retouched Engraving (Fig. 216)

Engraving (No. 116, State I), pen and black ink; 301 × 215 mm.; inscription bottom left in pen and ink 270.8; bottom centre early 19th-century mark of the Print Room of the Bibliothèque Nationale (L.408).

*Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Estampes*. CC 34 j réserve, fol. 112, Inv. No. C 10.517.

PROVENANCE: P.J. Mariette (Paris, 1694-1775); acquired for the Royal Collection in 1775.

LITERATURE: *Rooses, V*, p. 15; *Van den Wijngaert, Prentkunst*, p. 84, under no. 555; *Renger, Rubens Dedit*, p. 167, fig. 26; *Zijlstra-Zweens, Karakterkoppen*, p. 205; *Pohlen, Untersuchungen*, pp. 240-241, under no. 28.

After Paul Pontius finished engraving the plate with the bust of *Scipio Africanus*, a proof print *avant la lettre* was made. On this print Rubens indicated small changes to the right cheek, the contour of the neck from the ear down to the cuirass and the throat on the

right. The alterations are still slightly visible on the final state (Fig. 217).

### 117. Head of 'Seneca': Engraving (Fig. 223)

Engraving by L. Vorsterman; 293 × 200 mm.; legend centre below: LVCIVS ANNAEVS SENECA. / *Ex marmore antiquo.*, bottom left: P.P. Rubens delin. / L. Vorsterman sculp. A°. 1638., bottom right: *Cum priuilegiis Regis Christianiss. / Principum Belgarum et Ord. Batauiæ.* States: I before lettering and retouching (see No. 117b); II as described.

COPIES: (1) Painting in grisaille (Fig. 220), Antwerp, Stedelijk Prentenkabinet; beech panel, 40 × 29 cm. (oval); inscribed along bottom: *vit (?)*.— *Verso*: incised: *7i Ba*; inscribed: *Ribera / Il avait differens monogrammes / ou plutôt il employait un / monogramme à chaque occasion. / Il a fait un voyage en Hollande / Mais ce tableau semble être de / Jacques de Wit.* PROV. bought by the Museum Plantin-Moretus from Alfred Cahen, Brussels (before 1900); handed over to the Stedelijk Prentenkabinet (before 1941). LIT. *Rooses, Addenda* (4), pp. 191-192 (as *Rubens, Italian period*); *Rooses, Vie*, p. 345, repr. p. 25; *M. Rooses, Catalogus van het Museum Plantin-Moretus*, rev. by M. Sabbe, Antwerp, 1927, p. 91 (as *Rubens*); *Bouchery-Van den Wijngaert*, p. 25; *J. Kuznetsov, 'Neu bestimmte Zeichnungen von P.P. Rubens', Gentse bijdragen tot de kunstgeschiedenis*, XXIV, 1976-78, p. 99.

(2) Painting, whereabouts unknown; panel, 58 × 43 cm. PROV. E. Moorthamers, Brussels (1964).

(3) Mezzotint engraving (in reverse) by J. Faber Senior (c.1650-1721). LIT. *V.S.*, p. 224, no. 26; *Le Blanc, Manuel*, II, p. 208, no. 1; *Rooses, V*, p. 16; *Wurzbach*, I, p. 524, no. 1.

(4) Engraving by J.H. Lips, 1776. LIT. *Rooses, V*, p. 15, under no. 1218.

LITERATURE: *Le Comte, Cabinet*, I, p. 110; *Hecquet, Rubens*, p. 120, no. 43.8; *Basan*, p. 164, no.

6.11; *Del Marmol, Catalogue*, p. 79, no. 1101.11; *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, pp. 332-333, no. 1264; *V.S.*, p. 224, no. 25.11; *Dutuit*, VI, p. 209, no. 6.11; *Rosenberg, Rubensstecher*, p. 58; *Rooses, V*, pp. 14-15, no. 1218; *Rooses, Vie*, p. 345; *Hyman, Vorsterman*, p. 123, no. 106; *Van den Wijngaert, Prentkunst*, p. 104, no. 746; N.T. de Grummond, [Cat.Exh] *Prints after Rubens*, Chapel Hill, N.C., 1968, p. 48, no. 38; B.L.D. Ihle, *Cat. Exh. Rotterdam*, 1969, p. 50, no. 82; [Cat. Exh.] *Prenten naar Rubens*, (Rotterdam, Museum Boymans-van Beuningen, 1972), p. 13, no. 88; *Renger, Rubens Dedit*, p. 163; *Bodart, Incisione*, p. 80, no. 150, repr.; *Zijlstra-Zweens, Karakterkoppen*, pp. 203, 205, fig. 4; B. Gaehtgens, in *Cat. Exh. Göttingen*, 1977, pp. 110-111, no. 76, fig. 44; *J. Heynen, in Cat. Exh. Cologne*, 1977, II, p. 98, fig. 98; *Cat. Exh. Karlsruhe*, 1977-78, no. 39; *Cat. Exh. Bremen*, 1978, p. 61, no. 58, pl. 98; [Cat. Exh.] *Grafické Listy Ctyr Století*, Brno, 1980, p. 39, no. 247, repr.; *Pohlen, Untersuchungen*, p. 281, no. 49; *Bodart, Rubens*, 1985-86, p. 70, no. 104, repr.; *Bodart, Rubens*, 1990, p. 203, no. 103, repr.

The head of an elderly man with straggling curls, a wispy beard and a moustache is seen in three-quarter view facing right. The bust with its round termination is placed on the ground with a distant landscape in the background. Lucas Vorsterman I engraved the plate, using a preparatory drawing now in New York (No. 117a; Fig. 224). The engraver followed his model closely, but added a few wisps of hair to the chin and changed the background. The print shows the bust in mirror image.

The legend identifies the portrait as *Lucius Annaeus Seneca*. A marble sculpture Rubens brought back from Italy in 1608 was used as model.<sup>1</sup> Fulvio Orsini identified a marble bust in the Farnese collection as the portrait of the Roman philosopher towards the end of the 16th century.<sup>2</sup> His interpretation was based on a contorniate medal inscribed 'SENECA', belonging to Cardinal Bernardino Maffei. The Farnese marble was drawn by Theodoor Galle

in 1596 and first published in Faber's *Illustrium Imagines* (Fig. 235).<sup>3</sup> The new identification was quickly and widely accepted. The head with its emaciated features perfectly matched the Renaissance image of Seneca killed by order of Emperor Nero as described by Tacitus (*Annales*, XV: 63). It was only questioned in 1796 by Winckelmann and in 1813 with the discovery of an inscribed portrait of Seneca, the true likeness of the philosopher became known.<sup>4</sup> The identity of the pseudo-Seneca, a copy of a Greek bronze of the Hellenistic period (second century B.C.), has been the subject of many conjectures.<sup>5</sup> Many replicas of the portrait are extant.

With the upsurge of Neo-Stoic philosophy towards the end of the 16th century, the writings of Seneca became very popular. Justus Lipsius was a propagator of the movement, to which Rubens reportedly belonged,<sup>6</sup> although the Stoic *apatheia* was alien to him, as was the Stoic equanimity.<sup>7</sup>

Nonetheless, the bust of *Seneca* was apparently one of the most treasured pieces of his collection, and the head, or more likely a copy after the original, adorned the entrance of his newly built house on the Wapper in Antwerp (text ill. 82).<sup>8</sup> Peiresc referred to Rubens's *Seneca* by name when he expressed his admiration for the portrait busts in the artist's collection.<sup>9</sup> A similar *Seneca* bust is pictured on *The Sense of Sight* by Jan Brueghel and Rubens (text ill. 84).

The marble played a prominent role in Rubens's *oeuvre*: he depicted it on several occasions. In his early painting, *The Four Philosophers* (Florence, Palazzo Pitti; Fig. 219), the bust is placed appropriately in a niche behind the Neo-Stoic philosopher, Justus Lipsius, who is seated at a table in the company of several of his pupils, while Peter Paul is standing on the left. In the reprint of Seneca's *Opera Omnia* (1615), Rubens's sculpture is illustrated on a full-page engraving by Cornelis Galle I (Fig. 221). A second engraving in that book renders a statue, long interpreted as *Seneca Dying* (see also Nos. 7-13). Rubens's prepara-

tory drawings for these engravings are now lost.<sup>10</sup> The sculpture, tilted backwards and thereby exposing the throat, is drawn on a sheet in St Petersburg together with the so-called *Galba*,<sup>11</sup> which is recorded on the right in side view (Fig. 225; see also No. 195; Fig. 253).

When the Duke of Buckingham purchased Rubens's collection of antiquities in 1626, the bust of *Seneca* was possibly included: in the 1635 Indenture of Buckingham's estate a *Seneca* is listed.<sup>12</sup> Jaffé believed, however, that the sculpture was held back from the sale and was among the unspecified 'aucunes belles testes antiques de marbre' entered in the inventory of the artist's estate of 1640.<sup>13</sup> As Bellori reported, Rubens had casts made of the pieces he parted with in 1626 to replace the originals.<sup>14</sup> In the Low Countries the portrait of *Seneca* became very popular.<sup>15</sup>

The exact sculpture formerly in Rubens's possession has not so far been traced. The quest is complicated by the existence of a large number of replicas (see note 4). Michael Vickers assumed that a marble in Oxford at the Ashmolean Museum is identical with Rubens's marble.<sup>16</sup> However, the bust acquired by the Rubenshuis in Antwerp (Fig. 218) is also remarkably close to the one pictured on Rubens's *Four Philosophers*.<sup>17</sup> A herm proposed by Judson and Van de Velde is an unlikely candidate, since Rubens's sculpture had a round termination of the neck.<sup>18</sup>

The expressionless countenance with dull, staring eyeballs on the Antwerp sculpture (Fig. 218), is in sharp contrast to the intelligent face with lively eyes on the Vorsterman engraving (Fig. 223). Despite the differences, the model was probably the same sculpture which was made to look more attractive and handsome. In the legend the full name of the philosopher is given; the heading on Galle's print simply reads 'SENECA' (Fig. 235) (see note 3).

The engraving is one in the series of twelve Famous Greek and Roman Men, to which Vorsterman contributed four plates. The

*Seneca*, dated 1638, is one of the most beautiful of the set.

A painting formerly in the collection of E. Moorthamers (Brussels) and another in the Antwerp Prentenkabinet (Fig. 220) are copied after the engraving by Vorsterman. A drawing in the British Museum in London (Fig. 226) used by Vorsterman for another print, is a free adaptation of the marble.<sup>19</sup> It is quite similar to the *Seneca* on Rubens's painting in the Museum Plantin-Moretus in Antwerp (Fig. 227; with several replicas: Karlsruhe, Staatliche Kunsthalle; and Vienna, Clam-Gallas Collection).

1. B. Moretus observed in the introduction to the new edition of J. Lipsius, *L. Annaei Senecae Philosophi Opera quae exstant Omnia*, Antwerp, 1615: 'Alteram quam spectas effigiem, è prototypo marmoreo eidem Rubenius expressit: quod Româ allatum, in elegantissimo Muséo suo asseruat' (quoted in full in *Judson-Van de Velde*, p. 166, under no. 32, n. 1).

2. A bust of *Seneca* was probably among the 18 heads of philosophers found in a *vigna* behind the Baths of Diocletian. They were first acquired by G.G. Cesarini and shortly thereafter came into possession of the Cardinal Farnese; see F. Vacca, *Memorie di varie antichità trovate in diversi luoghi della città di Roma, scritte...1594*; *Schreiber, Flaminio Vacca*, pp. 83-84, *memoria* no. 105. See also T. Lorenz, *Galerien von griechischen Philosophen- und Dichterbildnissen bei den Römern*, Mainz, [1965], pp. 6-10 no. III,8. *Richter, Portraits of the Greeks*, I, p. 59, nos. 14 (Inv. No. 6186) and 15 (Inv. No. 6187) both from the Farnese collection.

3. *Faber, Illustrium Imagines*, p. 74, pl. 131: 'Imago L. ANN. SENECAE Philosophi Stoici, & Magistri Neronis Imperatoris, ex marmore repraesentata est; Philosophum sine tamen pallio referens, caeterisque eius imaginibus, quae exstant, perquam similis, vt omnes ex vno eodem archetypo desumptae videantur. Quòd autem ista sit *Senecae* imago, ex numo aeneo grandiusculo (*contorniatum* vulgò dicunt) intelligitur, quem olim Bernardinus Cardinalis Maffaeus habebat, cum nomine inscripto, SENECA'. The Farnese bust is pictured on pl. 131: 'SENECA'.

According to H. von Heintze, *Römische Porträts*, Darmstadt, 1974, p. xi, the *contorniate*, now lost, was probably a Renaissance falsification; on pp. 7-8 she provides a German translation of Faber's text. Cardinal Bernardino Maffei was an antiquarian, connoisseur and collector of ancient coins; see M. Daly Davis, 'Zum Codex Coburgensis: Frühe Archäologie und Humanismus im Kreis des Marcello

Cervini', in *Antikenzeichnung und Antikenstudium in Renaissance und Frühbarock. Akten des internationalen Symposions 8.-10. September 1986 in Coburg*, ed. R. Harpath and H. Wrede, Mainz am Rhein, 1989, pp. 186-188, 193.

4. *Richter, Portraits of the Greeks*, I, pp. 58-66.

5. H. von Heintze, 'Pseudo-Seneca-Hesiod oder Ennius', *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Römische Abteilung*, LXXXV, 1975, pp. 143-158, pls. 39-40.

6. J. Faber, *Nova Plantarum, animalium et mineralium mexicanorum historia*, Rome, 1628, p. 831: 'Petrus Paulus Rubenius demum, Antiquitatum in marmore, & aere comus ac promus, qui & ipse Germanus, cum fratre Philippo libris editis claro, ambo olim Lipsii discipuli, digni ipsius Cathedrae successores esse potuerunt...'

7. M. Warnke, *Kommentare zu Rubens*, Berlin, 1965, pp. 21-27, 33-38.

8. The engraving by Harrewyn, *Maison Hilwerue à Anuers dit l'hostel Rubens*, 1684, shows busts decorating the façade of Rubens's house. The original sculpture was probably kept in Rubens's *Antiquarium* where he could study it.

9. Peiresc to Gevaerts, 17 January 1620 (*Rooeses-Ruelens*, II, p. 240).

10. *Judson-Van de Velde*, pp. 160-167, nos. 31-32, figs. 108 and 111.

11. *Vlieghe, Saints*, II, pp. 76-78, no. 115b, fig. 43; *Held, Drawings*, 1986, p. 119, no. 129, pl. 88. On the right the profile of the marble of Emperor 'Galba' is squeezed in. See No. 126.

12. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Rawlinson A 341, fol. 36r (see Appendix VII.1). Dubuisson-Aubenay reports to have seen 'Une teste de Senèque excellente' displayed among the antique heads in the Gallery during his visit to the Buckingham collection in 1627 (*Halkin, Dubuisson-Aubenay*, p. 184).

13. Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS Fr.18987: *Spécification des Peintures trouuées à la maison mortuaire de feu Messire Pierre Paul Rubens Chevalier &c.*, fol. 205 (cf. *Jaffé, Rubens and Italy*, p. 83).

14. G.P. Bellori, *Vite de' pittori, scultori ed architetti moderni*, Rome, 1672, p. 245: 'Con l'occasione ch'egli poi andò in Inghilterra... vendè tutto il suo studio al Duca di Buchingan cento mila fiorini, e per non attristarsi nella perdita di quelle cose, che gli erano carissime, formò le statue di gesso, e le ripose ne' luoghi de gli originali...'

15. W. Prinz, 'The "Four Philosophers" by Rubens and the Pseudo-Seneca in Seventeenth-Century Painting', *The Art Bulletin*, LV, 1973, pp. 410-428. Prinz suggested (p. 412) that Lipsius may have helped to identify the Farnese sculpture as Seneca. (Lipsius stayed in Rome from 1568-1570). This seems unlikely as Orsini would certainly have included the newly identified portrait in his own iconographical book, *Imagines*, of 1570. The bust of *Seneca* was probably not yet in the collection of Cardinal Far-

nese: the inventory of 1568 does not list such a bust (see note 2). A bust of *Seneca* belonging to Cornelis van der Geest is pictured on the painting of his art gallery by W. van Haecht (Antwerp, Rubenshuis; J.S. Held, 'Artis Pictoriae Amator', in *Held, Circle*, pl. V.3 marked I). A cast of 'Seneca's tronie, op antieq. gegoten' is listed in the inventory of the estate of Erasmus Quellin II (d.1678; *Denucé, Konst-kamers*, p. 280). It was possibly a cast of Rubens's marble. An entry in the 1656 inventory of Rembrandt van Rijn's possessions also lists a bust of *Seneca* (fol. 37v; K. Clark, *Rembrandt and the Italian Renaissance*, New York, 1966, p. 208, no. 332). For paintings with casts of *Seneca* see also J.G. van Gelder, 'Caspar Netscher's portret van Abraham van Lennep uit 1672', *Jaarboek Amstelodamum*, LXX, 1978, pp. 227-238, figs. 1-5; M. Plomp, in [Cat. Exh.] *De dood van Seneca door Gerard van Honthorst?*, Centraal Museum, Utrecht, 1982, pp. 11-21 (J.J. Feyn kindly brought this catalogue to my attention).

16. M. Vickers, 'Rubens's Bust of "Seneca"?', *The Burlington Magazine*, CXIX, 1977, pp. 643-644, fig. 60; Richter, *Portraits of the Greeks, Supplement*, [1972], p. 5, no. 11\*. J.M. Muller, *Rubens: The Artist as Collector*, Princeton, N.J., 1989, p. 151, no. 7, pl. 130, rejected both this and the following sculptures.
17. *Judson-Van de Velde*, fig. 112. The marble is not listed in Richter, *Portraits of the Greeks*.
18. *Judson-Van de Velde*, p. 166, under no. 32, fig. 113; Richter, *Portraits of the Greeks*, I, p. 61, no. 30, figs. 198-200.
19. Rowlands, *Rubens Drawings*, p. 97, nos. 131-132, repr. The drawing has been attributed to Rubens by Hind, Rowlands and Renger. The first state of the print is in pure etching (the only impression is in London, British Museum); it was reworked with the burin by Vorsterman.

### 117a. Head of 'Seneca': Drawing (Fig. 224)

Pen and brown ink over main drawing in black chalk, mouth and beard heightened with white, grey washes; 270 × 180 mm.; edges irregularly worn off; indented with a stylus; bottom right collector's mark of J.D. Lempereur (L.1740). Mounted.  
*New York, Metropolitan Museum, Robert Lehman Collection*. Inv. No. 1975.1.843.

PROVENANCE: Pierre Crozat (Paris, 1665-1740); J.D. Lempereur (Paris, 1701-1779), his sale, Paris, 24 May 1773, lot 305; Henri Duval

(Liège, d.1910), his sale, Amsterdam (F. Muller), 22-23 June 1910, lot 336.

EXHIBITED: *Peter Paul Rubens. A Loan Exhibition*, Schaeffer & Brandt, New York, 1942, no. 28; *Cambridge-New York*, 1956, no. 13, pl. XVII; *Exposition de la Collection Lehman de New York*, Musée de l'Orangerie, Paris, 1957, no. 125, pl. LXIII; *The Lehman Collection*, Art Museum, Cincinnati, 1959, no. 243, repr.; *The Lehman Collection*, New York, 7 West 54th Street, [1964] p. 26; *Old Master Drawings from American Collections*, County Museum, Los Angeles, 1976, no. 216, repr.; *Antwerp*, 1977, no. 158, repr.; *Seventeenth-Century Dutch and Flemish Drawings from the Robert Lehman Collection*, New York, 1979, no. 65, repr.; *100 Master Drawings from the Lehman Collection*, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 1985-1986; *Flemish Prints and Drawings [from the Metropolitan Museum of Art Collection]*, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 1986.

LITERATURE: A. Mongan and P. Sachs, *Drawings in the Fogg Art Museum*, Cambridge, Mass., 1940, pp. 251-252, under no. 485; *Goris-Held*, p. 43, no. 111, pl. 101; *Burchard-d'Hulst, Tekeningen*, p. 88, under no. 99; *Miesel, Ancient Art*, p. 76, n. 155; J.S. Held, 'Drawings and Oil Sketches by Rubens from American Collections', *The Burlington Magazine*, XCVIII, 1956, p. 123 ('chalk sketch by Rubens'); J. Rosenberg, [Review of Exh. *Cambridge-New York*, 1956], *Art Quarterly*, XIX, 1956, p. 142; M. Jaffé, [Review of Exh. *Old Master Drawings*, Agnew's, London, 1956], *The Burlington Magazine*, XCIX, 1957, p. 432; *Stechow, Rubens*, pp. 29-30; *Renger, Rubens Dedit*, p. 165, n. 121; *Kuznetsov, Risunki*, 1974, fig. 149; G. Szabo, *The Robert Lehman Collection. A Guide*, New York, 1975, p. 104, fig. 183; F. Baudouin, *Pietro Paolo Rubens*, trans. E. Callander, New York, 1977, p. 322, fig. 163; *Zijlstra-Zweens, Karakterkoppen*, p. 205, fig. 3; *Logan, Rubens Exhibitions*, 1977, p. 409, no. 158 ('chalk sketch by Rubens'); G. Szabo, [Cat. Exh.] *Seventeenth-Century Dutch and Flemish Drawings from the Robert*

*Lehman Collection*, New York, 1979, no. 65, repr.; A.M. Logan, in *Master Drawings*, XVIII, 1980, p. 58; R.J. Tijs, *P.P. Rubens en J. Jordaens. Barok in eigen huis*, Antwerp, 1984, p. 71, repr.; *Pohlen, Untersuchungen*, pp. 281-282, under no. 49.

The pen drawing with the bust of *Seneca* seen in three-quarter view facing left copies an underlying sketch in black chalk, although it is not exactly the same. The pen drawing was accepted by Burchard as a work by Rubens's hand. In the last decades a consensus has been reached that the pen drawing was executed by an assistant, perhaps an engraver, and that the black chalk sketch beneath it is probably by Rubens. The vigorous pen drawing is rather pedestrian in part: for example, the hair lock below the ears, but it can in my view still be accepted as by the master. The left eyebrow, mouth, underlip and neck are retouched with a pen in a darker ink, possibly by Rubens. The drawing served Lucas Vorsterman I as the model for his engraving (No. 117; Fig. 223).

The provenance of the sheet appears to be the same as that of the drawing of a bust of *Nero* (No. 114a). Mariette first referred to them, when he spotted them in the collection of Crozat, although the drawings are not mentioned by name in his 1741 catalogue of Crozat's drawings.<sup>1</sup> At the sale of Crozat's collection both drawings were apparently acquired by Lempereur: they bear his collector's mark at the bottom right and are listed in the sale catalogue of 1773.<sup>2</sup> Apparently remaining together, the drawings ended up in the possession of Henri Duval and were separated at the sale of his collection in 1910.<sup>3</sup>

1. *Abécédario de P.J. Mariette*, ed. P. de Chennevières and A. de Montaiglon, V, Paris, 1858-59, p. 118: 'deux desseins de Rubens pour ces bustes' (see No. 114a, notes 1 and 2 for more details).

2. *Catalogue d'une riche collection... du cabinet de M\* [Lempereur]*, Paris, 24 May 1773, lot 305: 'deux têtes à la plume, d'après l'antique'.

3. *Catalogue des dessins anciens formant la collection de M. Henri Duval de Liège*; sale, Amsterdam (Frederik Muller), 22-23 June, 1910, p. 56, no. 336: 'Buste de

*Sénèque*, Gravé par L. Vorsterman... Cabinet-Lempereur'. The incorrect 'Earl of Warwick (1896)' provenance is given for the first time in the 1956 Cambridge-New York exhibition catalogue. The entry in the 1957 Paris catalogue refers to it as 'Coll. Earl of Warwick (marque indistincte, Lugt no. 2600?)'. The mark at bottom right is, however, certainly not *L.2600* but rather *L.1740* (Lempereur). The collection of the Earl of Warwick (1818-1893) was sold in London by Christie's on 20-21 May 1896. I have not been able to find the entry in the sales catalogue.

### 117b. Head of 'Seneca': Retouched Engraving (Fig. 222)

Engraving (No. 117, State I), washes in black and white paint with the brush; 293 × 200 mm.; bottom centre early 19th-century mark of the Print Room of the Bibliothèque Nationale (L.408).

*Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Dessins*. CC 34 j réserve, fol. 118, Inv. No. C 10.513.

PROVENANCE: P.J. Mariette (Paris, 1694-1775); acquired for the Royal Collection in 1775.

LITERATURE: *Rooses*, V, p. 15; *Van den Wijngaert, Prentkunst*, p. 104, under no. 746; *Renger, Rubens Dedit*, p. 167, fig. 21; *Zijlstra-Zweens, Karakterkoppen*, p. 205; *Pohlen, Untersuchungen*, p. 282, under no. 49.

After Lucas Vorsterman I engraved the plate with the head of *Seneca* (No. 117, State I), Rubens wished to have some changes made. A proof impression *avant la lettre* shows the alterations marked by the artist (Fig. 222). He whitened out wrinkles on the flabby skin of the throat and touched up the eyes with black paint. The changes were carefully adopted in the final state (Fig. 223).

### 118. Head of 'Socrates' (Thucydides?): Engraving (Fig. 228)

Engraving by P. Pontius; 315 × 211 mm.; leg-end centre below: SOCRATES SOPHRONISCI

FILIVS: ATHENIESIS [sic] / *Ex marmore antiquo.*, bottom left: *P.P. Rubens delin. / P. Pontius sculpsit. Ao. 1638.*, bottom right: *Cum priuilegiis Regis Christianiss./ Principum Belgarum et Ord. Batauaiae.*

COPIES: (1) Engraving (in reverse) by B. Kilian II, after a drawing by J. Sandrart, in *Sandrart, Teutsche Academie*, 1679, pl. H facing p. 50. LIT. *Hollstein, German*, XVI, p. 203, no. 709.

(2) Mezzotint engraving (in reverse) by J. Faber Senior (c.1650-1721). LIT. *V.S.*, p. 224, no. 26; *Le Blanc, Manuel*, II, p. 208, no. 1; *Rooses*, V, p. 16; *Wurzbach*, I, p. 524, no. 1.

(3) Engraving by J.H. Lips, 1777. LIT. *V.S.*, p. 138, no. 25; *Rooses*, V, p. 12, under no. 1209.

(4) Anonymous engraving (in reverse) attributed to J. Houbraken or to Fokker, inscribed with a poem by 'I.v.Z.' (impression Haarlem, Teylers Museum). LIT. *V.S.*, p. 138, no. 24; *Rooses*, V, p. 12, under no. 1209.

LITERATURE: *Le Comte, Cabinet*, I, p. 110; *Hecquet, Rubens*, p. 120, no. 43.9; *Basan*, p. 164, no. 6.2; *Del Marmol, Catalogue*, p. 79, no. 1101.2; *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, p. 332, no. 1264; *V.S.*, p. 223, no. 25.2; *Dutuit*, VI, p. 208, no. 6.2; *Rooses*, V, p. 12, no. 1209; *Rooses, Vie*, p. 345; *Van den Wijngaert, Prentkunst*, p. 84, no. 553; B.L.D. Ihle, in *Cat. Exh. Rotterdam*, 1969, p. 50, no. 83; *Renger, Rubens Dedit*, p. 163; *Hollstein*, XVII, p. 199, no. 155; *Bodart, Incisione*, p. 111, no. 231, repr.; *Zijlstra-Zweens, Karakterkoppen*, p. 203; *Cat. Exh. Bremen*, 1977, p. 62, no. 60; J. Heynen, in *Cat. Exh. Cologne*, 1977, II, p. 96, pl. 101; *Cat. Exh. Lisbon*, 1978, no. 70; *Van Gelder-Jost, Jan de Bisschop*, p. 276, under no. 48; *Pohlen, Untersuchungen*, p. 242, no. 29; *Bodart, Rubens*, 1985-86, p. 67, no. 95, repr.

The engraving of a balding head with a neatly arranged curly beard seen in three-quarter view facing right was made by Paul Pontius. According to the legend, a preparatory drawing by Rubens served him as model.

The portrait was identified on the print as *Socrates*. The iconography of the Greek phil-

osopher was at the time quite well established.<sup>1</sup> However, the sculpture on Pontius' engraving does not show the Silenic features and probably does not represent Socrates. The portrait resembles a marble, tentatively identified as *Thucydides* with a similar large, balding head and a beard separated in two swirls.<sup>2</sup> The unidentified marble rendered in the engraving might have been identical with a head of *Socrates* acquired by Rubens from Sir Dudley Carleton in 1618.<sup>3</sup> The same sculpture, now placed on a square stand, was engraved by Jan de Bisschop.<sup>4</sup>

The legend, 'Socrates, son of Sophroniscos, the Athenian', is the Latinized version of a Greek inscription on a herm of Socrates at the time in the Vatican. The text was published by Statius and could have been used by Rubens (Fig. 230; see note 1).

Pontius' print belongs to the series of Twelve Famous Greek and Roman Men; the five plates he engraved all bear the date 1638. The Socrates came out rather well.

The sculpture inspired Rubens for the head of the elderly man lifting up Susanna's drapery in *Susanna and the Elders* in the Academia de Bellas Artes in Madrid.<sup>5</sup>

1. *Statius, Inlustrium Virorum*, pl. VI; *Ursinus, Imagines*, p. 51, reprinted the herm without the inscription; see R. Kekulé von Stradonitz, 'Die Bildnisse des Sokrates', *Abhandlungen der Preussischen Akademie, Phil.-hist. Klasse*, 1908, pp. 1-7, figs. 2-3. *Hülsem, Herminenschriften*, p. 201, no. 146\*, considered the inscription spurious; *Richter, Portraits of the Greeks*, I, p. 112, no. 7, fig. 511, considered the herm antique, but the inscription on the shaft is condemned as a 16th-century falsification. *Faber, Illustrium Imagines*, pp. 75-76, pl. 134, 'SOCRATES' (Fig. 461; see under No. 222), pictures a bust in the Farnese collection (*Richter, Portraits of the Greeks*, I, p. 111, no. 4, fig. 482; Naples, Museo Nazionale, Inv. No. 6129). His pl. 133 (Fig. 455; see under No. 219) renders a bronze contorniate in the collection of Fulvio Orsini.
2. *Richter, Portraits of the Greeks*, I, p. 149, figs. 843-845, doubted the identification as Thucydides.
3. The 1615 shipping list mentions: 'Nella cassa no. 5 sono ... 105 Socrate' (*Muller, Rubens's Museum*, p. 581).
4. J. de Bisschop, *Paradigmata*, [1671], pl. 48; *Van Gelder-Jost, Jan de Bisschop*, p. 276, no. 48.



5. R.-A. d'Hulst and M. Vandenven, *Rubens. The Old Testament (Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard, III)*, London-New York, 1989, p. 204, no. 59, fig. 153.

### 118a. Head of 'Socrates' (Thucydides?): Drawing

Presumably pen and black ink over black chalk; presumably 307 × 198 mm.

Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.

PROVENANCE: Jacob Spex (d. The Hague 1776), his sale, The Hague, 16 October 1776, lot 63; Henri Duval (Liège), his sale, Amsterdam (F. Muller), 22–23 June 1910, lot 337.

An unknown drawing by Rubens of a head of Socrates served as model for the engraving by Pontius (No. 118; Fig. 228). The drawing matches an entry in the catalogue of the estate of Jacob Spex sold in the Hague in 1776,<sup>1</sup> where it is listed together with the print Pontius engraved after it. This drawing and the print later surfaced in the collection of Henri Duval in Liège. From the listing in the sales catalogue the technique and dimensions are known.<sup>2</sup>

1. *Catalogus van eene... verzameling... nagelaten door wijlen Jacob Spex... 's Gravenhage Woensdag den XVI October 1776...*, lot 63: 'Socrates door Rubbens, met de pen, en de Print die er na gegraveert is'.

2. *Catalogue des dessins anciens formant la collection de M. Henri Duval de Liège...*, lot 337: 'Tête de Socrate, placée dans une niche. Ce dessin a été gravé par P. Pontius; la gravure s'y trouve ajoutée. Plume et pierre noire. Haut. 30,7, large 19,8 cm.'. The drawings of Nero (No. 114a) and Seneca (No. 117a) also belonged to Duval (lots 335 and 336).

### 119. Herm of Sophocles: Engraving (Fig. 229)

Engraving by P. Pontius; 304 × 218 mm.; legend centre below: SOPHOCLES SOPHILL F. ATH-ENIENSIS. / *Ex marmore antiquo.*, bottom left: P.P. Rubens delin. / P. Pontius sculpsit Ao. 1638.,

bottom right: *Cum priuilegiis Regis Christianissimi. / Principum Belgarum et Ord. Bataviae.*

COPY: Engraving (in reverse) by B. Kilian II after a drawing by J. Sandrart, in *Sandrart, Teutsche Academie*, 1679, pl. H facing p. 50. LIT. *Hollstein, German*, XVI, p. 203, no. 709.

LITERATURE: *Le Comte, Cabinet*, I, p. 110; *Hecquet, Rubens*, p. 120, no. 43.6; *Basan*, p. 164, no. 6.1; *Del Marmol, Catalogue*, p. 79, no. 1101.1; *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, p. 332, no. 1264; *V.S.*, p. 223, no. 25.1; *Dutuit*, VI, p. 208, no. 6.1; *Rooses*, V, p. 12, no. 1208; *Rooses, Vie*, p. 345; *Van den Wijngaert, Prentkunst*, p. 84, no. 552; B.L.D. Ihle, *Cat. Exh. Rotterdam*, 1969, p. 50, no. 84; *Renger, Rubens Dedit*, p. 163; *Hollstein*, XVII, p. 199, no. 156; *Bodart, Incisione*, p. 111, no. 230, repr.; *Zijlstra-Zweens, Karakterkoppen*, p. 203; *Cat. Exh. Bremen*, 1977, p. 62, no. 59; [Cat. Exh.] *Rubens and his Engravers*, Colnaghi, London, 1977, no. 94; *Cat. Exh. Lisbon*, 1978, no. 67; *Van Gelder-Jost, Jan de Bisschop*, p. 276, under no. 49; *Pohlen, Untersuchungen*, p. 243, no. 30; *Bodart, Rubens*, 1985–86, p. 67, no. 94.

A herm with the bearded head of a man wearing a *taenia* and drapery on his right shoulder is seen in three-quarter view facing left. The work drawing, attributed to Rubens in the legend by the engraver, Paul Pontius, is not known. The unidentified sculpture might have belonged to Rubens's collection, yet there is no evidence to support this hypothesis. The same herm appears on an engraving by J. de Bisschop.<sup>1</sup> On his print the herm bears a Greek inscription 'ΣΟΦΟΚΛΗΣ' on the front of the shaft. This inscription might have been deliberately omitted (cf. Nos. 112 and 113).

The herm on Pontius' print clearly resembles Sophocles' portrait of the Farnese type: the head wears a *taenia* and the eyebrows are raised giving the face a puzzled look. Orsini first identified the portrait of Sophocles from an inscribed marble roundel in his collection.<sup>2</sup> Many replicas of this type are

preserved.<sup>3</sup> A herm in the Vatican Museum with a Greek inscription and with drapery on the left shoulder like the herm on Pontius' print (which shows the original sculpture in reverse), was not yet known at that time.<sup>4</sup>

The legend, 'Sophocles, son of Sophilius, the Athenian', is the Latinized text of a Greek inscription on a herm (a 16th-century falsification) recorded by Pirro Ligorio.<sup>5</sup>

The engraving by Pontius belongs to a series of twelve Famous Greek and Roman Men, for which he engraved five plates all dated 1638. Although his technique is not very refined, the print is of good quality, but the texture of the skin does not look as smooth as on his *Socrates* engraving (No. 118; Fig. 228).

No proof print of the Sophocles engraving is known, but the present state indicates a correction to the contour of the neck.

1. J. de Bisschop, *Paradigmata*, [1671], pl. 49; *Van Gelder-Jost, Jan de Bisschop*, pp. 276-277, under no. 49.
2. Ursinus, *Imagines*, p. 24, pl. 25; republished in *Faber, Illustrium Imagines*, p. 76, pl. 136: 'SOPHOCLES' (Fig. 231).
3. Richter, *Portraits of the Greeks*, I, pp. 124-133, nos. 1-32.
4. *Ibid.*, I, pp. 125-126, no. 1, figs. 611-613; *Amelung, Skulpturen*, II, pp. 176-177, no. 69b, pl. 11: found in 1778.  
Van Gelder and Jost, *loc. cit.*, suggest a herm at Ince Blundell Hall to be closer to the herm on Pontius' engraving. Its provenance is unknown, however, and more importantly the shaft of the herm with drapery is a modern restoration (B. Ashmole, *A Catalogue of the Ancient Marbles at Ince Blundell Hall*, Oxford, 1929, p. 77, no. 208, pl. 29; Richter, *Portraits of the Greeks*, p. 127, no. 19, figs. 656-657).
5. Hülsen, *Hermeninschriften*, p. 200, no. 141\*, considered the inscription spurious.

### 119a. Herm of Sophocles: Drawing

Technique and measurements unknown.  
*Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.*

According to the legend, the engraving by Paul Pontius with a herm of Sophocles (No. 119; Fig. 229) was made after a drawing by

Rubens. This preparatory drawing is not known.

### 120-123 SHEET WITH FOUR STUDIES: 'DEMOCRITUS', 'SENECA' AND HERCULES

#### 120. Head of 'Democritus': Drawing (Fig. 236)

Pen and brown ink over main drawing in black chalk on thick brown paper; 74 × 64 mm.; cut out along a circular line drawn in black chalk with a handle at the bottom; annotations in pen and black ink in Rubens's handwriting in centre right: *In Grande*, bottom centre: *Mitridates*, and below this: *Alexander*; below right collector's mark of J. Richardson Senior (L.2184). Mounted.—*Verso*: profile of a woman (fragment) and inscription in Rubens' hand: *et ex una parte rubrum [eburneum crossed out] diadema.*

*London, British Museum, Department of Prints and Drawings.* Inv. No. 1858-6-26-143.

PROVENANCE: Jonathan Richardson Senior (London, 1665-1745); Thomas Philipe (d.1817, London), sale London (King), 13-22 March 1817, part of lot 675 (withdrawn); his sale London (Evans), 22 May 1817, part of lot 188; acquired by the Museum in 1858.

COPY: Etching by G. van der Gucht, in *Van der Gucht, Coins*, 1740, no. 13 (as 'Socrates'). LIT. *V.S.*, pp. 238-239, no. 66; *Rooses*, V, p. 212, under no. 1404.

EXHIBITED: *London*, 1977, no. 110.

LITERATURE: *Rooses*, V, p. 212, no. 1404; *Hind, Rubens*, p. 25, no. 65; *Rowlands, Rubens Drawings*, p. 93, no. 110, repr.; *Jaffé, Rubens and Italy*, p. 83, n. 80.

A balding man, with a snub nose and full beard, his head crowned with ivy (?) is seen in frontal view. Round lines on his chest indicate drapery. The paper is shaped like a mirror with a handle and was obviously cut from a larger sheet. The two names in Rubens's handwriting on the handle presumably allude to other portrait sketches. The annotation to the right of the head probably refers to the model 'of large dimensions' for the drawing.

The head resembles a bust, pictured on an engraving by Lucas Vorsterman and identified as 'Democritus' (No. 111; Fig. 201), which probably belonged to Rubens.

Van der Gucht made an etching of the sketch and published it in his *Antique Greek and Roman Coins, Gems &c Engraved from Original Drawings of Rubens*, London, 1740<sup>1</sup> and identified the portrait as Socrates.

Burchard dated the sketch as a late work by Rubens. To the same sheet of paper belonged two heads of 'Seneca' (Nos. 121-122) and a head of *Hercules* (No. 123). These sketches are in the same style as the small sketches of gems made by the artist (Nos. 174-183).

1. An entry in the sales catalogue of T. Philipe, 21-23 May 1817, lot 188, lists Van der Gucht's publication together with the drawings: 'Rubens: A Volume in quarto containing the set of Etchings of Greek and Roman Coins, Gems &c engraved from the drawings of Rubens by G. van der Gucht, together with the original drawings, by the hand of Rubens, COMPLETE — an extremely interesting and valuable collection'. See also the introduction to Nos. 186-199, n. 2.

### 121. Head of 'Seneca' (frontal view): Drawing (Fig. 237)

Pen and brown ink over traces in black chalk on thick brown paper; 50 × 44 mm.; the paper is cut out in an oval shape; below right collector's mark of J. Richardson Senior (L.2184). Mounted.—*Verso*: inscription in Rubens's hand: *ex aliquo liq...alcune in* [?].  
*London, British Museum, Department of Prints and Drawings*. Inv. No. 1858-6-26-147.

PROVENANCE: Same as No. 120.

COPY: Etching by G. van der Gucht, in *Van der Gucht, Coins*, 1740, no. 17. LIT. V.S., pp. 238-239, no. 66; *Rooses*, V, p. 213, under no. 1404.

EXHIBITED: *London*, 1977, no. 117.

LITERATURE: *Rooses*, V, p. 212, no. 1404; *Hind, Rubens*, p. 26, no. 69; *Rowlands, Rubens Drawings*, p. 94, no. 117, repr.; *Jaffé, Rubens and Italy*, p. 83, n. 80.

The drawing shows the head of the so-called *Seneca* in frontal view. It is probably a reduced view of the marble bust in Rubens's possession (cf. Fig. 218; No. 117), or it may be drawn after a gem.<sup>1</sup>

The sketch, dated by Burchard as a late work by Rubens, was cut out of a larger sheet, as lines in black chalk in the upper right reveal. Originally a sketch of a bust of 'Democritus' (No. 120), a head of 'Seneca' in side view (No. 122) and the head of a *Hercules* (No. 123), belonged to the same sheet of thick brown paper. The sketch was used for an etching by Van der Gucht.

1. Besançon, MS Chifflet 189, cista 14, no. 6, lists a copy of a gem with *Seneca* sold to the Duke of Buckingham (see Appendix VIII).

### 122. Head of 'Seneca' (side view): Drawing (Fig. 239)

Pen and brown ink over main drawing in black chalk on thick brown paper; diameter: 109 mm. Mounted.—*Verso*: head of a bearded man, ? not by Rubens.  
*London, British Museum, Department of Prints and Drawings*. Inv. No. 1858-6-26-146.

PROVENANCE: Same as No. 120.

COPY: Etching by G. van der Gucht, in *Van der Gucht, Coins*, 1740, no. 16. LIT. V.S., pp. 238-239, no. 66; *Rooses*, V, p. 212, under no. 1404.

EXHIBITED: *London, 1977*, no. 118.

LITERATURE: *Rooses*, V, p. 212, nos. 1404 and 1405.2; *Hind, Rubens*, p. 26, no. 68; *Rowlands, Rubens Drawings*, p. 94, no. 118, repr.; *Jaffé, Rubens and Italy*, p. 83, n. 80.

The bust of the so-called *Seneca* is drawn in side view facing left. A square frame is drawn around it in black chalk. In the upper left locks of hair are sketched and at the top right part of a head with a full beard in black chalk is visible. The sketch was used for an etching by Van der Gucht.

The drawing, dated by Burchard as a late work by Rubens, is cut out of a larger sheet, to which belonged sketches of the heads of 'Democritus' (No. 120), a 'Seneca' full face (No. 121) and a *Hercules* (No. 123).

### 123. Head of Hercules Farnese: Drawing (Fig. 238)

Pen and brown ink over main drawing in black chalk on thick brown paper; 58 × 48 mm.; cut out in an oval shape; bottom right collector's mark of J. Richardson Senior (L.2184). Mounted.

*London, British Museum, Department of Prints and Drawings*. Inv. No. 1858-6-26-141.

PROVENANCE: Same as No. 120.

COPY: Etching by G. van der Gucht, in *Van der Gucht, Coins*, 1740, no. 10. LIT. *V.S.*, pp. 238–239, no. 66; *Rooses*, V, p. 212, under no. 1404.

EXHIBITED: *London, 1977*, no. 105.

LITERATURE: *Rooses*, V, p. 212, no. 1404; *Hind, Rubens*, p. 26, no. 62; *Rowlands, Rubens Drawings*, p. 91, no. 105, repr.; *Jaffé, Rubens and Italy*, p. 83.

A head of *Hercules* is drawn in side view facing right. The chest is only indicated by a

contour in black chalk. Rubens's sketch may render a sculpture on a reduced scale or an unidentified gem in his collection. Van der Gucht used the drawing for an etching.

The drawing, which Burchard dated a late work by Rubens, is cut out of a larger sheet: a sketch with the bust of 'Democritus' (No. 120), a head of 'Seneca' full face (No. 121) and a head of 'Seneca' in side view (No. 122) originally belonged to it.

### 124-125 THE 'DYING ALEXANDER' (DYING GIANT) (DE' MEDICI)

#### 124. Head of The 'Dying Alexander' (Dying Giant) (De' Medici): Drawing

Technique and measurements unknown.  
*Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.*

COPY: Drawing (Fig. 243), Darmstadt, Hessisches Landesmuseum, Inv. No. HZ 5329; black chalk on grey-brown paper, 318 × 235 mm.; inscribed in pen and brown ink at bottom centre *A V Dijck*.—*Verso*: animal mask. EXH. *Peter Paul Rubens und sein Kreis*, Hessisches Landesmuseum, Darmstadt, 1977, no. 23. LIT. R. Schoch, in [Cat. Exh.] *Peter Paul Rubens und sein Kreis*, Darmstadt, 1977, p. 22, no. 23, repr.

A copy in Darmstadt (Fig. 243) shows the head of a young man, his eyes looking upward, in three-quarter view facing right from below. The face is framed by thick curly hair. A line to the right of the chin marks the termination of the neck. Light falling in from the right casts shadows on the left side of the face, indicated by hatchings. Background hatchings occur to the left and right side of the head.

The so-called *Dying Alexander* was used as model (Fig. 240; Florence, Uffizi).<sup>1</sup> The portrait sculpture matches an elaborate description by Aldroandi of a head in the Casino of

Cardinal Rodolfo Pio da Carpi in Rome.<sup>2</sup> Among the artists who drew da Carpi's sculpture was G.B. Franco. His pen studies render the head from several angles.<sup>3</sup>

After the death of da Carpi (d.1564) the head was probably acquired by Cosimo I, Grand Duke of Tuscany, for his *antiquarium*. In 1574 Andrea Pezzano visited the Palazzo Pitti in Florence and recorded 'un Alessandro' as one of the 35 sculptures displayed in the *galleria delle nicchie*.<sup>4</sup> It was first restored by Giambologna in 1579, and in 1586 G. Caccino mounted it on a bust. In December 1595 the head was removed to the Uffizi.<sup>5</sup>

The larger than life face with its pleading eyes and gasping mouth became known as the 'Dying Alexander,' but Amelung identified it as a *Dying Giant*, copied after a Hellenistic sculpture from the Pergamene school.<sup>6</sup>

The unusual position of the sculpture lying on its back was due to the fact that a substantial part of the back of the head was missing.<sup>7</sup>

Rubens could have made the drawing during one of his visits to Florence (in October 1600 or March 1603). Another possibility would be that he used a cast that may have belonged to his collection and been included in the 1626 sale to the Duke of Buckingham, since the 1635 indenture of the latter's estate lists 'A great head of Alex:r Magnus' and an 'Alexanders head'.<sup>8</sup> Rubens's physiognomical studies usually date from after his return to Antwerp.

Another drawing by Rubens, also no longer known, shows the head slightly more from below (No. 125, Copy; Fig. 242, bottom centre).

A sheet in St Petersburg attributed to Rubens renders the sculpture in mirror image (Fig. 241).<sup>9</sup> He used it literally for the head of the saint in the *Martyrdom of St Stephen* (Valenciennes; *K.d.K.*, p. 158).<sup>10</sup>

The head with its pleading look inspired Rubens on several occasions for heads of martyrs: of *St Lawrence* (Munich; *K.d.K.*, p. 109) and *St John the Evangelist* (Malines, St John; *K.d.K.*, p. 165), *St George* (Bordeaux, Musée des

Beaux-Arts),<sup>11</sup> and *St Sebastian* (Berlin; *K.d.K.*, p. 48).<sup>12</sup> The antique head is also reflected in his *Daniel in the Lion's Den* (Washington, National Gallery),<sup>13</sup> and the head of the Consul in the *Death of Decius Mus* (Vaduz, Liechtenstein Collection; *K.d.K.*, p. 146).<sup>14</sup>

1. *Mansuelli, Cat. Uffizi*, pp. 94-96, no. 62 (Inv. No. 338), figs. 64 a and b; *Haskell-Penny*, pp. 134-136, no. 2, fig. 70.
2. *Aldroandi, Statue antiche*, p. 205: 'la testa di Alessandro Magno assai più grande del Naturale, & in atto di vn che more...'. G.B. Pelli, *Saggio storico della Real Galleria di Firenze*, Florence, 1779, pp. 139-140, identified da Carpi's sculpture with the head now in Florence.
3. Turin portfolio, fols. 18v, 27r, 29v (*Canedy, Girolamo da Carpi*, pp. 102, 116, 118, pl. 38 T 109, pl. 44 T 161, pl. 46 T 173).
4. M. Mosco, 'Una "Descrizione dell'apparato delle stanze del Palazzo de' Pitti in Fiorenza" edita a Venezia nel 1577', *Antichità Viva*, XIX, 1980, p. 12, n. 40, fig. 13.
5. Presumably for restoration: cf. E. Mandowsky, 'The Bust of the Dying Alexander', *The Burlington Magazine*, XCII, 1950, p. 232.
6. W. Amelung, *Führer durch die Antiken in Florenz*, Munich, 1897, pp. 95-96, no. 151; *Bieber, Hellenistic Sculpture*, pp. 119-120, n. 69.
7. E. Schwarzenberg, 'From the Alessandro Morente to the Alexandre Richelieu. The Portraiture of Alexander the Great in Seventeenth-Century Italy and France', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, XXXII, 1969, p. 398, n. 4, rejected F. Cumont's observation that 'the entire back of the head is modern'. *Mansuelli, Cat. Uffizi*, fig. 64a, clearly shows the large area of restoration to the back of the head.
8. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Rawlinson A 341, fol. 36v (see Appendix VII.1).
9. *Vlieghe, Saints*, II, p. 153, no. 146b, fig. 113 (the antique statue is not mentioned); *Kuznetsov, Risunki*, 1974, pl. 51; [Cat. Exh.] *P.P. Rubens*, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Antwerp, 1977, p. 321, no. 142, repr.; [Cat. Exh.] *Rubens*, Darmstadt, 1977, p. 22, under no. 23.
10. *Vlieghe, Saints*, II, pp. 151-152, no. 146, fig. 112.
11. *Ibid.*, II, p. 40, no. 106, fig. 21. Cf. Rubens's *St Mathias* (whereabouts unknown; *ibid.*, I, p. 60, no. 45).
12. *Ibid.*, II, p. 150, no. 145, fig. 108.
13. R.-A. d'Hulst and M. Vandeven, *Rubens. The Old Testament*, (*Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard*, III), London-New York, 1989, no. 57, fig. 13. The preparatory drawing by Rubens is in the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York (Inv. No. 1.232); see *ibid.*, no. 57a, fig. 141; E. Schwarzenberg, op. cit., p.

400, fig. 64b; *Held, Drawings, 1986*, p. 105, no. 92, fig. 85.

14. R. Baumstark, *Peter Paul Rubens. The Decius Mus Cycle*, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 1985, p. 10.

## 125. Head of The 'Dying Alexander' (Dying Giant) (De' Medici): Drawing

Technique and measurements unknown.

*Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.*

COPY: Part of an engraving by P. Pontius in his 'Livre à dessiner' (Fig. 242; the head in the middle below). LIT. *Basan*, p. 242, no. 33; *V.S.*, p. 238, no. 65; *Dutuit*, VI, p. 257, no. 33; *Rooses*, V, p. 25, no. 1229.13, pl. 353; *Van den Wijngaert, Prentkunst*, pp. 84-85, no. 557.14; *Hollstein*, XVII, p. 200, no. 157, repr.; R. Schoch, in [Cat. Exh.] *Peter Paul Rubens und sein Kreis*, Darmstadt, 1977, p. 22, under no. 23.

The head of the 'Dying Alexander', seen slightly more from below than on the drawing in Darmstadt (Fig. 243), appears on one of the engravings by P. Pontius in his so-called 'Livre à dessiner' (Fig. 242).<sup>1</sup> This collection of prints was presumably published after Rubens's death on the initiative of his heirs, and it contains a wealth of Rubens motifs, mostly copied from the drawings he kept in his studio.<sup>2</sup> The head of the 'Dying Alexander', which appears on an engraving with eight other head studies, presumably renders the lost Rubens drawing in reverse.

1. Rooses identified it as the head of a dying youth and considered it a study for one of the genii in the Whitehall ceiling.

2. See under No. 184 for more details on this 'Livre à dessiner'.

## 126. Head of 'Galba': Drawing (Fig. 247)

Black chalk, heightened with white; 377 × 277 mm.; at bottom centre collector's mark of

Lankrink (L.2090) and bottom right mark of Christ Church College (L.2754). Inscribed on mount in pen and black in Zanetti's handwriting: *del Rubens sicurissima, e belliss.ma. Oxford, Christ Church Gallery. Inv. No. 1087.*

PROVENANCE: ?Quellin (Antwerp, 1606-1678); P.H. Lankrink (London, 1628-1692); General John Guise (Oxford, 1682/3-1765), bequeathed to Christ Church in 1765.

COPY: Drawing (Fig. 244), London, Courtauld Institute Galleries, Princes Gate Collection, *MS Johnson*, fol. 70r (213.a); pen in black ink; inscribed at top left: *Galb[a]e*. PROV. Same as no. 95, Copy. LIT. *Jaffé, Antwerp Sketchbook*, I, fig. XXXVIII.

EXHIBITED: *Antwerp, 1956*, no. 15; *London, 1960*, no. 66, pl. LXX; *Masterpieces from Christ Church*, Walker Art Gallery, Liverpool, 1964, no. 43; *Old Master Drawings from Christ Church Oxford*, Circulating Exhibition USA, 1972-73, no. 103; *Rubens in Oxford*, Christ Church Gallery, Oxford-Colnaghi, London, 1988, no. 1.

LITERATURE: J.D. Passavant, *Kunstreise durch England und Belgien*, Frankfurt am Main, 1833, p. 248; G.F. Waagen, *Treasures of Art in Great-Britain*, London, 1854, III, p. 49; C.F. Bell, *Drawings by the Old Masters in the Library of Christ Church*, Oxford, 1914, p. 83, no. GG 11, pl. CIII; *Burchard-d'Hulst, Tekeningen*, p. 36, no. 15; M. Jaffé, 'Rubens' Drawings at Antwerp', *The Burlington Magazine*, XCVIII, 1956, p. 317; [Cat. Exh.] *Paintings and Drawings from Christ Church, Oxford*, London, 1960, no. 66, pl. LXX; *Oeil*, no. 214, 1972, p. 8, fig. 12; *Jaffé, Antwerp Sketchbook*, I, pp. 26-27, fig. XXXVII; J. Byam Shaw, *Drawings by Old Masters at Christ Church Oxford*, Oxford, 1976, I, p. 333, no. 1372, II, pl. 808; B. Cleaver, [Cat. Exh.] *Rubens in Oxford*, Oxford-London, 1988, pp. 20-22, no. 1, repr.

The head of a middle-aged man is seen in nearly frontal view from below. A wavy line

at the bottom of the sheet indicating the termination of the neck points to a marble sculpture as model. An inscription on a partial copy in *MS Johnson* identifies the portrait as that of Emperor Galba (Fig. 244).<sup>1</sup> The unidentified marble is possibly identical with a head acquired by Rubens from Sir Dudley Carleton in 1618.<sup>2</sup> Probably among the sculptures Rubens sold in 1626 to the Duke of Buckingham, it might be identical with 'An old Man's Head' listed in the 1635 Indenture of the Duke's estate.<sup>3</sup>

Praised by Waagen as 'a masterly study from nature', Ludwig Burchard recognized that it was drawn after a sculpture. He assumed that the head was the same as a marble engraved by J. de Bisschop, but this is unlikely as the latter was a draped bust and had much larger eyes.<sup>4</sup> The truncation of the neck is also different and the emperor is pictured as an older man.

Galba's physiognomy was well known from coins, which were issued during his short reign (June 68-January 69 A.D.). However, most busts of Galba are 16th-century creations and Rubens's sculpture was probably no exception.

The drawing has been attributed to Rubens by tradition and might be identical to a sheet listed in the inventory of the estate of Erasmus Quellin II (d.1678) as an 'Opsiede manstronie, naer anticq. Rubbens'.<sup>5</sup> Stylistically the drawing is related to Rubens's head of the so-called *Seneca* in St Petersburg (also seen from below). Interestingly enough the lower part of Galba's head occurs in side view on the same sheet (Fig. 225). Burchard dated the drawing to Rubens's Italian years, but it is more probable that the Oxford sheet dates from the same time as the St Petersburg sheet: the second decade of the 17th century.

Other drawings of Galba existed that are now only known from copies in the various transcripts of Rubens's art-theoretical Notebook. A sketch with a laurelled head of Galba bears an annotation referring to the aquiline nose of the Emperor, a detail described by

Suetonius (Fig. 246).<sup>6</sup> The artist studied the ageing face and flabby skin of the throat on another sketch (Fig. 245).<sup>7</sup> However, the unidentified marble is not the same as the one rendered on the previous drawings. The Emperor is here portrayed at a more advanced age. His eyes lie deeper in hollow sockets and his nose is curved towards a more pronounced chin. The lower lip protrudes and his laurel wreath is missing. Also the skin of his throat is flabbier than on the drawing in Oxford (Fig. 247).

The head of Galba is also pictured on a Rubens painting although it is identified as *Democritus* on the woven border of the mantle.<sup>8</sup> Another painting, exhibited at Colnaghi in 1978, shows him in side view facing right, together with Nero.<sup>9</sup>

1. Cf. *MS Johnson*, fol. 70r (213.a; Fig. 244) (*Jaffé, Antwerp Sketchbook*, I, fig. XXXVIII). Cf. *MS Johnson*, fol. 69r (212.a), inscribed: 'Cesaris Galbex [sic] marmore'; *MS de Ganay*, fol. 13r.
2. The 1615 shipping list mentions: 'Nella cassa no. 21 sono... -25 Testa di Galba' (*Muller, Rubens's Museum*, p. 582).
3. Oxford, Bodleian Library, *MS Rawlinson A 341*, fol. 36v: 'In the Great Chamb.r' (see Appendix VII.1).
4. J. de Bisschop, *Paradigmata Graphices*, [1671], pl. 54: 'Galba, ex marmore antiquo'; see *Van Gelder-Jost, Jan de Bisschop*, p. 279, no. 54 ('same type of head'). Rembrandt also owned a portrait of Galba (K. Clark, *Rembrandt and the Italian Renaissance*, New York, 1966, p. 200, no. 168).
5. *Denucé, Konstkamers*, p. 288. Or it could also be identical with a drawing listed there as 'Een oude manstronie, Rubbens'.
6. *MS Johnson*, fol. 71r (213.b; Fig. 246) inscribed: 'pars antiqui marmoris / c[ae]saris galb[ae]', below this: 'naso leso in fine' (*Jaffé, Antwerp Sketchbook*, I, fig. LXVIII); *MS de Ganay*, fol. 14r.
7. *MS Johnson*, fol. 66r (210.b; Fig. 245), inscribed: 'cesar Galba ex fragmento / antiquo marmoreo' (*Jaffé, Antwerp Sketchbook*, I, pl. LI); *Van Dyck Antwerp Sketchbook*, fol. 67v (ibid., II, p. 243 repr.); *MS de Ganay*, fol. 12r (see *Jombert, Figure humaine*, pl. III, in reverse; *Jaffé, Antwerp Sketchbook*, I, pl. L). See also note 1.  
Cf. G.B. della Porta, *Della Fisonomia dell' Huomo*, [Naples, 1586], Vicenza, 1615, pp. 56r-v, repr., showing a portrait of Galba. Suetonius' Life of the Emperor is quoted as the source of information on Galba's physiognomy.

8. *Democritus and Heraclitus*, now in Princeton, Collection Mr and Mrs J. Seward Johnson. See M. Jaffé, 'Rubens in Italy, II', *The Burlington Magazine*, CX, 1968, p. 184, fig. 17 (dating the painting to 1603); Jaffé, *Rubens and Italy*, p. 68, pl. 222; Bodart, *Rubens*, 1985-86, no. 4.

9. *Paintings by Old Masters*, P. and D. Colnaghi, London, 7 June-7 July 1978, no. 19, repr. Jaffé dated the painting to 1608.

## 127. Bust of A Hellenistic Ruler: Drawing (Fig. 248)

Black chalk, heightened with white, on beige paper; 315 × 228 mm.; inscribed in pen and black ink in a later hand: *Rubens from the Antique*; bottom right collector's mark of Lankrink (L.2090).

New York, Woodner Collection.

PROVENANCE: P.H. Lankrink (London, 1628-1692); ? C. Fairfax Murray; Victor Koch (by 1930), sale London (Sotheby's), 29 June 1949, lot 11 (bought in); sold by Koch to Leo Franklyn, 4 January 1952; sale, Basle (Auctiones SA), Vente publique no. 2, 26 September 1970, lot 69; sale, London (Christie's), 30 March 1971, lot 77; Ian Woodner.

EXHIBITED: *Woodner Collection II, Old Master Drawings from the XV to the XVIII Century*, William Schab Gallery, New York, 1973, no. 81.

LITERATURE: Müller Hofstede, *Beiträge*, pp. 291-293, fig. 211; Jaffé, *Rubens and Italy*, p. 82, n. 58.

The head of a young man with a protruding brow and pointed nose is drawn in almost side view facing right from below. A contour line indicates the termination of a neck and suggests that the source was a marble sculpture. The bust is seen with light falling in from the front, casting dark shadows on the face. The low point from which the sculpture is drawn gives the head an authoritative look.

The drawing depicts a Roman copy of a Hellenistic sculpture (Fig. 250).<sup>1</sup> Last seen in

the collection of Thomas Mansel Talbot at Margam Castle,<sup>2</sup> the head was acquired through Gavin Hamilton from the collection of Cyriacus Mattei in Rome.<sup>3</sup>

The drawing,<sup>4</sup> attributed to Rubens by tradition, was also accepted by Burchard as a work by his hand.<sup>5</sup> The artist visited the Mattei collection and drew several marbles there (see Ch. I, pp. 60-63). He favoured the *de sotto in su* view with strong light contrasts when drawing marble heads (Cf. Nos. 20 and 117; Figs. 44, 223). The provenance of the model indicates a date in the years of his second Roman period (1605/6-1608).

1. Height 34 cm. See F. Poulsen, *Greek and Roman Portraits in English Country Houses*, Oxford, 1923, pp. 40-41, no. 12 (repr.; as a Roman copy); A. Michaelis, *Ancient Marbles in Great-Britain*, Cambridge, 1882, p. 521, no. 14 (as of Hellenistic workmanship); G. Lippold, *Griechische Plastik*, Munich, 1950, p. 321, fig. 114,3 (as a copy after a Pergamese Warrior group, 280-230 B.C.). G. Dickins, 'Some Hellenistic Portraits', *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, XXXIV, 1914, pp. 304-306, fig. 1, identified the effigy as Eumenes II of Pergamon. A replica of the head is in Rome, Magazzino Comunale (*Helbig, Führer*, 1963-72, II, pp. 489-490, no. 1704; G. Dickins, loc. cit., fig. 3).

2. *Catalogue of... ancient Marbles, sold... by the late Emily Charlotte Talbot, Margam*, sale, London (Christie's), 29 October 1941, no. 440, repr. opposite p. 24 (incorrectly as No. 437: bust of Hadrian); pentelic marble, height incorrectly as 33 in.

3. *Venuti-Amaduzzi, Vetera monumenta*, II, pl. XXXV, 1 ('Incognitus'); A. Michaelis, loc. cit.; J. Dallaway, *Anecdotes of the Arts in England*, London, 1800, p. 348, no. 14.

4. The Fairfax Murray provenance is mentioned in the 1949 sales catalogue.

5. Burchard's certificate of 19 March 1952 was published in the 1970 Basle sale catalogue.

## 128. Head of A Young Man (Gallienus?): Drawing (Fig. 249)

Black chalk, heightened with white; 254 × 230 mm.; top corners cut off diagonally. Mounted. *Chatsworth, Derbyshire, the Duke of Devonshire*. No. 186.



LITERATURE: *Catalogue of the Chatsworth Collection*, no. 981; *Catalogue of the Negatives of the Courtauld Institute of Art*, 1963, no. 1113.

The head of a youthful man with side-burns and thick curls is seen in side view facing right from below. The chest and the top of the head were probably cut off. The drawing has been attributed to Rubens by tradition. This is quite acceptable, as the artist often drew portrait heads from this point of view (cf. Nos. 19 and 129; Figs. 43 and 253). Burchard judged it an early work by the master.<sup>1</sup>

An unidentified Roman sculpture head (perhaps belonging to Rubens) most likely served as model. The portrait has been tentatively identified as *Gallienus*, who was Emperor from 252–268 A.D.<sup>2</sup> His portraits are generally romanticized with strong Hadrianic features.<sup>3</sup>

1. 'Müsste früh sein, falls von Rubens (letzteres sehr wohl möglich)'.
2. S.A. Dayan, *Museo Nazionale. Le sculpture*, I, 1, Rome, 1979, p. 296, no. 181, repr.
3. G. Mathew, 'The Character of the Gallienic Renaissance', *Journal of Roman Studies*, XXXII, 1942, pp. 65–70.

### 129. Head of 'Seneca' (side view): Drawing (Fig. 253)

Black and white chalk on brownish paper; 265 × 213 mm.; bottom right collector's mark of Tsar Paul I (L.2061). Mounted (original Cobenzl mount, inscribed *Seb. Ricci*). *St Petersburg, Hermitage, Print Room*. Inv. No. 5335.

PROVENANCE: Count Charles Philippe Jean de Cobenzl (Ljubljana, 1712–Brussels, 1770); acquired by Catherine II of Russia in 1768.

LITERATURE: J. Kuznetsov, 'Neu bestimmte Zeichnungen von P.P. Rubens', *Gentse bijdragen tot de kunstgeschiedenis*, XXIV, 1976–78, pp. 97–101, fig. 2; id., 'Newly Attributed Drawings by

Rubens' [in Russian], in *Zapadno evropeiskoe iskusstvo xvii veka*, Leningrad, 1981, pp. 22–27.

The rather sketchy chalk drawing pictures the head of an elderly man facing right; his face is rendered in more detail.

The drawing was attributed originally to Sebastiano Ricci, but Kuznetsov placed it in Rubens's *oeuvre*, dating it to c.1628. His attribution seems acceptable, but a date earlier than the late 1620s is preferable.

Pictured on the drawing is Rubens's marble of the pseudo-Seneca (cf. No. 117; Fig. 218).

### 130. Head of 'Vitellius': Drawing (Fig. 252)

Black chalk, washes in grey, heightened with white chalk; 286 × 226 mm.; bottom right collector's mark of the Albertina (L.174); bottom left in graphite: 12 fl.

*Vienna, Albertina*. Inv. No. 8.277.

PROVENANCE: Albert Casimir, Duke of Saxe-Teschen (Moritzburg near Dresden, 1738—Vienna, 1822).

EXHIBITED: *Vienna*, 1977, no. 152.

LITERATURE: *Rooses*, V, no. 1406; J. Buckhardt, *Rubens*, Vienna, 1937, repr. p. 254; I. Linnik, 'On the Genesis of Two Paintings by Rubens from the Hermitage Collection' [in Russian], in *Zapadno evropeiskoe iskusstvo xvii veka*, Leningrad, 1981, p. 224, repr.; *Mitsch, Rubenszeichnungen*, p. 237, no. 152, repr.; S. Baily, 'Metamorphoses of the Grimani "Vitellius"', *The J. Paul Getty Museum Journal*, V, 1977, p. 120, fig. 22.

The head of a man with a solemn expression on his face is seen in nearly frontal view. Shadows in the background are indicated by hatchings and washes. The irregular termination of the bust indicates that a sculpture served as model.

The portrait was erroneously identified in the 16th century as a portrait of *Vitellius*.<sup>1</sup> The most famous marble of this type belonged to the collection of Domenico Grimani (1461-1523), and was possibly excavated in 1505. After Grimani's death it was sent to Venice and put on display in 1525 in the Palazzo Ducale. Later, in 1587, it was exhibited in the Statuario Pubblico and is now in the Museo Archeologico (Fig. 251).<sup>2</sup> Grimani's marble became well known from copies and casts, and was one of the most frequently copied busts in the Renaissance.<sup>3</sup>

Rubens may have seen the original when he was in Venice. In any case, a large head of *Vitellius* was among the sculptures he acquired in 1618 from Sir Dudley Carleton.<sup>4</sup> Sold to the Duke of Buckingham in 1626, the *Vitellius* is listed in the Indenture of the Duke's estate of 1635.<sup>5</sup>

The marble head on Rubens's drawing closely resembles a small bust of *Vitellius*, pictured on *The Sense of Sight* by Jan Brueghel and Rubens (text ill. 84).

The attribution of this meticulous, but rather lifeless sketch was accepted by Burchard. He judged it made during Rubens's Italian years and touched up with a brush by a later hand. Jaffé, however, ascribed it to Jordaens.<sup>6</sup>

In approach the sketch resembles drawings later used for engravings of sculptures picturing Famous Greek and Roman Men (Figs. 188, 190, 208, 224). Several of these sketches executed in black chalk were later worked up by Rubens himself or by an assistant with pen and ink. The series does not include a portrait of *Vitellius*. It might have been replaced by the *Demosthenes* herm in Rockox's collection (No. 112).

Rubens used *Vitellius*' face on several occasions in his *oeuvre*. The *Bacchus* in the painting in St Petersburg (*K.d.K.*, p. 408) reflects the physiognomy of the Roman emperor.<sup>7</sup> The hooded person seated at the table in his *Feast of Herod* (Edinburgh, National Gallery),<sup>8</sup> and the standing male figure in his *Christ and the*

*Disciples of Emmaus* (Madrid, Prado; *K.d.K.*, p. 382) also resemble *Vitellius*.

1. A.N. Zadoks-Josephus Jitta, 'A creative Misunderstanding', *Nederlands kunsthistorisch jaarboek*, XXIII, 1972, pp. 3-12, fig. 2; T. Coryate, *Crudities*, 1611 [reprint London, 1978], p. 179: 'Library... *Vitellius* in alabaster onely his head...'
2. P. Paschini, 'Le collezione archeologiche del prelati Grimani del Cinquecento', *Rendiconti della Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia*, ser. III, V, 1926-27, p. 155, inventory of 1586, no. 1; in the inventory of 1528 the bust was not yet identified (*ibid.*, pp. 153-154). See also M. Perry, 'Cardinal Domenico Grimani's Legacy of Ancient Art to Venice', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, XLI, 1978, p. 234, no. 1, fig. 22a.
3. G. Traversari, *Museo Archeologico di Venezia. I ritratti*, Rome, 1968, no. 43. The head has long been considered a Renaissance falsification, but recent authors have accepted the marble as a work of Hadrianic times. On falsifications of *Vitellius*' portrait see R. West, *Römische Porträt Plastik*, Munich, 1941 (reprint 1973), II, pp. 244-246; E. Paul, *Gefälschte Antike*, Vienna-Munich, 1982, pp. 53-56.
4. The 1615 shipping list mentions: 'Nella cassa no. 28... 11 Vitellio' (*Muller, Rubens's Museum*, p. 582). Rubens's bust was apparently the first of its kind circulating in the Low Countries. A bust of *Vitellius* belonged to the collection of Gerard Reynst in Amsterdam, acquired from Andrea Vendramin in Venice about 1629 (A.N. Zadoks-Josephus Jitta, *op. cit.*, p. 7; 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, p. 188, no. 27, repr.). Rembrandt van Rijn owned two sculptures of *Vitellius*. They were listed in his inventory of 1656 on fols. 33 and 38 (K. Clark, *Rembrandt and the Italian Renaissance*, New York, 1966, p. 200, no. 170, p. 208, no. 331).
5. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Rawlinson A 341, fol. 36r (see Appendix VII.1).
6. Mitsch, *loc. cit.* The drawing, from Albert Duke of Saxe-Teschen's collection, was probably acquired during his residency in Brussels.
7. S. Bailey, *op. cit.*, p. 119, fig. 21.
8. *The Burlington Magazine*, September 1977, repr. back cover.

### 131. Head of 'Vitellius': Drawing (Fig. 254)

Black chalk, heightened with white chalk, washes in white paint, accents in black ink with brush to eyeballs; 332 × 220 mm. In-

scribed in pen and brown ink in a later hand at bottom left *Rubens*, at bottom right *d'aprez l'antique*.—*Verso*: in pencil: 138 P.P. *Rubens zugeschrieben* / (*der Kaiser Vitellius*) / *Ex Coll. L. ten Kate*.

*Whereabouts unknown.*

PROVENANCE: Lambert ten Kate (Amsterdam, 1674-1731); ducal collection (Grossherzogliches Museum), Weimar, until 1950; Mario Vzielli, Liestal (Switzerland), in 1950; private collection, Freiburg im Breisgau; sale London (Phillips), 4 December 1989, lot 152.

LITERATURE: J. Müller Hofstede, 'Rubens und die Porträtbüste des "Vitellius" aus der Sammlung des Kardinals Grimani', in *Rubens and His World, Bijdragen... opgedragen aan R.-A. d'Hulst*, Antwerp, 1985, pp. 117-122, fig. 7.

The fleshy head of a middle-aged man looking up over his left shoulder is drawn in frontal view from below. He has a double chin and tuft of hair on his balding head. A contour line on the right indicates the truncated neckline of a draped, marble bust. The head is drawn with light falling from the right side casting dark shadows on the left side of the face.

The source was a portrait bust of a so-called *Vitellius*, but not of antique workmanship as the inscription claims. The idealized portrait resembles a Renaissance creation of which quite a few were made.<sup>1</sup>

The drawing has been attributed to Rubens by tradition, as the old inscription shows.<sup>2</sup> Burchard accepted the drawing as by Rubens and dated it to his Italian period (1601-1608).<sup>3</sup> It might be identical with a drawing reportedly owned by Lambert ten Kate.<sup>4</sup>

1. R. West, *Römische Porträt Plastik*, II, Munich, 1941 (reprint 1973), pp. 244-246. See also under No. 130.

2. I thank the previous owner for providing me with a photograph of the inscription. J. Müller Hofstede, *op. cit.*, pp. 117-118, nn. 27-29, attributed the inscription to Nicholas Lanier (1588-1666; cf. L. 2991).

3. 'Dieser [Kopf des Vitellius] hier ist dagegen [i.e. in contrast to No. 130, Fig. 252] unberührt und so wie

er aus der Hand von Rubens hervorgegangen ist. Wohl sicher in Italien (1600-1608) gezeichnet'.

4. J.G. van Gelder, 'Lambert ten Kate als Kunstverzamelaar', *Nederlands kunsthistorisch jaarboek*, XXI, 1970, p. 176.

## II. Two Dimensional Models (Nos. 132-200)

### 132-162 RELIEFS

#### 132. Motif of a Cista Mystica from a Bacchic Sarcophagus: Drawing

Presumably black chalk; measurements unknown.

*Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.*

COPIES: (1) Part of a Drawing (Fig. 255; motif top centre), London, Courtauld Institute Galleries, Princes Gate Collection, *MS Johnson*, fol. 111; black chalk on thin white paper, 210 × 160 mm.; motif top centre: 95 × 82 mm.; motif bottom left (see No. 133, Copy 1): 50 × 50 mm.; motif bottom right (see No. 134, Copy 1): 50 × 55 mm. Watermark: cockatrice. PROV. Same as No. 95. LIT. *Jaffé, Antwerp Sketchbook*, pp. 45, 104, n. 80.

(2) Part of an engraving by R. Colin (Fig. 256; motif top centre), in *Rubenius, De Re Vestiaria*, p. 270; 107 × 95 mm.; motif top centre: 45 × 42 mm.; motif bottom left (see No. 133, Copy 2): 39 × 40 mm.; motif bottom right (see No. 134, Copy 2): 38 × 42 mm. LIT. *Hecquet, Rubens*, p. 90, no. 5; *Basan*, p. 166, note; *Van den Wijngaert, Prentkunst*, p. 42, under no. 158; *Van der Meulen, Observations*, pp. 41-43, fig. 4a; H. Braham, [Cat. Exh.] *Rubens Paintings, Drawings, Prints in the Princes Gate Collection*, Courtauld Institute Galleries, 1988-89, p. 50.

An engraving in Albert Rubens's essay, *De Nummo Augusti; cuius epigraphe, Asia Recepta*, shows three representations of a *cista mystica* (Fig. 256).<sup>1</sup> The completed essay, unpublished

when Albert died in 1657, was printed posthumously in 1665.<sup>2</sup> The illustration, engraved by Richard Colin,<sup>3</sup> was probably made after a preparatory drawing by Rubens now lost.<sup>4</sup> The original is also known from a drawing in *MS Johnson*, copied possibly in the same size and technique (Fig. 255).<sup>5</sup>

The print illustrates an essay concerning a coin commemorating Augustus's victory at Actium in 31 B.C. The cylindrical object on the reverse of the coin had always been taken for an altar flanked by two snakes,<sup>6</sup> but Albert disagreed with this interpretation and considered it to be a *cista mystica*, a reed basket containing holy and sacred objects used in the Bacchic cult, as described by classical authors.

The scene at top left pictures a nude infant opening a conical lid of a woven basket and watching a serpent come out; both pictures at the bottom show a snake escaping from a half-open basket with a conical lid. These baskets with captive snakes were part of Bacchic scenes as Albert observes: 'Dragons and snakes are present in Bacchic orgies in baskets; this is clear from ancient marbles on which Bacchic *thiasoi* are depicted; there some kind of a basket with a captive snake is shown; such as in Rome on marble vases in the Giustiniani garden — if I remember correctly — from which I show the baskets depicted'.<sup>7</sup> Unfortunately Albert's memory was unsound: the three motifs occur on three different marbles, none of which were in the Giustiniani collection. Although the three details are at present grouped together on both copies known to us, three separate drawings had probably existed at first. (See also Nos. 133-134).

The detail at the top with the curious infant (actually a baby faun, but its tail is omitted) is copied from a frieze with Bacchic scenes on a lid of a late Roman sarcophagus, now in the Vatican Museum,<sup>8</sup> but until the 18th century in the Villa Conti (now Torlonia) in Frascati (Fig. 259).<sup>9</sup> Cardinal Scipione Borghese acquired the villa in 1607. Scioppius reported an outing to Frascati in 1606 undertaken by a

group of erudite men eager to study Roman antiquities, the two Rubens brothers among them.<sup>10</sup> Perhaps this was the occasion on which Rubens copied the motif from the frieze. Other drawings of it occur in a Dal Pozzo album at Windsor Castle.<sup>11</sup>

The motif of a figure opening a *cista mystica* and peering into it to satisfy his curiosity occurs on Rubens's painting, *The Discovery of Erichthonius by the Daughters of Cecrops* (Oberlin College, Allen Memorial Art Museum; Fig. 258), where Aglaurus opens the basket in which a monster with snake-like legs was hidden.<sup>12</sup>

1. Rubenius, *De Re Vestiarum*, pp. 259-277.
2. J.G. Graevius, *Thesaurus Antiquitatum Romanarum*, Venice, VI, 1732, introduction, p. \*ij.
3. Two payments to R. Colin for engraving eight plates for the illustrations in Albert Rubens's *De Re Vestiarum Veterum* are recorded (*Van den Wijngaert, Prentkunst*, p. 42, under no. 158). See also *Van der Meulen, Observations*, p. 44, n. 24.
4. Albert acknowledged using a document of his father (*Rubenius, De Re Vestiarum*, p. 122).
5. Jaffé, loc. cit.
6. Two coins of *Marc Antony* and *Augustus* with similar objects on the reverse are illustrated in G. du Choul, *Discorso della religione antica de Romani*, Lyons, 1559, p. 124. S. Erizzo, *Sopra le medaglie de gli antichii*, third edn, 1571, p. 112 (repr.), described the coin as 'vna vittoria alata, sopra vn loco alto in piedi'. Cf. P.R. Franke, *Kleinasion zur Römerzeit*, Munich, 1968, p. 66, nos. 469-473 (repr.), for cistophoric coins.
7. Rubenius, *De Re Vestiarum*, p. 270: 'In Bacchicis enim Orgijs dracones aut serpentes cistis includebant; quod ex marmoribus antiquis patet, in quibus Bacchantium chori expressi sunt, ubi semper cistula aliqua cum serpente incluso cernitur; ut Romae in vasis marmoreis quae extant in hortis Iustinianaeis, si rectè memini, ex quibus cistulas expressas hic exhibeo'.
8. Roman, early third century A.D. See *Amelung, Skulpturen*, II, pp. 388-390, *sala degli animali*, no. 228a, pl. 43; *Matz, Dionysischen Sarkophage*, II, pp. 301-302, no. 161, pl. 181; *Lexicon Mythologiae*, III,1, p. 558, no. 244, repr.; *Van der Meulen, Observations*, fig. 4b.
9. A. Comte de Caylus, *Recueil d'antiquités égyptiennes, étrusques, romaines et gauloises*, Paris, 1759, III, pp. 224-226, pl. LVIII,1, with the oldest publication of the marble cover.
10. G. Scioppius, *Oporini Grubini Medici ac Philosophi Mantissa Amphotidum Scioppianarum*, Ingolstadt,

1611, p. 4: 'Paulò enim prius viri aliquot eruditi & Romanarum antiquitatum studiosi Roma Tusculum excurrerant, in quibus fuerunt, vir ingenij elegantia morumq. suauitate praestans *Philippus Rubenius* Iurisconsultus & hodie Antuerpiensi ciuitati à secretis, eiusq; frater *Petrus Paulus*, primi nominis pictor, & singulari in re litteraria iudicio praeditus'. In P. Bayle, *Dictionaire historique et critique*, Rotterdam, 1697, I, p. 1075, 'Tusculum' (the ancient Roman name for Frascati) is translated incorrectly as Tivoli. This error was also made by C. Ruelens, 'Un témoignage relatif à P.P. Rubens en Italie', *Rubens-Bulletijn*, IV, 1890, pp. 116-117.

11. Dal Pozzo album, Windsor, VIII, fol. 67 (*Vermeule, Dal Pozzo-Albani*, 1966, p. 47, nos. 8697-8699; *Matz, Dionysischen Sarkophage*, II, pl. 76). Cf. Dal Pozzo album, British Museum, Franks, I, fols. 104-105 (*Vermeule, Dal Pozzo-Albani*, 1960, p. 16, nos. 110-112, 113-115).
12. *Held, Circle*, fig. XIV.2; *Van der Meulen, Observations*, pp. 42-43, fig. 6.

### 133. Motif of a Cista Mystica from a Bacchic Sarcophagus: Drawing

Presumably black chalk; measurements unknown.

*Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.*

COPIES: (1) Part of a drawing (Fig. 255; motif bottom left), London, Courtauld Institute Galleries, Princes Gate Collection, *MS Johnson*, fol. 111 recto. See No. 132, Copy 1, for more details.

(2) Part of an engraving by R. Colin (Fig. 256; motif bottom left), in *Rubenius, De Re Vestitaria*, p. 270. See No. 132, Copy 2, for more details.

An engraving in Albert Rubens's essay, *De Nummo Augusti; cuius epigraphe, Asia Recepta* (Fig. 256), shows three representations of a *cista mystica*.<sup>1</sup> See No. 132. The illustration, engraved by R. Colin, was presumably copied after Rubens. This drawing is known from a copy in *MS Johnson* (Fig. 255). Both show a motif at the bottom left of a snake coming out of a basket and looking over the lid. It derives from a Roman sarcophagus with the *Indian*

*Triumph of Bacchus*, now in the Museo Nazionale in Rome: a snake escaping from a half-open basket at the feet of a nude Silenus (Fig. 260).<sup>2</sup> The sculpture is described by Aldoandi among the antiquities in the *vigna* of Cardinal Rodolfo da Carpi (d.1564) on the Via Pia in Rome,<sup>3</sup> but was later (in 1639) spotted by Cassiano dal Pozzo in the Villa Ludovisi.<sup>4</sup> The relief was copied by several artists; two drawings of it are in a Dal Pozzo album.<sup>5</sup>

In the engraving as well as in the drawing in *MS Johnson*, the motif is now grouped together with two other ones. The scene at top left pictures a nude infant opening a conical lid of a woven basket and watching a serpent come out. It is copied from a sarcophagus in Frascati standing in the Villa Conti at the time (No. 132). At bottom right, a snake is escaping from a half-open basket with a conical lid, which is copied from a sarcophagus formerly in Palazzo Altamps (No. 134). It is probable that three separate drawings by Rubens existed. For Rubens's authorship see No. 132.

1. *Rubenius, De Re Vestitaria*, pp. 259-277.
2. Inv. No. 8566. Roman, end of the second century A.D. See *Matz, Dionysischen Sarkophage*, II, pp. 274-275, no. 138, pl. 165; *Lexicon Mythologiae*, III, 1, p. 558, no. 244, repr.; *Palma-de Lachenal*, 1983, pp. 24-27, no. 12, repr.; *Van der Meulen, Observations*, fig. 4c.
3. Aldoandi, p. 308: 'Fuori del pergolato si vede prima vna pila antica con molte ninfe e satiri, & altre figure iscolptie' (*Hülsen, Römische Antikengärten*, p. 70, no. 114).
4. F. Matz, 'Das neapler Diarium des Cassiano dal Pozzo', *Berichte über die Verhandlungen der königl. Sächs. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig, Phil.-hist. Klasse*, LXVIII, 1885, p. 109, no. 51: 'Usciti dal casino a man manca nel Giardino de gl' Aranci un Pilo detto una Vindemmia o Baccanali copiosi'; *Schreiber, Villa Ludovisi*, p. 160, no. 144.
5. Dal Pozzo album, Windsor, VII, fol. 8 (*Vermeule, Dal Pozzo-Albani*, 1966, p. 43, no. 8633). Cf. P. Jacques, Paris, *Bibl. Nat., Cod. Remensis*, fol. 2v (*Reinach, Pierre Jacques*, p. 112, repr.).

### 134. Motif of a Cista Mystica from a Bacchic Sarcophagus: Drawing

Presumably black chalk; measurements unknown.

*Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.*

COPIES: (1) Part of a drawing (Fig. 255; motif bottom right), London, Courtauld Institute Galleries, Princes Gate Collection, *MS Johnson*, fol. 111 recto. See No. 132, Copy 1, for more details.

(2) Part of an engraving by R. Colin (Fig. 256; motif bottom right), in *Rubenius, De Re Vestiaria*, p. 270. See No. 132, Copy 2, for more details.

An engraving in Albert Rubens's essay, *De Nummo Augusti; cuius epigraphe, Asia Recepta* (Fig. 256), shows three representations of a *cista mystica*.<sup>1</sup> See No. 132. The illustration, engraved by R. Colin, was probably made after a preparatory drawing by Rubens, now lost. This drawing is known from a copy in *MS Johnson* (Fig. 255). Both show a detail at the bottom right of a snake escaping from a basket with a conical lid, that was drawn after a Roman sarcophagus of the third century A.D. in the Pushkin Museum in Moscow (Fig. 261).<sup>2</sup> The beautifully carved reliefs decorating all sides of the sarcophagus are very well preserved. Francesco Ceconi recorded the sarcophagus as standing in the Palazzo Altamps in Rome.<sup>3</sup> The serpent slithers out of the basket placed between the feet of a dancing faun.

A drawing in the Hermitage in St Petersburg of a *Reclining Hercules and Fauns* copied after Rubens (No. 135; cf. Fig. 263) renders the relief on the other side of the sarcophagus. This can support my hypothesis that the drawing used by the engraver for Albert's print was by Rubens's hand. No other drawings of this sarcophagus are known to me.

On Colin's engraving and the copy in *MS Johnson*, this detail is grouped together with two other ones. At top centre a nude infant

opens a woven basket and watches a snake coming out; it is copied from a sarcophagus in Frascati in Villa Conti at the time (No. 132). At bottom left a snake escapes from a half-opened basket, which is pictured on a sarcophagus formerly in da Carpi's collection (No. 133). A separate drawing of each scene by Rubens probably existed at first. For Rubens's authorship see No. 132.

1. *Rubenius, De Re Vestiaria*, pp. 259-277.

2. Roman, late second or early third century. See *Matz, Dionysischen Sarkophage*, I, pp. 153-155, no. 47, pls. 56-59; *Lexicon Mythologiae*, III, 1, p. 547, no. 69 and p. 1063, no. 134; *Van der Meulen, Observations*, fig. 4d.

3. F. Ceconi, *Roma sacra e moderna*, Rome, 1725, pp. 311-312: 'nel salone verso la Cappella... un rarissimo Sepolcro di marmo Greco, adornato con bassi rilievi, rappresentati un Bacchanale'. F. Ficoroni, *Le vestigia e rarità di Roma antica*, Rome, 1744, II, p. 48: 'sala d'avanti... d'un'urna isolata ripiena di bassirilievi d'un baccanale'.

### 135. Reclining Hercules and Fauns (Altamps): Drawing

Technique and measurements unknown.

*Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.*

COPY: Drawing (Fig. 263), St Petersburg, Hermitage, Print Room, Inv. No. 5512; black chalk, 300 × 420 mm.; fig leaves pasted on; bottom right collector's mark of Tsar Paul I (L.2061). Mounted (on original Cobenzl mount). PROV. Count Charles Philippe Jean de Cobenzl (Ljubljana, 1712-Brussels, 1770); acquired by Catherine II of Russia in 1768. EXH. *Leningrad*, 1965, no. 6. LIT. *Dobroklonsky, Drawings*, no. 6, pl. V; *Dobroklonsky, Flemish School*, no. 641 (as *Rubens*); *Miesel, Ancient Art*, p. 72, n. 133; *Kuznetsov, Drawings*, 1965, pp. 15-16, no. 6 (as *Rubens*); *Kuznetsov, Risunki*, 1974, no. 8; *Logan, Review Kuznetsov* (as *not Rubens*), p. 300; *Van der Meulen, Observations*, p. 42, fig. 5a.

A drawing in St Petersburg (Copy; Fig. 263) shows a Bacchic scene. A nude Hercules lies on a lion's skin to the left of a large lion's head

in the centre of the sheet. He leans on his right elbow and holds a bunch of poppy capsules. A smiling faun with a wine sack on his left shoulder looks on in the background. At Hercules' feet stands a baby Pan, and next to the latter an infant faun, who drinks from a vessel held by another Satyr; at their feet lies a mask. The scene on the left side is more detailed and hatchings add depth to it.

The source for the drawing was the right half of a relief on one side of a *lenos* with Bacchic scenes, now in the State Pushkin Museum in Moscow (Fig. 262).<sup>1</sup> It was formerly in the Palazzo Altemps in Rome, where it was described by Ceccoli.<sup>2</sup> It was acquired by Count Sergei Ouvaroff for his villa in Porecje.

Burchard did not know the drawing in St Petersburg. It was attributed to Rubens by Dobroklonsky and Kuznetsov. Logan rejected this attribution. It might, however, very well be a copy after an original by the master. This hypothesis is supported by the fact that Rubens also drew a detail of the relief on the other side of the sarcophagus (see No. 134 and cf. Figs. 255 and 256).<sup>3</sup> Also, the drawing is stylistically and thematically related to a sheet by Rubens's hand in Milan (No. 136; Fig. 264).

1. Roman, early third century A.D. See R. Turcan, *Les sarcophages romains à représentations dionysiaques*, Paris, 1966, pp. 233-234, fig. 31a; Matz, *Dionysischen Sarkophage*, I, pp. 153-155, no. 47, pl. 56 (below); *Lexicon Mythologiae*, III, 1, p. 547, no. 69 and p. 1063, no. 134; Van der Meulen, *Observations*, p. 42, fig. 5b.

2. F. Ceccoli, *Roma sacra e moderna*, Rome, 1725, pp. 311-312; F. Ficoroni, *Le vestigia e rarità di Roma*, Rome, 1744, II, p. 48 (both quoted in No. 134, note 3 above).

3. No other drawing of this sarcophagus exists to my knowledge.

### 136. Reclining Hercules and River God: Drawing (Fig. 264)

Black chalk on thick yellow paper; 360 × 513 mm. Mounted.

Milan, *Biblioteca Ambrosiana*. F. 249 inf., fol. 9.

PROVENANCE: Same as No. 76.

COPY: Drawing of the figure to the left (Fig. 265), Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst, Kongelige Kobberstiksamlng, 'Rubens Cantoor', No. I, 57; black chalk, pen and brown ink on thin white paper, 134 × 206 mm. Watermark: post horn. PROV. Acquired by the Royal Library in Copenhagen presumably in the 17th century; since 1835 in the Museum. LIT. *Fubini-Held*, p. 131, fig. 5; *Held, Circle*, p. 97, fig. VIII.10; *Garff-Pedersen, Panneels*, p. 87, no. 94, fig. 96.

EXHIBITED: *Cologne*, 1977, no. 51.

LITERATURE: *Fubini-Held*, pp. 125, 136-137, pl. 8; *Müller Hofstede, Rubens in Italien*, p. 244, no. 51, repr.; *McGrath, Painted Decoration*, p. 266, n. 91; *Held, Circle*, pp. 95, 97, 101-102, fig. VIII.8.

The sheet pictures three motifs, two of which are related. On the right, a reclining, nude bearded man, the head only lightly indicated, supported by a headless figure with a panther's skin (*nebris*) tied around his shoulders. The man lounges on a lion's skin hanging down over a wooden platform. He leans on his left arm, the left hand is missing. Huddled against his back is a feline animal (a panther or Pan?) with a bushy tail peering from behind the left arm of the man. The bearded figure is repeated below left, now seen slightly more from the back. His head and arms are sketched in contour only. In the centre above, a river god is drawn from the waist up. He holds rushes in his left hand, has a vessel against his thighs and looks over his left shoulder.

The model for the main drawing has not been identified. It probably represented a *Drunken Hercules tended by a Faun*. The pose of the athletic god resembles a Hellenistic terracotta statuette of *Hercules Recubans* in Boston,<sup>1</sup> and is similar to Hercules figures on Bacchic sarcophagi<sup>2</sup> (see No. 135). The group was unrestored when drawn. The setting, a rock with pallisades, would suggest that the

sculpture was placed over a fountain: the water could have poured from a spout held by the left hand of Hercules.

Padre Sebastiano Resta, the original owner of this drawing, already recognized it as a Rubens, and refers to the sheet as 'li Fiumi' in his foreword to the album which he presented to the Accademia del Disegno of Milan.<sup>3</sup> However, Freedberg doubts Rubens's authorship. A copy of the detail sketch on the left (Fig. 265) occurs among the Copenhagen copies and could prove Rubens's authorship. Garff and Pedersen attributed the Copenhagen drawing to Willem Panneels (1628/30).

The figure of the River Arno in the *Birth of Maria de' Medici* (Paris, Louvre, Medici cycle; *K.d.K.*, p. 244), is quite close to the reclining Hercules, especially to the sketch on the left, as Held observed.

1. M. Bieber, 'Archaeological Contributions to Roman Religion', *Hesperia*, XIV, 1945, pp. 272-277, pl. XXXIX, 4; H. Scharmer, *Der gelagerte Herakles* (124. *Winckelmannsprogramm*), Berlin, 1971, p. 30, fig. 14; R.M. Gais, 'Some Problems of River-God Iconography', *American Journal of Archaeology*, LXXXII, 3, 1978, pp. 366-370, fig. 18.
2. Cf. Dal Pozzo album, Windsor, VII, fol. 18, picturing a (lost?) relief with Bacchus reclining at the foot of a rocky mountain supported by a faun and a panther and attendants (*Vermeule, Dal Pozzo-Albani*, 1966, p. 44, no. 8646, fig. 180).
3. *Held, Circle*, p. 102.

### 137. The Flight of Medea: Drawing (Fig. 266)

Pen and brown ink; 157 × 157 mm.—*Verso*: bottom left mark of Museum Boymans-van Beuningen (L.1857), bottom right inscribed in pencil: *Rubens*.

*Rotterdam, Museum Boymans-van Beuningen*.  
Inv. No. Rubens 8.

PROVENANCE: F.J.O. Boymans (Rotterdam, 1767-1847), bequeathed to the City of Rotterdam.

EXHIBITED: *Rotterdam*, 1939, no. 12, pl. VIII; *Antwerp*, 1956, no. 17; *Cologne*, 1977, no. 48; *Punkaharju*, 1991.

LITERATURE: *Catalogue*, Rotterdam, 1852, no. 821 (as *Ceres abducting Triptolemos*); *Catalogue*, Rotterdam, 1869, no. 698; D. Hannema, *P. P. Rubens in het Museum Boymans*, Rotterdam, 1933, p. 13, no. 10, pl. VIII; *Burchard-d'Hulst, Tekeningen*, pp. 37-38, no. 17; *Held, Drawings*, p. 156, no. 159, pl. 168; *Miesel, Ancient Art*, p. 63, n. 133; *Burchard-d'Hulst, Drawings*, pp. 30-31, no. 14, repr.; *Miesel, Study Drawings*, pp. 325-326, n. 16; M. Jaffé, 'Rubens as a Draughtsman', *The Burlington Magazine*, CVI, 1965, p. 380, no. 14; *Kuznetsov, Risunki*, 1974, no. 15; N. Dacos, 'Rubens in Italia, Le mostre del quadricentenario', *Prospettiva*, XVIII, 1979, pp. 71, 72, n. 26, fig. 8; *Jaffé, Rubens and Italy*, p. 83, n. 72; *Müller Hofstede, Rubens in Italien*, p. 238, no. 48, repr.; *Held, Drawings*, 1986, pp. 71-72, no. 16, pl. 16; [M. Sellink], in *Cat. Exh. Punkaharju*, 1991, pp. 56-57, repr.

A woman standing on a chariot pulled by two winged dragons looks back over her right shoulder. She holds a child on her left shoulder; of a second child lying in the chariot only the legs are visible behind the wings of the front dragon.

The drawing was first thought to represent *Ceres abducting Triptolemos*, but is now recognized as picturing the *Flight of Medea*. The scene is part of the mythological story of Jason and Medea which ends with Medea bringing the dead bodies of her two children on a chariot to the Temple of Hera as narrated by Euripides. Quite a few Roman sarcophagi picture the story. The *Flight of Medea* is usually the fourth and last scene on the right. Burchard and d'Hulst assumed the sarcophagus in Mantua to have been copied, but Held identified one formerly in the Stamperia Reale in Rome as the model (now Ancona, Museo Archeologico; Fig. 267).<sup>1</sup> It stood in the courtyard of the Belvedere since 1550 and was fre-



quently drawn by artists.<sup>2</sup> The right arm of Medea is now missing.

The Rotterdam drawing is a close copy of the relief, although the wheel decorating the side of the chariot does not occur on the sarcophagus relief, where thick coils of the dragons take up the space. A detailed sketch (fol. 26r) in a sketchbook in the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford attributed to Jacopo Ripanda also includes a wheel.<sup>3</sup> This might suggest that a different sarcophagus (now lost ?) was the source.

Burchard and d'Hulst dated Rubens's drawing to the Mantuan years (1600-1604), assuming that the sarcophagus in the Gonzaga collection was copied; Held, however, placed the sheet in Rubens's first Roman period (1601-1602).

Thematically the drawing is related to the *Abduction of Proserpina*, known only from a copy in Antwerp (No. 139; Fig. 270), and to a drawing after an antique cameo with *Claudius and Messalina on a Dragon Chariot* (No. 165; Fig. 310).

Rubens's version of Medea's flight with her slain children does not reflect the ancient iconography. On his drawing in Chatsworth, Medea is running away holding one dead child under her arm and dragging the other along.<sup>4</sup>

1. C. Robert, *Die antiken Sarkophag-Reliefs*, II, Berlin, 1890, pp. 212-213, no. 199, pl. LXIII, as Roman, mid second century A.D. The sarcophagus was at a later date transferred from the Belvedere to the courtyard of the Lateran and was subsequently removed to the Stamperia Reale. Held erroneously located the sarcophagus in the Museo Nazionale in Rome. Cf. N. Dacos, loc. cit., fig. 9.

2. A. Schmitt, 'Gentile da Fabriano und der Beginn des Antikennachzeichnung', *Münchener Jahrbuch für bildende Kunst*, 3e F., XI, 1960, p. 118, fig. 62; *Bober-Rubinstein, Handbook*, pp. 141-142, no. 110, repr. Both list Renaissance drawings.

3. Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, 'Ripanda' Sketchbook, fol. 26r. The Ancona sarcophagus is considered to have been the model for Ripanda's drawing (A. Schmitt, loc. cit., no. 1, 5).

4. Held, *Drawings*, 1986, p. 73, no. 20, pl. 20.

### 138. Three Figures from the Side Relief of a Muse Sarcophagus (Mattei): Drawing (Fig. 269)

Black chalk; 281 × 416 mm.; inscribed in pen and brown ink at top centre: *Socrates procul dubio*, at top right: *Xantippe quae stomachatur / vide os columnatum*; inscribed centre bottom left *Rubbens*; bottom left collector's mark of W.F. Gurley (not in L.).—*Verso*: mark of C.D. Ginsburg (L.1145).

*Chicago, The Art Institute of Chicago, The Leonora Hall Gurley Memorial Collection.*

PROVENANCE: Dr C.D. Ginsburg (Palmer's Green, 1831-1914); Leonora Hall Gurley (Chicago, 1831-1903); donated to the Museum by her son, William F.E. Gurley in 1922.

EXHIBITED: *Cambridge-New York, 1956*, no. 5, pl. II; *New York, 1968-1969*, no. 41, pl. 10; *Cologne, 1977*, no. 62; *Birmingham, 1978*, no. 36, repr.

LITERATURE: *Goris-Held*, p. 43, no. 109, fig. 100; *Held, Drawings*, pp. 156-157, no. 160, pl. 169; *Miesel, Ancient Art*, p. 11, n. 20, p. 60, n. 116; *Miesel, Study Drawings*, p. 320, n. 15, fig. 14; *Stechow, Rubens*, pp. 32-34, fig. 19; *Cat. Exh. New York, 1968-69*, no. 41, pl. 10; *Jaffé, Rubens and Italy*, p. 83, n. 71, fig. 302; *Müller Hofstede, Rubens in Italien*, p. 266, no. 62, repr.; E. McGrath, "'The Drunken Alcibiades': Rubens' Picture of Plato's Symposium", *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, XLVI, 1983, p. 232, n. 23, pl. 43a; *Held, Drawings, 1986*, pp. 73-74, no. 21, pl. 21.

The sheet pictures three standing draped figures. The first one on the left is a young girl dressed in a sleeveless *chiton* and *himation*; she looks intently at a globe on which she rests a stick. She is slightly smaller than the other two figures, the first of which is an elderly, striding man leaning on a knotty stick; a *himation* wrapped around his body covers his chest

partially. He faces a woman in a long-sleeved *chiton* and mantle; she raises her head upwards and rests her right arm on a pillar. An enlarged detail study of the man's balding, bearded head seen in three-quarter view facing right was squeezed in at the top of the sheet in centre left. Due to a lack of space the contours of beard and hair are incomplete. Patches of hatchings between the main figures indicate shadows. The sheet was probably trimmed at a later date and the bottom contours of the stick and the man's right foot were cut off.

The source is a Roman *Muse* sarcophagus, which stood at the time in the garden of the Villa Mattei on the Celimontana in Rome (now Rome, Museo Nazionale delle Terme; Fig. 268).<sup>1</sup> Two Muses and a male figure are depicted from the right end of the sarcophagus, with columns between the figures. The 1614 inventory of the collection of Cyriacus Mattei listed the sarcophagus as figuring 'the nine Muses and other figures'.<sup>2</sup> Formerly in the Church of San Paolo fuori le mura, it had drawn the attention of several artists since the Renaissance.<sup>3</sup> Rubens was attracted to the figures on the right side relief only and was apparently not interested in the architectural elements separating them. When he copied the three figures he probably started with the man. The upper part of his body came out slightly oversized compared to his legs, possibly because the relief was seen from above. He continued with the female on the right (*Polyhymnia*) drawing her on the same scale, then sketched the woman on the left (*Urania*), who is smaller and more lightly drawn than the previous two. The artist finally focused on the man again, his main point of interest, and added the enlarged study of the head in a softer, darker chalk. By placing the third figure to the left, a relationship between the central and right figures was suggested.

Inscriptions on older drawings of the sarcophagus identify the reliefs as representing Muses. On a drawing in the Codex Pighianus

the elderly, striding man is labelled 'Hercules Maloru[m] letharsis' (Hercules forgetful of the bad).<sup>4</sup> Rubens apparently realized that the man was a philosopher, because he was clad in a *pallium* (mantle). An entry in his *Roman Itinerary* reads: 'the use of the *pallium* by Greek philosophers leaving the right shoulder and the entire arm bare, as Diogenes and Socrates wore it'.<sup>5</sup> An autograph annotation on the sheet in Chicago informs us that the artist recognized the man to be 'undoubtedly Socrates'. His physiognomy certainly matched the portraits of the Greek philosopher that Rubens knew from iconographical publications by Statius (1569), Ursinus (1570) and the later engravings by Galle for the *Illustrium Imagines* (first edn 1598) (Figs. 455, 461).<sup>6</sup> In fact, the artist probably copied Galle's two engravings, one picturing Socrates' effigy on a silver contorniate in Orsini's collection and the other a marble bust belonging to the Farnese family (Nos. 219 and 222; Figs. 456, 462). The face of the striding figure has much in common with that of a seated, half-draped elderly man on a relief pictured in Ursinus' book (see note 6).

After establishing the identity of the man, the artist labelled the woman totally ignoring the man next to her as the ill-tempered wife of Socrates, and added 'Xantippe who is in a bad mood'. The association is underscored by the quotation 'notice the pillared face', derived from Plautus, *Miles Gloriosus*, Act III, line 3, as Held discovered.<sup>7</sup> The identification of the elderly man as Socrates the Bearer of Misfortune might have been inspired by the newly published book, *Q. Horati Flacci Emblemata* (1607) by Otto van Veen, where on p. 152 Socrates is shown as the role model of the 'Victrix Malorum Patientia', referring to Seneca, *De Virtutibus*, IV. Rubens's inventive interpretation is a good example of his creative thinking and erudition.

The loose style of drawing suggests that the drawing dates from Rubens's second Roman period (1605/6-1608), which coincided with Philip Rubens's presence in Rome.<sup>8</sup> As Held

suggested, the quote could have come from Philip, since he was an expert on Plautus. During these years their close friend, Johan Faber, who also resided in Rome, was preparing a revised edition of Galle's *Illustrium Imagines*. It was finished in July 1606. The book could have stimulated iconographical discussions.<sup>9</sup>

The figure of Socrates is reflected in an old man leaning on a crutch in Rubens's *Triumph of the Catholic Faith* (oil sketch; Brussels).<sup>10</sup>

1. Inv. No. 80711; Roman, early third century A.D. See M. Wegner, *Die Musen Sarkophage* (*Die antiken Sarkophag-Reliefs*, V, 3), Berlin, 1966, pp. 50-52, no. 128, pls. 84, 87-89; Helbig, *Führer*, 1963-72, III, pp. 12-13, no. 2123; M.E. Micheli, in *Museo Nazionale. Le sculpture*, Rome, 1985, I, 8, 1, pp. 51-57, no. II, 2, repr.
2. Lanciani, *Scavi*, III, p. 94: 'Nel viale del bosco delli animali... Un Pilo grande di marmo antico alto palmi 5. longo palmi xj con le nove muse et altre figure quasi di tutto rellievo...'; Venuti-Amaduzzi, *Vetera monumenta*, III, pl. XVII. An etching by Pillement in Ch. Percier and P.F. Fontaine, *Palais, maisons et autres édifices modernes dessinés à Rome*, Paris, 1798, pl. 29, Villa Mattei, pictures the sarcophagus standing in the garden.
3. Bober-Rubinstein, *Handbook*, pp. 78-79, no. 37, fig. 37iii. Veste Coburg, Cod. Coburgensis, fols. 92 and 185, picture the entire relief (F. Matz, 'Über eine dem Herzog von Coburg-Gotha gehörige Sammlung alter Handzeichnungen nach Antiken', *Monatsbericht der Königlich Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, Phil.-Hist. Klasse*, 1871, p. 487, no. 165).
4. Tübingen, Universitäts Bibliothek, Cod. Pighianus, fol. 23: the central and right figures, identified as 'Hercules Maloru[m] letharsis' and 'Urania', are pictured together; the third figure is drawn at the left above (O. Jahn, 'Über die Zeichnungen antiker Monumente im Codex Pighianus', *Jahresberichte der königlich Sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften, Phil.-Hist. Klasse*, XX, 1868, p. 216, no. 175). The Dal Pozzo album, Windsor, VIII, fol. 6, shows the right side relief with both Muses identified as Urania and Polyhymnia (Vermeule, *Dal Pozzo-Albani*, 1966, p. 48, no. 8707, fig. 202). Both side reliefs are copied in the Dal Pozzo album, Windsor, X, fol. 88 (*ibid.*, p. 67, no. 8081).
5. Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS Fr. 9530, fol. 200v (see Appendix I.3). (See Ch. III, pp. 118-119).
6. Statius, *Ilustrium Virorum*, pl. VI (Fig. 230), cf. pls. XXXII and XL: two herms of Socrates in the Cesi collection. Ursinus, *Imagines*, pp. 50-51, reprinted both herms and a fragment of a relief with a seated philosopher holding a scroll. And cf. Faber, *Illus-*

*trium Imagines*, pls. 133-134 (cf. Nos. 219 and 222; Figs. 455 and 461). See also under No. 118 above.

7. Burchard suggested that the inscriptions could have been added by Philip Rubens.
8. Held, *Drawings*, 1986, pp. 73-74, no. 21, pl. 21, dated the drawing to 1601-1605.
9. For the discussion of Faber's 1606 edition see Ch. IV, pp. 129-130.
10. Held, *Oil Sketches*, pp. 153-154, no. 102, pl. 105; N. De Poorter, *The Eucharist Series* (*Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard*, II), Brussels-London, 1978, no. 12c, fig. 163.

### 139. The Abduction of Proserpina (Borghese): Drawing (Fig. 270)

Pen and brown ink over main drawing in black chalk; 90 × 395 mm. Inscribed on the mat bottom left *P.P. Rubens*.— *Verso*: on old mat in pen *No. 166 f 7 = 10 = ..*, and *n c 14 D 66*.

*Antwerp, Rubenshuis*. Inv. No. S 106.

PROVENANCE: Jan Baptist (1807-1852), Pieter Joseph (1808-1883) and Leonard (1813-1870) de Cuyper, Antwerp; by descent to P. Dieltiens, Berchem, from whom acquired by the Rubenshuis in 1952.

EXHIBITED: *Paris*, 1954, no. 414; *Antwerp*, 1956, no. 16; *Flamanska umetnost XVII veka*, Narodni Musej, Belgrade, 1957, no. 15; *Antwerp*, 1958, no. 4; *Birmingham*, 1978, no. 38, repr.; *Düsseldorf*, 1979, no. 13.

LITERATURE: M. Konrad, 'War Rubens auch Bildhauer. Eine unbekanntene Zeichnung nach einem spätantiken Relief', *Der Tag. Unterhaltungsrundschau*, 23 November 1930, repr.; E. Haverkamp Begemann, 'Rubens Schetsen', *Bulletin Museum Boymans, Rotterdam*, V, 1, March 1954, pp. 11-14, fig. 9; Burchard-d'Hulst, *Tekeningen*, pp. 36-37, no. 16; F. Van den Wijngaert, 'De Rubens-tekeningen in Antwerps stadsbezit', *Antwerpen, Tijdschrift der stad Antwerpen*, II, 1956, p. 73; Held, *Drawings*, p. 156, under no. 159; Miesel, *Study Drawings*, p. 326, n. 16; Jaffé, *Antwerp, Sketchbook*, I, p. 79, n. 4, fig. CLXI; J. Müller Hofstede, [Review

Burchard-d'Hulst, *Drawings*], *Master Drawings*, IV, 1966, p. 438, no. 14; Alpers, *Torre*, p. 258, under no. 53a; H. von Einem, 'Die Folge des Krieges'. *Ein Alteswerk von Peter Paul Rubens (Rheinisch-Westfälische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Vorträge, G.199)*, 1974, p. 18, n. 43; McGrath, *Painted Decoration*, pp. 252-253, n. 31; Van der Meulen, *Sculpture Collections*, p. 151, n. 6; Held, *Oil Sketches*, pp. 293, under no. 211, p. 352, under no. 262.

The drawing shows a frieze with a sequence of scenes, from left to right: two nymphs restraining Minerva who grasps Pluto rushing off with Proserpina in his arms on a chariot drawn by four galloping horses, led by Mercury. Then we see Hore holding flowers in the pleats of her long garment, followed by the searching Ceres riding on a chariot with an angel flying above. Finally, Mercury visiting Proserpina, wearing a veil and sitting on a throne next to Pluto with a three-headed Cerberus at her feet.

The drawing of the *Abduction of Proserpina* matches an entry in Rubens's *Roman Itinerary*, known from a French translation, describing a marble relief with the same mythological story.<sup>1</sup> Of the Roman sarcophagi picturing the myth, the front and right side of the one walled up in the façade of the Casino Rospigliosi in Rome corresponds closely to the drawing in a number of details: the dragon is coiled in the shape of the figure eight, the winged putto above the horses and the sharply turned head of Pluto (Fig. 271).<sup>2</sup> However, the drawing deviates strongly from its model in that the sequence of the events has been rearranged into the correct and chronological order. In addition, several small changes have been made: the reclining river goddess Cyane is now seen from the back and Ceres is holding a flaming torch. In switching the scenes around, a more balanced and symmetrical composition was obtained.

The relief in the Casino Rospigliosi (named for its last owner) was restored and walled into the façade of the new palace on the Quiri-

nal by Scipione Borghese by the end of 1612. Scipione acquired the sarcophagus from the estate of the banker Tiberio Ceoli in December 1607.<sup>3</sup> However, it is also possible that Rubens copied the Proserpina sarcophagus while it was still in the Ceoli collection (see note 2).

Burchard considered the drawing a work by Rubens,<sup>4</sup> but it is now regarded as a copy. The influence of the relief is obvious in the oil sketch by Rubens in the Petit Palais in Paris, which shows the Abduction scene in reverse.<sup>5</sup> He stayed very closely to the antique model in his oil sketch (Bayonne, Musée Bonnat)<sup>6</sup> for the painting *Pluto abducting Proserpina* (Prado, Madrid) of 1636. The pose of the reclining Proserpina with both arms flung into the air is reflected in the figure of Semele in his oil sketch *Jupiter and Semele* (Brussels, Musées Royaux).<sup>7</sup> Rubens's oil sketch in Zürich for the painting, *Orpheus leading Euridice from Hades* (Madrid), recalls the right side of the sarcophagus.<sup>8</sup>

1. Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS Fr. 9530, fol. 200r [no. 3] (see Appendix I.2). For a discussion of that entry see also Ch. II, pp. 84-85.

2. Roman, mid second century A.D. See C. Robert, *Die antiken Sarkophag-Reliefs*, Berlin, 1897, III, 3, pp. 461-462, no. 363, figs. 363, 363b; *Lexicon Mythologiae*, IV, 1, p. 402, no. 36, repr.; p. 901 no. 127. The story of the Abduction of Proserpina is usually not pictured in chronological order. On Roman sarcophagi of the mid first century A.D. the scene with Ceres on the dragon chariot is followed by Aphrodite, Athene and then Pluto rushing off with Proserpina in his arms and Mercury alongside the horses (G. Koch and G. Sichtermann, *Römische Sarkophage* [*Handbuch der Archäologie*, ed. U. Hausmann], Munich, 1982, pp. 175-176, n. 13).

The whereabouts of the sarcophagus before it came into the Ceoli collection are unknown; its relief was copied in the early 16th century (see *Bober-Rubinstein, Handbook*, pp. 56-57, no. 9, repr.).

3. Scipione built his garden palace in 1611 (see Ch. I, p. 52). The *palazzo* changed owners (and therefore names) several times, but the sarcophagus reliefs walled in the façade remained there. The reliefs were first published by F. Perrier, *Icones et segmenta illustrium*, Rome, 1645, pls. 15-16 ('in aedibus Mazarinis') and later by P.S. Bartoli, *Admiranda romanarum antiquitatum*, Rome, 1693, pls. 59-60.

4. Burchard's opinion on the drawing is recorded in a certificate of 26 November 1948.

5. *Alpers, Torre*, p. 258, under no. 53a, fig. 173; *Held, Oil Sketches*, pp. 352-353, no. 262, pl. 246 (his fig. 9 illustrates the Barberini sarcophagus instead of the Ros-pigliosi relief).
6. *Alpers, Torre*, p. 258, no. 53a, fig. 171; *Held, Oil Sketches*, pp. 293-294, no. 211, pl. 220.
7. *Alpers, Torre*, pp. 228-229, no. 36a, fig. 135; *Held, Oil Sketches*, pp. 285-286, no. 202, pl. 211.
8. *Alpers, Torre*, pp. 245-246, no. 46a, fig. 156; *Held, Oil Sketches*, pp. 288-289, no. 206, pl. 215.

## 140-141 BORGHESE VASE

### 140. Dancing Faun (Borghese Vase): Drawing

Technique and measurements unknown.  
*Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.*

COPY: Left half of a drawing (Fig. 62). See No. 30, Copy, for the Silenus on the right half, and for more details. Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst, Kongelige Kobberstiksamling, 'Rubens Cantoor', No. III, 41.

A copy in Copenhagen (Fig. 62) shows on the left a *Dancing Faun* in side view facing left. On the right half of the sheet, a nude *Standing Silenus* is seen in frontal view from below (No. 30, Copy). The Faun balances himself on the ball of his right foot with his left leg kicked back. The right hand holds a *thyrsus*; a *nebris* (panther skin) hangs down from the elevated right arm.

The *Dancing Faun* is a detail of a frieze with Bacchanalian scenes on a neo-Attic vase of Penthellic marble (Fig. 63), ascribed to the Hellenistic sculptor, Arkesilaos.<sup>1</sup> The vase was unearthed in the 16th century in the *vigna* of Carlo Muti in Rome on the ancient site of the garden of Sallust.<sup>2</sup> A drawing by Maerten van Heemskerck shows the vase seen from the bottom lying on its side.<sup>3</sup> It later belonged to the collection of Cardinal Scipione Borghese.<sup>4</sup> It was purchased in 1807 by Napoleon and is now in the Louvre in Paris.<sup>5</sup>

The copyist stated that the original for the drawing was kept in Rubens's studio:<sup>6</sup> it

could have been by the master's hand. A drawing in Dresden recently attributed to Rubens portrays a different part of the relief on the same vase (see No. 141; Fig. 275). This would support the hypothesis that the Copenhagen sheet refers to a drawing by Rubens. The copyist was quite pleased with the way the Faun came out, although the elegant body has become slightly heavier. Garff and Pedersen attributed the drawing in Copenhagen to Willem Panneels (1628/30).

The *Standing Silenus* depicted on the right side of the Copenhagen drawing was at the time in the Mattei collection (No. 30). As the statues were in different locations, the copyist probably copied two separate drawings on one sheet. This hypothesis is supported by the two inscriptions.

1. Height 1.71m. See *Bieber, Hellenistic Sculpture*, pp. 166 (repr.), 184; F. Hauser, *Die neu-attischen Reliefs*, Stuttgart, 1889, pp. 84-85, no. 1; *Lexicon Mythologiae*, III, 1, p. 483, no. 722a; W. Fuchs, 'Die Vorbilder der neu-attischen Reliefs', *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Instituts*, 20e Ergänzungsheft, Berlin, 1959, pp. 108-118, fig. 23b.
2. F. Vacca, *Memorie di varia antichità trovate in diverse luoghi della città di Roma scritte... 1594*, edn Schreiber, *Flaminio Vacca*, p. 72, Memoria 59: 'Me ricordo, che nelle uigna del Sig. Carlo Muti poco lontano da gli Horti Salustiani, ui trouò... un uaso grande con fauni et baccanti, che ballano, con cimbali in mano, et hoggi tiene nel suo giardino'.
3. Cod. Berolinensis, II, fol. 16v; see *Hülsen-Egger, Heemskerck*, II, pl. 19. Dal Pozzo album, British Museum, Franks, I, fol. 123, pictures the entire relief (*Vermeule, Dal Pozzo-Albani*, 1960, p. 33, no. 512). Dal Pozzo album, Windsor, III, fol. 9, shows part of the relief (*Vermeule, Dal Pozzo-Albani*, 1966, p. 21, no. 8332).
4. An undated note by Peiresc refers to the vase in the Borghese collection (Paris, *Bibl. Nat.*, MS Fr. 9532, fol. 95r: 'Chez le Card. BORGVESE des Canthares de Marbres avec des figures thymeliques excellentes dans le palais de Rome'). The vase is not mentioned in Francucci's poem of 1613 on Scipione Borghese's collection. It was first published by Perrier, *Icones et segmenta illustrium*, Rome, 1645, pls. 10-11, and later by P.S. Bartoli, *Admiranda romanarum antiquitatum*, Rome, 1693, pls. 52-53.
5. *Froehner, Sculpture antique*, pp. 247-248, no. 235 (Inv. No. 86); *Haskell-Penny*, p. 315, no. 81, fig. 166.
6. 'Dit saterken is heel goet van omtreck ende dit hebbe ick oock gehaelt van rubbens cantoor'; an-

other inscription pertains to the *Silenus* on the right (see under No. 30, Copy).

**141. Drunken Silenus with Faun and Maenad (Borghese Vase): Drawing (Fig. 275)**

Black chalk; 292 × 383 mm. Mounted.

Dresden, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Kupferstichkabinett. Inv. No. C 1967-42.

PROVENANCE: Gottfried Wagner, Leipzig, from whom acquired for the Kupferstichkabinett in 1728 (until 1967 in the album Ca 19).

EXHIBITED: *Konstskatter från Dresden*, Nationalmuseum, Stockholm, 1969, no. 200; *Dresden*, 1970, no. 64; *Cologne*, 1977, no. 63.

LITERATURE: C. Dittrich, in *Cat. Exh. Dresden*, 1970, pp. 56-58, no. 64, repr.; *Jaffé, Rubens and Italy*, p. 83, n. 74, fig. 289; *Müller Hofstede, Rubens in Italien*, p. 267, no. 63, repr.; *McGrath, Painted Decoration*, p. 266, n. 89; *Freedberg, Année Rubens*, p. 85, n. 19; *Van der Meulen, Sculpture Collections*, p. 150.

A Maenad clad in a diaphanous clinging *chiton* and billowing veil holds castanets in her raised hands. She looks over her shoulder at a half-naked *Silenus* who has dropped his drinking cup and is about to topple over. A Faun with a *thyrsos*, wearing a *nebris* around his neck, supports the *Silenus* to prevent his falling.

The source is a scene from a Bacchic *thiasos* on a Neo-Attic vase of Penthelic marble<sup>1</sup> belonging to the collection of Scipione Borghese at the time (Fig. 276).<sup>2</sup> See No. 140.

The sheet was first attributed to Rubens by Michael Jaffé, who originally dated the drawing to Rubens's first stay in Rome, but recently revised his opinion and, following Dittrich, now places the sheet in the second Roman period (1605/6-1608). The latter is more likely considering the history of the Borghese collec-

tion. Freedberg doubted the attribution, but another figure from the same vase, a *Dancing Faun*, is known from a copy in Copenhagen and thus can support Rubens's authorship (No. 140; cf. Fig. 62).

A *Drunken Silenus supported by Pans and Fauns* has frequently been painted by Rubens, although the pose of the *Silenus* is nowhere quite the same as on this drawing.

1. *Bieber, Hellenistic Sculpture*, pp. 166, 184, fig. 795; W. Fuchs, 'Die Vorbilder der neu-attischen Reliefs', *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Instituts*, 20e Ergänzungsheft, Berlin, 1959, pp. 108-118, fig. 24b.
2. Dal Pozzo album, Windsor, III, fol. 9, pictures the Maenad looking over her shoulder (*Vermeule, Dal Pozzo-Albani*, 1966, p. 21, no. 8332). Dal Pozzo album, British Museum, Franks, I, fol. 123 (*Vermeule, Dal Pozzo-Albani*, 1960, p. 33, no. 512).

**142. Child in Swaddling Clothes (detail from Rubens's Christian Sarcophagus with the Miracles of Christ): Drawing**

Technique and measurements unknown. *Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.*

COPIES: (1) Anonymous engraving in reverse (Fig. 273), in J.J. Chifletius, *De Linteis Sepulchralibus Christi Servatoris Crisis Historica*, Antwerp, 1624, p. 171; 59 × 107 mm. LIT. *Magurn, Letters*, p. 453, no. 57; *Van der Meulen, Antiquarius*, pp. 17, 83, n. 2, fig. XXVI,A; F.L. Bastet, 'De marmeren urn van Rubens', *NRC Handelsblad*, 25 February 1977 (*Cultureel supplement*, p. 2); H. Brunsting, 'Der Sarkophag des H. Marcellus nochmals', *Bulletin antieke beschaving*, LI, 1976, pp. 98-99, fig. 21; P.P.V. van Moorsel, 'De Oudchristelijke sarcofaag in het Rijksmuseum in het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden te Leiden', *Oudheidkundige mededelingen*, LXV, 1984-85, p. 37.

(2) Engraving, after Copy 1, in A. Houbraken, *De groote schouburgh der nederlantsche konst-schilders en schilderessen*, I, Amsterdam, 1718 (edn P.T.A. Swillens, Maastricht, 1943, I, p. 151, repr.).

In his book on shrouds J.J. Chifflet pictured an engraving of a *Child in Swaddling Clothes* on p. 171 (Fig. 273).<sup>1</sup> It was made after a preparatory drawing dispatched by Rubens on 23 April 1624.<sup>2</sup> Chifflet noted (confusingly) that the original marble belonged to the artist's collection after being transported from Rome to Antwerp.<sup>3</sup> The print shows a detail of a scene picturing the Resurrection of the Youth from Nain in reverse which appears on the left side of an Early Christian sarcophagus with the Miracles of Christ, now in Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden (Fig. 272).<sup>4</sup> The large object was acquired by the artist in the transaction with Dudley Carleton in 1618,<sup>5</sup> and was apparently included in the sale to the Duke of Buckingham in 1626. The sarcophagus was acquired at the sale of Buckingham's collection c.1649 by Reinier van der Wolff in Rotterdam. When in 1660 Joachim Oudaen visited the collection of Reinier van der Wolff, he spotted the sarcophagus and jotted down its Latin inscription.<sup>6</sup>

1. J.J. Chifflet, op. cit., pp. 170-171: 'Infantum primis constrictum vinculis hic exhibemus, ex marmoreâ pilâ veteri, Româ Antuerpiam aduectâ, in aedes Petri Pauli Rubenij, rerum antiquarum seduli spectatoris'.
2. Rubens to [J.J. Chifflet], 23 April 1624: 'Voici le dessein bien rude mais en conformité de son original duquel l'artifice sent son siecle, Aussy je crains qu'il sera reusci trop grand mais il est bien facile de le faire en moindre estendue de papier per craticulam sans alterer la proportion. En quoy je vous eusse servy tresvoluntiers si neust este que vous m'escrives de vouloir seulement faire tailler l'enfant enveloppé, le quel je vous envoye à part exprimé assez exactement comme me sembla...' (*Magurn, Letters*, no. 57, pp. 97, 420, 453).
3. Previously belonging to Giovanni Grimani, Patriarch of Aquileia, the sarcophagus came into the possession of Dudley Carleton in 1615 (J.M. Muller, *Rubens. The Artist as Collector*, Princeton, N.J., 1989, p. 152, no. 10, p. 181, pl. 133; P.P.V. van Moorsel, op. cit., p. 40).
4. Inv. No. Pb.35. See [Cat. Exh.] *Het Wonder. Miracula Christi*, Aartsbischoppelijk Museum, Utrecht, 1962, p. 49; H. Brunsting, 'De oud-christelijke sarcophaag van Leiden', *Oudheidkundige mededelingen van het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden (te Leiden)*, N.R., XL, 1959, pp. 35-40, pl. II; id., 'Habent sua fata', *Bulletin antieke beschaving*, L, 1, 1975, p. 5; [Cat. Exh.] *Klas-*

*sieke kunst uit particulier bezit*, Rijks Museum van Oudheden, Leiden, 1975, no. 26; H. Brunsting, 'Der Sarkophag des H. Marcellus nochmals', *Bulletin antieke beschaving*, LI, 1976, pp. 98-99, figs. 21-22; F.L. Bastet, *Het Maansteenrif, Wandelingen door de antieke wereld*, Amsterdam, 1979, pp. 112-130, repr.; id., 'Oudheden uit Rubens' verzameling te Leiden', *Nederlands kunsthistorisch jaarboek*, XXXI, 1980, pp. 73-74, fig. 3; P.P.V. van Moorsel, op. cit., pp. 37-46.

5. The 1615 shipping list mentions: 'Nella cassa No. 2 sono... 53 Vna urna sepoltura delle cenere degli antichi' (Muller, *Rubens's Museum*, p. 581).
6. J.H. Jongkees, 'De verzameling oudheden van Reinier van der Wolff (ca.1660)', *Mededelingen van het Nederlandsch Historisch Instituut te Rome*, XXXI, 1961, pp. 132-145. The sarcophagus was in the possession of Johan de Witt in Dordrecht since 1693; purchased in 1701 by H.A. van der Marck (d.1726) in Haarlem; acquired at his auction of 1712 by Goussinus Uilenbroek (Amsterdam); belonged to Gerard van Papenbroeck before 1741; since 1745/46 in Leiden as part of the van Papenbroeck bequest; it has been in the Leiden Museum since 1818.

## Nos. 143-160 and 161-162 THE COLUMN OF TRAJAN

A series of seventeen chalk sketches, mounted together with their counterproofs, is preserved in the Print Room of the Albertina in Vienna. Of an eighteenth drawing, now missing from the set, only the counterproof is preserved.<sup>1</sup>

The sketches render heads of Roman soldiers, women and captured Dacians derived from the *Column of Trajan*.<sup>2</sup> The column, 27m. high, is covered with one continuous spiral relief and records Trajan's victories over the Dacians in the First (101-102 A.D.) and Second War (105-106 A.D.). The column was erected in 131 A.D. on the Forum Trajanum and crowned by a statue of an emperor.

As early as 1467 a Florentine artist drew the reliefs, while at about the same time Giacomo Ripanda from Bologna is said to have copied the reliefs in their entirety using scaffolding.<sup>3</sup> The column enjoyed an enormous popularity in the cinquecento: it was greatly admired for its use of perspective, the effects of chiaroscuro and its spatial composition.<sup>4</sup> The realistic reliefs picturing scenes from Roman history,

warfare, funerary customs and religious rites were recommended to artists to study.<sup>5</sup> The complete reliefs were published in a book by Alfonso Chacon in 1576 with engravings by de Cavalleriis after drawings by Girolamo Muziano.<sup>6</sup> When Pierre Jacques visited Rome in 1572-1577 he drew a number of heads of the reliefs.<sup>7</sup> In this respect the series in Vienna resembles Jacques' drawings, although it is superior in artistic quality to Jacques' sketchy outlines.

The drawings in Vienna were made after plaster casts as is obvious from the jagged protruding edges and cut off details. Several heads occur more than once in the series, but are seen from another point of view, or with a different light source and in varying sizes. It was not possible to identify all the heads on the drawings, as some of the relief is now quite damaged. The models were selected from various parts of the column, but of a single *adlocutio* scene at least four heads were copied.

The series has been attributed to Rubens by tradition. Part has been considered as identical with a set of twelve sketches listed in the inventory of the estate of Erasmus Quellin II, one of Rubens's last collaborators.<sup>8</sup> They were still accepted by Meder.<sup>9</sup> More recently Held doubted the attribution.<sup>10</sup> Although the sketches in black and red chalk are of uneven quality, Ludwig Burchard judged them all worthy of Rubens's name. He attributed the retouching, however, to another hand. The set was exhibited in Vienna in 1977 among the Rubens drawings, although Mitsch rightly observed that they fit in with a group of drawings by another hand. This draughtsman was probably an assistant who worked for the artist. Logan suggested that the retouches with the brush are by the hand of the master.<sup>11</sup> Two further drawings, known only from copies (Nos. 161-162; Figs. 307, 308) may also render heads from the Column of Trajan.

Rubens's interest in individual heads might be the result of the fact that the complete reliefs were already published (see note 6). Cha-

con's book is listed in the catalogue of Albert Rubens's library, but it probably belonged first to his father.<sup>12</sup> In Albert's *De Re Vestitaria Veterum* reference is made to Chacon's publication.<sup>13</sup>

Renaissance artists studied the column for the representation of military dress, and Rubens's historical paintings also show some influence of the monument from a compositional and thematic point of view. Scenes such as the *Adlocutio of Trajan* have clearly inspired *Decius Mus relating his Dream* (K.d.K., p. 142).<sup>14</sup> However, the Trajanic reliefs on the *Arch of Constantine* seem more often to have provided models for his military costumes, headcoverings and footwear (see Ch. III, pp. 123-124). No drawings of this monument have so far been accepted as by Rubens.<sup>15</sup> Philip Rubens pointed to the Arch for the representations of the *suovetaurilia*<sup>16</sup> and '*calceus clavatus*'.<sup>17</sup>

Rubens's drawing in Berlin, *Sketches of Roman Emperors* (verso; Fig. 402) bears a scribbled note 'Columna Trajana'; the meaning of the annotation is not clear.<sup>18</sup>

1. Inv. Nos. 8.313-8.330; of 8.330 only the counterproof is extant. The counterproofs were probably made for engraving. The collector's mark of the Albertina (L.174) is stamped on each sheet in the bottom left corner. They are listed in the *MS Catalogue des Dessins de la Collection de feu Son Altesse Royale le Duc Albert de Saxe... 1822* (Mitsch, *Rubenszeichnungen*, repr. p. 257).
2. C. Cichorius, *Die Reliefs der Traianssäule*, Berlin, 1886-1900, I-IV, with photographic reproductions of the entire relief made from casts; S. Settis et al., *La Colonna Traiana*, Turin, 1988.
3. E. Strong, 'Six Drawings from the Column of Trajan with the date 1467 and a note on the date of Giacomo Ripanda', *Papers of the British School at Rome*, VI, 1913, pp. 174-183.
4. B. Varchi, *Lezione delle maggioranza e nobilita delle arti*, Florence, 1549 (edn P. Barocchi, *Trattati d'arte de Cinquecento*, Bari, 1960, p. 51); Lomazzo, edn Ciardi, I: I, p. 36; Armenini, edn Olszewski, I: VIII, p. 132.
5. G. Agosti and V. Farinella, 'Calore del marmo. Pratica e tipologia delle deduzioni iconografiche', in *Memoria dell'antico nell'arte italiana*, ed. S. Settis, Turin, 1984, I, pp. 374-444, giving an extensive survey of the influence of the column in art. See also their contribution to S. Settis et al., op. cit. (note 2), pp. 549-597; Bober-Rubinstein, *Handbook*, pp. 192-194, no. 159, repr.; R. Chevallier, 'Dessins du XVIe



- siècle de la Colonne Trajane', *Atti della Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia*, ser. III, *Rendiconti*, L, 1977-78, pp. 27-42.
6. A. Chacon, *Historia vtriusque belli Dacici a Traiano caesare gesti, ex simulacris quae in columna eiusdem Romae, visuntur collectae*, Rome, 1576.
7. Paris, Bibl. Nat., Cod. Remensis, fols. 31v, 32r, 85v, 86r, 87r-v, 88r, 90r-v, 91r, 92r, 93r, 94r, 95r, totalling 26 heads. Only two heads are similar to those represented on the Vienna series (Reinach, *Pierre Jacques*, pp. 122, 136-138, repr.). Cf. a sketch of a *Dacian Head* in Rome, Gabinetto Nazionale delle Stampe, F.C., Inv. No. 127060 (D. di Castro and S.P. Fox, *Disegni dall'antico dei secoli XVI e XVII dalle collezioni del Gabinetto Nazionale delle Stampe (Xenia Quaderni, III)*, Rome, 1983, no. 89, repr.).
8. Inventory of 1678: '12 teeckeningen crabbellinge Rubbens ex columna Trojana [sic]' (Denucé, *Konst-kamers*, p. 290).
9. J. Meder, *Die Handzeichnung, ihre Technik und Entwicklung*, Vienna, 1923, p. 539, n. 5, fig. 249.
10. Held, *Drawings*, p. 51, n. 3; Held, *Drawings*, 1986, p. 44, n. 14; H. Rodee, 'Rubens' Treatment of Antique Armor', *The Art Bulletin*, XLIX, 1967, p. 228, n. 29, quoting Held's opinion.
11. Logan, *Rubens Exhibitions*, 1977, p. 408, nos. 134-151, attributing only the retouches with the brush and brown water colour to the artist; Mitsch, *Rubenszeichnungen*, pp. 232-237, nos. 134-151, repr.
12. *Catalogus A. Rubens*, p. 11: 'Alphonsi Chiaconi Explicatio Columnae Trajani'.
13. Rubenius, *De Re Vestiarum*, I: VI, p. 38: in discussing the *lacerna*, a short cloak worn by Roman soldiers, reference is made to Chacon's pls. 237 and 244.
14. H. Rodee, op. cit., n. 10 above, pp. 223-230; G. Brucher, *Der Decius Mus-Gemäldezyklus von Peter Paul Rubens*, Graz, 1984, pp. 12-17, suggesting the first *adlocutio* scene (fig. 1) as the source for *Decius Mus relating his Dream* (pl. I); R. Baumstark, *Peter Paul Rubens. The Decius Mus Cycle*, New York, 1985, p. 5.
15. See Ch. I, n. 19.
16. Rubenius, *Electorum Libri II*, I: XI, p. 14.
17. *Ibid.*, II: XII, p. 58.
18. *Mielke-Winner*, p. 81, no. 28, repr.

PROVENANCE: ? E. Quellin (Antwerp, 1607-1678); Albert Casimir, Duke of Saxe-Teschen (Moritzburg near Dresden, 1738—Vienna, 1822).

COPY: Counterproof (Fig. 289, right), Vienna, Albertina, Inv. No. 8.313; 254 × 96 mm; touched up with the brush. Mounted with the drawing.

EXHIBITED: Vienna, 1977, no. 134.

LITERATURE: Mitsch, *Rubenszeichnungen*, p. 232, no. 134, repr.

A bearded man wearing a *pileus* facing right is drawn slightly from below eye level. The head is that of one of nine captured Dacians standing near a wall of a Roman camp (Fig. 277).<sup>1</sup> The same head seen from two different angles occurs on another sheet (No. 144; Fig. 290).

Below it a bearded head of a soldier, also facing right is sketched. He is one of the Roman *signiferi* (standard bearers). Part of a standard covers the back of his head (Fig. 278).<sup>2</sup> The same type of head occurs on another sheet (No. 154; Fig. 300). The light source is from the left, casting some shadows to the right of the head, indicated by hatchings and washes. The washes are possibly by Rubens's hand.<sup>3</sup>

1. *Cichorius, Traianssäule*, II, p. 211; I, pl. XXXIII, scene XLIII, 114.

2. *Ibid.*, II, p. 28; I, pl. VIII, scene IV, 14.

3. For the attribution see the introduction to Nos. 143-160.

### 143. Heads of a Dacian and a Roman Soldier (Column of Trajan): Drawing (Fig. 289, left)

Black chalk, brown washes with the brush; 254 × 102 mm.; bottom left collector's mark of the Albertina (L.174). Mounted with the counterproof (see Copy).

Vienna, Albertina. Inv. No. 8.313.

### 144. Head of a Captured Dacian (Column of Trajan): Drawing (Fig. 290, left)

Black chalk, brown washes with the brush; 250 × 98 mm.; bottom left collector's mark of the Albertina (L.174). Mounted with the counterproof (see Copy).

Vienna, Albertina. Inv. No. 8.314.

PROVENANCE: Same as No. 143.

COPY: Counterproof (Fig. 290, right), Vienna, Albertina, Inv. No. 8.314; 250 × 102 mm; touched up with the brush. Mounted with the drawing.

EXHIBITED: *Vienna, 1977*, no. 135.

LITERATURE: *Mitsch, Rubenszeichnungen*, p. 232, no. 135, repr.

The bearded head is the same head as the one in the previous entry at the top, but it is drawn from another two different angles. The top drawing shows the head from above, and the sketch beneath shows the head from below. The light falls from the left, casting shadows on the right side of the face and background, indicated by hatchings and washes. The washes are possibly by Rubens's hand.

### 145. Head of a Roman Soldier (Column of Trajan): Drawing (Fig. 291, left)

Black chalk, brown washes with the brush; 269 × 109 mm.; bottom left collector's mark of the Albertina (L.174). Mounted with the counterproof (see Copy).  
*Vienna, Albertina*. Inv. No. 8.315.

PROVENANCE: Same as No. 143.

COPY: Counterproof (Fig. 291, right), Vienna, Albertina, Inv. No. 8.315; 269 × 111 mm. Mounted with the drawing.

EXHIBITED: *Vienna, 1977*, no. 136.

LITERATURE: *Mitsch, Rubenszeichnungen*, p. 232, no. 136, repr.

The head of a bearded soldier facing right, wearing a helmet with a round ring on top and a kerchief knotted around his neck, is

drawn from two different angles. The top sketch shows the head from above, the bottom one from below. Light falls from the left, casting shadows along the face indicated by hatchings and washes. The washes are possibly by Rubens's hand.

The head can be identified with a Roman *auxiliarius* holding a round shield standing near a brick wall of a Roman camp (Fig. 279).<sup>1</sup>

1. *Cichorius, Traianssäule*, II, p. 64; I, pl. XII, scene XII, 31.

### 146. Head of a Dacian (Column of Trajan): Drawing (Fig. 292, left)

Black chalk; 258 × 103 mm.; bottom left collector's mark of the Albertina (L.174). Mounted with the counterproof (see Copy).  
*Vienna, Albertina*. Inv. No. 8.316.

PROVENANCE: Same as No. 143.

COPY: Counterproof (Fig. 292, right), Vienna, Albertina, Inv. No. 8.316; 245 × 106 mm. Mounted with the drawing.

EXHIBITED: *Vienna, 1977*, no. 137.

LITERATURE: *Mitsch, Rubenszeichnungen*, p. 232, no. 137, repr.

A bearded head of a Dacian wearing a *pileus* facing left is drawn twice seen from above. The heads are seen from the same angle, but with a different light fall. The one on the top is drawn with light coming from the back. The head below is drawn with light coming from the front, casting shadows below and on the rear of the head.

This Dacian resembles the one standing near a wall of a Roman encampment, to the right of the one represented in No. 144 (cf. Fig. 277).

Burchard believed that this drawing was the only one entirely by Rubens, as it has not

been touched up with the brush by a different hand.

**147. Head of a Roman Soldier and a Barbarian Messenger (Column of Trajan): Drawing (Fig. 293, left)**

Black chalk, brown washes with the brush on top sketch; 258 × 106 mm.; bottom left collector's mark of the Albertina (L.174). Mounted with the counterproof (see Copy).  
*Vienna, Albertina.* Inv. No. 8.317.

PROVENANCE: Same as No. 143.

COPY: Counterproof (Fig. 293, right), Vienna, Albertina, Inv. No. 8.317; 258 × 106 mm. Mounted with the drawing.

EXHIBITED: *Vienna, 1977*, no. 138.

LITERATURE: *Mitsch, Rubenszeichnungen*, p. 232, no. 138, repr.

A soldier wearing a helmet with a chinband, a kerchief tied around his neck, is drawn at the top. He is seen in three-quarter view facing left from above. Light falls from the right and casts heavy shadows around the face, indicated by hatchings and washes. The washes are possibly by Rubens's hand.

The soldier is one of three *auxilarii* holding a shield and guarding captured Dacians (Fig. 280).<sup>1</sup> This head occurs on a second drawing with different light fall (No. 158; Fig. 303).

Sketched below is the bearded head of a *comatus*, facing left and seen from below. The head is that of the barbarian leading the envoy visiting Trajan (Fig. 281).<sup>2</sup>

1. *Cichorius, Traianssäule*, II, p. 197: a; I, pl. XXX, scene XL, 101.

2. *Ibid.*, II, pp. 245-246; I, pl. XXXVIII, scene LII, 129.

**148. Heads of Roman Soldiers (Column of Trajan): Drawing (Fig. 294, left)**

Black chalk; 242 × 98 mm.; bottom left collector's mark of the Albertina (L.174). Mounted with the counterproof (see Copy).  
*Vienna, Albertina.* Inv. No. 8.318.

PROVENANCE: Same as No. 143.

COPY: Counterproof (Fig. 294, right), Vienna, Albertina, Inv. No. 8.318; 242 × 93 mm. Mounted with the drawing.

EXHIBITED: *Vienna, 1977*, no. 139.

LITERATURE: *Mitsch, Rubenszeichnungen*, p. 232, no. 139, repr.

The head of a Roman wearing a crested helmet is facing right at the top of the sheet. Light falls from the left. The soldier cannot be identified on the relief.

Below is a head with short, curly locks and beard facing left with light falling from the left. This is probably one of the *legionarii* holding a *scutum* standing inside the wall of the camp listening to Trajan giving an *adlocutio* (Fig. 282; cf. Nos. 150, 151 and 153).<sup>1</sup> It is probably the same head as drawn by Pierre Jacques.<sup>2</sup>

1. *Cichorius, Traianssäule*, II, p. 135; I, pl. XXI, scene XXVII, 67.

2. Paris, Bibl. Nat., Cod. Remensis, fol. 87v (*Reinach, Pierre Jacques*, p. 137, repr. top left).

**149. Heads of Dacians (Column of Trajan): Drawing (Fig. 295, left)**

Black chalk, top of the brush in brown; hatchings in red chalk around face on top sketch; 243 × 108 mm.; bottom left collector's mark of the Albertina (L.174). Mounted with the counterproof (see Copy).  
*Vienna, Albertina.* Inv. No. 8.319.

PROVENANCE: Same as No. 143.

COPY: Counterproof (Fig. 295, right), Vienna, Albertina, Inv. No. 8.319; 243 × 110 mm; touched up with the brush. Mounted with the drawing.

EXHIBITED: *Vienna, 1977*, no. 140.

LITERATURE: *Mitsch, Rubenszeichnungen*, p. 232, no. 140, repr.

At the top of the sheet the head of a *comatus* with beard is facing right. A tuft of his hair is made up in a cowlick on top of his head, and longish curls hang down his neck. Light falling from the left casts shadows indicated by hatchings. The retouches with the brush are possibly by Rubens's hand.

The elderly man belongs to a group of Dacians standing within the walls of a fortification. He gestures with his right hand to his comrades (Fig. 283).<sup>1</sup>

A second head of a *comatus* with moustache and sideburns facing left is drawn below it. Light falling from the right casts shadows indicated by hatchings and washes. The washes are possibly by Rubens's hand. The figure cannot be identified on the relief.

1. *Cichorius, Traianssäule*, III, p. 204; IV, pl. LXXXII, scene CXI, 295.

### 150. Heads of Dacians (Column of Trajan): Drawing (Fig. 296, left)

Black chalk, washes in brown with the brush, hatchings in red chalk; 255 × 113 mm.; bottom left collector's mark of the Albertina (L.174). Mounted with the counterproof (see Copy). *Vienna, Albertina*. Inv. No. 8.320.

PROVENANCE: Same as No. 143.

COPY: Counterproof (Fig. 296, right), Vienna, Albertina, Inv. No. 8.320; 255 × 108 mm. Mounted with the drawing.

EXHIBITED: *Vienna, 1977*, no. 141.

LITERATURE: *Mitsch, Rubenszeichnungen*, p. 232, no. 141, repr.

The top head shows a bearded *comatus* facing right. Shadows cast by light falling from the right are indicated by hatchings along the face. The shadows, darkened by washes, are possibly by Rubens's hand. This particular *comatus* stands among the ten Dacians listening to Trajan giving an *adlocutio* (Fig. 282; cf. Nos. 148, 151 and 153).<sup>1</sup>

Another *comatus* is drawn below, and he also faces right. Hatchings surround the head. This Dacian cannot be identified on the relief. Shadows are indicated by washes, possibly by Rubens's hand.

1. *Cichorius, Traianssäule*, II, p. 135; I, pl. XXI, scene XXVII, 69.

### 151. Head of a Dacian (Column of Trajan): Drawing (Fig. 297, left)

Black chalk, washes in brown with the brush, hatchings in red chalk along the faces, hatchings in black chalk around the neck; 257 × 104 mm.; bottom left collector's mark of the Albertina (L.174). Mounted with the counterproof (see Copy).

*Vienna, Albertina*. Inv. No. 8.321.

PROVENANCE: Same as No. 143.

COPY: Counterproof (Fig. 297, right), Vienna, Albertina, Inv. No. 8.321; 257 × 110 mm. Mounted with the drawing.

EXHIBITED: *Vienna, 1977*, no. 142.

LITERATURE: *Mitsch, Rubenszeichnungen*, p. 232, no. 142, repr.

The head of a bearded *comatus*, a tuft of hair tied in a knot on top of his head, facing left is drawn twice. The top drawing is slightly larger with light falling from the left, casting dark shadows behind the neck. Heavy hatchings occur along the faces. The washes behind the bottom head are possibly by Rubens's hand.

The *comatus* stands in the front of a group of Dacians listening to an *adlocutio* given by Trajan (Fig. 282; cf. Nos. 148, 150, and 153). He is wearing native dress and holds a round shield.<sup>1</sup>

1. *Cichorius, Traianssäule*, II, p. 135; I, pl. XXI, scene XXVII, 68.

## 152. Heads of a Dead Dacian and a Roman Soldier (Column of Trajan): Drawing (Fig. 298, left)

Black chalk, washes in brown with the brush, hatchings in red chalk; 266 × 112 mm.; bottom left collector's mark of the Albertina (L.174). Mounted with the counterproof (see Copy). *Vienna, Albertina*. Inv. No. 8.322.

PROVENANCE: Same as No. 143.

COPY: Counterproof (Fig. 298, right), Vienna, Albertina; Inv. No. 8.322; 266 × 109 mm; touched up with the brush. Mounted with the drawing.

EXHIBITED: *Vienna, 1977*, no. 143.

LITERATURE: *Mitsch, Rubenszeichnungen*, p. 232, no. 143, repr.

The top drawing shows a severed head of a bearded *comatus* held by his hair in side view facing left, with light falling from the left.

The detail is derived from the scene where Trajan receives two severed heads of Dacians, each handed over by an *auxiliarius*, whose hand is visible on the sketch (Fig. 284).<sup>1</sup> Pierre Jacques drew a similar head.<sup>2</sup> On Rubens's *Burial of Decius Mus* (Vaduz, Liechtenstein Collection; *K.d.K.*, p. 147) similar heads on poles are pictured.

Below it, the head of a Roman soldier, looking up facing right, is drawn. He wears a helmet with chinband and ring on top; his chest is covered with a cuirass. This soldier holds a *scutum* and stands near the gate of a camp (Fig. 285).<sup>3</sup>

Rubens's hand may possibly be detected in the shadows, darkened with washes.

1. *Cichorius, Traianssäule*, II, p. 111; I, pl. XVIII, scene XXIV, 57.

2. Paris, Bibl. Nat., Cod. Remensis, fols. 90v, 91v; *Reinach, Pierre Jacques*, p. 137, repr.

3. *Cichorius, Traianssäule*, II, p. 99; I, pl. XVI, scene XXI, 49.

## 153. Bust of a Dacian (Column of Trajan): Drawing (Fig. 299, left)

Black chalk; hatchings in red chalk; 252 × 105 mm.; bottom left collector's mark of the Albertina (L.174). Mounted with the counterproof (see Copy). *Vienna, Albertina*. Inv. No. 8.323.

PROVENANCE: Same as No. 143.

COPY: Counterproof (Fig. 299, right), Vienna, Albertina, Inv. No. 8.323; 251 × 103 mm.; slightly touched up with the brush. Mounted with the drawing.

EXHIBITED: *Vienna, 1977*, no. 144.

LITERATURE: *Mitsch, Rubenszeichnungen*, p. 232, no. 144, repr.

The bust of a bearded *comatus* facing left, a mantle fastened on his left shoulder, is drawn

twice. The bottom sketch is slightly smaller. Hatchings cover the background.

The detail is derived from the *adlocutio* scene: the *comatus* is the Dacian horseback rider in the front. He wears his native costume<sup>1</sup> (Fig. 282; cf. Nos. 148, 150 and 158).

1. *Cichorius, Traianssäule*, II, p. 135; I, pl. XXI, scene XXVII, 68.

**154. Head of A Roman Soldier  
(Column of Trajan): Drawing  
(Fig. 300, left)**

Black chalk, washes in brown with the brush; 255 × 106 mm.; bottom left collector's mark of the Albertina (L.174). Mounted with the counterproof (see Copy).

*Vienna, Albertina*. Inv. No. 8.324.

PROVENANCE: Same as No. 143.

COPY: Counterproof (Fig. 300, right), Vienna, Albertina, Inv. No. 8.324; 255 × 106 mm. Mounted with the drawing.

EXHIBITED: *Vienna, 1977*, no. 145.

LITERATURE: *Mitsch, Rubenszeichnungen*, p. 232, no. 145, repr.

Both drawings show the same bearded head facing right, but under different light fall. The head at the top, slightly larger, was drawn with light falling from above, the bottom one with light coming from the right.

The head is that of a *vexiliarius* of the troops crossing the Danube. He is wearing a *tunica*, and the shaft of a standard is resting against the back of his head (Fig. 278).<sup>1</sup> The head occurs on another drawing (No. 143; Fig. 289).

Shadows, indicated by washes, are possibly by Rubens's hand.

1. *Cichorius, Traianssäule*, II, p. 29; I, pls. VII–VIII, scene IV, 14.

**155. Heads of Roman Soldiers  
(Column of Trajan): Drawing  
(Fig. 301, left)**

Black chalk, washes in brown with the brush, hatchings in red chalk; 266 × 113 mm.; bottom left collector's mark of the Albertina (L.174). Mounted with the counterproof (see Copy).  
*Vienna, Albertina*. Inv. No. 8.325.

PROVENANCE: Same as No. 143.

COPY: Counterproof (Fig. 301, right), Vienna, Albertina, Inv. No. 8.325; 266 × 108 mm. Mounted with the drawing.

EXHIBITED: *Vienna, 1977*, no. 146.

LITERATURE: *Mitsch, Rubenszeichnungen*, p. 232, no. 146, repr.

Both sketches show heads of laureate bearded men facing right. The top head was drawn with light falling from the left, the bottom one with light falling from the right. Shadows are indicated by washes, possibly by Rubens's hand.

The heads belong to Roman officers clad in *tunicae* standing near a wall. On the top head the hand of the soldier standing behind him is partially visible. The head below must belong to a figure in the same scene, although the exact model could not be identified (Fig. 286).<sup>1</sup>

1. *Cichorius, Traianssäule*, II, pp. 47–48; I, pl. IX, scene VIII, 22.

**156. Two Heads of Trajan (Column  
of Trajan): Drawing (Fig. 302, left)**

Black chalk, washes in brown with the brush, hatchings in red chalk; 254 × 101 mm.; bottom left collector's mark of the Albertina (L.174). Mounted with the counterproof (see Copy).  
*Vienna, Albertina*. Inv. No. 8.326.

PROVENANCE: Same as No. 143.

COPY: Counterproof (Fig. 302, right), Vienna, Albertina, Inv. No. 8.326; 254 × 107 mm. Mounted with the drawing.

EXHIBITED: *Vienna, 1977*, no. 147.

LITERATURE: *Mitsch, Rubenszeichnungen*, p. 232, no. 147, repr.

The head of the Emperor Trajan facing right is drawn twice with light falling from the left. Hatchings cover the background. Shadows along the face are darkened by washes, which are possibly by Rubens's hand. Two different casts served as models: the terminations of the neck are different.

The portrait of Trajan occurs innumerable times on the relief, and it is hard to establish the exact model. The scene with Trajan receiving two severed heads might have served as the model for the top sketch (Fig. 284).<sup>1</sup>

1. *Cichorius, Traianssäule*, II, p. 111; I, pl. XVIII, scene XXIV, 57.

### 157. Head of a Dacian Woman (Column of Trajan): Drawing (Fig. 305, left)

Black chalk, washes in brown ink with the brush, hatchings in red chalk; 257 × 104 mm.; bottom left collector's mark of the Albertina (L.174). Mounted with the counterproof (see Copy).

*Vienna, Albertina*. Inv. No. 8.327.

PROVENANCE: Same as No. 143.

COPY: Counterproof (Fig. 305, right), Vienna, Albertina, Inv. No. 8.327; 257 × 106 mm. Mounted with the drawing.

EXHIBITED: *Vienna, 1977*, no. 148.

LITERATURE: *Mitsch, Rubenszeichnungen*, p. 232, no. 148, repr.

A head of a woman wearing a shawl folded around the head seen in back view facing right is sketched twice. The top sketch, drawn with light falling from the left, is slightly larger and includes part of the back. The bottom drawing was made with light coming from the right. Hatchings surround both heads; shadows are here and there darkened with washes, possibly by Rubens's hand.

The woman is one of a group of five captured Dacian women, clad in sleeveless mantles (Fig. 287).<sup>1</sup>

1. *Cichorius, Traianssäule*, II, p. 143; I, pl. XXII, scene XXX, 72.

### 158. Heads of Roman Soldiers (Column of Trajan): Drawing (Fig. 303, left)

Red chalk; hatchings in black chalk; 266 × 109 mm.; bottom left collector's mark of the Albertina (L.174). Mounted with the counterproof (see Copy).

*Vienna, Albertina*. Inv. No. 8.328.

PROVENANCE: Same as No. 143.

COPY: Counterproof (Fig. 303, right), Vienna, Albertina, Inv. No. 8.328; 266 × 103 mm. Mounted with the drawing.

EXHIBITED: *Vienna, 1977*, no. 149.

LITERATURE: *Mitsch, Rubenszeichnungen*, p. 232, no. 149, repr.

Two heads of soldiers wearing helmets with chinbands, are similar, but not identical. The top one is in side view facing right, the bottom one is in side view facing left. Both are seen from above with light falling from the left. Slight hatchings surround them.

Both heads are derived from a battle scene, where three *auxilarii* hold captured Dacians (Fig. 280).<sup>1</sup> Both heads occur on another sheet: the head at the top on No. 159 (Fig. 304), the one below on No. 147 (Fig. 293).

This drawing is of good workmanship and may be attributed to Rubens.

1. *Cichorius, Traianssäule*, II, p. 197: a; I, pl. XXX, scene XL, 101.

### 159. Heads of a Barbarian and a Roman Soldier (Column of Trajan): Drawing (Fig. 304, left)

Red chalk, hatchings in black chalk; 250 × 113 mm.; bottom left collector's mark of the Albertina (L.174). Mounted with the counterproof (see Copy).

*Vienna, Albertina*. Inv. No. 8.329.

PROVENANCE: Same as No. 143.

COPY: Counterproof (Fig. 304, right), Vienna, Albertina, Inv. No. 8.329; 250 × 106 mm. Mounted with the drawing.

EXHIBITED: *Vienna, 1977*, no. 150.

LITERATURE: J. Meder, *Die Handzeichnung, ihre Technik und Entwicklung*, Vienna, 1923, p. 541, fig. 249; *Mitsch, Rubenszeichnungen*, p. 232, no. 150, repr.

At the top a head with tousled hair, its nose missing, faces right. It is derived from a scene with a night attack on the enemy camp and pictures a barbarian holding a shield fighting off a Roman soldier (Fig. 288).<sup>1</sup> A similar head was drawn by Pierre Jacques.<sup>2</sup>

The helmeted head below it in side view facing right is the same *vexiliarius* of the previous entry (Fig. 303; cf. Fig. 280), but this time light falls from the right. Along the side of the face are light hatchings.

The drawing is of good quality and may be attributed to Rubens.

1. *Cichorius, Traianssäule*, II, p. 186; I, pl. XXIX, scene XXXVIII, 95.  
2. Paris, Bibl. Nat., Cod. Remensis, fol. 90v left; *Reinach, Pierre Jacques*, p. 137, repr.

### 160. Heads of Women (Column of Trajan): Drawing

Presumably black and red chalk; presumably c.258 × 108 mm.

*Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.*

COPY: Counterproof of a drawing in black chalk, with hatchings in red chalk (Fig. 306), Vienna, Albertina, Inv. No. 8.330; 258 × 108 mm.; bottom left collector's mark of the Albertina (L.174). PROV. Same as No. 143. EXH. *Vienna, 1977*, no. 151. LIT. *Mitsch, Rubenszeichnungen*, p. 232, no. 151, repr.

Only a counterproof (Fig. 306) now remains of a drawing with the heads of two women in profile facing right.

On the counterproof, which shows the original composition in reverse, the heads of two young women are seen from the back in side view facing left, with heavy hatchings around them. The hair of the woman at the top is made up of curls framing the face; two long corkscrew curls hang down her neck, and other locks are held in place by a band tied around the head. The hair of the second woman is pulled back in a ponytail and hangs down on her shoulders. Neither of these heads could be traced on the reliefs of the *Column of Trajan*.

### 161. Head of a Soldier (?Column of Trajan): Drawing

Technique and measurements unknown.  
*Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.*



COPY: Drawing (Fig. 308), Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst, Kongelige Kobberstiksamling, 'Rubens Cantoor', No. III, 75; red, black and white chalk on yellowish paper, 203 × 155 mm. PROV. Acquired by the Royal Library in Copenhagen presumably in the 17th century; since 1835 in the Museum. LIT. *Garff-Pedersen, Panneels*, pp. 44-45, no. 12, fig. 12.

A copy in Copenhagen (Fig. 308), which Garff and Pedersen attributed to Panneels, shows the head of a soldier wearing a helmet with a broad rim and chinband in three-quarter view facing left. Light falls from the left.

The source is a sculpture from the time of Trajan, possibly a *legionarius* of the *Column of Trajan*, where similar helmets are worn.<sup>1</sup> This drawing resembles the series of chalk drawings in Vienna (Nos. 143-160) rendering heads of the column.

The same head drawn from another angle occurs on another sheet (No. 162; Fig. 307).

1. Cf. *Cichorius, Traianssäule*, II, pp. 111-112; I, pls. XVII-XVIII, scene XXIV, 54-56. One of the soldiers standing in the background close to the wall is very close to the one rendered on the drawing. Cf. M. Spannagel, 'Wiedergefundene Antiken', *Archäologischer Anzeiger*, 1979, 3, pp. 366-367, fig. 8, showing a fragment of a relief dated to Trajan's time.

## 162. Head of a Soldier (?Column of Trajan): Drawing

Technique and measurements unknown.  
*Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.*

COPY: Drawing (Fig. 307), Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst, Kongelige Kobberstiksamling, 'Rubens Cantoor', No. III, 76; black, red and white chalk on yellowish paper, 162 × 174 mm. Watermark: hand crowned by globe. PROV. Acquired by the Royal Library in Copenhagen presumably in the 17th century; since 1835 in the Museum. LIT. *Garff-Pedersen, Panneels*, p. 45, no. 13, fig. 13.

A copy in Copenhagen (Fig. 307), which Garff and Pedersen attributed to Panneels, shows the same head of the helmeted soldier facing left as in No. 161, but now drawn from above with light falling from the right. The fragmentary condition of the sculptural source is well visible at the top of the head. The helmet is decorated with a beaded edge and rosette motif.

## 163-183 ENGRAVED GEMS AND CAMEOS

### 163-173 THE GEM BOOK

In October 1621, C.N. Fabri de Peiresc contacted Rubens about a drawing the artist owned of an antique cameo.<sup>1</sup> This letter was the beginning of Rubens's involvement in the preparation of a Gem Book. He already possessed a substantial collection of antique engraved gems and cameos, and the subject was of considerable interest to him.

Rubens's participation in the publication was mainly concerned with the illustrations. He agreed to make the drawings and to have them engraved in his workshop. Although the project was never finalized, a series of nine prints and several more drawings result from his involvement.

Peiresc intended to reproduce twenty-five to thirty cameos. He selected two cameos of large dimensions in Paris and Vienna, four from Pasqualino's collection and several belonging to Rubens himself (see note 1). He was above all interested in portraits of famous people in Antiquity and historical events, which are often the subject of these miniature works of art.

Rubens apparently kept his promise to draw the gemstones personally, but only a few of these preliminary drawings are known. Of two very large cameos, the *Gemma Tiberriana* (No. 168a; Fig. 322) and *Gemma Augustaea* (No. 164a; Fig. 314), the representation

was first sketched with black chalk and later worked up in pen and ink. Rubens's authorship, however, seems doubtful for the chalk drawing of the *Gemma Augustaea* (No. 164a; Fig. 314), which is inaccurate compared to the original and rather dry.

The other drawings, including the *Triumph of Licinius* (No. 167a; Fig. 321) and *Claudius and Messalina on a Dragon Chariot* (No. 165; Fig. 310), were executed entirely with the pen. The drawing of a cameo with the *Battle of Alexander the Great* is now only known from a facsimile etching (No. 163; Fig. 309).

Of two sets of smaller sketches in New York (Nos. 174-179) and in London (Nos. 180-183), one sketch served as model for an engraving (No. 178; Fig. 348. Cf. No. 173; Fig. 342); but it is doubtful that all these were meant to be engraved.

All that survives of the project apart from the preparatory drawings by Rubens (two of which were never translated into engravings: Nos. 163 and 165), are a title-page and nine engravings depicting a total of eighteen gems. The title-page (*text ill. 88*) is a later addition and bears the personification of *Prudence*, wearing a turreted crown and holding a rudder. The print was based on a composition by Rubens.<sup>2</sup> The legend along the bottom reveals that the engravers of this Gem Book were Lucas Vorsterman I and Paul Pontius: *Varie figueri de Agati Antique desiniati de Peetro Paulo Rubbenie Graue Par Lucas Vostermans e Paulus Pontius*.

Two of the engravings, each picturing a set of four famous men, bear the monogram of Lucas Vorsterman I (Nos. 172-173; Figs. 341, 342). These may have been made first and can be dated to 1622, the year the engraver left Rubens's workshop after a violent quarrel. It has been suggested that Rubens had nothing to do with both signed Vorsterman prints and that the engraver printed them on his own after he left Rubens's workshop.<sup>3</sup> However, this hypothesis is contradicted by the fact that three of the portraits on Vorsterman's *Four Heads in Profile I* (No. 172; Fig. 341) were

redone for the engraving *Five Heads in Profile* (No. 170; Fig. 336; see below), and that for his *Four Heads in Profile II* (No. 173; Fig. 342) Vorsterman used Rubens's drawing with the head of *Alexander the Great* (No. 178; Fig. 348). But, it is certainly remarkable that of the eight engravings only the two Vorsterman prints are signed and the second one even states '*P.P. Rubbens in.*', which is possibly a sales argument and only partially true.

The remaining seven engravings are unsigned and differ from Lucas Vorsterman's prints in that the representations are pictured against a dark background, creating the impression of a cameo. One of these prints (No. 170) repeats three portrait heads engraved by Vorsterman (No. 172), suggesting that Rubens was not pleased with the earlier results and had them redone.

A print after a large cameo with *Constantine and Fausta with Crispus riding on a Chariot drawn by Centaurs* remained unfinished, perhaps reflecting the sudden demise of the project (No. 166; Fig. 317). The blank space on the left and the large space below on the print *Five Heads in Profile* is puzzling, and may indicate that more gems were to be engraved on this plate (No. 170; Fig. 336). The *Head of Africa*, often believed to be the missing sixth head on this engraving (No. 171; Fig. 335), is known from separate prints only.

Peiresc had carefully specified his ideas for the engravings, on which the 'variations in the colours [of the stone]' were to be indicated exactly: 'where the cameo is white and where it is of dark sardonyx and where a lighter sardonyx occurs, according to how the gem-cutter has used these colours to cut out the wreaths, clothing and weapons' (see note 1). Most engravings faithfully show these colorations of the different layers of stone. Small changes occur in the representation: a disturbingly bulging outline of the cameo with *Messalina* was straightened out (No. 169); a protruding wreath of the cameo of an aged emperor was drawn within the oval contour (No. 170).

1. Peiresc to P. Pasqualino, 26 January 1622 (Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS Fr. N. Acq. 5172, fols. 96r-v; see Appendix III.1). The Gem Book is discussed more fully in Ch. IV, pp. 132-142.
2. *Hecquet, Rubens*, p. 67, no. 8; *Basan*, pp. 159-160, no. 1; *Dutuit*, VI, p. 206, no. 1; *V.S.*, p. 222, no. 23; *Rooses*, IV, p. 42, no. 823; *Rooses*, V, pp. 16-17; *M. Rooses*, in *Rubens-Bulletijn*, V, p. 82; *Hymans, Vorsterman*, pp. 117-118, no. 93; *Van den Wijngaert, Prentkunst*, p. 83, no. 545; *Burchard-d'Hulst, Drawings*, p. 207, under no. 132; *De Grummond, Coins and Gems*, pp. 140-145, fig. 56; *Van der Meulen, Antiquarius*, p. 46; *De Grummond, Classical Gems*, p. 25, repr. p. 16; *Jaffé, Rubens and Italy*, p. 84. Burchard believed the design of this title-page to be by Quellin or Jan van den Hoecke. Meanwhile, however, Rubens's oil sketch on which it is based has come to light. It pictures an allegory of *Prudence* and is one in a set of four panels, including *Fortitude*, *Justice* and *Abundance* (J.S. Held), in sale catalogue *Important Old Master Paintings*, New York (Christie's), 16 January 1992, lot 59). The same composition also appears in D. Teniers, *Art Gallery with the Collection of Leopold William*, Munich, Alte Pinakothek, Inv. No. 1819 (926) (canvas, 96 × 128 cm.). A tapestry by Frans Van den Hecke shows the same composition in reverse (355 × 275 cm.; sale Brussels [Gallery Giroux], 19-20 December 1927, no. 264, pl. 22).
3. *De Grummond, Coins and Gems*, p. 133, n. 86 quoted Gay Hertzmann who dated the Vorsterman prints after the break with Rubens. A. Balis shares this opinion (private communication).

### 163. Battle of Alexander the Great against the Indians: Drawing

Presumably pen and ink; presumably c.176 × 287 mm.

Whereabouts unknown.

PROVENANCE: Van Schorel (Antwerp), sale, Antwerp, 7 June 1774, lot 9.

COPY: Facsimile etching (Fig. 309); plate 176 × 287 mm.; cameo 125 × 185 mm.; inscription top centre: *Campus siue ima Gemmae superficies eximie nigricat*, top right: *Urbs tota ex onychis subceruleo colore*, below this: *Indi sunt colore sardoniches | id est flauo nigricante*, left centre: *Macedones ex onyche | cerulei nisi quod | partes magis eminentes | sardoniche tinctae sunt*; bottom right in an outline sketch of the cameo: *fracta | magnitudo Gemmae [sic]*, bottom right: *P.P.*

*Rubens*. LIT. *Rooses*, V, p. 19, no. 1228; *De Grummond, Coins and Gems*, pp. 167-169, no. VI (etching not located); *Van der Meulen, Antiquarius*, pp. 57, 67, 130-131, no. \*G.49a, repr. on frontispiece.

Rubens's pen drawing of a *Siege of a City*, last recorded when the sheet was put up for sale in Antwerp in 1774,<sup>1</sup> is now only extant in a 19th-century facsimile etching (Fig. 309).<sup>2</sup>

It pictures a cameo which Rubens saw in the collection of Lelio Pasqualino in Rome in the early 1600s. According to an entry in his *Itinerary*,<sup>3</sup> the scene was identified as 'The Battle of Alexander the Great against the Indians, where Alexander is injured and protected by Peucestes'. However, Rubens probably did not copy the stone on that occasion. Years later, when he agreed to the publication of the Gem Book the cameo was selected and Peiresc had to try to obtain a coloured cast of it. After Lelio's death in 1611 Peiresc surmised that the gem collection was inherited by his nephew Pompeo Pasqualino. In a letter of 26 January 1622 Peiresc contacted Pompeo with the request for a coloured cast of it and for permission to publish the cameo.<sup>4</sup> In spite of years of delay the scholar apparently obtained a cast.<sup>5</sup> Peiresc's file on gems contains a precise description of the cameo which matches Rubens's drawing and annotations on it. Also from Peiresc stems the information that the cameo was sent to the East Indies in the 1620s.<sup>6</sup>

The whereabouts of the cameo are no longer known, but the facsimile etching gives some idea of what the stone looked like. Rubens's annotations in Latin reproduced on the etching supply detailed descriptions of the differently coloured layers of the oval, three-layered sardonyx, which enable us to visualize the original.

Against a dark background, indicated by horizontal hatchings, the fortified city with its temples on a high wall carved in a blueish onyx stood out. Three inhabitants in long mantles holding shields and poles rushing to-

wards their enemies are carved in darker yellow-brownish sardonyx. The three assailants, identified as Macedonian soldiers wearing cuirasses and crested helmets protecting themselves with shields and poles, are also cut in blueish onyx; the more protruding parts are of brownish sardonyx.

Rubens apparently enlarged the representation and therefore added a contour sketch of the actual size on the right and drew a crack running across the centre to indicate its damaged condition.

As the cameo was intended for the Gem Book, Rubens made the preparatory drawing for an engraving, which was never made. This is also the case with the cameo of *Claudius and Messalina on a Dragon Chariot* (No. 165; Fig. 310).

1. Catalogue des Tableaux, Peintures... provenant du cabinet de Monsieur van Schorel, Seigneur de Wilt-ryck, Antwerp, 7 June 1774, p. 67, lot 9: 'Un Dessein fait à la plume d'après un onyx antique: il est accompagné de quelque notes manuscrites, qui sont aussi de la main de Rubens'. Rubens's drawing after the *Gemma Tiberiana* (No. 168a) and after the *Rubens Vase* (No. 185) probably belonged to the same collection.
2. Impressions of the etching are known in Haarlem (Teylers Museum) (Fig. 309) and Vienna (Albertina). It is listed in an annotated copy of Voorhelm Schneevoogt's book (*V.S.*) in Haarlem, Teylers Museum, p. 140, as no. 35 bis: 'Le Combat des Horaces et Curiaces d'après un dessin de Rubens par un anonyme'.
3. Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS Fr. 9530, fol. 199r (no. 3) (*Rooses-Ruelens*, III, p. 368; see Appendix I.1). In March 1624 Peiresc learned that Lelio's glyptic collection was acquired by Cardinal Francesco Buoncompagno in Rome. C. Menestrier may have been instrumental in obtaining a cast of the stone. See Ch. IV, note 20.
4. Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS Fr. N. Acq. 5172, fols. 96r-v (see Appendix III.1).
5. See Ch. IV, note 20.
6. Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS Fr. N. Acq. 1209, fol. 20r (no. 2) (see Appendix IV.3).

## 164. Gemma Augustaea (The Triumph of Tiberius): Engraving (Fig. 315)

Anonymous engraving; 206 × 246 mm. States: I without lettering; II legend top left corner: *Pag. 212, in Rubenius, De Re Vestiaria, 1665, opposite p. 212 (Fig. 315); III page reference erased, in J. Le Roy, Achates Tiberianus sive Gemma Caesarea, Amsterdam, 1683.*

COPY: Anonymous engraving, in reverse, in B. de Montfaucon, *L'Antiquité expliquée*, Paris, 1719, V,1, pl. CXXVIII; cameo 200 × 257 mm.; legend above AGATHE DE L'EMPEREUR REPRESENTEE DANS SA GRANDEUR NATURELLE TROPHÉE ERIGE DU TEMS D'AUGUSTE QUI SE VOIT DANS L'IMAGE.

LITERATURE: *Rubenius, De Re Vestiaria*, p. 192; *Mariette, Pierres Gravées*, pp. 300, 351; *Hecquet, Rubens*, p. 89, no. 2; *Basan*, p. 160, no. 1.2; *Del Marmol, Catalogue*, p. 77, no. 1096.2; *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, p. 330, no. 1248; *V.S.*, p. 222, no. 23.2; *Dutuit*, VI, p. 206, no. 1.2; *Rooses*, V, p. 17, no. 1221; *Hymans, Vorsterman*, p. 118, no. 95; *Van den Wijngaert, Prentkunst*, pp. 83-84, no. 546; *Bouchery-Van den Wijngaert*, p. 113; *Norris, The Great Cameo*, p. 181, fig. 8; *De Grummond, Coins and Gems*, pp. 155-164, no. II, fig. 58; H. Kähler, *Alberti Rubeni Dissertatio de Gemma Augustea (Monumenta Artis Romanae, IX)*, Berlin, 1968, p. 21, n. 14, repr. facing p. 21; *Hollstein*, XVII, p. 161, no. 44 (as *P. Pontius*); *Van der Meulen, Antiquarius*, pp. 49-50, 160-161, no. G.82b, fig. III, A.

The representation on the engraving consists of two sections: the top half shows a seated couple flanked by three figures on each side, the bottom half pictures soldiers erecting a trophy.<sup>1</sup> The unsigned engraving shows, in reverse, the *Gemma Augustaea*, a large cameo of two-layered sardonyx now in the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna (Fig. 312).<sup>2</sup>

The stone was first recorded in 1246 in the inventory of the Abbey of St Sernin in Toulouse. It was reportedly found in the desert of Ethiopia by Joshua.<sup>3</sup> In 1447, it was taken to Florence where it was kept in the house of the banker O. Castellani. The jewel was returned to Toulouse,<sup>4</sup> but removed under false pretext by François I, who claimed it as a gift for Pope Clemens VII and then kept the precious object for himself. In 1580 it was listed in the inventory of the royal collection at Fontainebleau,<sup>5</sup> from where it was stolen in 1591 when the palace was ransacked by Huguenots. Peiresc saw the gem in Venice in 1602, before it was purchased by Emperor Rudolph II for 12000 ducats.<sup>6</sup> After Rudolph's death the imperial treasures were transferred from Prague to Vienna, where the stone has remained ever since.

Peiresc was the first to recognize it as an event from Roman history. He identified the seated emperor, represented as Jupiter, and his female companion, disguised as the Argive Juno, as Augustus and the goddess Roma. He interpreted the scene as the *Apotheosis of Augustus* and named the cameo *Gemma Augustaea*, but also referred to it as the 'Camayeul de l'Empereur' after its owner.<sup>7</sup> According to Peiresc the laureate adolescent clad in a toga at the extreme left of the top scene was Julius Caesar, but Rubens rightly argued that the youth was Tiberius, the principal figure of the scene.<sup>8</sup> In Albert Rubens's treatise on the cameo the historical event is defined as *Tiberius' Victory over the Dalmatians and Pannonians* in 12 A.D.<sup>9</sup> This interpretation is still accepted in modern archaeological literature, although some argue for his earlier triumph over Germany in 7 A.D.<sup>10</sup> or possibly a general representation of a victory.<sup>11</sup> A recent interpretation by Erika Simon suggests that it represents the continuity of the principate with the adoption of Tiberius by Augustus in 4 A.D.<sup>12</sup>

In his publication on the newly discovered *Gemma Tiberiana* (No. 168) Peiresc wanted to include the *Gemma Augustaea*, which he thought to depict related subject matter. Pei-

resc's cast was incomplete; he knew that Rubens had a drawing and wrote to him in October 1621 hoping that the artist would be willing to send his drawing.<sup>13</sup> When the artist visited Paris in 1622 plans for the publication were discussed and Rubens promised to draw both cameos himself. Peiresc sent Rubens another cast of the gem on 11 March 1622, which Rubens judged better than his own.<sup>14</sup> It was engraved in the middle of 1623.<sup>15</sup> The print corresponds closely to a drawing in Lübeck, which might have been used as model (No. 164a; Fig. 314). D. de Hoop Scheffer (in *Hollstein*, loc. cit.) attributes the print to Pontius, but this engraver only entered Rubens's workshop in 1624. Rooses suggested that Nicolaas Ryckemans engraved it. The latter was indeed employed by Rubens during these years and did engrave a print of the *Gemma Augustaea* (see below).

The Gem Book was never completed and the engraving was later used to illustrate a treatise Albert Rubens wrote at his father's request with his own interpretation of the scene. His *Dissertatio De Gemma Augustaea*, finally finished in August 1645,<sup>16</sup> was posthumously published in 1665. Later publications of the cameo by Lambecius and de Montfaucon agree largely with Albert's identification as *Tiberius' Victory over Dalmatia and Pannonia*, but the illustration which shows the gem in mirror image was replaced with new engravings.<sup>17</sup> Both render the cameo accurately.

In the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam the anonymous print is missing from the series of cameo engravings. Instead, there is a second, very different engraving with the monogram *N.R.*, of Nicolaas Ryckemans, in the bottom right (Fig. 313). This print was not made after the drawing in Lübeck (Fig. 314) and in general is much closer to the cameo. It does not show the presentation in reverse, but its execution is less refined.<sup>18</sup>

1. Impressions of the first state of the print are in London (British Museum), Dresden (Kupferstichkabinett), and Paris (Bibliothèque Nationale).

In May 1658 the copper plate of the *Gemma Augus-*

- taea* was transferred to B. Moretus, together with that of the *Gemma Tiberiana* (No. 168), to cover the debts of the estate of Albert Rubens for his purchase of books; cf. M. Rooses, 'Petrus-Paulus Rubens en Balthasar Moretus (1)', *Rubens-Bulletijn*, II, 1883, p. 185.
2. 190 × 230 mm.; a piece is chipped off on the left (see note 12). See F. Eichler and E. Kris, *Die Kameen im Kunsthistorischen Museum. Beschreibender Katalog*, Vienna, 1927, pp. 52-56, no. 7, pl. 4; Richter, *Gems of the Romans*, p. 104, no. 501, repr.; *De Grummond, Coins and Gems*, pp. 155-164, no. II, fig. 48; *Van der Meulen, Antiquarius*, pp. 49, 157-159, no. \*G.82, fig. II.A; *Megow, Kameen*, pp. 155-163, no. A10, pls. 3, 4, 5 (1-4), 6 (2, 3, 5, 6).
  3. H. Kähler, op. cit., p. 35, n. 43.
  4. From Peiresc stems the erroneous information that the cameo belonged to the monastery in Poissy to which it had been bequeathed by Philip the Fair (Peiresc to de Roissy, 6/7 February 1633; Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS Fr. 9532, fols. 318r-319v; see Appendix II.5). At this time casts were already in circulation and Filarete refers to one in his possession (*Filarete's Treatise on Architecture*, trans. J.R. Spencer, New Haven, 1965, I, XXIV, fol. 185v; written c.1464).
  5. Niccolò dell'Abbate (1509-1571) copied the cameo when it was still in Fontainebleau. The Italian painter moved to France in 1552 and worked at Fontainebleau. His grisaille painting was acquired by Peiresc, whose admiration for the gem is reported by his biographer (Petrus Gassendi, *Vita Peireskii*, The Hague, 1655, p. 111). The piece is listed in the inventory made after Peiresc's death in 1637 (Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS Fr. 9534, fol. 29: 'Vn autre Tableau de la main de M. Nicholas de l'Apoteose d'Auguste viuant tiré sur l'original de l'Agathe, quy est aujourd'huy au cabinet de l'Empereur'; J. Guibert, *Les Dessins du Cabinet Peiresc au Cabinet des Estampes de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, Paris, 1910, p. 100). Cf. Peiresc to Rubens, May 1625 (*Rooses-Ruelens*, III, p. 365); Peiresc to A. de Vries, 8 June 1626 (in *Rubens-Bulletijn*, I, p. 192). Peiresc alluded to the painting, which is now lost, in comparison to its companion piece, Rubens's painting of the *Gemma Tiberiana* (No. 168b) (Peiresc to Aleandro, 19 June 1626; *Rooses-Ruelens*, III, p. 443).
  6. Peiresc to Aleandro, 17 November/16 December 1620 (Aix-en-Provence, Bibl. Méjanès, MS 1032, fol. 181-185; Carpentras, Bibl. Inguimbertaine, MS 1809, fols. 236r-237v, Italian text in copy; a French translation by de Mazaugues in *Rooses-Ruelens*, II, p. 310).
  7. In Peiresc's first attempt to identify the figures on the gem, the two figures at the top left remained unidentified: he interpreted the female figure with a cornucopia and child on the right as Proserpina with Bacchus or Livia with her son Drusus (Carpentras, Bibl. Inguimbertaine, MS 1869, fols. 112r-v; see Appendix II.3). In a second essay the two figures on the left are identified: the young lad in military costume as Marcellus, the *togatus* on the chariot as Julius Caesar (*ibid.*, fols. 117r-118r; see Appendix II.4). Peiresc's uncertainty about the identifications is reflected in his letters:
    - Peiresc to Pignoria, 10 November 1620 (Aix-en-Provence, Bibl. Méjanès, MS 1027, fols. 439-441; Carpentras, Bibl. Inguimbertaine, MS 1809, fols. 218r-219v; see *Van der Meulen, Antiquarius*, pp. 218-219).
    - Peiresc to Aleandro, 17 November/16 December 1620 (Aix-en-Provence, Bibl. Méjanès, MS 1032, fols. 181-185; Carpentras, Bibl. Inguimbertaine, MS 1809, fols. 236r-237v, Italian text in copy; a French translation by de Mazaugues in *Rooses-Ruelens*, II, pp. 309-312).
    - Peiresc to Aleandro, 18 November 1620 (Aix-en-Provence, Bibl. Méjanès, MS 1032, fols. 177-180; Carpentras, Bibl. Inguimbertaine, MS 1809, fols. 215r-217v, Italian text in copy; a French translation by de Mazaugues in *Rooses-Ruelens*, II, pp. 307-309).
    - Peiresc to Aleandro, 8 December 1620 (Carpentras, Bibl. Inguimbertaine, MS 1809, fols. 219v-221v).
    - Peiresc to Pignoria, 8 December 1620 (Aix-en-Provence, Bibl. Méjanès, MS 1027, fol. 443).
    - Peiresc to Chifflet, 27 January 1621 (P. Tamizey de Larroque, *Lettres de Peiresc*, VII, Paris, 1898, pp. 887-888).
    - Peiresc to De Roissy, 6/7 February 1633 (Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS Fr. 9532, fols. 318r-319v; see Appendix II.5).
  8. Peiresc to Pignoria, 10 November 1620: 'vna figura togatta, & laureata, che tiene vn settro luongo in mano, chio giudico essere Giuglio Caesare' (Carpentras, MS 1809, fols. 218r-219v; see *Van der Meulen, Antiquarius*, p. 218). Peiresc to Rubens, 20 July 1623: 'nella persona di quello che V.S. stima Tiberio et io Giulio' (*Rooses-Ruelens*, III, p. 201). Albert Rubens is often credited with identifying the key figure of the representation as Tiberius, but his father had already proposed this.
  9. A. Rubenius, *Dissertatio de Gemma Augustaea*, in *Rubenius, De Re Vestiarum*, pp. 212-219 (reprinted in H. Kähler, op. cit., pp. 9-16). Albert used much of his father's material.
  10. H. Kähler, op. cit., p. 34, n. 42 (with bibliography).
  11. F.L. Bastet, 'Der Skorpion auf der Gemma Augustaea', in *Studies in Classical Art. A Tribute to P.H. von Blanckenhagen*, New York, 1979, pp. 217-223.
  12. E. Simon, *Augustus. Kunst und Leben in Rom um die Zeitenwende*, Munich, 1986, pp. 156-161, which includes a reconstruction for the part missing on the left side in fig. 208.
  13. Peiresc to Rubens, 27 October 1621 (*Rooses-Ruelens*, II, pp. 290-291). Cf. Peiresc to Rubens, 26 November 1621 (*ibid.*, pp. 293-295); Peiresc to Aleandro, 11 January 1622 (*ibid.*, p. 333); Peiresc to Jac. Cools, 27 June 1623 (*Rooses-Ruelens*, III, pp. 183-184); Peiresc

- to Valavez, 2 May 1625 (*ibid.*, p. 350). For the history of the Gem Book see Ch. IV, pp. 132-142.
14. Peiresc to Rubens, 11 March 1622 (*Roozes-Ruelens*, II, p. 342).
15. Peiresc to Aleandro, 23 June 1623 (*Roozes-Ruelens*, III, p. 182); Peiresc to Jac. Cools, 27 June 1623 (*ibid.*, pp. 183-184); Peiresc to Rubens, 20 July 1623 (*ibid.*, p. 202); Peiresc to Valavez, 2 May 1625 (*ibid.*, p. 350).
16. J.C. Gevaerts alluded to Albert's forthcoming publication in his *Pompa Introitus Ferdinandi*, 1645, p. 136: 'Albertus Rubenius... in accuratissimâ suâ Achatis illius Caesaris Interpretatione, quam luci paratam apud illum nuper vidimus'. Although Gevaerts' book was published in 1645, it was completed in 1638 and the 'censura' was dated 1635. In 1645 Albert himself had stated that his treatises on the two gems, the *Augustaea* and the *Tiberiana*, were written twelve years earlier, that is in 1633 (for a discussion of these dates, see No. 168, n. 12).
17. P. Lambecius, *Commentariorum de Augustissima Bibliotheca Caesarea Vindobonensi*, Vienna, 1669, II, facing p. 1000; engraved by Franciscus van der Steen in 1666 after a drawing by Nicolaas van Hoij.
18. *De Grummond, Coins and Gems*, p. 133, fig. 58 (the anonymous engraving was not located); *Van der Meulen, Antiquarius*, p. 161, fig. III,B; *Jaffé, Self-portrait*, p. 33, fig. 28 (as possibly by L. Vorsterman); *Hollstein*, XX, p. 205, no. 30.

### 164a. Gemma Augustaea (The Triumph of Tiberius): Drawing (Fig. 314)

Pen in brown ink over main drawing in black chalk, washed, on coarse brownish paper; 225 × 250 mm.; inscribed at top centre *Gemma Imperatoris* and bottom *Petrj Pauli Rubenij manu* in a later hand, the same as No. 168a. Watermark: eagle with outstretched wings (*Briquet*, nos. 1386-1387; see also No. 167a below).

Lübeck, Sankt Annen-Museum. Inv. No. AB 245.

PROVENANCE: Schallehn Collection; acquired by the Museum in 1890.

COPY: Drawing after the three figures of the upper section, whereabouts unknown; pen in brown ink, grey washes, heightened with white, 112 × 160 mm. PROV. C.R. Rudolf, sale, Amsterdam (Sotheby-Mak van Waay), 18 April 1977, lot 85.

EXHIBITED: *Niederländischer Meister*, St Annen Museum, Lübeck, 1948, no. 76, repr. on title-page.

LITERATURE: Norris, *The Great Cameo*, p. 185, n. 15, pl. 6; *Held, Drawings*, p. 40; *Miesel, Ancient Art*, p. 52, n. 67, p. 62, n. 126; *De Grummond, Coins and Gems*, pp. 155-164, no. II, fig. 86; H. Kähler, *Alberti Rubeni Dissertatio de Gemma Augustea* (*Monumenta Artis Romanae*, IX), Berlin, 1968, p. 22, nn. 14, 24 and 30, fig. 2; *Stechow, Rubens*, pp. 18-20, fig. 7; M. Hasse, *Die Zeichnungen alter Meister in der Lübecker Graphiksammlung* (*Lübecker Museumhefte aus der Arbeit der Museen für Kunst- und Kulturgeschichte der Hansestadt Lübeck*, IX), 1969, p. 52, no. 88; *Van der Meulen, Antiquarius*, pp. 37, 49-50, 159-160, no. G.82a, fig. II,B; *Jaffé, Rubens and Italy*, p. 84; *Held, Drawings*, 1986, p. 130, under no. 154.

The *Gemma Augustaea* (Fig. 312) served as model for the drawing (Fig. 314). However, this drawing contains a number of missing or inaccurate details.

Kähler surmised that two drawings by Rubens's hand existed, yet only the sheet in Lübeck is known. The drawing was first published by Christopher Norris who attributed the pen and underlying chalk drawing to Rubens, and assumed it to be the one promised to Peiresc in 1622.<sup>1</sup> Van den Wijngaert did not know the drawing in Lübeck, but suggested that the drawing mentioned in Peiresc's letter of 27 October 1621 would not have been made by Rubens.<sup>2</sup> Burchard accepted the drawing in Lübeck as a work of the master. However, the sheet does pose a number of problems. The main drawing in black chalk is very flat, showing the stone larger than the original, with some parts incorrect and omitting quite a few details. The draughtsman did not seem to have a complete or clear cast at his disposal. It is possible that corners or heads had crumbled off or were hard to see and that this caused the errors.

This chalk drawing was touched up with pen and ink, and several changes were prob-

ably made by Rubens, whose hand shows itself in various details. Some errors were corrected, for instance, the head of the little child looking over the arm of the female was drawn in, although in fact its body was not added. Also, the head of the warrior was altered. But the pen corrections did not always improve inaccurate details; for example, the slip of Roma's *tunica* and the rimmed hat of the barbarian are quite different from the original. Some missing features were still not added, like the star behind the capricorn in Augustus' astrological sign and the part of the *togatus* figure to the left of the chariot (on the stone, the mantle is visible through the spokes of the wheel of the chariot). The left corner of the bottom half is extremely poorly copied: the shape of the shield and the helmet carried with it have been completely changed.

The fact that even with the corrections the drawing does not render the gem accurately led Kähler to think that another drawing once existed. Rubens probably retouched the one presently at Lübeck and had it engraved (Fig. 315). Discrepancies between the drawing and the engraving can be explained by assuming that the engraver also had a cast at his disposal.

The *Gemma Augustaea* is reflected in *The Council of the Gods* by Rubens (text ill. 45; Paris, Louvre, Medici cycle; *K.d.K.*, p. 254), which consists of two different areas of action: on the left the peaceful scene with Jupiter and Juno surrounded by other gods; on the right the turbulence created by disruptive powers. The cameo also influenced the *Birth of Louis XIII*, another in the series for Maria de' Medici (*K.d.K.*, p. 250). Here Maria is seated in the same position as Roma, leaning on her left elbow, and a similar turreted figure stands behind her. The personification of Fecundity, placed to the right of the Queen, is also derived from the gem, although she is pictured seated to the left of Roma.

1. Peiresc to Aleandro, 11 January 1622 (Rooses-Ruelens, II, p. 333).

2. Van den Wijngaert, *Prentkunst*, pp. 83-84, under no. 546. Peiresc to Rubens, 27 October 1621 (Rooses-Ruelens, II, p. 290).

## 165. Claudius and Messalina on a Dragon Chariot: Drawing (Fig. 310)

Pen in brown ink; 148 × 223 mm.; cameo diameter: 120 mm.; inscribed in pen and brown ink at top left in Rubens's handwriting: *Claudius et Agrippina.*, top right: *Anpekolo bellissimo col fundo scuro / et le figure berettine ciare tra lazurro et il bianco / Et li serpenti colle summita dalle vesti / et li cappelli e la corazza del Imperatore / di bellissimo sardonio.*, below this: *het vuerste handeken van het vruauwen wat meer / wt steken ende versheyden van het ander.* Within the contour of the cameo at left: *pezzo moderno.* Watermark: post horn with star (cf. Briquet, no. 7840).

Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Kupferstichkabinett. Inv. No. 3374.

PROVENANCE: Samuel Woodburn (London, 1786-1853), his sale, London (Christie's), 12 June 1860, lot 1437; acquired by the Museum in 1888.

EXHIBITED: *Zeichner sehen die Antike*, Berlin, 1967, no. 77, pl. 44; *P.P. Rubens. Die Zeichnungen alter Meister im Berliner Kupferstichkabinett*, Berlin, 1977, no. 31.

LITERATURE: Rooses, V, p. 214, no. 1407; Glück-Haberditzl, p. 31, no. 24, repr.; E. Bock and J. Rosenberg, *Staatliche Museen zu Berlin. Die niederländischen Meister. Beschreibendes Verzeichnis sämtlicher Zeichnungen*, Berlin, 1930, p. 251, no. 3374, pl. 181; Held, *Drawings*, pp. 45, 102, under no. 21; Miesel, *Ancient Art*, p. 62, n. 128; Jaffé, *Antwerp Sketchbook*, I, p. 79, n. 4; Winner, *Zeichner*, pp. 121-123, no. 77, pl. 44; *De Grummond, Coins and Gems*, pp. 165-167, no. V, fig. 61; *Van der Meulen, Antiquarius*, pp. 57-58, 67, 137-138, no. G.58a, fig. VII,B; Mielke-Winner, pp. 88-91, no. 31, repr.; *De Grummond, Classical Gems*, p. 20, repr.



A couple standing on a chariot drawn by two winged dragons moving to the right are enclosed within a circular border. The youthful man is clad in a cuirass and mantle, the woman is dressed in a *tunica* and *palla*. Annotations on the right in Rubens's handwriting provide detailed information on the identity of the figures, the colourings of the stone and note its damaged condition: a recent restoration on the left is marked with a line as a 'modern piece'. A row of parallel lines indicate the dark background of the cameo; against it the figures are 'of a light greyish blue, between blue and white. The snake, with the protruding parts of the clothes, the hair and the cuirass of the Emperor are of the most beautiful sardonyx'. The precise observations suggest that the artist knew the original, an antique Roman cameo, now in the Cabinet des Médailles in Paris, drawn in its actual size (Fig. 311).<sup>1</sup> The woman's hand (not very skilfully carved on the cameo) prompted an additional remark: 'the front hand of the woman is more extended and different from the other'; the left one is close to the body and holds a poppy capsule with ears of wheat, the right one is stretched out and clasps a roll.

The location of the gem in Rubens's day is not known. The cameo is first discussed in a French publication of 1717, and is said to have come from a French church treasury.<sup>2</sup> Therefore Rubens must have seen the stone in France in 1622 and probably drew it during his first visit to Paris,<sup>3</sup> when Peiresc reported that he had copied gems in abbeys and the Royal collection.<sup>4</sup> Thus with the cameo at hand Rubens jotted down the notes concerning the colourings of the sardonyx. As he communicated with Peiresc in Italian, the annotations were also phrased in that language. The cameo was selected for the Gem Book and was to be reproduced as exactly as possible, showing the different layers of the stone.<sup>5</sup> A cameo with the *Battle of Alexander* was drawn in a similar fashion as this sketch in Berlin, with remarks elucidating the representation (No. 163; cf. Fig. 309).

The identification at the top of the sheet of the couple as *Claudius and Agrippina* is interesting, although it was also called *Joseph in Egypt* up to the 18th century. Oudinet noted that 'in a more enlightened time it was identified as *Germanicus and Agrippina* represented as *Ceres and Triptolemos*' without giving the source for his information (see note 2). Mariette would later credit Oudinet for first recognizing the subject to be from Roman history,<sup>6</sup> but Rubens's drawing proves that this discovery was made a century earlier.

Winner assumed that Peiresc suggested the identification since the French scholar remarked of Rubens's interpretation of a cameo with Messalina's portrait: 'her hair braided like an Agrippina' (No. 169c). Peiresc was indeed well aware of the confusion concerning the iconography of the Roman princess, as his remarks on a carnelian with two heads in his collection show. He commented that one of the heads pictured Claudius, and on the other was one of his wives, which could be Messalina or rather Agrippina.<sup>7</sup> Babelon identified the woman as Messalina (see note 1).

The influence of the cameo is noticeable in Rubens's *Triumph of Henry IV* (Florence, Uffizi; *K.d.K.*, p. 317), for which he received the commission in 1622. The pose of the King in his triumphal chariot is strongly reminiscent of the figure on the cameo.<sup>8</sup>

1. Diameter: 122 mm.; see Babelon, *Catalogue*, pp. 144-145, no. 276, pl. XXX; G. Bruns, *Staatskameen des 4. Jahrhunderts nach Christi Geburt* (104. *Winckelmannsprogramm*), Berlin, 1948, p. 14, fig. 9; E. Simon, *Die Portlandvase*, Mainz, 1957, p. 61, pl. 31.1; *De Grummond, Coins and Gems*, pp. 165-167, no. V, fig. 37; *Van der Meulen, Antiquarius*, pp. 137-138, no. \*G.58, fig. VII,A; *De Grummond, Classical Gems*, p. 21, repr. in colour; *Lexicon Mythologiae*, IV, 1, p. 905, no. 176, repr. (as *Claudius and Messalina*); *Megow, Kameen*, p. 207, no. A86, pl. 27 (3) (as *Claudius and Agrippina*).

2. A. Oudinet, 'Sur deux autres Agathes du mesmes Cabinet [du Roy]', *Histoire de l'Académie Royale des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres*, Paris, 1736, I, pp. 278-279, pl. 10 (from a drawing made in 1710; first published in *Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, I, 1717, p. 287); B. de Montfaucon, *L'Antiquité Expliquée*, Paris, 1722, suppl. III, p. 27, pl. VII,3 (as *Joseph*

- in Egypt, following the medieval interpretation); *Clarac, Musée de Sculpture*, Paris, 1853, VI, p. 132, no. 3265c ('Ce camée, transporté aussi à Versailles en 1684, appartenait auparavant à une église'); *Bernoulli, Römische Ikonographie*, II, 1, pp. 234-235 ('Die weibliche [Gesichtszüge] würde man an sich eher für Agrippina sen. nehmen').
3. *Neverov, Gems*, p. 427. His hypothesis that the cameo belonged to Rubens is unfounded.
  4. Peiresc to Schilder, 26 January 1622 (Carpentras, Bibl. Inguimbertaine, MS 1876, fol. 127r; see *Van der Meulen, Antiquarius*, p. 92, n. 13).
  5. In his letter of 26 January 1622 to Pompeo Pasqualino, Peiresc outlined the plans for the Gem Book and explained the standards set for the engravings (Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS Fr. N. Acq. 5172, fols. 96r-v; see Appendix III.1). Peiresc started a description of the cameo, but did not complete it (Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS Fr. N. Acq. 1209, fol. 20r, no. 3; see Appendix IV.3).
  6. *Mariette, Pierres Gravées*, pp. 392-393.
  7. Peiresc to Rubens, 13 November 1623 (*Rooses-Ruelens*, III, p. 261).
  8. *Kieser, Antikes*, p. 131; I. Jost, 'Bemerkungen zur Heinrichsgalerie des P.P. Rubens', *Nederlands kunsthistorisch jaarboek*, XV, 1964, p. 206, fig. 20.

## 166. Constantine and Fausta with Crispus Riding on a Chariot Drawn by Centaurs: Engraving (Fig. 317)

Anonymous engraving; 232 × 335 mm.

COPIES: (1) Engraving by S. Fokke; 227 × 310 mm. LIT. *Hollstein*, XVII, p. 160, under no. 42.

(2) Anonymous etching; 221 × 304 mm. LIT. *Hollstein*, XVII, p. 160, under no. 42.

LITERATURE: *Mariette, Pierres Gravées*, pp. 300, 377; *Hecquet, Rubens*, pp. 89-90, no. 3; *Basan*, p. 160, no. 1.3; *Del Marmol, Catalogue*, p. 77, no. 1096.3; *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, p. 330, no. 1249; *V.S.*, p. 222, no. 23.3; *Dutuit*, VI, p. 206, no. 1.3; *Rooses*, V, p. 18, no. 1222; *Hymans, Vorsterman*, p. 118, no. 94; *Van den Wijngaert, Prentkunst*, p. 84, no. 548; A.N. Zadoks-Josephus Jitta, 'Rubens and Another Cameo', *Phoenix. Maandschrift voor beeldende kunst*, IV, 1949, pp. 20-22, fig. 2; id., 'De lotgevallen van den Grooten Camee in het Koninklijk Penningkabinet', *Oud-Holland*, LXVI, 1951, p. 193,

pl. 2; J.H. Jongkees, 'De "Apotheose van Claudius" in het Haagsche Penningkabinet', *Nederlandsch kunsthistorisch jaarboek*, 1952-53, pp. 25-26, pl. 3; *De Grummond, Coins and Gems*, p. 164, no. III, fig. 59; B.L.D. Ihle, in *Cat. Exh. Rotterdam*, 1969, p. 24, no. 38, pl. XI; *Hollstein*, XVII, p. 160, no. 42 (as *P. Pontius*); *Van der Meulen, Antiquarius*, pp. 48, 52-53, 140-141, no. G.61a, fig. IV,B; A.N. Zadoks-Josephus Jitta, 'Rubens en de Haagse "Grote Kamee"', *Heremeneus*, XLIX, 1977, pp. 194-197; *Jaffé, Self-portrait*, p. 35, fig. 30.

An anonymous engraving of a *Triumphant Emperor and his family on a Chariot drawn by Centaurs* probably goes back to a drawing by Rubens. The engraving was completed in detail, except for an area in the bottom right and the faces of the emperor and a woman behind him, which remained unfinished.<sup>1</sup>

The model for the print was a large, multi-layered cameo of agate, now in the Rijksmuseum het Koninklijk Penningkabinet, Leiden (until recently The Hague; Fig. 316).<sup>2</sup> Its exact location in the 1620s is not known. Zadoks-Josephus Jitta assumed that it belonged to Rubens. In her attempts to prove this she cleverly traced the remarkable and complicated vicissitudes of the cameo, which was sent by Caspar Boudaen, an Antwerp merchant residing in Amsterdam, with the East India Company to India to be sold to the Great Mogul. The jewel was confided to the care of the commander of the ship, Francesco Pelsaert. The vessel sailed out on 28 October 1628 from Texel (Holland) and was shipwrecked off the West Coast of Australia on 4 June 1629.<sup>3</sup> Pelsaert rescued the box of jewels and eventually reached Batavia on the island of Java. In the meantime the Great Mogul of India had died and subsequent efforts to sell the cameo proved fruitless. The cameo was finally returned to the Netherlands, probably to the Boudaen family.<sup>4</sup> The documents reveal that the cameo was unsaleable due to its representation: the human figures did not appeal to the Persians.

The records traced by Zadoks mention the Boudaen family as the owners of the cameo, yet she surmised that the stone belonged to Rubens, since he owned the largest and best known glyptic collection in Antwerp at that time. There is no positive evidence to back her hypothesis, and there is an argument to be made against it.

Carved cameos were much desired collectors' items, but they were also considered good investments. An active trade in cameos existed in Antwerp in the 1620s where a large demand for Oriental agates exceeded the supply.<sup>5</sup> The precious objects were acquired by Flemish merchants in Constantinople and brought back to Antwerp, where they were purchased for speculative reasons. However, there was a large risk involved: the saleability of the cameo. The appeal of the jewel was determined by its representation. Human figures were not attractive, while animal motifs were in high demand. Rubens himself was very much aware of this. And, as it turns out he too participated in the speculation. A document of 1623 reveals his involvement in such a transaction. The artist was shown an agate with a Biblical scene carved on both sides, but he turned the stone down as he considered the devotional scenes from the Old and New Testament unsuitable for sale in the Far East.<sup>6</sup> Had Rubens indeed owned the cameo under discussion, it seems unlikely that he would have judged it suitable for resale in the Far East. On the other hand, the representation with an antique triumphal scene was certainly interesting from a scholarly point of view.

The cameo was first published in 1683 by Gisbertus Cuperus at the request of J.G. Graevius, who supplied him with an *ectypus* (cast).<sup>7</sup> An engraving facing p. 203 illustrates Cuperus' learned treatise and renders the cameo quite faithfully (Fig. 318). Cuperus used a cast and apparently did not know the original stone or its location — it resurfaced only in 1765. The imperial couple is interpreted as Augustus and Livia in the disguise

of Jupiter and Juno with their children. It was identified as the *Triumph of Claudius* by Bernoulli in 1886.<sup>8</sup> Recent authors have proposed different victories by Constantine as the interpretation of the cameo.<sup>9</sup> However, according to Bastet it has a purely symbolic meaning.<sup>10</sup>

The engraving indicates that the artist undoubtedly knew the stone, either from direct observation or from a coloured cast, but it is not mentioned in the Rubens-Peiresc correspondence, nor in Peiresc's files on the Gem Book.

The preliminary drawing is not known, but it was probably by Rubens, who in other instances supplied a drawing that his engravers followed closely (Nos. 167a and 168a; Figs. 321 and 322). Rubens did not simply copy the illogical representation with its linear, static character; instead he tried to beautify and correct it, which turned out to be a mixed success. The part with the imperial family seemed to need little alteration. Only the female figure behind the emperor was considerably enlarged. Also, the wheels of the chariot were aligned and the draperies rendered more softly. The centaur carrying a shield and trophy remained about the same, but the conquered barbarians between the legs required more space at the bottom. The real problem, however, was formed by the other centaur, who was originally shown suspended in mid-air with a toppled *crater* under his hoofs. To maintain the original position, his hind legs were lengthened with the hoofs now touching the ground, but as a result the rear part of his body appears too large.

Thus, while part of the picture came out reasonably well, another part deteriorated. The composition as a whole is not a success. This could perhaps explain why the engraver stopped working on his plate.

The print undoubtedly belonged to the series of illustrations for the planned Gem Book, but its execution is far less refined and precise than the other engravings after cameos. For this reason, Hymans ascribed it to Paul Pontius, whose early style was crude.

Pontius succeeded Lucas Vorsterman I in Rubens's workshop in 1624, and this print could very well be one of the first he engraved.

The engraving is not mentioned by name in Rubens's correspondence. In his letter of July 1625 Rubens only mentions two engravings after large cameos (Nos. 164 and 168) and the one with the '*Triumphant Quadriga*' (No. 167).<sup>11</sup> Jongkees therefore concluded that this print was not yet included in the set of engravings sent to Peiresc and was engraved at a later date.

1. Impressions of the print are extant in Amsterdam (Rijksprentenkabinet), Brussels (Bibliothèque Royale), Dresden (Kupferstichkabinett), New York (Metropolitan Museum of Art), Paris (Bibliothèque Nationale), and Vienna (Albertina).
2. Three-layered agate, 221 × 297 mm. See A.N. Zadoks-Josephus Jitta, 'Rubens and Another Cameo', *Phoenix. Maandschrift voor beeldende kunst*, IV, 1949, pp. 20-22, fig. 1; id., 'De Grote Camee in het Koninklijk Penningkabinet', *Hermeneus*, 1951, pp. 182-185, repr.; id., 'Rubens en de Haagse "Grote Kamee"', *Hermeneus*, XLIX, 1977, pp. 194-197, repr.; *De Grunmond, Coins and Gems*, p. 164, no. III, fig. 54; *Van der Meulen, Antiquarius*, pp. 53, 139-140, no. \*G.61, fig. IV,A; F.L. Bastet, *De horizon voorbij*, Amsterdam, 1987, IV, pp. 76-91.
3. H. Drake-Brockman, *Voyage to Disaster*, 1963; id., 'Het vergaan van de Batavia', *Spiegel Historiae*, VI, 1971, pp. 386-397, figs. 2 and 7.
4. A.N. Zadoks-Josephus Jitta, 'De lotgevallen van den Grooten Camee in het Koninklijk Penningkabinet', *Oud-Holland*, LXVI, 1951, pp. 191-211; id., 'Imperial Messages in Agate, II', *Bulletin antieke beschaving*, XLI, 1966, pp. 91-97.
5. A deposition of 14 January 1623 of a merchant testifies to the scarcity of antique gems as these were all purchased by East-Indians: 'Jacques Ghysbrechts, Coopman deser stadt... verclaert waerachtich te wesen, alsdat hy deponent in den jaere zestienhondert twintich... heeft gescreven aen zyn broeders tot Constantinopelen dat sy hem aldaer souden opcoopen eenige orientale agaten, mits deselve hier doen ter tyt wel begeert ende gesocht wierden; waeroppe dezelve zyne broeders hem andwoorden... dat aldaer geene agathen te become en waeren, want sy by de Indianen al opgecocht wierden, om de groote begeerte die daeromme in Indyen was...' (J. Denucé, *Letters and Documents Concerning Jan Breugel I and II (Historical Sources for the Study of Flemish Art, III)*, Antwerp-The Hague, 1934, pp. 32-33.
6. A deposition of P.P. Rubens of 20 January 1623: 'Sr Pedro Paulo Rubbens, schilder van haere hoocheden, oudt vyffvenveertich jaeren, woonende binnen deser stadt in de gasthuysbemde... dat waerachtich is dat geleden onbegrepen de twee jaeren, Jan de Barlemont, coopman deser stadt, aen hem deponent, heeft ghetoott sekeren agaet waerop gesneden was over weder syden, sekere figueren van het oudt ende nieuw testament, ende gevraecht oft hy, deponent, dyen wilden coopen, dan en stont hem, deponent den selven agaet niet aene, om dattet devotie was, ende onbequaem om naer Indiën te seynden sonder dat hy, deponent, wiste van wyens wegen den voorscreven Barlemont hem den voers. agaet thoonde, dan heeft hy, deponent, den selven agaet, tsedert gesien onder Emanuel Fernandes de Lion...' (*ibid.*, p. 34).
7. G. Cuperus, *Apotheosis vel Consecratio Homeri... accedunt Explicatio Gemmae Augustae*, Amsterdam, 1683, pp. 203-220. The engraving (198 × 285 mm.) pictures the cameo in its actual size and in the right direction. *Mariette, Pierres Gravées*, pp. 376-377, wondered which illustration was a faithful reproduction of the cameo, since Cuperus' print differed so strongly from Rubens's engraving. On p. 203 Cuperus related how he obtained the *ectypus*: 'Misit ad me insigne antiquitatis depositum, vel ectypum gemmae antiquissimi operis celeberrimus idemque doctissimus vir Joannes Georgius Graevius; & simul rogavit, quae mea esset de tam illustri vetustatis, ut sic loquar, spolio sententia'. Graevius had had access to the papers left by Albert Rubens at his death in November 1657 and had edited many of these, publishing them posthumously in one volume in 1665 (*Rubenius, De Re Vestiaria*; cf. *Van der Meulen, Observations*, pp. 39-40). Since the agate was sent to the Indies, its whereabouts were unknown until 1765. I therefore suggest that the *ectypus* used by Cuperus dated from before 1628, was probably found among Albert's papers and previously belonged to the artist. This hypothesis is supported by the fact that another, older cast was in the possession of Heinsius (G. Cuperus, loc. cit.), who was a mutual friend of Albert Rubens and Graevius. Cuperus' interpretation possibly reflects the artist's identification.
8. Bernoulli, *Römische Ikonographie*, II, 1, pp. 368-370, n. 1.
9. A. Furtwängler, *Die antike Gemmen*, Berlin-Leipzig, 1900, II, pp. 304-305, strongly opposed Bernoulli's date. G. Bruns, *Staatskameen des 4. Jahrhunderts nach Christi Geburt* (104. *Winckelmannsprogramm*), Berlin, 1948, pp. 8-16, pointed to the sculptural relationship with the Arch of Constantine and identified the cameo as the Triumph of Constantine over Licinius in 324 A.D. A.N. Zadoks-Josephus Jitta, 'De Grote Camee in het Koninklijk Penningkabinet', *Hermeneus*, 1951, pp. 182-185, suggested that it represented Constantine celebrating his decennalia in

315 A.D. J.H. Jongkees, 'De "Apotheose van Claudius" in het Haagsche Penningkabinet', *Nederlandsch kunsthistorisch jaarboek*, 1952-53, pp. 21-45, interpreted it as Constantine's victory over Maxentius in 312 A.D.

10. F.L. Bastet, 'Die grosse Kamee in Den Haag', *Bulletin antieke beschaving*, XLIII, 1968, pp. 2-22; H. Möbius, 'Der römischer Kameo in Kassel', *Archäologischer Anzeiger*, 1948-49, pp. 107-110. Id., 'Der grosse Stuttgarter Kameo', *Schweizer Münzblätter*, XVI, 1966, pp. 118-124, proposed the cameo to be a 17th-century falsification; A.N. Zadoks-Josephus Jitta, 'Défense du Grand Camée de La Haye', *Schweizer Münzblätter*, XVII, 1967, pp. 25-26, strongly rejected this.

11. Rubens to Valavez, 3 July 1625 (*Rooses-Ruelens*, III, p. 372).

### 166a. Constantine and Fausta Riding on a Chariot drawn by Centaurs: Drawing

Technique and measurements unknown.  
Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.

Rubens probably provided the preliminary model for the anonymous engraving showing the cameo with Constantine and his family riding on a chariot drawn by Centaurs (Fig. 317). This drawing is not known.

### 167. The Triumph of Licinius: Engraving (Fig. 320)

Anonymous engraving; 175 × 223 mm.

LITERATURE: *Mariette, Pierres Gravées*, pp. 300-301; *Hecquet, Rubens*, p. 90, no. 4; *Basan*, p. 160, no. 1.4; *Del Marmol, Catalogue*, p. 77, no. 1096.4; *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, pp. 330-331, no. 1250; *V.S.*, p. 222, no. 23.4; *Dutuit*, VI, p. 207, no. 1.4; *Rosenberg, Rubensstecher*, p. 77, repr.; *Rooses*, V, p. 18, no. 1223; *Hymans, Vorsterman*, p. 119, no. 97; *Van den Wijngaert, Prentkunst*, p. 84; no. 549; *De Grummond, Coins and Gems*, pp. 164-165, no. IV, fig. 60; *Van der Meulen, Antiquarius*, pp. 41, 45-46, 48, 51-52, 71, 150-151, no. G.70b, fig. V.C; *Hollstein*, XVII, p. 161, no. 45 (as *P. Pontius*); *Rowlands, Rubens*

*Drawings*, p. 88, no. 96, repr.; *Jaffé, Self-portrait*, p. 38, fig. 34.

A Roman general celebrating a victory is seen in frontal view. He rides on a chariot drawn by four horses. The horses trample over several prostrate bodies and are flanked by two Victories clad in long garments. The unsigned engraving<sup>1</sup> is made after a drawing by Rubens in London (No. 167a; Fig. 321) and shows in reverse a cameo, now in Paris in the Cabinet des Médailles (Fig. 319; see under No. 167a).

The print, one in a series of illustrations for the Gem Book, is first mentioned in a letter of July 1625 from Rubens to Valavez as the 'Triumphant Quadriga'.<sup>2</sup> Rubens voiced his satisfaction with the print which he thought came out very well. Mariette later (1750) admired this engraving in particular. The original cameo was not known to him, but judging by Rubens's reproduction he thought it to be 'one of the rarest monuments from Antiquity'.<sup>3</sup>

Hymans ascribed the print to Paul Pontius, who entered Rubens's workshop in 1624. However, the extremely fine quality of the engraving makes Pontius' authorship unlikely.

1. Impressions of the print are extant in Amsterdam (Rijksprentenkabinet), Brussels (Bibliothèque Royale), Dresden (Kupferstichkabinett), New York (Metropolitan Museum of Art), Paris (Bibliothèque Nationale) and Vienna (Albertina).

2. Rubens to Valavez, 3 July 1625 (*Rooses-Ruelens*, III, pp. 372-374; *Magurn, Letters*, no. 64, pp. 111, 457-458).

3. *Mariette, Pierres Gravées*, p. 300: '...me paroît être un des plus rares monumens de l'Antiquité'. 'Ce Camée... m'a semblé si beau & si singulier dans l'Estampe de Rubens, que je n'ai pû me refuser à en tracer cette légère esquisse...'

### 167a. The Triumph of Licinius: Drawing (Fig. 321)

Black chalk, pen and brown ink on white paper, washed; 188 × 250 mm.; cameo 160 × 214 mm.; inscription in pen and brown ink at

bottom left in an outline sketch of the cameo in Rubens's handwriting: *Grandezza della Pietra*, at bottom right by a different hand: *P.P. Rubbens fecit*. Watermark: eagle with outstretched wings (*Briquet*, nos. 1386-1387; see also No. 164a above).

London, British Museum, Department of Prints and Drawings. Inv. No. 1919-11-11-22.

PROVENANCE: G.E. Bullen; acquired by the Museum in 1919.

EXHIBITED: London, 1977, no. 95; Canberra, 1988.

LITERATURE: *Hind, Rubens*, p. 22, no. 53; *Miesel, Ancient Art*, p. 62, n. 127; *De Grummond, Coins and Gems*, pp. 164-165, no. IV, fig. 87; *Van der Meulen, Antiquarius*, pp. 51-52, 149-150, no. G.70a, fig. V,B; *Rowlands, Rubens Drawings*, p. 88, no. 95, repr.; *Jaffé, Rubens and Italy*, p. 84, fig. 313; *Held, Drawings, 1986*, pp. 129-130, no. 154, pl. 149; *Jaffé, Self-portrait*, p. 26, fig. 19.

The extremely fine pen drawing of the 'Triumphant Quadriga' within an oval frame is rightly attributed by an inscription at bottom right to Rubens.

The drawing pictures the cameo of three-layered sardonyx, in the Cabinet des Médailles in Paris (Fig. 319).<sup>1</sup> It was first recorded in the inventory of the Royal Collection at Fontainebleau of 1560,<sup>2</sup> but was stolen during the plundering of 1589-1590. The vicissitudes of the gem before it entered the Parisian collection in 1851 are not known. The representation on the sheet in London shows the cameo considerably enlarged and thus the artist added to the left an outline sketch in which he wrote 'the actual size of the stone'.

The annotation phrased in Italian, the language in which Rubens and Peiresc communicated, suggests that Rubens saw and drew the stone in France during his first trip to Paris in January 1622. This was when the plans for the Gem Book were first discussed, and Peiresc

reported that the artist started copying gems during this visit.<sup>3</sup> Peiresc's notes on gems for the Gem Book make no mention of this cameo, but the engraving for which Rubens's drawing served, leaves no doubt that the stone was to be published (Fig. 320).

Compared with the original, Rubens's drawing is not a very exact copy. He recreated the representation, which was rather crudely carved and out of proportion. He reorganized the space available in the oval, and the poor perspective was thereby corrected. The emperor, who in the cameo is the largest person in the scene, but at the same time furthest away, was reduced in size, which left more room for the defeated barbarians lying in the foreground. Their sprawling bodies are now foreshortened correctly and fit much better into the picture. The horses trampling on them, with their clumsily shaped, flat chests and rather static appearance, have acquired muscular structure in the drawing, and they pull away with vigour from the two Victories in rustling draperies beside them. The engraver copied his model closely, adding a dark background and smooth surface.

As D. Jaffé pointed out, Rubens used the cameo as a source of inspiration for the composition of the *Triumph of Henry IV* (oil sketch; Canberra, Australian National Gallery).<sup>4</sup> The winged Victory with a trophy running alongside the horses is clearly reflected in a similar figure with a standard standing near the King riding on horseback.

In a letter to Peiresc's brother Valavez, Rubens discussed the identification of the emperor, which he thought resembled Theodosius, but could also be Aurelian or Probus.<sup>5</sup> An annotation by Peiresc on the same letter shows that he hesitated between Aurelian and Probus. Both considered it a work of the fourth century. Chabouillet interpreted it as the *Triumph of Licinius* after his victory over Maximus Daia in 313 A.D.<sup>6</sup> The cameo judged by Babelon 'un des plus importants de la séries romaine', has been rejected by Bruns as a product of the 16th century by a Milanese

gemcutter (see note 3), although recently it has been rehabilitated as an antique work.<sup>7</sup> Even if the cameo were to be a clever Renaissance fabrication, the identification of both scholars is a remarkable example of their iconographic knowledge gained from numismatics.

1. 68 × 84 mm. See *Babelon, Catalogue*, pp. 160-161, no. 308, pl. XXXVII; *De Grummond, Coins and Gems*, pp. 164-165, no. IV, fig. 51; *Van der Meulen, Antiquarius*, pp. 51-52, 149-150, no. \*G.70, fig. V.A.
2. *Babelon, Catalogue*, p. cxvii, no. 385.
3. G. Bruns, *Staatskameen des 4. Jahrhunderts nach Christi Geburt* (104. *Winckelmannsprogramm*), Berlin, 1948, pp. 5-8; A.N. Zadoks-Josephus Jitta, 'Imperial Messages in Agate, II', *Bulletin antieke beschaving*, XLI, 1966, p. 97.
4. Jaffé, *Self-portrait*, pp. 24, 38, pl. IXa. This sketch is rightly dated as Rubens's first design for the painting in Florence by J.S. Held, 'New oil sketches by Peter Paul Rubens', *The Burlington Magazine*, CXXIX, 1987, p. 577, fig. 8. On the three other designs the Victory figure was drastically changed.
5. Rubens to Valavez, 3 July 1625 (*Roozes-Ruelens*, III, pp. 372-373; *Magurn, Letters*, no. 64, pp. 111, 457-458).
6. A. Chabouillet, *Catalogue général et raisonné des camées et pierres gravées de la Bibliothèque Impériale*, Paris, 1861, no. 255; A. Furtwängler, *Die antiken Gemmen*, Berlin-Leipzig, 1900, III, p. 366, pl. 201.
7. H. Fuhrmann, 'Zur Datierung des Licinius-Kameos', *Schweizer Münzblätter*, XVII, 1967, pp. 58-63.

## 168. Gemma Tiberiana (The Apotheosis of Germanicus): Engraving (Fig. 323)

Anonymous engraving; 326 × 277 mm.; cameo 320 × 263 mm. States: I before lettering; II legend in the upper left corner: *pag.195*, in *Rubenius, De Re Vestiaria*, 1665, between pp. 194-195 (Fig. 323); III the page reference erased and new legend below: GEMMAE CAESAREAE SIVE ACHATIS TIBERIANI RECTA FACIES UT ILLAM MANU PROPRIA EXCEPIT / PETRUS PAULUIS RUBENS PICTOR CELEBERRIMUS, in J. Le Roy, *Achates Tiberianus sive Gemma Caesarea*, Amsterdam, 1683.

COPIES: (1) Engraving (in reverse), in J. Tristan de St Amand, *Commentaires Historiques*, Paris, 1635, p. 81 (second edn, 1644, I, p. 100; legend upper right: *Tome premier / Page 100*); 315 × 260 mm. LIT: *Hymans, Vorsterman*, p. 119, under no. 96; H.C. Levin, *Nicolaus Claudius Fabricius, Lord of Peiresc, called Peireskius*, London, 1916, p. 31, pl. III.

(2) Engraving by E. Andresohn, 1684; legend upper left corner: *TAB VIII / ad A. 1684. pag. 255*; below: GEMMAE CAESAREAE SIVE ACHATIS TIBERIANI, RECTA FACIES UT ILLAM MANU PROPRIA EXCEPIT / PETRUS PAULUS RUBENS PICTOR CELEBERRIMUS; lower right corner: *E. Andre=Sohn. Sculp. Lipsiae*. LIT. H.C. Levin, *op. cit.*, p. 33.

(3) Anonymous engraving, in J. Harduin, *Opera Selecta*, Amsterdam, 1709; 283 × 321 mm.; inscribed upper left corner: 711.

(4) Engraving, in B. de Montfaucon, *L'Antiquité Expliquée*, V, 1, Paris, first edn, 1719, pl. CXXVII; cameo 326 × 260 mm.; at top, legend: AGATHE DE SAINTE CHAPELLE.

(5) Anonymous engraving (in reverse); legend upper right: *Page 81*.

(6) Etching by J.H. Pouget, 1769 (in reverse); cameo 260 × 318 mm.; legend: *J.H. Pouget sc. 1769 in aqua forti*.

LITERATURE: *Rubenius, De Re Vestiaria*, p. 192; *Mariette, Pierres Gravées*, pp. 300, 345-348; *Hecquet, Rubens*, p. 89, no. 1; *Basan*, p. 160, no. 1.1; *Del Marmol, Catalogue*, p. 77, no. 1096.1; *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, pp. 303-304, no. 1108 (mentioning a N.R. monogram); *V.S.*, p. 222, no. 23.1; *Dutuit*, VI, p. 206, no. 1.1; *Roozes*, V, p. 17, no. 1220; *Hymans, Vorsterman*, pp. 118-119, no. 96; *Van den Wijngaert, Prentkunst*, p. 84, no. 547; *Bouchery-Van den Wijngaert*, p. 113, pl. 105; *Norris, The Great Cameo*, p. 181, fig. 7; [Cat. Exh.] *Anvers, ville de Plantin et de Rubens*, (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, 1954), no. 390; [Cat. Exh.] *Het Belgische humanisme na Erasmus*, (Museum Plantin-Moretus, Antwerp, 1969), no. 106; *De Grummond, Coins and Gems*, pp. 149-155, no. I, fig. 57; *Hollstein*, XVII, p. 161, no. 44 (as *P. Pontius*); *Van der Meulen, An-*

*tiquarius*, p. 145, no. G.63b, fig. I,C; *Jaffé, Self-portrait*, p. 33, fig. 27.

The unsigned engraving shows a scene with twenty-four figures arranged in three tiers against a dark background.<sup>1</sup> The engraving pictures, in reverse, the so-called *Gemma Tiberiana*, a large oval cameo of three-layered sardonyx, kept in the Cabinet des Médailles in Paris since 1791 (Fig. 324).<sup>2</sup>

In 1620, Claude-Nicolas Fabri de Peiresc spotted the jewel, the largest known of its kind, in the Sacristy of the Ste Chapelle in Paris, where it had been recorded first in 1341.<sup>3</sup> Emperor Balduin I is said to have sent the cameo from Constantinople to Louis IX of France. Carried around in solemn processions and put on display on holidays, the representation was long accepted as *Joseph in Egypt*.

Peiresc was the first to recognize the cameo as a masterpiece of ancient art and workmanship depicting members of the imperial *Gens Julia*. He disclosed the exciting news of his discovery to Italian friends together with his interpretation of the historical event and persons depicted.<sup>4</sup> He believed the cameo was commissioned by Antonia to divinize Emperor Augustus, and identified the figures as follows.<sup>5</sup> In the top tier, Emperor Augustus above a floating figure of Roma, with Marcellus riding on Pegasus next to him. In the central frieze, Germanicus as a youth clad in a *paludamentum*, standing in front of Tiberius and Livia, represented as Jupiter and Ceres. An Oriental figure is sitting at the foot of their throne, and standing behind them are Drusus and Livilla. Facing Germanicus is Antonia, and Germanicus' wife Agrippina with their son Caligula stands behind him on the extreme left. The bottom section pictures mourning figures: a Germanic captive with her son and several personifications of defeated provinces. The heads of the two seated figures on the extreme left were already missing in Peiresc's day, but these were drawn in by Rubens.

When Peiresc identified the cameo's subject as the *Apotheosis of Augustus*, he offered the first of many conjectures. The historical event (*Apotheosis of Germanicus?*) and the identification of the figures has been discussed for centuries.<sup>6</sup> The cameo is generally referred to as the *Gemma Tiberiana* after the central figure, although Peiresc also referred to it as the 'Grand Camée de France', or 'Camée de Ste Chapelle'.

The importance of his find made Peiresc want to publish it and find an engraver.<sup>7</sup> Rubens promised to make a preparatory drawing, and when he was in Paris in January 1622 he had an opportunity to see the original stone. After his return to Antwerp Peiresc sent him several casts to work from.

An anonymous engraver made the print, intended to illustrate the Rubens-Peiresc Gem Book, after Rubens's drawing in Antwerp (No. 168a; Fig. 322) and followed his model closely. He engraved the plate in 1623, for in June of that year Peiresc reported to Aleandro that the two large cameos were being engraved (Nos. 164 and 168).<sup>8</sup>

Although Peiresc was pleased with the results, he asked his brother Valavez to obtain a counterproof of the engraving, with the representation in its original direction. Peiresc wanted this counterproof to show the exact colourings of the stone, exactly copied from the original cameo and above all to render the portraits faithfully.<sup>9</sup>

The engraver remains unknown. D. de Hoop Scheffer (in *Hollstein*, loc. cit.) attributes the engraving to Paul Pontius, but this is unlikely since he entered Rubens's workshop only in 1624. His predecessor, Lucas Vorsterman I, had left the atelier in the middle of 1622 after a quarrel.

However, the first to publish the cameo was Jean Tristan de St Amand, a friend with whom Peiresc discussed the representation.<sup>10</sup> While Tristan dedicated his 1635 essay to Peiresc, he did not accept the scholar's identification of eight of the figures.<sup>11</sup> Tristan's publication prompted Albert Rubens to revise a treatise



he had composed for his father c.1633. For the text he made use of the correspondence with Peiresc. Albert agreed with most of Peiresc's identifications, except for a few in the bottom section. Although the text was ready for print by 1645, it was only published posthumously in 1665 as an Appendix to *De Re Vestiaria Veterum*,<sup>12</sup> and the engraving was used as an illustration. The plate was reused for the publication of the gem by Jacobus le Roy in 1683.<sup>13</sup>

- Impressions of the first state of the engraving are extant in Amsterdam (Rijksprentenkabinet), Antwerp (Stedelijk Prentenkabinet), Dresden (Kupferstichkabinet), London (British Museum) and Paris (Bibliothèque Nationale). In May 1658 the copper plate was transferred to Balthasar Moretus to pay off the debts of the estate for Albert's purchase of books; cf. M. Rooses, 'Petrus-Paulus Rubens en Balthasar Moretus, (I)', *Rubens-Bulletijn*, II, 1883, p. 185.
- Five layered sardonyx, 310 x 265 mm. *Babelon, Catalogue*, pp. 120-137, no. 264, pl. XXVIII; *Richter, Gems of the Romans*, pp. 104-105, no. 502; *Lexicon Mythologicae*, IV, 1, p. 905, no. 174, repr.; *De Grummond, Coins and Gems*, pp. 149-155, no. I, fig. 49; *Van der Meulen, Antiquarius*, pp. 142-143, no. \*G.63, fig. I,A; *De Grummond, Classical Gems*, colour repr. front cover; *Megow, Kameen*, pp. 202-207, no. A85, pls. 35 (5-10) and 33.
- Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS Fr. 9532, fols. 318r-319v (see Appendix II.5).
- Peiresc to Aleandro, 23 September 1620 (Aix-en-Provence, Bibl. Méjanés, MS 1032, fols. 167-170; see Appendix II.6; cf. Carpentras, Bibl. Inguibertine, MS 1809, fols. 232r-234v, Italian text in copy; a French translation by de Mazaugues in *Rooses-Ruelens*, II, pp. 302-306). On the Carpentras transcript the heading with salutation was later changed to 'Description del cameo d'immensa grandezza'. The engraver named 'Cornelius' in *Rooses-Ruelens*, II, p. 306, is surnamed Galle in the Aix and Carpentras letters. See Chapter IV, note 11. See further Peiresc to Gevaerts, 3 October 1620 (*Rooses-Ruelens*, II, p. 257); Peiresc to Pignoria, 10 November 1620 (Aix-en-Provence, loc. cit., MS 1027, fol. 439; Carpentras, loc. cit., MS 1809, fol. 218r; see *Van der Meulen, Antiquarius*, p. 218); Peiresc to Aleandro, 18 November 1620 (Aix-en-Provence, loc. cit., MS 1032, fols. 177-179; Carpentras, loc. cit., MS 1809, fols. 215r-217v, Italian text in copy); Peiresc to Chifflet, 27 January 1621 (P. Tamizey de Larroque, *Lettres de Peiresc*, VII, Paris, 1898, p. 888); Peiresc to Rubens, 27 October 1621 (*Rooses-Ruelens*, II, p. 290); Peiresc to Rubens, 26 November 1621 (*Rooses-Ruelens*, II, pp. 293-294).
- A systematical review of the persons depicted and their family relationships is given (Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS Fr. N. Acq. 1209, fols. 14r-v: 'Description du Grand Camayeuil Royal'; see Appendix II.1. Carpentras, Bibl. Inguibertine, MS 1869, fols. 114r-v: 'LE GRAND CAMAIEVL DE FRANCE'; see Appendix II.2). Three pen sketches drawn after portraits on the *Gemma Tiberiana* are preserved in Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS Dupuy 667, fol. 95r (pen and brown ink over main drawing in black chalk, diameter 39 mm., inscribed *Germanicus in Gemma*) and fol. 96r (pen and brown ink over main drawing in black chalk, diameter 39 mm. and 40 mm., and inscribed *Agrippina cum Filio*). The sketches are drawn from casts which Peiresc had made, probably to compare the portraits with coins and to identify the portraits (*Van der Meulen, Antiquarius*, p. 95, n. 15, figs. XV, A-B).
- Aleandro disagreed with this identification arguing that Tiberius seated in the centre, disguised as Jupiter, was the key figure (Aleandro to Peiresc, 17 October 1620: Aix-en-Provence, Bibl. Méjanés, MS 1019, fols. 96-98; see Appendix II.7). In spite of Aleandro's suggestion, Peiresc continued to refer to the cameo as the *Apotheosis of Augustus*, but he did accept Aleandro's identification of the winged horse as Lucifer instead of Pegasus (Peiresc to Chifflet, 27 January 1621: P. Tamizey de Larroque, *Lettres de Peiresc*, VII, Peiresc, 1898, pp. 887-888). Cf. *Bernoulli, Römische Ikonographie*, II, 1, pp. 278-279, with an overview of the interpretations of the figures since Peiresc up to 1886; H. Jucker, 'Der Grosse Kameo', *Jahrbuch des kaiserlich deutschen Archäologischen Instituts*, XCI, 1976, pp. 211-250, continues the overview from 1886 until 1975.
- Initially Peiresc wanted to have the cameo only engraved, but Aleandro convinced him of the need for a scholarly essay to the engraving. (See note 6 and Ch. IV, note 12). Peiresc had suggested that Villamena in Rome make the engraving, but the latter was not interested in the job and suggested that an artist closer to home do it. In his letter to Peiresc, Pignoria did not comment on Peiresc's lengthy discourses on the cameo for want of an illustration (Pignoria to Peiresc, 30 December 1620: Aix-en-Provence, Bibl. Méjanés, MS 1027, fol. 395; see Appendix II.8).
- Peiresc to Aleandro, 23 June 1623 (*Rooses-Ruelens*, III, p. 182); Peiresc to Jac. Cools, 27 June 1623 (*ibid.*, pp. 183-184); Peiresc to Rubens, 20 July 1623 (*ibid.*, p. 202); Peiresc to Valavez, 2 May 1625 (*ibid.*, p. 350); Rubens to Valavez, 3 July 1625 (*ibid.*, p. 372).
- Peiresc to Valavez, 10 April 1626 (*ibid.*, p. 438); Peiresc to Valavez, 14 June 1626 (*ibid.*, p. 443: 'J'y trouve les ressemblances des visages assez bien et fidelement représentées').

10. J. Tristan de St Amand, *Commentaires historiques*, Paris, 1635, I, pp. 81 ff.; his illustration is a poor copy of Rubens's engraving, but it shows the representation of the cameo in its correct direction (see *Mariette, Pierres Gravées*, p. 346). J.C. Gevaerts, *Pompa Introitus Ferdinandi*, Antwerp, 1642, p. 136, disagreed with Tristan on his opinion of the symbolism of snakes on Tiberius' Aegys and referred to Albert's forthcoming essay for a better interpretation. See note 12.

11. P. Gassendi, *Vita Peireskij*, third edn, The Hague, 1641, p. 110; cf. *Mariette, Pierres Gravées*, pp. 346-347. J. Tristan de St Amand, *Commentaires historiques*, second edn, Paris, 1644, I, pp. 108-113, adding an epilogue with a discussion on the discrepancies.

12. *Dissertatio De Gemma Tiberiana*, in *Rubenius, De Re Vestiaria*, pp. 195-211. On p. 192 Albert acknowledged the fact that he used his father's correspondence. In a dedicatory letter to Gevaerts, printed in *Rubenius, De Re Vestiaria* as a preface to the treatises on the *Gemma Tiberiana* and *Gemma Augustaea*, Albert wrote: 'Duodecim amplius anni sunt, cum iussu patris mei (qui duo haec nobilissima Antiquitatis monumenta in aes incidi curarat) meam de illis sententiam scripto complexus sum; deinde post visos Sanctamantij Commentarios, Tiberianam iterum recognovi...' (p. 191). This letter is dated August 1655, but this must be a misprint for 1645, as Burchard noticed. Albert obviously referred to the first edition of Tristan de St Amand's book of 1635 as the incentive to rewrite his text. If he wrote the first draft of the two treatises 'twelve years earlier' than 1645, this must have been in 1633. This interpretation seems to be substantiated by the fact that Gevaerts already referred to one of these essays as ready for print in his *Pompa Introitus Ferdinandi* (p. 136), which was published in 1642, although the manuscript was completed in 1638 and its *censura* obtained in 1635: 'Albertus Rubenius, Petri Pauli, Equitis, Apellis Nostri, filius,... in accuratissima sua Achatis illius Caesaris Interpretatione, quam luci paratum apud illum nuper vidimus'. After Albert's premature death in November 1657, Gevaerts informed Heinsius that he intended to publish the essay; cf. J.C. Gevartius to N. Heinsius, 5 December 1657: 'Curae mihi erit, si quae sint adfecta Amici nostri opuscula, illa in lucem prodeant' (P. Burmannus, *Sylloges Epistolarum a Viris Illustribus*, Leiden, II, 1727, p. 770 [incorrectly as p. 780], no. CCCXXVI). However, J.G. Graevius implemented the publication.

13. J. Le Roy, *Achates Tiberianus, sive Gemma Caesarea*, Amsterdam, 1683, p. 5; J. Harduin, *Opera Selecta*, Amsterdam, 1708, pp. 711-712, with a survey of the varying interpretations by Tristan de St Amand, Peiresc, Albert Rubens and Le Roy.

## 168a. Gemma Tiberiana (The Apotheosis of Germanicus): Drawing (Fig. 322)

Pen and brown ink, washed, heightened with white; 327 × 270 mm.; lower right corner damaged; inscribed in pen and brown ink at top: *Gemma regis Franciae*, bottom: *Petri Pauli Rubenii manu* in a later handwriting (the same as on No. 164a); bottom left *No. 98* and collector's mark of E. Calando (L.337). Watermark: two capital letters C, entwined over a Lorraine cross, crowned (*Briquet*, no. 9223).  
*Antwerp, Stedelijk Prentenkabinet. Inv. No. 109.*

PROVENANCE: ? Van Schorel (Antwerp), sale, Antwerp, 7 June 1774, lot 3; E. Calando (Paris, second half of the 19th century); his son E. Calando Junior (Paris and Grasse), sale Paris (Drouot), 16-18 March 1927, lot 212 (to N. Beets); J.Q. van Regteren Altena, Amsterdam; acquired by the Museum in 1932.

EXHIBITED: *Amsterdam*, 1933, no. 110, repr.; *Antwerp*, 1936, no. 35; *Antwerp*, 1946, no. 9; *Helsinki*, 1952-53, no. 50, pl. XL; *Brussels*, 1953, no. 50, pl. XL; *Paris*, 1954, no. 389; *Antwerp*, 1956, no. 93; *Flamanska Umetnost XVII Veka*, Narodni Muzej, Belgrade, 1957, no. 13; *Antwerp*, 1958, no. 11; *Plantin-Rubens. Arte grafica e tipografica ad Inversa nei secoli XVI e XVII*, Bologna, 1965, no. 297, pl. 97; *Tristoletí Nizozemské Kresby 1400-1700*, Prague, 1966, no. 44; *Formae Antiquae*, Museum Plantin-Moretus, Antwerp and Rijksmuseum Meermanno-Westreenianum, The Hague, 1967, no. 97; *Het Belgisch Humanisme na Erasmus*, Museum Plantin-Moretus and Stedelijk Prentenkabinet, Antwerp, 1969, no. 104; *Antwerp*, 1971, no. 64, pl. 8; *Dessins flamands et hollandais du dix-septième siècle*, Museum Boymans-van Beuningen, Rotterdam and Institut Néerlandais, Paris, 1974, no. 97, pl. 83; *Dutch and Flemish Drawings of the Seventeenth Century*, Moscow, 1974, pp. 157-159, no. 105, repr.; *Birmingham*, 1978, no. 44, repr.; *Düsseldorf-Cologne*, 1979,

no. 7, repr.; *Il tempo di Rubens. Disegni e stampe dal Seicento fiammingo*, Palazzo Medici Riccardi, Florence and Museo di Storia Contemporanea, Milan, 1986-1987, no. 30, repr.; *Il tempo di Rubens*, Museo di Sant'Agostino, Genoa, 1987, no. 30; *Meesterwerken uit het Stedelijk Prentenkabinet van Antwerpen*, Stedelijk Prentenkabinet, Antwerp, 1988, no. 18; *Canberra*, 1988; *Punkaharju*, 1991.

LITERATURE: *Rooses*, V, p. 17, under no. 1220; A.J.J. Delen, *Catalogue des dessins anciens, école flamande et hollandaise*, Brussels, 1938, p. 66, no. 194, pl. XXXVIII; *Van den Wijngaert, Prentkunst*, p. 84, under no. 547; *Bouchery-Van den Wijngaert*, pp. 113, 155, pl. 106; *Norris, The Great Cameo*, p. 180, fig. 4; *Held, Drawings*, p. 40; *Burchard-d'Hulst, Tekeningen*, pp. 82-83, no. 93; F. Van den Wijngaert, 'De Rubens-tekeningen in Antwerps stadsbezit', *Antwerpen, Tijdschrift der Stad Antwerpen*, II, 1956, pp. 71-73; *Miesel, Ancient Art*, p. 62, n. 152, fig. VII; *Burchard-d'Hulst, Drawings*, pp. 206-208, no. 132, repr.; *De Grummond, Coins and Gems*, pp. 149-155, no. I, fig. 85; *Stechow, Rubens*, pp. 17-20, pl. 4; *Jaffé, Rubens and Italy*, p. 84; *Van der Meulen, Antiquarius*, pp. 47, 49, 143-144, no. G.63a, fig. I,B; *De Grummond, Classical Gems*, repr. p. 19; *Held, Drawings*, 1986, p. 129, no. 153, pl. 148; C. Depauw, in [Cat. Exh.] *Meesterwerken uit het Stedelijk Prentenkabinet van Antwerpen*, Antwerp, 1988, pp. 117-119, no. 18, repr.; *Jaffé, Self-portrait*, p. 19, fig. 14; [C. Depauw], in *Cat. Exh. Punkaharju*, 1991, pp. 42-43, repr.

The *Gemma Tiberiana* is pictured on the drawing.<sup>1</sup> When Rubens was in Paris in January 1622 he committed himself to draw the cameo<sup>2</sup> and have it engraved in his workshop. Rubens's drawing faithfully pictures the cameo, although the contrasting colours of the dark top layer of the sardonyx are not always indicated. It served as model for the engraving (Fig. 323). Rubens also made a painting of the cameo at the request of Peiresc (No. 168b; Fig. 325).

The cameo inspired Rubens for his painting the *Apotheosis of Henry IV* (Paris, Louvre, Medici cycle; *K.d.K.*, p. 253) which also pictures two different areas of action: to the left the king is received by the gods in Heaven, while Maria de' Medici seated on the throne on the right is acclaimed as the new ruler.

1. The drawing was possibly first mentioned in the sale catalogue of the collection of van Schorel: *Catalogue des tableaux, peintures... provenant du Cabinet de Monsieur van Schorel, Seigneur de Wiltryck*, p. 66, lot 3: 'Dessein... à la plume... bas-relief antique composé de 25 figures'. See also Nos. 163 and 185.
2. Peiresc to Aleandro, 11 January 1622 (*Rooses-Ruelens*, II, p. 333); Peiresc to Aleandro, 7 March 1622 (*ibid.*, p. 340); Peiresc to Jac. Cools, 27 June 1623 (*Rooses-Ruelens*, III, pp. 183-184).

### 168b. Gemma Tiberiana (Apotheosis of Germanicus): Painting (Fig. 325)

Oil on canvas; 100 × 82.6 cm.  
*Oxford, Ashmolean Museum.*

PROVENANCE: N.C. Fabri de Peiresc (Belgentier, 1580-1637); J. Dupuy (d. 1656); ? P.J. Marriette (Paris, 1694-1775); de Buscher, sale Paris (Paillet, Delaroche), 18 June 1804, lot 185 (to Tersan); C.P. Campion de Tersan (Paris, 1736-1819), sale Paris, 8-30 November 1819, lot 459; ? M. Maurice, sale Paris (Paillet, Chariot), 8 November 1820, lot 152; Collection Shorting (Broseley, Shropshire), sale Broseley, 12 March 1940, lot 236b; Christopher Norris, Polesden Lacey, London; acquired by the Museum (via Christie's) in 1989.

EXHIBITED: *The Classical Ideal*, David Garritt Ltd., London, 1979, no. 14, repr.

LITERATURE: *Norris, The Great Cameo*, pp. 184-185, pl. 1; F. Van den Wijngaert, 'De Rubens-tekeningen in Antwerps stadsbezit', *Antwerpen, Tijdschrift der Stad Antwerpen*, II, 1956, pp. 71-72; *De Grummond, Coins and Gems*, pp. 232-234, fig. 129; *Stechow, Rubens*, pp. 17-18, pl. 5; *Van der Meulen, Antiquarius*,

pp. 145-146, no. G.63c; N. Macgregor, in *The Burlington Magazine*, CXXI, 1979, pp. 738 and 739, repr.; Jaffé, *Self-portrait*, pp. 16-18, pl. V; *The Burlington Magazine*, July 1989, colour repr. back cover; E. McGrath, [Review *Rubens' Self-portrait in Focus* by David Jaffé], *The Burlington Magazine*, CXXI, 1989, pp. 565 and 598, fig. 139.

The painting depicts the *Gemma Tiberiana* (Fig. 324) in grisaille with brown accents. When Rubens was in Paris, Peiresc had asked him not only to draw the cameo, but also to make a painting of the cameo as a companion piece to the grisaille painting of the *Gemma Augustaea* by Niccolò dell'Abbate. He requested the figures to be a 'pan' long to match those on dell'Abbate's piece.<sup>1</sup> However, there turned out to be a misunderstanding about the colours. Peiresc would have liked the figures painted to resemble live people. Apparently Rubens preferred to copy the cameo with its varying colours of the sardonyx layers, rather than use imaginary colours.<sup>2</sup> The artist, busily involved in politics, could not make the painting immediately,<sup>3</sup> as Peiresc had hoped, and he finished the piece a year later. Rubens had painstakingly tried to reproduce the different colourings of the precious stone faithfully and hoped that Peiresc would approve of the results.<sup>4</sup> It was dispatched to Valavez in April 1626. Peiresc received the painting in June and was extremely pleased: it made that of dell'Abbate appear lifeless upon comparison.<sup>5</sup> The painting was mounted in a black ebony frame.<sup>6</sup> It is listed in the inventory drawn after Peiresc's death in 1637.<sup>7</sup>

1. Rubens apparently promised to make the painting during his third trip to Paris in February 1625 to install the Medici gallery when he last saw Peiresc; cf. Peiresc to Valavez, 2 May 1625: '...s'il a jamais fait un dessin de celui de la St<sup>e</sup> Chapelle qu'il vouloit faire avec les vives couleurs des habillements anciens et les figures d'un pan de long pour voir si cela le pouvoit remettre dans le souvenir de la promesse qu'il m'en avoit faite la dernière fois que je le vis pour l'accompagner du tableau que j'ay de celui de l'Empereur, ou les figures sont de

mesme proportion, bien que en grisaille et non en couleurs' (*Rooses-Ruelens*, III, p. 350). Although it concerned a painting, Peiresc referred to it several times as 'un dessaing' (Peiresc to Rubens, May 1625; *ibid.*, p. 365).

2. Peiresc to Valavez, 14 June 1625 (*ibid.*, p. 371).
3. Rubens to Valavez, 19 September 1625 (*ibid.*, p. 387).
4. Rubens to Valavez, 2 April 1626 (*ibid.*, p. 434).
5. Peiresc to Valavez, 12 June 1626 (P. Tamizey de Larroque, *Lettres de Peiresc*, VI, Paris, 1896, p. 550); Peiresc to Aleandro, 19 June 1626 (*Rooses-Ruelens*, III, p. 443). Peiresc refers to its height as 'sesquipedale' (100 cm.). Thus the cameo, 30 cm. high, is tripled in size on the painting.
6. Peiresc to Valavez, 18 November 1626 (P. Tamizey de Larroque, *op. cit.*, p. 601).
7. 'Un Tableau de la main de Mr. Rubens representant l'Apoteose d'Auguste tiré sur l'original quy est en Agate a la S.<sup>te</sup> Chapelle de Paris' (Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS Fr. 9534, fol. 29r; see J. Guibert, *Les dessins du Cabinet Peiresc au Cabinet des Estampes de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, Paris, 1910, p. 100). The painting is listed in the sales catalogue of the de Buscher sale of 1804, lot 185, as: 'P.P. Rubens, Esquisse en grisaille, d'après la célèbre Agate onyx, dite de la Sainte Chapelle'. It was possibly entered in the sale of M. Maurice of 1820, lot 152 (under Tableaux): 'Une copie du grand Camée de la Ste-Chapelle attribuée a Rubens'.

### 169. Three Heads in Profile: Alexander the Great as Hercules, Alexander the Great as Jupiter Ammon, and Messalina: Engraving (Fig. 330)

Anonymous engraving, 201 × 157 mm.; medallion top left, diameter 54 mm.; medallion top right, diameter 54 mm.; oval medallion centre below: 96 × 78 mm.

LITERATURE: *Mariette, Pierres Gravées*, p. 300; *Hecquet, Rubens*, p. 92, no. 13; *Basan*, p. 161, no. 1.5; *Del Marmol, Catalogue*, p. 77, no. 1096.5; *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, p. 331, no. 1251; *V.S.*, p. 222, no. 23.5; *Dutuit*, VI, p. 207, nos. 1.5, 1.5bis; *Rooses*, V, p. 18, no. 1224; *Hymans, Vorsterman*, p. 120, no. 99; *Van den Wijngaert, Prentkunst*, p. 84, no. 550; *De Grummond, Coins and Gems*, pp. 178-180, 182-183, nos. XIII, XIV and XVIII, figs. 63-65; *Van der Meulen, Anti-*

*quarius*, pp. 51, 126-127, 152, nos. G.45a, G.46a and G.73a, fig. VI,D; *De Grummond, Classical Gems*, p. 24 (repr. *Messalina*); E. McGrath, 'Rubens's Infant-Cornucopia', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, XL, 1977, p. 317, fig. 27,f; *Jaffé, Self-portrait*, p. 34, fig. 29.

An anonymous engraving, *Three Heads in Profile*, depicts three medallions with cameos belonging to Rubens.<sup>1</sup> They were presumably engraved after drawings by Rubens.

A three-layered sardonyx with the head of *Alexander the Great as Hercules* (now Paris, Cabinet des Médailles; Fig. 327) served as model for the medallion at top left with the head of a man wearing a helmet with a running lion facing right.<sup>2</sup> Although it does not occur on Rubens's 1628 Index listing casts sent to Peiresc, the latter knew the stone, since he described the cameo in detail.<sup>3</sup> The portrait is cleverly carved in the coloured layers of the stone: the white face contrasts with the dark brown background; in turn, the golden brown rim of the helmet and the lion stand out against the white.

Based on coins of the Greek king wearing a lion's scalp as Hercules, Rubens identified the portrait as *Alexander the Great*.<sup>4</sup> Peiresc disagreed with him and preferred to interpret the effigy as that of *Amyntas*, Alexander's grandfather, who is pictured on coins his head covered with a lion's skin.<sup>5</sup>

At the top right, the head of man wearing a diadem and ram's horn, facing left, pictures a three-layered cameo with *Alexander the Great as Jupiter Ammon* (now Paris, Cabinet des Médailles; Fig. 326).<sup>6</sup> The dark layer of the stone in which Alexander's ear, hair and horn are carved, extends to the horn of Ammon only. The stone was in Rubens's glyptic collection and is listed on the 1628 Index as 'Alexander [the Great] with the horn of Ammon'.<sup>7</sup> Peiresc knew the gem since he described the stone and the colourings of the sardonyx in detail.<sup>8</sup> Peiresc agreed with Rubens's identification. The portrait strongly resembles the effigy on coinage issued by Lysimachus where the dei-

fied king wears the ram's horn, the divine symbol of Ammon. Such a coin, in the possession of Fulvio Orsini, was illustrated and described in the *Illustrium Imagines* by J. Faber.<sup>9</sup>

In the centre below is a laureate woman with on each side of her bust a child emerging from a cornucopia. This depicts a three-layered sardonyx with the bust of Valeria Messalina and the two children from her marriage to Emperor Claudius (now Paris, Cabinet des Médailles; Fig. 328).<sup>10</sup> The engraving shows to the right her son wearing a helmet and holding a shield, and to the left her daughter. The cameo is listed on Rubens's 1628 Index as '*Valeria Messalina and her two children*'.<sup>11</sup> Peiresc described the gem in detail, but took the foreshortened horn of plenty on her left side for a 'square pedestal', and the grapes hanging over the edge of the large cornucopia on the right for 'buttons'.<sup>12</sup> He pointed to the darker colours of the stone in which the wreath, grapes and mantle are carved. The identification of the portrait was not easy: Rubens believed it to represent *Valeria Messalina*, resembling a portrait on a coin.<sup>13</sup> Yet the hairstyle, rows of wavy curls on the forehead and a braid hanging down the neck, caused some confusion.<sup>14</sup> Peiresc compared the coiffure to that of Agrippina.<sup>15</sup> He identified the two children as Drusus and Octavia; this is incorrect, as Claudius had a son Drusus and a daughter Claudia, not Octavia, from his first marriage. The two children born to his third wife Messalina were named Britannicus and Octavia; these were pictured on bronze coins emerging from cornucopiae.<sup>16</sup>

The cameos were sold to the Duke of Buckingham in 1626 and are listed in the 1635 indenture of his estate.<sup>17</sup> They then came into the possession of the King of France and were inventoried in 1664: the *Alexander as Hercules* was labelled Perseus,<sup>18</sup> the *Alexander as Jupiter Ammon* as a portrait of Lysimachus,<sup>19</sup> the *Messalina* as 'Goddess of Fertility'.<sup>20</sup> While Rubens's identifications of the first two stones are still accepted, that of the cameo with Vale-

ria Messalina and her children has recently been put in doubt.

In general the print renders the cameos faithfully, yet some slight changes were made. The *Alexander the Great as Hercules* looks more handsome and his massive oversized helmet has been reshaped into an elegant, closely-fitting form. The laurel wreath on the helmet was given additional detail with protruding leaves. The rim of the helmet now stands out and the face gained depth by hatchings. The dark top layer of the sardonyx, in which the lion, the rim of the helmet and the locks of hair coming out from under the helmet were carved, is indicated by cross-hatchings on the engraving.

The composition of *Alexander the Great as Jupiter Ammon* was slightly changed to make it more balanced. The horn of Ammon, which is in the centre on the cameo, has been placed to the side. The lower slip of the ribbon in the neck has become a lock of hair. The dark layer of the stone, in which Alexander's ear, hair and horn of Ammon are carved, extends to the horn of Ammon only. The cameo is reflected in Rubens's painting of *Alexander Crowning Roxane* (Dessau, Schloss Wörlitz), dated c.1618.<sup>21</sup> At the time, the cameo of Messalina looked different from the one we know today (Fig. 328): the head of the child emerging from the larger cornucopia was judged a modern restoration and has been removed. While remarkably the last known restoration was a boy, in Rubens's days it was probably a girl.<sup>22</sup>

Rubens interpreted the cameo as showing two opposing cornucopiae connected at the ends; Peiresc disagreed and thought the helmeted bust stood on a square pedestal. This detail is now thought to be part of a belted *chiton*.<sup>23</sup> It should also be noted that this helmeted child depicted as a boy by Rubens is nowadays identified as the goddess *Roma*.<sup>24</sup> The central portrait, called *Messalina* by Rubens, has recently been identified with various members of the Julian-Claudian family.<sup>25</sup>

The bust of *Messalina* is slightly larger than the original cameo. The bulge on the lower left side has been rounded out. On the engraving the taut, stiff lines of the hard stone have become smooth and rounded. This is particularly noticeable in the undulating lines of the hair and the folds of drapery. The dark layer of the stone, in which the wreath, grapes and top garment of Messalina were cut are indicated on the print by cross-hatchings. The face has gained depth.

The engraving was intended for the Gem Book, and is probably identical with a print referred to by Peiresc in his letter of 20 July 1623, in which he acknowledged the receipt of proofs of Rubens's cameos,<sup>26</sup> and also with a print mentioned by name in Rubens's letter of 3 August 1623.<sup>27</sup> The fine quality of the engraving encourages an attribution to Lucas Vorsterman I; if this is correct, he must have finished it before he left Rubens's studio in 1622.

The three girls emerging from the cornucopia in Rubens's *Birth of Louis XIII* in the Medici series (Paris, Louvre; *K.d.K.*, p. 250) have their hair tied in top-knots like the girl in the print.<sup>28</sup>

1. Impressions of the print are extant in Amsterdam (Rijksprentenkabinet), Brussels (Bibliothèque Royale), Dresden (Kupferstichkabinett), New York (Metropolitan Museum), Paris (Bibliothèque Nationale) and Vienna (Albertina).
2. Two-layered sardonyx, diam. 47 mm. *Babelon, Catalogue*, pp. 99-100, no. 221, pl. XXI; K. Gebauer, 'Alexanderbildnis und Alexandertypus', *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung*, LXIII-LXIV, 1938-39, p. 32, no. G.45 ('könnte Alexander meinen').
3. Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS Fr. N. Acq. 1209, fol. 16r, no. 1 (see Appendix V.2). See *De Grummond, Coins and Gems*, pp. 73-74, no. 30, pp. 178-179, no. XIII, fig. 97; *Van der Meulen, Antiquarius*, p. 126, no. G.45, fig. VI.C.
4. A. B. Brett, *Catalogue of Greek Coins, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*, 1955, p. 88, no. 664, pl. 35; K. Gebauer, op. cit., pp. 2-33, pls. I-III; *Bieber, Alexander the Great*, pp. 387-388, figs. 32-33.
5. *Faber, Illustrium Imagines*, p. 10, pl. 10: 'AMYNTAS REX'.
6. Three-layered sardonyx, diam. 46 mm. *Babelon, Catalogue*, pp. 100-101, no. 222, pl. XXI.

7. Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS Fr. 9530, fol. 248r, no. 3 (see Appendix V.1). Peiresc praised the portrait cut on it (Peiresc to Rubens, 19 May 1628; *Rooses-Ruelens*, IV, p. 409); *Van der Meulen, Antiquarius*, p. 127, no. G.46, fig. VI.B.
8. Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS Fr. N. Acq. 1209, fol. 16r, no. 2 (see Appendix V.2); *De Grummond, Coins and Gems*, pp. 74-75, no. 31, pp. 179-180, no. XIV, fig. 98. Rubens's cameo may have been instrumental in Peiresc's identification of a cameo he acquired in June 1628, a month after he received Rubens's casts (Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS Fr. 9530, fol. 250: 'L'image d'Alexandre bien ressemblante aux antiques avec le diademe & la corne d'Ammon').
9. *Faber, Illustrium Imagines*, pp. 7-8, pl. 5: 'ALEXANDER MAGNVS'. Cf. A.B. Brett, op. cit., p. 111, no. 821, pl. 45; *Bieber, Alexander the Great*, pp. 389-391, figs. 12, 37, 41; *Richter, Portraits of the Greeks*, III, p. 255, no. 3, figs. 1719-1720, 1722.
10. Three-layered sardonyx, 93 × 79 mm. *Babelon, Catalogue*, p. 145, no. 277, pl. XXXI (the head of the boy is considered original); *De Grummond, Classical Gems*, p. 24, colour repr. (the head of the child emerging from the horn of plenty has been removed).
11. Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS Fr. 9530, fol. 249r, no. 47 (see Appendix V.1). Peiresc admired the portrait on the cameo; cf. Peiresc to Rubens, 19 May 1628 (*Rooses-Ruelens*, IV, p. 409). See *Van der Meulen, Antiquarius*, pp. 151-152, no. G.73, fig. VI.A.
12. Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS Fr. N. Acq. 1209, fol. 17r, no. 6 (see Appendix V.2). See *De Grummond, Coins and Gems*, pp. 88-89, no. 50, pp. 182-183, no. XVIII, fig. 102.
13. Peiresc to Rubens, 20 July 1623 (confirmation of receipt of proof prints of Rubens's cameos): 'Ho visto con grand.' gusto le primitie de' tagli di suoi camei...' (*Rooses-Ruelens*, III, p. 202). Although not explicitly stated, this passage must allude to the engraving *Three Heads in Profile*, since Peiresc next discussed the portrait of *Messalina* as pictured on coins. Such a coin apparently belonged to Tristan de St Amand which Rubens considered reproducing. Peiresc also referred to a coin with *Claudius'* effigy on the obverse and on the reverse *Messalina*, with hair braided and hanging down her neck 'con la concitura simile a quella del Sr. Tristano, ma di piu con un groppo di capellatura dietro il collo'. Peiresc used the same term in discussing Rubens's cameo picturing *Messalina*, 'come Agrippina à trousse pendante'. See note 11. Coins issued in Asia Minor show *Messalina* with her hair styled in this fashion (*Bernoulli, Römische Ikonographie*, II, 1, pl. XXXIV, no. 15: Coin with *Messalina*).
14. *Agrippina major*, the wife of *Germanicus*, is also pictured on coins with her hair braided, hanging down the neck. For a discussion of the influence of *Agrippina Major's* portrait see S. Wood, 'Memoriae *Agrippinae*: *Agrippina the Elder* in Julio-Claudian Art and Propaganda', *American Journal of Archaeology*, XCII, 1988, pp. 409-426.
15. *Bernoulli, Römische Ikonographie*, II, 1, pl. XXXIII, nos. 17-19; *Mattingly, Coins*, I, p. 194, nos. 219-223, pl. 37.1: coin with *Agrippina major*.
16. *Bernoulli, Römische Ikonographie*, II, 1, pl. XXXIV, no. 17; now rejected (see note 25).
17. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Rawlinson A 341 (see Appendix VII.2), fol. 38r, 'Fourth Box', no. 1: *Alexander the Great* with helmet; fol. 40r, 'Nynth Box', no. 3: *Alexander the Great*; fol. 37v 'Third Box', no. 1: *Messalina* with Children. The sale of this cameo is confirmed in *Rubenius, De Re Vestiaria*, p. 217. Rubens kept a copy of the gem: it is listed in the inventory of Albert Rubens's gems. *Messalina's* children are correctly named *Britannicus* and *Octavia* (*Besançon, MS Chifflet 189*, fol. 7r, 'cista 14a', no. 4; see Appendix VIII).
18. *Babelon, Catalogue*, p. 403, no. 220.
19. *Ibid.*, p. 403, no. 218.
20. *Ibid.*, p. 408, no. 269.
21. *Evers, Neue Forschungen*, p. 269, figs. 290-291; J.G. van Gelder, 'Rubens in Holland in de zeventiende eeuw', *Nederlands kunsthistorisch jaarboek*, III, 1950-51, pp. 110-111, fig. 3.
22. Peiresc's description of the cameo explicitly refers to a girl emerging from the cornucopia (see note 12). According to W. Trillmich, 'Iulia Agrippina als Schwester des Caligula und Mutter des Nero', *Hefte des archäologischen Seminars der Universität Bern*, IX, 1983, p. 23, the head of the boy is possibly original; according to M. Fuchs, 'Frauen um Caligula und Claudius: *Milonia Caesonia*, *Drusilla* und *Messalina*', *Archäologischer Anzeiger*, 1990, 1, p. 108, it is definitely not original.
23. W. Trillmich (op. cit., p. 24, n. 18), but *Megow, Kameen* (pp. 303-304, no. D39, pl. 18.1) continued the double cornucopia interpretation.
24. D. Hertel, 'Ein claudisches Frauenporträt in Faro', *Madrider Mitteilungen*, XXII, 1981, p. 262, n. 38; *Megow, Kameen*, p. 303.
25. As a large number of replicas of the portrait exist, the cameo must picture a famous princess. See W. Trillmich, op. cit., pp. 22-26 (as single cornucopiae with *Iulia Agrippina* and *Domitius Nero* on the right; the left unidentified); *Megow, Kameen*, p. 304, no. D 39 (as *Drusilla* with *Dea Roma* on the left; the right possibly *Caligula*); M. Fuchs, op. cit., pp. 107-115 (as *Caligula's* little-known fourth wife *Milonia Caesonia* with *Dea Roma* on the left and daughter *Drusilla* on the right). The profile of the woman's face with small pursed lips and a small protruding chin resembles that of the woman paired with *Claudius* protruding from a double cornucopia in Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum (*Richter, Gems of the Romans*, no. 516, repr.).
26. Peiresc to Rubens, 20 July 1623 (*Rooses-Ruelens*, III, p. 202). See note 13.

27. Rubens to Peiresc, 3 August 1623 (*ibid.*, p. 216; *Magnus Letters*, no. 52, p. 92).  
 28. E. McGrath, *op. cit.*, pp. 315–318.

### 169a. Alexander the Great as Hercules: Drawing

Technique and measurements unknown.  
*Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.*

The engraving, *Three Heads in Profile* (Fig. 330), depicts at the top left a cameo with the head of *Alexander the Great as Hercules* (Fig. 327), which was presumably made after a Rubens drawing now lost.

### 169b. Alexander the Great as Jupiter Ammon: Drawing (Fig. 329)

Brown ink, white, brown yellow and grey body colours on prepared cardboard, background washed in black; 61 × 49 mm. Inscribed on fragment of old mount in pen and ink: *P.P. / Rubens / fecit Romae / coll: H. Hemelaer.*

*Winterthur, Kleinmeistersammlung Jakob Briner Stiftung.* Inv. No. B III.

PROVENANCE: Mrs Karl J. Reddy, Ephrata, Pa. (in the 1970s); acquired by the Museum on 4 May 1979 from Bucher, St Gallen.

LITERATURE: Jaffé, *Rubens and Italy*, pp. 83–84, n. 81, fig. 311; H. Keller, 'Ein Rubens-Miniatur Alexanders des Grossen, Neuerwerbungen der Winterthurer Briner-Stiftung', *Der Landbote*, 2 June 1979, repr.; B. Stadler, 'Die Bildnisminiaturen der Sammlung Jakob Briner Winterthur', *Neujahrsblatt der Stadtbibliothek Winterthur*, CCCXVII, 1987, pp. 31–32, no. 1.

The drawing of the head of *Alexander the Great as Jupiter Ammon* was attributed to Rubens by Jaffé.<sup>1</sup>

The drawing served as model for the head at the top right on the engraving *Three Heads*

*in Profile* (Fig. 330), although the engraver mistook the lower slip of the ribbon for a lock of hair. Jaffé suggested that it was drawn after a coin, but I believe that it pictures Rubens's cameo (Fig. 326). The dark layer of the stone in which Alexander's ear, hair and horn of Ammon are carved, is limited to the horn of Ammon on the drawing, but otherwise the cameo is rendered faithfully.

A puzzling inscription on the old mount informs us that Rubens made the drawing in Italy and mentions the de Hemelaer collection. The artist was in Rome at the same time as Johannes de Hemelaer, an ecclesiastic from Antwerp in the service of Cardinal Ascanio Colonna as secretary and librarian. The object might have been in de Hemelaer's possession at the time, but a similar cameo later undoubtedly belonged to Rubens's glyptic collection. Rubens is not known to have drawn any gems while he was in Italy.

1. Vlieghe (*Vlieghe, Review Jaffé*), however, did not give any opinion. I am very grateful to A.M. Logan for informing me about the present whereabouts of the drawing.

### 169c. Bust of Messalina: Drawing

Technique and whereabouts unknown.  
*Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.*

The engraving with *Three Heads in Profile* (Fig. 330), pictures at the centre below the so-called cameo of *Messalina and her Children* (Fig. 328). No preliminary drawing by Rubens is known.

### 170. Five Heads in Profile: C. Caesar Augusti Nepos, Germanicus, Solon, Tiberius, and Minerva: Engraving (Fig. 336)

Anonymous engraving; 275 × 217 mm.; medallion top left, 78 × 60 mm. (head 50 × 35 mm.); medallion top centre, 78 × 60 mm. (head 54 × 35 mm.); medallion top right inside



frame, 80 × 60 mm. (head 58 × 37 mm.); medallion bottom centre inside frame, 98 × 70 mm.; medallion bottom right, 53 × 74 mm. States: I before reworking of medallions top right (cf. No. 170g; Fig. 331) and centre top (cf. No. 170f; Fig. 332); II medallions top right and centre top reworked (Fig. 336); III medallion bottom centre cut out of larger plate, 113 × 88 mm. (in Rubenius, *De Re Vestiaria*, p. 197; reused in J. Le Roy, *Achates Tiberianus, sive Gemma Caesarea*, Amsterdam, 1683, p. 47).

LITERATURE: Mariette, *Pierres Gravées*, p. 300; Hecquet, *Rubens*, pp. 91-92, nos. 7, 11, 12; Basan, pp. 161-162, no. 1.6; *Del Marmol, Catalogue*, p. 77, no. 1096.6; Smith, *Catalogue Raisonné*, p. 331, no. 1252; V.S., p. 223, no. 23.6; Dutuit, VI, p. 207, no. 1.6; Rooses, V, p. 18, no. 1225; Hymans, *Vorsterman*, p. 120, no. 98; *Van den Wijngaert, Prentkunst*, p. 84, no. 551; B.L.D. Ihle, in *Cat. Exh. Rotterdam*, 1969, p. 24, no. 37; *De Grummond, Coins and Gems*, pp. 183-185, nos. XIX-XXV (the engraving was not located); *Van der Meulen, Antiquarius*, pp. 53-55, 118 (no. G.30a), 134-135 (no. G.55b), 136 (no. G.56b), 141-142 (no. G.62b), 157 (no. G.81a), fig. VIII.A; *Hollstein*, XVII, p. 162, no. 46, repr. (as *P. Pontius*); *Van der Meulen, Opgetekende Portretjes*, pp. 159-162, fig. 3; *Jaffé, Self-portrait*, p. 37, fig. 32.

The unsigned engraving, *Five Heads In Profile*, depicts oval medallions with heads in side view against a black background.<sup>1</sup> The heads are probably engraved after drawings by Rubens, and several picture cameos belonging to his collection. Mariette is the first to refer to the set of engravings of gems, but does not mention this one by name.<sup>2</sup> Basan gave a detailed description of the engraving and claimed to have known a state of the print where the blank space at the bottom left was taken by a head wearing an elephant's skin which is now only known from separate prints (No. 171; Fig. 335). He may have referred to the set of prints now in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, which consists of

six separate medallions mounted together: they were all cut out along the oval contour and pasted onto one sheet. His information, however, was copied in later literature. This can explain the mystery of the alleged print with '*Six Heads In Profile*'.

It is important to note that the medallion with the *Head of Africa* (No. 171; Fig. 335) is too large to have fitted in the space to the left of the large medallion in the bottom centre.

The three heads on the top row are also on the engraving *Four Heads in Profile I* by Lucas Vorsterman, where they are identified as *C. Caesar Augusti nepos, Germanicus* and *Solon* (No. 172; Fig. 341). Although the sizes of the heads are the same, it is technically not possible that Vorsterman's plate was reused for No. 170. Counterproofs of these three heads may have served the anonymous engraver for general outlines on his plate. The dark, oval background was added to create the appearance of cameos.

A sheet in Amsterdam shows the portraits of *Germanicus* and *Solon* in reverse (Nos. 170f and 170g; Figs. 332, 331). These are counterproofs, worked up by Rubens, then cut out along the oval contour and mounted in a new arrangement: they are now facing each other. The suggested changes to *Germanicus'* hair on top of and at the back of the head, blocked off with black paint, were not implemented in the second state of the engraving (Fig. 336). On the other hand, *Solon* did undergo a few alterations: in white paint pleats were added to his drapery and some adjustments made to his face and hair. The suggested changes were made by the engraver on the plate in the second state.

An adolescent with short curly hair at top centre on the print, identified on Vorsterman's *Four Heads I* (No. 172; Fig. 341) as *Germanicus Caesar*, possibly pictures a gem belonging to Jean de Bagarris discussed in a letter from Peiresc to Rubens.<sup>3</sup> Neverov has suggested that a carnelian intaglio now in the Hermitage in St Petersburg could have been the stone depicted.<sup>4</sup>

The identification of the portrait may have derived from an illustration in *Faber, Illustrium Imagines*, pl. K, of a cameo in Orsini's collection.<sup>5</sup> Its legend also reads 'GERMANICVS CAESAR' (Fig. 338).

A handsome youth on double portraits by Rubens in Washington (National Gallery of Art; *text ill.* 81) and Chapel Hill (Ackland Art Museum; *text ill.* 80) is, as de Grummond observed, undoubtedly Germanicus.<sup>6</sup> He strongly resembles the head on the print and might very well have been modelled after the same gem. The jewelled female head on the paintings is probably his wife Agrippina, although she does not bear a convincing likeness to coins and gems with her effigy.

A young boy, his neck covered by drapery, at the top left of the print, identified on Vorsterman's *Four Heads I* (No. 172; Fig. 341) as *Caesar Augusti nepos*, grandson of Emperor Augustus, possibly renders a gem belonging to Rubens. He bears a striking similarity to a cast in Lippert's *Dactyliothec* (Fig. 337), but no information is given on the owner.<sup>7</sup> A carnelian intaglio, now in Berlin, slightly resembles the head on Vorsterman's print, but the hair is not the same.<sup>8</sup>

An illustration in *Faber, Illustrium Imagines*, pl. E, might have been instrumental in the identification of the portrait.<sup>9</sup> The caption is phrased in the same wording as the legend on Vorsterman's print.<sup>10</sup>

A draped bust of an elderly man with a balding head at the top right of the print, identified on Vorsterman's *Four Heads I* as *Solon* (No. 172; Fig. 341, bottom left), probably illustrates an amethyst incised by Dioskourides belonging to Rascas de Bagarris, shown to Peiresc in 1605.<sup>11</sup> The identification is most likely based on Orsini's interpretation of a carnelian with such a portrait inscribed 'COΛΩNOC'.<sup>12</sup> However, Orsini mistook the signature of the gem-carver for the identity of the man portrayed.

An oval, three-layered sardonyx (now in Paris, Cabinet des Médailles; Fig. 333) served as model for the elderly man wearing a

wreath with an Aegis over his chest at bottom centre. It belonged to Rubens's collection and is listed on his 1628 Index as '*Constantine the Great with an aegis*'.<sup>13</sup>

Peiresc knew the cameo for he described the stone in detail up to the varying colours of the sardonyx, its milk-white face contrasting with the brown hair and Aegis. He agreed with Rubens's identification of it as the effigy of Emperor Constantine, but noted that the ageing face looked like Galba.<sup>14</sup> Years later, Albert Rubens would refer to the cameo, using his father's identification in a discussion of the imperial portraits on the *Gemma Tiberiana*.<sup>15</sup> The cameo was sold to the Duke of Buckingham in 1626 and is listed in the 1635 Indenture of his estate.<sup>16</sup> The gem then came into the possession of the King of France and was inventoried as a portrait of Augustus.<sup>17</sup> Lenormant was the first to recognize the effigy as *Tiberius*.<sup>18</sup> The cameo was rejected recently as a work of antique carving.<sup>19</sup>

The print (Fig. 336) shows Rubens's cameo with the head of *Tiberius* slightly enlarged, with the laurel wreath now fully inside the contour, but it is otherwise a faithful copy albeit in mirror image. The dark upper layer of the sardonyx in the hair, wreath and Aegis are not indicated. The face, white on the stone, has been given depth by cross-hatchings.

The bust of *Minerva* with a crested helmet and Aegis at bottom right pictures an unidentified cameo belonging to the artist and listed on his 1628 Index.<sup>20</sup> Peiresc's detailed description matches the reproduction of the gem precisely.<sup>21</sup> The large cameo was apparently not included in the sale to the Duke of Buckingham and was later inherited by his son Albert.<sup>22</sup>

The engraving *Five Heads in Profile* was in all likelihood intended for the Gem Book. It might have been included with the proofs Peiresc received in July 1623.<sup>23</sup> As the print repeats three of the heads of Lucas Vorsterman's *Four Heads in Profile I* (No. 172; Fig. 341), the anonymous engraving might have been made to replace it in the book. D. de Hoop Scheffer

(in *Hollstein*, loc. cit.) attributed the engraving to Pontius, but the fine quality makes this attribution unlikely.

The medallion with *Tiberius* was later sawed out of the plate and served as illustration to Albert Rubens's *Dissertatio De Gemma Tiberiana*.<sup>24</sup>

- Impressions of the print are extant in Dresden (Kupferstichkabinett), London (British Museum), Paris (Bibliothèque Nationale), and Rotterdam (Museum Boymans-van Beuningen). The sheet of paper of the prints in Dresden and Rotterdam is smaller, with less white, open space at the bottom. A second print in the British Museum in London shows the separate print with *Africa* (No. 171) spliced in, thus creating the false impression that a print with *Six Heads* in Profile existed (see *Van der Meulen, Antiquarius*, pl. VIII, A; *Jaffé, Self-portrait*, p. 37, fig. 32).
- Mariette, loc. cit. (1750): '...ce sont des épreuves que je possède... Les Camées y sont représentés de la même grandeur que les originaux, & ils consistent en vingt-un morceaux, scavoir dix-sept têtes, dont neuf imitent en blanc et noir la couleur & l'effet du Camée...'. The number of engraved gems and cameos pictured on the eight engravings totals twenty-one. Hecquet, loc. cit. (1751), described the engraving with five gems under three entries: no. 7: 'Un Portrait en casque, & couronné de laurier'; no. 11: 'Trois Portraits d'Empereurs de profil'; no. 12: 'Un Portrait de profil d'un Empereur couronné de Laurier'. no. 14: 'Un Portrait de profil, qui a une espèce de bonnet d'où sort une corne' refers to our No. 171. Basan, loc. cit. (1767): 'Six Têtes rangées sur une même planche, Tibère, deux... Têtes de jeunes Romains, celle de Mécenas, ...une femme ayant pour coëffure un mufle d'Eléphant, & une Pallas'. He is rather critical of Hecquet's catalogue, which, apart from the fact that the cameos are described under seemingly unrelated, different entries, are also 'la plupart si mal expliqués, qu'il est presque impossible de les reconnoître'. Del Marmol, loc. cit. (1794), was the first to point to an unfinished state with five heads and the sixth head printed separately: 'Six têtes rangées sur une meme planche. Mais à cette épreuve il ne s'en trouve que cinq & la place de sixième vuide. La sixième & ici sur une planche séparée, de même que la cinquième qui se trouve ici copiée séparément'. The fifth is indeed printed all by itself in *Rubenius, De Re Vestitaria* (see note 24). Hymans, loc. cit., described the 'complete state' first and considered a print with the incomplete state (with five heads) in Dresden as unique. An impression in London, British Museum shows the sixth head of *Africa* spliced in (see note 1).
- Peiresc to Rubens, 31 March 1622, mentions two gems, a *Solon* and *Germanicus*, by name (*Rooses-Ruelens*, II, pp. 356-357). A letter from Peiresc to Valavez, 12 June 1626, reveals that Rubens hoped to acquire some of De Bagarris' gems; it refers to the same gems, but *Germanicus* is called *Marcellus* (P. Tamizey de Larroque, *Lettres de Peiresc*, VI, Paris, 1896, p. 550). On the other hand, a gem in Rubens's possession could have been pictured. Two gems with *Germanicus'* portrait listed in Albert Rubens's collection, may have first belonged to Rubens (Besançon, MS Chifflet 189, fol. 4r, 'cista 6a', no. 3: an intaglio of agate; and fol. 6v, 'cista 12a', no. 15: a cameo of agate. See Appendix VIII; *Van der Meulen, Antiquarius*, p. 141, no. G.62).
- Neverov proposed the St Petersburg carnelian (Inv. No. J 9768; 25 × 18 mm.) to be identical with a black agate (25 × 18 mm.) purchased from the Duke of Orléans in 1787 (*Neverov, Gems*, p. 432, n. 105, fig. 51; S. Reinach, *Pierres Gravées*, Paris, 1895, p. 142, pl. 129, no. 22, picturing a print with the Orléans stone). There is no positive evidence that this gem ever belonged to Rubens's glyptic collection. Neverov incorrectly identified the Hermitage gem (18 × 15 mm.) with a cameo bearing the head of *Germanicus* in Fulvio Orsini's glyptothec (*De Nolhac, Orsini*, p. 168, no. 326; O. Neverov, 'Gemme dalle collezioni Medici e Orsini', *Prospettiva*, XXIX, 1982, p. 5, n. 85, fig. 95). He recognized Orsini's gem on Galle's engraving in *Faber, Illustrium Imagines*, pl. K. However, pl. K pictures a cameo, discussed by Faber on p. 41, that was carved by Epitynchanos (now in London; *Richter, Gems of the Romans*, p. 144, no. 674, repr. See note 5). The gem was inscribed ΕΠΙΤΥΝΧΑΝΟΣ ΕΠΙΘΙΕΙ. Galle had omitted the gemcutter's signature on the engraving, although he did copy it on his drawing of the gem (Rome, Cod. Vat. Capp., fol. 200r; see *Jongkees, Fulvio Orsini*, pp. 9, 13, pl. 1b). The cameo with *Germanicus* is listed in Orsini's inventory under no. 351 (*De Nolhac, Orsini*, p. 168) and not as no. 326, as Neverov suggested. The latter is a gem with the head of *Marcellus*.
- Faber, Illustrium Imagines*, pl. K: 'GERMANICVS CAESAR'. This print pictures a gem carved by Epitynchanos, already pictured in *Faber, Illustrium Imagines*, pl. 87; the legend incorrectly states that it represents 'MARCELLVS AVGVSTI NEPOS'. (Faber discussed the carnelian with *Marcellus* on p. 53). Orsini wanted this error to be corrected in the new edition (*Jongkees, Fulvio Orsini*, p. 9). This may explain the confusion in the identification of de Bagarris' gem as *Germanicus* and *Marcellus* in Peiresc's letters. See note 3.
- De Grummond, Coins and Gems*, pp. 205-217, figs. 39-40.
- P.D. Lippert, *Dactyliothec, das ist Sammlung geschmittenener Steine der Alten aus den vornehmsten Museis in Europa*, Leipzig, 1768, II, p. 196, no. 643, cast no.

- M1P2 324 (*Van der Meulen, Antiquarius*, p. 134, no. G.55, fig. IX,B). See also *Richter, Gems of the Romans*, pp. 102–103, no. 493, repr., for another gem with C. Caesar's effigy.
8. *Neverov, Gems*, p. 432, fig. 53.
9. *Faber, Illustrium Imagines*, p. 23, pl. E: 'C. CAESAR AVGVSTI NEPOS'.
10. For the coins with the effigy of C. Caesar see *Bernoulli, Römische Ikonographie*, II, 1, pl. XXXII,16; *Richter, Gems of the Romans*, fig. 493a.
11. *Ibid.*, p. 162, no. 758: carnelian, inscribed with Dioskourides' name (Paris, Cabinet des Médailles). An impression in sealing wax in the Peiresc documentation in Paris shows a carnelian with Solon's effigy facing right in Rascas de Bagarris' possession (Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS Fr. 9530, fol. 223, 13 × 10 mm.; *Van der Meulen, Antiquarius*, p. 135, no. G.56, fig. VIII, D). Peiresc was very much intrigued by Dioskourides' signature (cf. P. Gassendi, *Viri illustris Nicolai Fabricij de Peiresc*, third edn, The Hague, 1655, p. 49). Rubens hoped to acquire a gem with a similar portrait in the possession of Jean de Bagarris; see Peiresc to Valavez, 12 June 1626 (P. Tamizey de Larroque, *Lettres de Peiresc*, VI, Paris, 1896, p. 550). See note 3.
12. *Faber, Illustrium Imagines*, p. 76, pl. 135: 'SOLON', (Fig. 340). The carnelian (now in Naples) is listed in Orsini's inventory (*De Nohac, Orsini*, p. 154, no. 18). For gems with Solon's effigy see *Richter, Gems of the Romans*, nos. 757–759, repr.; M.L. Vollenweider, *Die Steinschneidekunst und ihre Künstler in spätrepublikanischer und augusteischer Zeit*, Baden-Baden, 1966, p. 54, n. 43, pl. 99, figs. 1, 3, 5 and 6.
13. Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS Fr. 9530, fol. 248r, no. 13 (see Appendix V.1). The cameo with the alleged portrait of Constantine was praised by Peiresc (Peiresc to Rubens, 19 May 1628; *Rooses–Ruelens*, IV, p. 409). Three layered sardonyx 88 × 66 mm. See *Babelon, Catalogue*, pp. 116–117, no. 251, pl. XXVI; *Van der Meulen, Antiquarius*, pp. 156–157, no. G.81, fig. VIII, C).
14. Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS Fr. N. Acq. 1209, fol. 17v, no. 8 (see Appendix V.2; *De Grummond, Coins and Gems*, pp. 84–85, no. 42, p. 184, no. XX, fig. 100). Coin types of Constantine issued after 315 A.D. show the emperor as an older man with sharper facial features, a strongly curved nose, jutting chin and a frowning expression (E.B. Harrison, 'The Constantinian Portrait', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, XXI, 1967, pp. 90–91, figs. 34–36).
15. *Dissertatio de Gemma Tiberiana*, in *Rubenius, De Re Vestitaria*, p. 196, repr. p. 197.
16. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Rawlinson A 341, fol. 37r, 'first Box', no. 1 (see Appendix VII.2). This course of events is confirmed in *Rubenius, De Re Vestitaria*, p. 196.
17. *Babelon, Catalogue*, p. 396, no. 152; G. Brice, *Description de Paris*, Paris, 1684, I, p. 78, still referred to it as 'Constantine'.
18. F. Lenormant, *Trésor de numismatique*, 1843, p. 17, pl. IX, fig. 1; *Bernoulli, Römische Ikonographie*, II, 1, p. 157, also doubted the identification; *Babelon, Catalogue*, pp. 116–117, no. 251, pl. XXVI: as 'Tiberius' (88 × 66 mm.).
19. *Richter, Gems of the Romans*, p. 164, no. 771, repr.; but *Megow, Kameen* (pp. 216–217, no. A106, pl. 36.3) considered it Roman, retouched after 68 A.D., identifying it as *Galba*.
20. Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS Fr. 9530, fol. 248v, no. 34 (see Appendix V.1). The cameo was praised by Peiresc (Peiresc to Rubens, 19 May 1628; *Rooses–Ruelens*, IV, p. 409). See *Van der Meulen, Antiquarius*, pp. 117–118, no. G.30.
21. Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS Fr. N. Acq. 1209, fol. 17v, no. 7 (see Appendix V.2). See *De Grummond, Coins and Gems*, pp. 58–59 (nos. 11–12), 183 (no. XIX), 186 (no. XXVII).
22. Besançon, MS Chifflet 189, fol. 5, 'cista 9a', no. 17, centrepiece (see Appendix VIII).
23. Peiresc to Rubens, 20 July 1623, reporting the receipt of proof prints of cameos picturing Rubens's gems (*Rooses–Ruelens*, III, p. 202).
24. A. Rubenius, *Dissertatio de Gemma Tiberiana*, in *Rubenius, De Re Vestitaria*, p. 197 (*De Grummond, Coins and Gems*, p. 84, fig. 66). Albert Rubens's essay was reprinted in J. Le Roy, *Achates Tiberianus*, Amsterdam, 1683, p. 47 and J.G. Graevius, *Thesaurus antiquitatum romanarum*, Venice, 1735, XI, p. 1332.

### 170a. C. Caesar Augusti Nepos: Drawing

Technique and measurements unknown.  
Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.

The head of C. Caesar Augusti nepos facing left at the top left on the unsigned print *Five Heads in Profile* (Fig. 336) was possibly engraved after a drawing by Rubens. However, no preparatory sketch is known. On the other hand, a counterproof of Vorsterman's print, *Four Heads in Profile I*, may have been used by the engraver as a general guide (No. 172; Fig. 341).

### 170b. Germanicus: Drawing

Technique and measurements unknown.  
Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.

The head of *Germanicus* facing left at the centre top on the unsigned print *Five Heads in Profile* (Fig. 336) was possibly engraved after a drawing by Rubens. No preparatory sketch is known, however. On the other hand, a counterproof of Vorsterman's print, *Four Heads in Profile I*, may have been used by the engraver as a general guide (No. 172; Fig. 341).

### 170c. Solon: Drawing

Technique and measurements unknown.  
*Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.*

The head of *Solon* facing right at the top right of the unsigned print *Five Heads in Profile* (Fig. 336) was possibly engraved after a drawing by Rubens. However, no preparatory sketch is known. On the other hand, a counterproof of Vorsterman's print, *Four Heads in Profile I*, may have been used by the engraver as a general guide (No. 172; Fig. 341).

### 170d. Tiberius: Drawing

Technique and measurements unknown.  
*Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.*

The head of *Tiberius* facing left at the bottom centre of the print, *Five Heads in Profile* (Fig. 336), was possibly engraved after a drawing by Rubens. No preparatory sketch is known.

### 170e. Minerva: Drawing

Technique and measurements unknown.  
*Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.*

The head of *Minerva* at bottom right on the print, *Five Heads in Profile* (Fig. 336), was possibly engraved after a drawing by Rubens. No preparatory sketch is known.

### 170f. Germanicus Caesar: Retouched Counterproof (Fig. 332)

Counterproof of medallion at centre top of engraving *Five Heads in Profile* (No. 170, State I), cut out along the oval contour; worked up with yellowish body colours, accents in black paint, heightened with white; 80 × 60 mm. Mounted with No. 170g.  
*Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet. Inv. No. 1934-4.*

PROVENANCE: Pieter Cornelis, Baron van Leyden (Leyden, 1717-1788); by descent with Johan Gael, from whom bought by Louis Bonaparte in 1807 for the Royal Library in The Hague; moved to the Print Room in Amsterdam in 1816.

LITERATURE: M. Jaffé, 'Rubens as a Collector', *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts*, 1969, p. 644 (as a drawing); Jaffé, *Rubens and Italy*, p. 84, nn. 84-86, fig. 310; Van der Meulen, *Opgetekende Portretjes*, pp. 159-162, fig. 1; Freedberg, *Année Rubens*, p. 90, n. 19; Vlieghe, *Review Jaffé*, p. 473 (as not Rubens).

The medallion mounted on the left of the sheet in Amsterdam shows the head of *Germanicus Caesar* in mirror image to the head on the unsigned engraving *Five Heads in Profile* (No. 170; Fig. 336).

After Germanicus Caesar's head was engraved on the plate, a proof print was made. While the ink was still wet, the proof print, in turn, was pressed against a sheet of wet paper to form a counterproof that was cut out along the oval contour. Then Rubens made some minor changes on the counterproof: in black ink locks on top and in the back of Germanicus' head were blocked out, in white paint locks of hair were applied on the top and side of his head, and accents were added to the side of his nose. However, most of the suggested alterations were not corrected on the plate (see State II, Fig. 336).

### 170g. Solon: Retouched Counterproof (Fig. 331)

Counterproof of medallion at top right of engraving *Five Heads in Profile* (No. 170, State I), cut out along the oval contour; yellowish body colours in paint, accents in black paint, heightened with white; 80 × 60 mm. Mounted with No. 170f.

Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet. Inv. No. 1934-5.

PROVENANCE: Same as No. 170f.

LITERATURE: Same as No. 170f.

The medallion mounted on the right of the sheet in Amsterdam shows the head of *Solon* in mirror image to the head on the unsigned engraving *Five Heads in Profile* (No. 170; Fig. 336).

After *Solon's* head was engraved on the plate a proof print was made. While the ink was still wet, the proof print, in turn, was pressed against a sheet of wet paper to form a counterproof that was cut out along the oval contour. Then *Rubens* made some minor changes on the counterproof, by applying accents with a brush in white paint to the hair and face, and adding pleats to the drapery around his neck. The suggested alterations were implemented on the plate (see State II, Fig. 336).

### 171. Head of Africa in Profile: Engraving (Fig. 335)

Engraving; 95 × 70 mm.; medallion, 65 × 47 mm.

LITERATURE: *Mariette, Pierres Gravées*, p. 300; *Hecquet, Rubens*, p. 92, no. 14; *Basan*, pp. 161-162, under no. 1.6; *Del Marmol, Catalogue*, p. 77, under no. 1096.6; *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, p. 331, under no. 1252; *V.S.*, p. 223, under no. 23.6; *Dutuit*, VI, p. 207, under no. 1.6; *Rooses*, V, p. 18, under no. 1225; *Hymans, Vorsterman*, p. 120, under no. 98 I; *Van den*

*Wijngaert, Prentkunst*, p. 84, under no. 551; *De Grummond, Coins and Gems*, pp. 180-181, no. XV (the engraving was not located); *Van der Meulen, Antiquarius*, pp. 45, 104-105, no. G.1a, fig. VIII,A; *Hollstein*, XVII, p. 162, no. 46, repr. (as *P. Pontius*).

The anonymous engraving shows a head wearing an elephant's scalp facing right. *Basan* described a state of the engraving, *Five Heads in Profile* (No. 170; Fig. 336), with this head at bottom left. However, the engraving is only extant on separate prints.<sup>1</sup> In fact, the plate is too large for it to fit in the space to the left of *Tiberius'* head, thus making it unlikely that a state with six heads could have ever existed.

The engraving pictures a three-layered sardonyx belonging to *Rubens* (now in Paris, Cabinet des Médailles; Fig. 334). It is listed on his 1628 Index as 'Alexander with an elephant headdress, distinguished this way on account of his Indian Victory'.<sup>2</sup> *Peiresc's* notes show that he carefully studied the stone and observed that *Rubens* mistook the long hair locks carved in the very dark upper layer of the sardonyx for lion paws.<sup>3</sup>

*Peiresc* thought that the portrait resembled Alexander the Great only vaguely, and he preferred to relate the elephant's skin to *Pyrrius* or Alexander of Epyrus on the basis of a coin of *Fulvio Orsini*, that he knew from an engraving by *Galle*.<sup>4</sup> However, he noted that the long hair suggested the cameo pictured a female, perhaps *Africa* or *Egypt*, and as such it was later catalogued by *Babelon*.<sup>5</sup> The cameo came into the possession of the King of France and was inventoried in 1664 as an 'Amazon'.<sup>6</sup> Removed by Napoleon in 1808 to have it set in the crown jewels of Empress *Josephine*, the stone was only returned to the collection in 1832.<sup>7</sup>

Neither *Peiresc* nor *Rubens* doubted the antiquity of the cameo, but since *Babelon* it has been considered a 16th-century creation (see note 5).

The print renders the cameo faithfully in mirror image. On the sardonyx the upper layer extends over the elephant's skin, hair and drapery, but on the engraving it is limited to the elephant's scalp only. The face, pure white on the stone, has gained depth by cross-hatchings. The masculine countenance has become more feminine on the print which suggests that Peiresc's identification had been accepted.

1. Impressions of the print are extant in Amsterdam (Rijksprentenkabinet), Brussels (Bibliothèque Royale), London (British Museum), New York (Metropolitan Museum of Art), Paris (Bibliothèque Nationale) and Rotterdam (Museum Boymans-van Beuningen).
2. Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS Fr. 9530, fol. 248r, no. 4 (see Appendix V.1). See *Van der Meulen, Antiquarius*, p. 104, no. G.1, fig. VIII.B.
3. Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS Fr. N. Acq. 1209, fol. 16r, no. 3 (see Appendix V.2). See *De Grummond, Coins and Gems*, pp. 75-76, no. 32, pp. 180-181, no. XV.
4. *Faber, Illustrium Imagines*, p. 9, pl. 7: 'ALEXANDER EPIROTA REX'. The *tetradrachm* issued in 318-315 B.C. pictures Alexander the Great deified; see *Bieber, Alexander the Great*, p. 389, figs. 34-35.
5. Three-layered sardonyx, 34 × 25 mm. *Babelon, Catalogue*, pp. 274-275, no. 559, as 'Africa'.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 402, no. 211.
7. *Ibid.*, p. clxx, no. 6. (cf. No. 180 below).

### 171a. Head of Africa in Profile: Drawing

Technique and measurements unknown.  
*Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.*

The print with the head of *Africa* (Fig. 335) was possibly engraved after a Rubens drawing. A preparatory sketch is not known.

### 172. Four Heads in Profile I: Germanicus Caesar, C. Caesar Augusti Nepos, Solon and Socrates: Engraving (Fig. 341)

Engraving by L. Vorsterman I; 166 × 126 mm.; head top left, 54 × 35 mm., legend below *Ger-*

*manicus Caesar*; head top right, 50 × 35 mm., legend below *C. Caesar Augusti nepos*; head bottom left, 57 × 37 mm., legend below *Solon*; head bottom right, 58 × 37 mm., legend below *Socrates*. Signed bottom left *LV*, in monogram.

LITERATURE: *Mariette, Pierres Gravées*, p. 300; *Hecquet, Rubens*, p. 91, no. 9; *Basan*, p. 162, no. 1.7; *Del Marmol, Catalogue*, p. 77, no. 1096.7; *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, p. 331, no. 1253; *V.S.*, p. 223, no. 23.7; *Dutuit*, VI, p. 207, no. 1.7; *Rooses*, V, pp. 18-19, no. 1226; *Hymans, Vorsterman*, p. 121, no. 101; *Van den Wijngaert, Prentkunst*, p. 104, no. 739; *De Grummond, Coins and Gems*, pp. 184-185, nos. XXI-XXIV, figs. 67-70; *Van der Meulen, Antiquarius*, p. 134, no. G.55a, pp. 135-136, no. G.56a, p. 141, no. G.62a, p. 155, no. G.78a, fig. IX,A; *Van der Meulen, Opgetekende Portretjes*, pp. 159-162, fig. 2; *Jaffé, Self-portrait*, p. 36, fig. 31.

The engraving, *Four Heads in Profile I*, depicts four heads identified by legends as *Germanicus Caesar*, *C. Caesar Augusti nepos*, *Solon* and *Socrates*.<sup>1</sup> The plate was engraved by Lucas Vorsterman I, whose monogram occurs at bottom left. With the exception of *Socrates*, the heads are repeated on an anonymous engraving, *Five Heads in Profile* (No. 170; Fig. 336).

The preparatory drawings are not known. For the heads of *Germanicus Caesar*, *C. Caesar Augusti nepos* and *Solon* Vorsterman probably used the same drawings as the anonymous engraver for the print *Five Heads in Profile* (see Nos. 170b, 170a and 170c, respectively). As observed above, the models used for these three heads were gems, some from Rubens's own glyptic collection.

A gem was apparently also the model for the head of an elderly man with a bald pate fringed by curly hair at bottom right of the print, who is identified as *Socrates*. A gem of a 'Socrates in the disguise of Silenus' is listed on Rubens's 1628 Index,<sup>2</sup> but its description does not match the engraving. A gem in Chifflet's 1661 monograph of *Socrates* bears a

striking resemblance to Vorsterman's print, but no information is given on the owner of the gem.<sup>3</sup> Neverov suggested an intaglio made of glass in Berlin as the model for the print, but its drapery is quite different from that on Vorsterman's *Socrates*.<sup>4</sup>

The Vorsterman print is stylistically related to a second print, *Four Heads in Profile II*, by the same artist (No. 173; Fig. 342). Both vary from the anonymous engravings (Nos. 169–171) in that the heads do not have the appearance of engraved gems: The dark, oval-shaped background of the original cameos was omitted. For that reason Mariette, who was the first to refer to the series, took these two prints for proof prints.<sup>5</sup>

Lucas Vorsterman I entered Rubens's workshop in c.1618. Initially, the artist was pleased with the work of his young talented engraver, but in April 1622 he complained that Vorsterman had accomplished practically nothing in the last two years.<sup>6</sup> Rubens started work on the Gem Book earlier that year and probably had these prints engraved first. They must have been finished before the middle of 1622 when Vorsterman left Rubens's studio after a violent quarrel. Apparently, Rubens was not satisfied with the results and later had three of the cameos redone. See No. 170.

1. Impressions of the engraving are extant in Amsterdam (Rijksprentenkabinet), Brussels (Bibliothèque Royale), Paris (Bibliothèque Nationale; cut horizontally into strips with two heads), Vienna (Albertina).
2. Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS Fr. 9530, fol. 249r, no. 44 (see Appendix V.1). The onyx gem was later in Albert Rubens's collection (cf. Besançon, MS Chifflet 189, fol. 2r, 'cista 1a', no. 7; see Appendix VIII). The stone was published by J. Chifflet, *Socrates, sive de gemmis eius imagine coelatis iudicius*, [1661], p. 31, pl. V,17 (*Van der Meulen, Antiquarius*, p. 156, no. G.79, fig. XVI, B). Neverov, *Gems*, p. 431, fig. 42, matched the entry 'Socrates disguised as Silenus' with a gem in Paris.
3. J. Chifflet, op. cit., p. 20, pl. L3. A gem with a very similar portrait, labelled *Epicure*, belonged to Puteanus (E. Puteanus, *Cryptographia epistolica*, Leyden, 1612, p. 142). It was illustrated on the frontispiece of P. Gassendi, *De Vita et Moribus Epicuri, Libri Octo*, Lyons, 1647. Puteanus' carnelian is fea-

tured on a cast in P.D. Lippert, *Dactyliothec, das ist Sammlung geschnittener Steine der Alten aus den vornehmsten Museis in Europa*, Leipzig, 1768, II, p. 112, no. 379, cast no. M1P2 174 (Fig. 339) (*Van der Meulen, Antiquarius*, p. 155, no. G.78, fig. IX,C). Cf. Richter, *Gems of the Romans*, p. 162, no. 762, repr.: a carnelian, Paris, Cabinet des Médailles (as 'Cato'). Jaffé, *Self-portrait*, p. 36 suggested that the *Socrates* gem may also have belonged to Rascas de Bagarris.

4. O. Neverov, 'Engraved Gems in the Collection of Rubens' [in Russian], in *Zapadno evropeiskoe iskusstvo xvii veka*, Leningrad, 1981, p. 74, fig. 3 (Berlin, Staatliche Sammlung).
5. Mariette, loc. cit.: '& les huit autres [têtes], que je prends que pour les essais, sont à fond blanc'.
6. Rubens to P. van Veen, 30 April 1622 (*Rooses-Ruelens*, II, p. 399). Cf. Rubens to P. van Veen, 19 June 1622 (*ibid.*, p. 444).

## 172a. Socrates: Drawing

Technique and measurements unknown.  
*Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.*

The head of *Socrates* facing left at bottom right on the print, *Four Heads in Profile I* (Fig. 341), was engraved by Lucas Vorsterman I, probably after a drawing by Rubens. (See Nos. 170a-c for the drawings of the three other heads).

## 173. Four Heads in Profile II: Plato, Nicias, Pallas and Alexander the Great: Engraving (Fig. 342)

Engraving by L. Vorsterman I; 145 × 100 mm.; head top left legend *Plato*; head top right legend *Nicias*; head bottom left legend *Pallas*; head bottom right legend *Alex. Magnus*; signed bottom left *P.P. Rubbens in.*, bottom right *LV* (monogram) *fe*.

LITERATURE: Mariette, *Pierres Gravées*, p. 300; Hecquet, *Rubens*, p. 91, no. 10; Basan, p. 162, no. 1.8; *Del Marmol, Catalogue*, p. 77, no. 1096.8; Smith, *Catalogue Raisonné*, p. 331, no. 1254; V.S., p. 223, no. 23.8; Dutuit, VI, p. 207, no. 1.8; Rooses, V, p. 19, no. 1227; Hymans, *Vorsterman*, p. 121, no. 100; *Van den Wijngaert, Prentkunst*,



p. 104, no. 740 ('without Rubens's name'); *De Grummond, Coins and Gems*, pp. 185-186, nos. XXV-XXVIII, figs. 71-74; *Van der Meulen, Anti-quarius*, pp. 55-56, 118-119, no. G.31a, p. 129, no. G.47b, p. 153, no. G.74a, p. 185, no. C.20b, fig. XVIII,B.

The engraving, *Four Heads in Profile II*, depicts four heads identified in the legends as *Plato* and *Nicias* on the top row, and *Pallas* and *Alexander Magnus* on the bottom row.<sup>1</sup> The plate is engraved by Lucas Vorsterman I, whose monogram occurs at the bottom right. Rubens is credited with the preparatory drawings by the legend at the bottom left. However, this is perhaps only partially true.

The bearded head with long flowing hair with a headband at top left is identified as *Plato*. It pictures in reverse Galle's engraving in *Faber, Illustrium Imagines*, pl. 112, 'PLATO' (Fig. 460), reproducing a gem in Orsini's collection. The preliminary sketch is extant in Copenhagen; it is signed by Lucas Vorsterman, but presumably goes back to a lost drawing by Rubens (see No. 221, Copy 1; Fig. 457). It is quite amazing that a gem already published was re-engraved for a project that dealt with unpublished objects.

The balding head of a middle-aged man at the top right is identified as *Nicias*, but no portrait of him is known. An unidentified gem in Rubens's collection possibly served as model.

The head of a woman wearing a Corinthian helmet decorated with Pegasus and stars, the visor with a snake, at the bottom left is identified as *Pallas*. The model was possibly a gem in Rubens's collection, but the truncated neck suggests a coin. Silver *staters* issued in Corinth show the head of Athena wearing a similar helmet with on the reverse the mythological winged horse.<sup>2</sup> Pegasus on Athena's helmet is found on 16th-century forgeries,<sup>3</sup> but the stars and snake might be additions by the artist.

The head of a man with a lion's skin at the bottom right is identified as *Alexander the Great*. It is engraved after a preliminary sketch

by Rubens in New York (No. 178; Fig. 348). An unidentified gem listed on Rubens's Index probably served as the model.<sup>4</sup> It was included in the sale to the Duke of Buckingham in 1626 but the artist kept a cast of the stone.<sup>5</sup> It also closely resembles Alexander's effigy issued on *tetradrachms* minted in Asia Minor (Fig. 343).<sup>6</sup>

Although only one preliminary sketch by Rubens is now known, it should not be ruled out that the master had made all four drawings, as the legend states (see Nos. 221, 173a, 173b and 178, respectively).

The print is stylistically related to the engraving *Four Heads in Profile I* by the same engraver (No. 172; Fig. 341). The print was probably made for the Gem Book, although the portraits on this engraving form a strange group. It would be understandable that Rubens was unhappy with the results and judged them unacceptable. Vorsterman may have added the monogram and legend in the bottom left at a later date for selling purposes.

1. Impressions of the engraving are extant in Amsterdam (Rijksprentenkabinet), Brussels (Bibliothèque Royale), Paris (Bibliothèque Nationale; cut horizontally into strips with two heads), Vienna (Albertina). For Mariette's opinion on this engraving see No. 172, note 5.
2. K. Kraft, 'Der behelmte Alexander der Grosse', *Jahrbuch für Numismatik und Geldgeschichte*, XIV, 1964, pp. 8-9, pl. 1.2; G.K. Jenkins, *Ancient Greek Coins*, New York, 1972, figs. 162-163.
3. K. Kraft, op. cit., p. 8, pl. I, 3,4,9.
4. Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS Fr. 9530, fol. 248r, no. 2 (see Appendix V.1). Peiresc praised the portrait cut in the stone (Peiresc to Rubens 19 May 1628; *Roses-Ruelens*, IV, p. 409).
5. Besançon, MS Chifflet 198, fol. 7r, 'cista 14<sup>a</sup>', no. 1 (see Appendix VIII).
6. A.R. Bellinger, 'Essays on the Coinage of Alexander the Great', *Numismatic Studies*, XI, 1963, pls. I-II; Bieber, *Alexander the Great*, p. 425, fig. 83. For the obverse of the coin with a seated Jupiter see Ch. II, notes 106-107.

### 173a. Nicias: Drawing

Technique and measurements unknown.  
Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.

The head of *Nicias* at top right on the print, *Four Heads in Profile II* (Fig. 342), was engraved according to the legend at bottom left after a drawing by Rubens. No preparatory drawing is known.

### 173b. Pallas: Drawing

Technique and measurements unknown.  
*Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.*

The head of *Pallas* at the bottom left on the print, *Four Heads in Profile II* (Fig. 342), was engraved according to the legend at bottom left after a drawing by Rubens. Although the preparatory sketch is not known, the head is characteristic of Rubens's style. It resembles Rubens's sketch of *Minerva* in London (No. 182; Fig. 355), and also a frontispiece *Roma* for J. de Hemelaer, *Imperatorum Romanorum Numismata Aurea* (Antwerp, 1615), that was possibly engraved after a design by Rubens.<sup>1</sup>

1. Scheller, *Rockox*, fig. 22; not in *Judson-Van de Velde*.

### 174-183 OTHER STUDIES AFTER ANCIENT GEMS AND COINS

Two sets of sketches after the Antique are preserved in the Pierpont Morgan Library in New York and the British Museum in London. It may be the case that both groups were cut out of a single large sheet. In New York, the *Head of a Bearded Hellene*, two *Heads of Medusa* (full face), two *Heads of a Hellenistic Ruler* and an *Alexander the Great* (Nos. 174-179) are mounted together; and, in London, *Two Heads of Medusa* (side view), '*Seneca*', *Minerva* and a *Dancing Satyr* (Nos. 180-183).<sup>1</sup> The small sketches point to the fact that they are all drawn after antique gems or coins.

The set in New York belonged to a group of eighteen drawings in the collection of Paignon-Dijonval (1708-1792), which were already separated.<sup>2</sup> The London group is known to have been in the possession of Richard Payne

Knight (1750-1824) who bequeathed them to the Museum in 1824. It is tempting to suggest that these too belonged to the Dijonval collection before that time.

1. The *Head of an Emperor (Hind, Rubens, p. 27, no. 85)* also mounted on this sheet is drawn on a different kind of paper and not by Rubens's hand, as Burchard was the first to notice. He tentatively attributed it to one of the Wierix brothers.
2. *Bénard, Paignon-Dijonval, p. 66, no. 1347*: 'Dix-huit d'études d'antiquités et de médailles: à la plume sur papier blanc: h. 2 po. sur 1 po.'. Older listings of Rubens's sketches after the Antique may pertain to these sketches: Collection Desmarets, sale, Paris (Basan, Hayot), 24 April 1778, lot 295: 'Quatorze très-petits sujets & têtes, dessinés d'après différentes médailles & pierres antiques'. Collection George Knapton (d.1778); by descent, General Morrison, sale London (T. Philipe), 1 June 1807, lot 744: 'One — Seven busts of philosophers &c. from antique gems — free pen' (to Philipe).

### 174-179 SIX STUDIES AFTER ANCIENT GEMS AND COINS

#### 174. Head of a Bearded Hellene: Drawing (Fig. 344)

Pen and brown ink and black chalk; 58 × 51 mm.; bottom left blind collector's mark of Sir T. Lawrence (L.2445). Mounted with Nos. 175-179.

*New York, Pierpont Morgan Library. Inv. No. III,162 (top).*

PROVENANCE: Paignon-Dijonval (Paris, 1708-1792); his grandson Charles-Gilbert, Vicomte Morel de Vindé (Paris; 1759-1842); sold in 1816 to Samuel Woodburn (London, 1786-1853), from whom acquired by Sir Thomas Lawrence (London, 1769-1830); his sale, London (Christie's), 4-8 June 1860, lot 813 to 'Enson'; anonymous sale ('Brooke' or 'Hope'), London (Sotheby's), 20 June 1891, lot 194, purchased by Charles Fairfax Murray (1848-1919); acquired from the latter by J. Pierpont Morgan in 1910.

EXHIBITED: *London, 1835*, no. 35; *Cambridge-New York, 1956*, no. 25.1; *New York, 1968-69*, no. 44.1; *Paris-Antwerp-London-New York, 1979-80*, no. 17a.

LITERATURE: *Bénard, Paignon-Dijonval*, p. 66 no. 1347 (?); *Fairfax Murray, Drawings*, III, no. 162, repr.; *Goris-Held*, p. 43, no. 113; *Cat. Exh. Cambridge-New York, 1956*, p. 25, no. 25.1, pl. XV; *Cat. Exh. New York, 1968-69*, no. 44.1, pl. 12; *De Grummond, Coins and Gems*, p. 86, no. 45, p. 186, no. XXIX, fig. 75; *Van der Meulen, Antiquarius*, p. 146, no. G.64a, fig. XI,A; *Stampfle, Rubens and Rembrandt*, pp. 50-52, no. 17a, repr.

Rubens's delicate pen sketch shows the head of an old man with a wispy beard wearing a fillet in his long hair, facing left. The model for the sketch remains unidentified; it might have been a gem in Rubens's collection. The effigy resembles a portrait identified as *Homer* known from coins. Such a coin is illustrated in *Faber, Illustrium Imagines*.<sup>1</sup> On Rubens's 1628 Index a gem with the portrait of *Homer* is listed.<sup>2</sup>

The drawing is now mounted together with five other sketches, two *Heads of Medusa* (full face) (Nos. 175-176; Figs. 345, 346), two *Heads of Hellenes* (Nos. 177 and 179; Figs. 347 and 349) and a *Head of Alexander the Great* (No. 178; Fig. 348). It was probably cut out of a larger sheet of paper.

1. *Faber, Illustrium Imagines*, pp. 45-46, pl. 72: 'HOMERVS'. Cf. below, copies after T. Galle (Nos. 206 and 215; Figs. 417 and 442).

2. Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS Fr. 9530, fol. 248r, no. 22 (see Appendix V.1). See *Van der Meulen, Antiquarius*, p. 148, no. G.68. In *Cat. Exh. New York, 1968-69*, no. 58a, fig. 58a, a coin with the head of *Jupiter* is shown as comparison with Rubens's sketch. The neck is undraped and the head wears a different headband.

## 175. Head of Medusa (full face): Drawing (Fig. 345)

Pen and brown ink; 35 × 38 mm.; bottom left blind collector's mark of Sir T. Lawrence (L.2445). Mounted with Nos. 174 and 176-179. *New York, Pierpont Morgan Library*. Inv. No. III,162 (centre left).

PROVENANCE: Same as No. 174.

EXHIBITED: *London, 1835*, no. 35; *Cambridge-New York, 1956*, no. 25.2; *New York, 1968-69*, no. 44.2; *Paris-Antwerp-London-New York, 1979-80*, no. 17b.

LITERATURE: *Bénard, Paignon-Dijonval*, p. 66, no. 1347 (?); *Fairfax Murray, Drawings*, III, no. 162, repr.; *Goris-Held*, p. 43, no. 114; *Cat. Exh. Cambridge-New York, 1956*, p. 25, no. 25.2, pl. XV; *Cat. Exh. New York, 1968-69*, no. 44.2, pl. 12; *De Grummond, Coins and Gems*, p. 97, no. 63, p. 186, no. XXX, fig. 76; *Van der Meulen, Antiquarius*, p. 117, no. G.29a, fig. XI,B; *Stampfle, Rubens and Rembrandt*, pp. 50-52, no. 17b, repr.

The severed head of *Medusa*, her eyes looking up, wings in her hair and two serpents knotted at the neck, is drawn by Rubens. The model for the drawing is not identified; it might have been a gem in Rubens's collection.<sup>1</sup> In the catalogue of Albert Rubens's glyptic collection, five gems with *Medusa* are listed.<sup>2</sup> The drawing renders the type of *Pathetic Medusa* with a painful expression on her face, which frequently occurs on gems (cf. No. 176; Fig. 346).<sup>3</sup>

The drawing was probably cut out of a larger sheet of paper; it is now mounted together with five other sketches.

1. *De Grummond, Coins and Gems*, pp. 97-98, no. 63; *Van der Meulen, Antiquarius*, pp. 115-116, no. G.28.

2. *Besançon, MS Chifflet 189*, fol. 2v, 'cista 2a', no. 5; fol. 3r, 'cista 4a', no. 5; fol. 4r, 'cista 5a', no. 15; fol. 6r, 'cista 11a', no. 6; fol. 6v, 'cista 12a', no. 10 (see Appendix VIII).

3. H.B. Walters, *Catalogue of the Engraved Gems and Cameos, Greek, Etruscan and Roman in the British Museum*, London, 1926, no. 3545, pl. XXXVII.

**176. Head of Medusa (full face):  
Drawing (Fig. 346)**

Pen and brown ink; 54 × 55 mm.; bottom left blind collector's mark of Sir. T. Lawrence (L.2445). Mounted with Nos. 174-175 and 177-179.

*New York, Pierpont Morgan Library*. Inv. No. III,162 (centre).

PROVENANCE: Same as No. 174.

EXHIBITED: *London, 1835*, no. 35; *Cambridge-New York, 1956*, no. 25.3; *New York, 1968-69*, no. 44.3; *Paris-Antwerp-London-New York, 1979-80*, no. 17c.

LITERATURE: Bénard, *Paignon-Dijonval*, p. 66 no. 1347 (?); Fairfax Murray, *Drawings*, III, no. 162; Goris-Held, p. 43, no. 115; *Cat. Exh. Cambridge-New York, 1956*, p. 25, no. 25.3, pl. XV; *Cat. Exh. New York, 1968-69*, no. 44.3, pl. 12; *De Grummond, Coins and Gems*, p. 98, no. 64, p. 187, no. XXXI, fig. 77; Van der Meulen, *Antiquarius*, p. 116, no. G.28a, fig. XI,C; Stampfle, *Rubens and Rembrandt*, pp. 50-52, no. 17c, repr.

Rubens's sketch shows a severed head of *Medusa*, her eyes looking up and with wings in her hair. The model for the sketch has not been identified.<sup>1</sup> It was possibly a gem in the artist's possession (see No. 175).

The drawing was probably cut out of a larger sheet; it is now mounted together with five other sketches.

1. De Grummond, *Coins and Gems*, p. 98, no. 64; Van der Meulen, *Antiquarius*, p. 116, no. G.29.

**177. Head of a Hellenistic Ruler:  
Drawing (Fig. 347)**

Pen and brown ink; 33 × 30 mm.; bottom left blind collector's mark of Sir T. Lawrence (L.2445). Mounted with Nos. 174-176 and 178-179.

*New York, Pierpont Morgan Library*. Inv. No. III,162 (centre right).

PROVENANCE: Same as No. 174.

EXHIBITED: *London, 1835*, no. 35; *Cambridge-New York, 1956*, no. 25.4; *New York, 1968-69*, no. 44.4; *Paris-Antwerp-London-New York, 1979-80*, no. 17d.

LITERATURE: Bénard, *Paignon-Dijonval*, p. 66, no. 1347 (?); Fairfax Murray, *Drawings*, III, no. 162; Goris-Held, p. 43, no. 116; *Cat. Exh. Cambridge-New York, 1956*, p. 25, no. 25.4, pl. XV; *Cat. Exh. New York, 1968-69*, no. 44.4, pl. 12; *De Grummond, Coins and Gems*, p. 86, no. 46, p. 187, no. XXXII, fig. 78; Van der Meulen, *Antiquarius*, pp. 147-148, no. G.66a, fig. XI,D; Stampfle, *Rubens and Rembrandt*, pp. 50-52, no. 17d, repr.

The head of a young *Hellenistic Ruler* wearing a *taenia*, facing right, is drawn by Rubens. The unidentified model could have been a gem or coin in Rubens's collection.<sup>1</sup> The facial features shows some resemblance to those of Alexander the Great on Macedonian coins minted in Beroia.<sup>2</sup>

The sketch was cut out of a larger sheet. The tip of the contour of the bust was nicked off. It is now mounted together with five other drawings.

1. De Grummond, *Coins and Gems*, p. 86, no. 46; Van der Meulen, *Antiquarius*, p. 147, no. G.66.

2. Bieber, *Alexander the Great*, p. 425, figs. 82-84 (issued in 231-249 A.D.); M. Bieber, 'A Portrait Head of Alexander in Boston', *American Journal of Archaeology*, XLIX, 1945, p. 429, figs. 3-6.

### 178. Head of Alexander the Great: Drawing (Fig. 348)

Pen and brown ink over main drawing in black chalk, washed; 59 × 50 mm.; bottom left blind collector's mark of Sir T. Lawrence (L.2445). Mounted with Nos. 174-177 and 179. *New York, Pierpont Morgan Library*. Inv. No. III, 162 (second from below).

PROVENANCE: Same as No. 174.

EXHIBITED: *London, 1835*, no. 35; *Cambridge-New York, 1956*, no. 25.5; *New York, 1968-69*, no. 44.5; *Paris-Antwerp-London-New York, 1979-80*, no. 17e.

LITERATURE: *Bénard, Paignon-Dijonval*, p. 66, no. 1347 (?); *Fairfax Murray, Drawings*, III, no. 162, repr.; *Goris-Held*, p. 43, no. 117; *Cat. Exh. Cambridge-New York, 1956*, p. 25, no. 25.5, pl. XV; *Cat. Exh. New York, 1968-69*, no. 44.5, pl. 12; *De Grummond, Coins and Gems*, pp. 77-79, nos. 33-34, pp. 136, 186, no. XXVIII, fig. 79; *Van der Meulen, Antiquarius*, p. 90, n. 26, p. 128, no. G.47a, fig. XI,E; *Stampfle, Rubens and Rembrandt*, pp. 50-52, no. 17e, repr.

Rubens's drawing shows the head of *Alexander the Great* with a lion's skin. It served as preparatory drawing for the head at bottom right on the engraving, *Four Heads in Profile II*, of Lucas Vorsterman (No. 173; Fig. 342; see there for a possible identification of the model).

The abrupt ending of the washed shadows on both sides of the head indicates that the drawing was cut out of a larger sheet. It is now mounted together with five other drawings.

### 179. Head of a Hellenistic Ruler: Drawing (Fig. 349)

Pen and brown ink; 33 × 31 mm.; bottom left blind collector's mark of Sir T. Lawrence (L.2445). Mounted with Nos. 174-178.

*New York, Pierpont Morgan Library*. Inv. No. III,162 (bottom centre).

PROVENANCE: Same as No. 174.

EXHIBITED: *London, 1835*, no. 35; *Cambridge-New York, 1956*, no. 25.6; *New York, 1968-69*, no. 44.6; *Paris-Antwerp-London-New York, 1979-80*, no. 17f.

LITERATURE: *Bénard, Paignon-Dijonval*, p. 66, no. 1347 (?); *Fairfax Murray, Drawings*, III, no. 162; *Goris-Held*, p. 43, no. 118; *Cat. Exh. Cambridge-New York, 1956*, p. 25, no. 25.6, pl. XV; *Cat. Exh. New York, 1968-69*, no. 44.6, pl. 12; *De Grummond, Coins and Gems*, pp. 77-78, nos. 33-34, p. 187, no. XXXIII, fig. 80; *Van der Meulen, Antiquarius*, p. 147, no. G.65a, fig. XI,F; *Stampfle, Rubens and Rembrandt*, pp. 50-52, no. 17f, repr.

Rubens's pen sketch depicts the head of a young *Hellenistic Ruler* facing right. The model might have been a coin or gem in the artist's own collection.<sup>1</sup>

Bieber identified the portrait as the youthful *Alexander the Great*,<sup>2</sup> but the resemblance to contemporary coins is not compelling and it does not match coin types which usually picture Alexander with a diadem or horn of Ammon.

The sketch was probably cut out of a larger sheet; it is now mounted together with five other sketches.

1. *De Grummond, Coins and Gems*, pp. 77-78, nos. 33-34; *Van der Meulen, Antiquarius*, p. 147, no. G.65.

2. Quoted in *Goris-Held*, p. 43, no. 118; *Cat. Exh. New York, 1968-69*, no. 58d, pl. 12; *De Grummond, Coins and Gems*, pp. 135-136.

## 180-183 FOUR STUDIES AFTER ANCIENT GEMS

### 180. Two Heads of Medusa (side view): Drawing (Fig. 354)

Pen and brown ink; 45 × 52 mm. Mounted with Nos. 181-183, and a fifth, anonymous drawing.

London, British Museum, Department of Prints and Drawings. Inv. No. 00.9-20 (top).

PROVENANCE: Richard Payne Knight (London, 1750-1824); bequeathed to the Museum in 1824.

EXHIBITED: London, 1977, No. 138a.

LITERATURE: *Rooses*, V, p. 212, no. 1403.1; *Hind, Rubens*, p. 27, no. 83; *Miesel, Ancient Art*, p. 56, n. 89; *De Grummond, Coins and Gems*, p. 98, no. 65, p. 187, no. XXXIV, fig. 81; *Van der Meulen, Antiquarius*, pp. 114-115, no. G.26a, p. 115, no. G.27a, fig. X, A; *Jaffé, Rubens and Italy*, p. 83; *Rowlands, Rubens Drawings*, p. 99, no. 138a, repr.; *Stampfle, Rubens and Rembrandt*, p. 51, under no. 17.

The pen sketch renders two *Heads of Medusa* with wings in their hair facing right; the one on the left is the larger.

Rubens drew two cameos of three-layered sardonyx belonging to his glyptic collection (Figs. 350 and 351).<sup>1</sup> He did not indicate the contrasting dark top layers of the stone in which the wings and rows of curls are carved. The faces became fuller and less stylized. The cameos are not listed in Rubens's 1628 Index, but might have been inherited by his son Albert, as at least five gems with heads of Medusa are inventoried in the catalogue of the latter's estate.<sup>2</sup> The gems are now in the Cabinet des Médailles in Paris.<sup>3</sup> They were first recorded in 1808 when they were removed by Napoleon. The gems were returned to the collection in 1832.<sup>4</sup>

The sketch probably belonged to a larger sheet and is drawn on the same paper as three other sketches which are now mounted together: a Head of 'Seneca' (No. 181; Fig. 356), a Head of Minerva (No. 182; Fig. 355), and a Dancing Satyr (No. 183; Fig. 353).

1. *De Grummond, Coins and Gems*, p. 98, no. 65 (the cameos are not identified); *Van der Meulen, Antiquarius*, p. 114, no. G.26, p. 115; no. G.27, fig. X,B.
2. Besançon, MS Chifflet 189, fol. 2v, 'cista 2a', no. 5; fol. 3v, 'cista 4a', no. 5; fol. 4r, 'cista 5a', no. 15; fol. 6r, 'cista 11a', no. 6; fol. 6v, 'cista 12a', no. 10 (see Appendix VIII).
3. Three-layered sardonyx, 28 × 20 mm. and 23 × 18 mm. respectively; *Babelon, Catalogue*, p. 85, no. 159 and no. 160, pl. XVI.
4. *Ibid.*, p. clxx, nos. 2 and 10 (cf. No. 171 above).

### 181. Head of 'Seneca': Drawing (Fig. 356)

Pen and brown ink; 48 × 38 mm. Mounted with Nos. 180, 182 and 183, and a fifth, anonymous drawing.

London, British Museum, Department of Prints and Drawings. Inv. No. 00.9-20 (centre left).

PROVENANCE: Same as No. 180.

EXHIBITED: London, 1977, no. 138b.

LITERATURE: *Rooses*, V, p. 212, no. 1403.2; *Hind, Rubens*, p. 27, no. 84; *Miesel, Ancient Art*, p. 56, n. 89; *De Grummond, Coins and Gems*, pp. 92-93, no. 56, p. 187, no. XXXV, fig. 82; *Van der Meulen, Antiquarius*, p. 154, no. G.77a, fig. X,E; *Jaffé, Rubens and Italy*, p. 83; *Rowlands, Rubens Drawings*, p. 99, no. 138b, repr.; *Stampfle, Rubens and Rembrandt*, p. 51, under no. 17.

Rubens's drawing pictures the head of the so-called *Seneca* in three-quarter view facing right. The drawing could be a free copy of the marble bust the artist brought back from Italy in 1608; but as it is grouped together with drawings made after gems, it is more likely that it renders one of the gems in his collec-

tion. No gem with Seneca's portrait occurs on his 1628 Index, but in the inventory of Albert Rubens's collection a portrait of the philosopher is listed.<sup>1</sup>

The sketch is probably cut out of a larger sheet. It is now mounted together with three other drawings executed on similar paper.

1. Besançon, MS Chifflet 189, fol. 7r, 'cista 14<sup>a</sup>', no. 6 (see Appendix VIII). The box contained copies of gems sold to the Duke of Buckingham.

## 182. Head of Minerva: Drawing (Fig. 355)

Pen and brown ink; 47 × 40 mm. Mounted with Nos. 180, 181 and 183, and a fifth, anonymous drawing.

London, British Museum, Department of Prints and Drawings. Inv. No. 00.9-20 (centre right).

PROVENANCE: Same as No. 180.

EXHIBITED: London, 1977, no. 138d.

LITERATURE: *Rooses*, V, p. 212, no. 1403.4; *Hind, Rubens*, p. 27, no. 86; *Miesel, Ancient Art*, p. 56, n. 89; *De Grummond, Coins and Gems*, p. 59, nos. 12-14, p. 188, no. XXXVI, fig. 83; *Van der Meulen, Antiquarius*, p. 119, no. G.32a, fig. X,F; *Jaffé, Rubens and Italy*, p. 83; *Rowlands, Rubens Drawings*, p. 99, no. 138d, repr.; *Stampfle, Rubens and Rembrandt*, p. 51, under no. 17.

The pen sketch shows a head of Minerva wearing a Corinthian helmet, facing left. The top of the helmet is missing and the abrupt ending of the hatchings behind the neck indicate that the drawing was cut out of a larger sheet. It is now mounted together with three other sketches drawn on the same kind of paper picturing gems from Rubens's collection. It therefore seems possible that the Minerva was also drawn after one of his gems.<sup>1</sup>

The Minerva drawing resembles the Goddess Roma on a frontispiece for J. de Heme-laer, *Imperatorum Romanorum Numismata*

*Aurea*, Antwerp, 1615.<sup>2</sup> The Minerva on the title-page of J. Lipsius, *L.A. Senecae Opera Omnia* (1637) was also engraved after a drawing by Rubens: she wears a similar helmet and has the same facial expression.<sup>3</sup>

1. Only one portrait of *Minerva* (cf. No. 170) is listed on his Index of 1628 (*Van der Meulen, Antiquarius*, p. 119, no. G.32).
2. *Scheller, Rockox*, fig. 22. See also above, under No. 173b.
3. *Judson-Van de Velde*, fig. 246.

## 183. Dancing Satyr: Drawing (Fig. 353)

Pen and brown ink; 54 × 37 mm. Mounted with Nos. 180-182, and a fifth, anonymous drawing. London, British Museum, Department of Prints and Drawings. Inv. No. 00.9-20 (bottom).

PROVENANCE: Same as No. 180.

EXHIBITED: London, 1977, no. 138e.

LITERATURE: *Rooses*, V, p. 212, no. 1403.5; *Hind, Rubens*, p. 27, no. 87; *Miesel, Ancient Art*, p. 56, n. 89; *De Grummond, Coins and Gems*, p. 188, no. XXXVII, fig. 84; *Van der Meulen, Antiquarius*, pp. 122-123, no. G.38a, fig. X,D; *Jaffé, Rubens and Italy*, p. 83; *Rowlands, Rubens Drawings*, p. 99, no. 138e, repr.; *Stampfle, Rubens and Rembrandt*, p. 51, under no. 17.

An ecstatic satyr with a *guttus* in his left hand and a *thyrsus* staff in his right, and a *nebris* floating from his back is pictured on a detailed pen sketch. Rubens drew a two-layered agate-onyx in his collection in its actual size (now Paris, Cabinet des Médailles, Fig. 352).<sup>1</sup> The *guttus* and *thyrsus* are only partially drawn while the line of ground is missing. The dark contrasting background of the onyx is omitted. Rubens listed his cameo on the 1628 Index as a 'Bacchus raising a drinking cup'.<sup>2</sup> The stone came into the possession of the King

of France and was inventoried as 'un homme enthousiaste'.<sup>3</sup>

The drawing was cut out of a larger sheet whereby the end of the *nebris* was cut off. It is now mounted together with three other sketches drawn on the same kind of paper.

1. Two-layered agate-onyx, 40 × 28 mm. *Babelon, Catalogue*, p. 51, no. 94, pl. X; *Richter, Gems of the Romans*, no. 177, repr.; *De Grummond, Coins and Gems*, pp. 60-61, no. 17, fig. 90.
2. Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS Fr. 9530, fol. 248r, no. 8 (see Appendix V.1). See *Van der Meulen, Antiquarius*, p. 122, no. G.38, fig. X.C.
3. *Babelon, Catalogue*, p. 409, no. 277.

## 184-185 THE RUBENS VASE

### 184. The Rubens Vase (side view): Drawing (Fig. 360)

Pen and brown ink over main drawing in black chalk, some washes; 201 × 148 mm.; bottom right collector's mark of Tsar Paul I (L.2061). Mounted (original Cobenzl mount). *St Petersburg, Hermitage, Print Room*. Inv. No. 5430.

PROVENANCE: Count Charles Philippe Jean de Cobenzl (Ljubljana, 1712-Brussels, 1770); acquired by Catherine II of Russia in 1768.

COPY: Left half of an engraving by P. Pontius (Fig. 357), in reverse, in the 'Livre à dessiner'; 210 × 322 mm. LIT. *Le Comte, Cabinet*, I, pp. 137-138; *Hecquet, Rubens*, pp. 120-121, no. 44; *Basan*, p. 242, no. 33; *Del Marmol, Catalogue*, p. 92, no. 1264; *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, p. 348, no. 1357; *V.S.*, p. 238, no. 65; *Dutuit*, VI, p. 257, no. 33; *Rooses*, V, p. 25, no. 1229.17; *Van den Wijngaert, Prentkunst*, pp. 84-85, no. 557.18; M.C. Ross, 'The Rubens Vase, Its History and Date', *Journal of the Walters Art Gallery*, VI, 1943, p. 16, fig. 6; *Held, Drawings*, p. 161, under no. 164; M. Jaffé, 'Rubens as a Collector', *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts*, CXVII, 1969, pp. 643-644, fig. 2; *De Grummond, Coins*

*and Gems*, pp. 174-175, no. IX, fig. 62; [Cat. Exh.] *Prenten naar Rubens*, Museum Boymans-van Beuningen, Rotterdam, 1972, p. 11, no. 60; *Jaffé, Antwerp Sketchbook*, I, pp. 38-39; *Van der Meulen, Antiquarius*, pp. 58, 165-166, no. G.91a, fig. XIII,B; *Hollstein*, XVII, p. 200, no. 157; *De Grummond, Classical Gems*, repr. p. 22; *Logan, Rubens Exhibitions*, 1978, p. 445; *Jaffé, Self-portrait*, p. 38, fig. 33b.

EXHIBITED: *Leningrad*, 1978, no. 117; *Punkaharju*, 1991.

LITERATURE: [Cobenzl], *Catalogue des Dessins* [MS in the Hermitage], *Première Grandeur*, suite du carton 2, no. 52 (as *Rubens*); I.J. Kuznetsov, in [Cat. Exh.] *Rubens and the Flemish Baroque* [in Russian], Leningrad, 1978, no. 117 (as *Rubens*); *Logan, Rubens Exhibitions*, 1978, p. 445, no. 17, fig. 9 (as *not Rubens*); I.J. Kuznetsov, 'Neu bestimmte Zeichnungen von P.P. Rubens', *Gentse bijdragen tot de kunstgeschiedenis*, XXIV, 1976-78, pp. 100-103, figs. 3-4; id., 'Newly Attributed Drawings by Rubens' [in Russian], in *Zapadno evropeiskoe iskusstvo*, Leningrad, 1981, pp. 27-29; *Jaffé, Self-portrait*, p. 38, fig. 33a; [A. Larionov], in *Cat. Exh. Punkaharju*, 1991.

A vase covered with grape vines, its handles shaped like horns of Pan, is shown from two different angles on a print by Pontius (Copy; Fig. 357; see also No. 185).<sup>1</sup> It pictures the so-called Rubens Vase in reverse (Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery; Figs. 358, 359).

The oval-shaped vessel, made of agate (height 19 cm.), was one of Rubens's most treasured pieces. Peiresc saw the jewel at the Fair of St Germain in 1619.<sup>2</sup> Rubens purchased it for 2000 gold scudi.<sup>3</sup> It was sent clandestinely to the East Indies on board a vessel owned by the Dutch East India Company. However, the ship was wrecked, and the vase confiscated by the Dutch East India Company. Rubens's efforts to redeem it proved unsuccessful.<sup>4</sup> Its later whereabouts remain unknown, but it reappeared in 1823 in the



possession of William Beckford at Fonthill Abbey. Acquired by the Walters Art Gallery in Baltimore in 1941, it is still known by the name of its famous owner.<sup>5</sup>

The representations on the print, depicting the vase in reverse, are in general embellished: The cone-shaped bunches of grapes are rendered more realistically and the leaves have become more frilly; on the other hand, the wavy rim of the carved base has been simplified to a straight line and heart-shaped motifs have been added to it.

Peiresc's interest in ancient weights and measures prompted him to contact Rubens in 1634 for a mould of the vase.<sup>6</sup> In his reply of 18 December Rubens informed Peiresc that its capacity measured a Dutch *pot* or an ordinary *carafe*.<sup>7</sup> According to Peiresc the vase contained exactly 5 *cotulae*, equal to one *hemitrite*.<sup>8</sup>

In his letter to Peiresc, Rubens also mentioned a drawing in addition to a cast (see note 7). A drawing of a antique vase by Rubens is known to have belonged to the collections of Erasmus Quellin II (1678),<sup>9</sup> J.P. Happaert (1686),<sup>10</sup> and Van Schorel (1774).<sup>11</sup>

A drawing in St Petersburg (Fig. 360) recently discovered by Kuznetsov and attributed to Rubens, renders the vase in side view only and shows the detail of the rim in the same inaccurate fashion as on the print (Fig. 357). The delicately carved rim of the vase may have been set in gold (?) at the time, otherwise it seems unlikely that the base of the vase would have been reproduced in such an inaccurate way. A second drawing showing the front is not known (see No. 185).

The engraving (Fig. 357) is unsigned, but it is one of a collection of prints of which the title-page is signed by Paul Pontius. Michael Jaffé suggested that Pontius made the prints for this so-called 'Livre à dessiner' on the initiative of Rubens's heirs after the artist's death. They render drawings by Rubens on a variety of subjects. The 'Livre à dessiner' was published posthumously by Petrus van Avont (1600-1652); a second edition was issued by

Alexander Voet (1613-1673/74) according to Rooses.<sup>12</sup>

1. Impressions of the engraving are extant in Amsterdam (Rijksprentenkabinet), Antwerp (Stedelijk Prentenkabinet), Dresden (Kupferstichkabinett) and Vienna (Albertina). The copper-plate is still preserved in Antwerp, Stedelijk Prentenkabinet. The print shows no space between the vases; they even overlap slightly. An illustration in Ross, *op. cit.*, fig. 6, suggests that an allegedly unique impression existed in the Berlin Kupferstichkabinett, on which a space between the two views of the vase occurs; it was destroyed during the Second World War. It seems more likely that the print was cut apart separating the vases from each other. I am much obliged to Dr F. Anzelewski of the Kupferstichkabinett in Berlin for his assistance in trying to locate the print.
2. Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS Fr. 9532, fol. 67r (see Appendix VI.1): an undated memorandum of Peiresc, presumably written in the early 1630s when Peiresc started working on ancient measurements. See also another undated memorandum of Peiresc in *Rooses-Ruelens*, III, pp. 1-3, there dated to the 1620s, after Rubens's visit to Paris. Further Peiresc to Rubens, December 1634 (Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS Fr. 9532, fol. 182r; see Appendix VI.2).
3. Rubens to Peiresc, 18 December 1634: 'Io ho il disegno et ancora il molo di quel vaso d'Agata che V.S. ha visto (Il quale comprai duo mille scudi d'oro) ma non del concavo' (*Rooses-Ruelens*, VI, pp. 85-86; *Magurn, Letters*, no. 237, p. 401). It is not known when Rubens acquired the vase. In 1621 he reportedly purchased agates (see No. 166, note 6). It may have been among the agates sold to Daniel Fourment before 1626 (M. Rooses, 'Staat van goederen in het sterfhuys van Isabella Brant', *Rubens-Bulletijn*, IV, 1896, pp. 164-165: 'Item ontfanghen van Sr. Daniel Fourment ter saecken ende als reste van eenighe agaten byden rendant int leven der afflijvighe gesonden naer Indijen de somme van guld. ixc.'). Rubens apparently tried to sell it off (cf. No. 166, n. 6) by sending it to the East. It could possibly have been on the same ship as the large cameo with *Constantine and Fausta* which was also sent to the East Indies (No. 166).
4. Rubens to Peiresc, 18 December 1634 (*Rooses-Ruelens*, VI, pp. 85-86). See A.N. Zadoks-Josephus Jitta, 'Imperial Messages in Agate, II', *Bulletin antieke beschaving*, XLI 1966, p. 102, n. 62: 'The Dutch East India Company had the right to confiscate clandestine goods'.
5. The early history of the vase is unknown. M.C. Ross, *op. cit.*, pp. 9-39, assumed that the vase was owned by the Duke of Anjou, who inventoried it in 1360 and 1368. It certainly belonged to the Royal collection at Fontainebleau, as the vase was entered

in the inventory of 1561. It was stolen in 1590 when the palace was ransacked by the Huguenots. D. Alcouffe, 'Gemmes anciennes dans les collections de Charles V et de ses frères', *Bulletin monumental*, CXXXI, I, 1973, pp. 41-46, fig. 1, surmised that the vase belonged to the treasury of the Notre Dame in Paris. C. Casparri, 'Vasi antichi in pietra dura a Firenze e Roma', *Prospettiva*, XIX, 1979, pp. 5-6, figs. 8-10, suggested that the vase is a product made in China in the 17th or 18th century. See also *De Grummond*, *Classical Gems*, p. 22 repr. in colour.

6. Peiresc to Rubens, December 1634 (Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS Fr. 9532, fol. 182r; see Appendix VI.2).
7. Rubens to Peiresc, 16 August 1635 (*Rooses-Ruelens*, VI, p. 128; *Magurn, Letters*, no. 235, p. 396). See also note 3 above.
8. Peiresc finally received the mould in April 1636; see Peiresc to J. Dupuy, 15 April 1636 (*Rooses-Ruelens*, VI, p. 159). A *cotula* is equal to 2 Deciliters. Peiresc wrote a Memorandum on the capacity of the vase dating from after April 1636 (Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS Fr. 9532, fol. 84r; see Appendix VI.3). Cf. *Jaffé, Self-portrait*, p. 38, nn. 2 and 3.
9. Inventory of 1678: 'Anticque faes, Rubbens' (*Denucé, Konstkamers*, p. 289).
10. Inventory of J.P. Happaert of 1686: 'Item twee vasen van Rubbens' (*ibid.*, p. 335). P. Skippon, *An Account of a Journey*, London, 1732, p. 384, reported that 'the Canon of N. Dame in Antwerp' (i.e. Happaert) had acquired drawings at the auction of Rubens's estate. See Introduction to Volume I, note 16.
11. See No. 185, note 1.
12. See *Rooses*, V, pp. 24-26, no. 1229; *Jaffé, Antwerp Sketchbook*, I, pp. 38-39. The title-page to the first edition reads: *Petrus Paulus Rubbens delineavit. Paul Pontius sculpsit. Antverpiae apud Petrus van Avont*. On the title-page for the second edition the last sentence was changed into: *Antverpiae apud Alexander Voet*. The vase is pictured on plate [17] of the book. In his letter of 1634 Rubens referred only to a drawing of the vase (see note 1); therefore it seems unlikely that an engraving also existed at that time.

## 185. The Rubens Vase (frontal view): Drawing

Technique and measurements unknown.  
*Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.*

PROVENANCE: ?Van Schorel (Antwerp), sale Antwerp, 7 June 1774, lot 7 ('Un vase antique').<sup>1</sup>

COPY: Right half of an engraving by P. Pontius (Fig. 357), in reverse, in the 'Livre à dessiner'. See No. 184, Copy, for more details.

The engraving by P. Pontius (Copy; Fig. 357) pictures the Rubens vase seen from two angles (see No. 184), in reverse. No drawing by Rubens showing the broader front side is now known.

1. *Catalogue des Tableaux, Peintures...*, provenant du Cabinet de Monsieur van Schorel, Seigneur de Wilt-ryck, Antwerp, 7 June 1774, p. 67, lot 7: 'Un vase antique'. This reference cannot be to the Hermitage drawing (No. 184), which had been in the Russian Royal Collection since 1768. It may apply to the second drawing of the vase as rendered on Pontius's print. Van Schorel probably also owned Rubens's drawing of the *Gemma Tiberiana* (No. 168a) and of the cameo with the *Battle of Alexander the Great* (No. 163).

## 186-199 DRAWINGS AFTER ROMAN COINS

A group of thirteen sketches in the Print Room of the British Museum in London show busts of Roman emperors copied from coins.<sup>1</sup> They are drawn in pen and brown ink on brown paper. Ludwig Burchard suggested that since they are drawn on the same kind of paper, the sketches originally belonged to one sheet that was cut up at a later date. They were used for etchings published by G. van der Gucht, *Antique Greek and Roman Coins, Gems, &c Engraved from Original Drawings of Rubens, Publish'd May 30th 1740* (pls. 18-30).<sup>2</sup> At that time the separation had already occurred, since parts of some of the heads are cut off (cf. Figs. 377, 386).

Poor as they are, these sketches have always been attributed to Rubens, and also by Burchard. They were displayed at the large exhibition in London in 1977, together with coins which might have served as models.<sup>3</sup> Three London sketches bear inscriptions identifying the portraits; these are the same as Van der Gucht's identifications.<sup>4</sup> Hind fol-

lowed the latter in his 1923 catalogue of British Museum drawings, and was reluctant to accept only one.<sup>5</sup> Rowlands did not agree with three, and I will also propose a few changes.

A second group of ten pen sketches after Roman coins is in the possession of the Duke of Devonshire at Chatsworth. Exhibited in 1899 as Van Dyck, Rooses reattributed them to Rubens.<sup>6</sup> They were first published by Glück-Haberdtzl with their identifications.<sup>7</sup> Closely related to the London set, the ten sketches at Chatsworth are of better quality; they in fact picture eight different coins, since there are duplicate drawings of *Galba* (Nos. 193, 193b) and *Titus* (Nos. 197, 197b). Of the eight emperors, seven occur among the London set of thirteen; the exception is *Julius Caesar*. Comparing these sets of seven, it is obvious that they picture the same effigies, although the London set is inferior. I therefore conclude that the Chatsworth drawings are originals by Rubens and the London set a copy. The worst copies are the *Galba* (No. 193a; Fig. 379), the *Titus* (No. 197a; Fig. 390) and the *Vitellius* (No. 199a; Fig. 399). Six sketches (*Augustus* twice, *Caligula*, *Claudius*, *Nero* and *Otho*) are only known from the larger London set (Nos. 186a, 187a, 189a, 190a, 195a, 196a). They are copies after lost drawings by Rubens.

The portraits in the two sets range from *Julius Caesar* to *Vespasian*, but they represent an incomplete set of eleven Roman emperors. Some were drawn twice after different coin types: *Augustus* (Nos. 186, 187), *Domitian* (Nos. 191, 192) and *Nero* (Nos. 194, 195). A second drawing of *Galba* (No. 193b; Fig. 380) remained unfinished.

Any attempt to identify the portraits and the models must recognize that coins struck in copper or bronze are relatively large.<sup>8</sup> Not only are the portraits on such coinage of higher quality, but these coins were made in larger quantities, were more readily available and were cheaper than coins of more precious materials. It is thus more likely that an artist would copy a bronze coin.

Discussing the Chatsworth drawings, Jaffé recently observed: 'All are after Renaissance pieces minted in bronze by Giovanni da Cavino (Padua 1500-1570)...'.<sup>9</sup> The Paduan goldsmith imitated and invented Roman coins. However, I believe that not all Rubens's drawings are after Cavino medals.

Tell-tale marks of Cavino's products are often the unclassical shape of the letters in the legends surrounding the effigies and the combinations of obverses and reverses without antique precursors.<sup>10</sup> As drawings by Rubens bear no legends and only show the obverse (the portrait), the drawings in most cases must be judged on the basis of style in comparison with genuine Roman coins and Cavino's products.

There are a few clear-cut cases where no antique coin exists. A model invented by Cavino was used for:

—'*Divus Augustus*' (No. 187a; Fig. 364 and cf. Fig. 363),

—*J. Caesar* (No. 188; Fig. 365), and possibly

—*Otho* (No. 196a; Fig. 388).

In some instances imitations of classic coins probably served as models:

—'*Divus Augustus Pater*' (No. 186a; Fig. 362),

—*Claudius* (No. 190a; Fig. 369 and cf. Fig. 370),

—*Galba* (No. 193; Fig. 378),

—*Nero* (No. 194; Fig. 384 and cf. Fig. 385),

—*Nero* (No. 195a; Fig. 383 and cf. Fig. 381), and possibly

—*Titus* (Nos. 197 and 197b; Figs. 389 and 392, and cf. Fig. 391).

However, a number of sketches were, in my opinion, after genuine Roman coins:

—*Caligula* (No. 189a; Fig. 367),

—*Domitian* (No. 191; Fig. 371 and cf. Fig. 372),

—*Vespasian* (No. 198; Fig. 394 and cf. Fig. 395), and possibly

—*Vitellius* (No. 199; Fig. 397 and cf. Fig. 398).

Rubens was presumably not aware of the fact that his models included a mixture of originals and forgeries.

Both sets of sketches have been dated independently to Rubens's first years in Italy when he served at the Mantuan court.<sup>11</sup> In style they resemble the pen sketches after small bronzes (Nos. 40-49). Coin collections were available to him in Mantua at the Gonzaga palace and in Rome, for example, in the collections of Lelio Pasqualino and the Farnese. The latter was enriched with a large number of coins formerly belonging to Fulvio Orsini (d. May 1600).

When Rubens was later preparing a Gem Book, coins were included as an aid to the identification of portraits on gems and cameos.<sup>12</sup> Considering the scientific scope of the book, they would have formed a valuable source of information.

Rubens probably copied the coins for iconographical reasons, although strangely enough the legends were omitted.

The drawings may be identical with an entry in the inventory of the estate of Erasmus Quellin (d.1678) where a group of thirty drawings after coins by Rubens is listed.<sup>13</sup> As the London set indicates, at least six drawings are now missing from the Chatsworth group of ten, so that the total number of originals and copies could have been close to thirty.

The collector's mark of P.H. Lankrink (1628-1692; L.2090) on the Chatsworth drawings shows that the series was copied at an early date and that originals and copies were already separated in the 17th century.

1. *Rooses*, V, p. 212, no. 1404; M. Rooses, 'Oeuvre de Rubens, Addenda et corrigenda [2]', *Rubens-Bulletijn*, IV, 1896, pp. 280-281, no. 1404.
2. An entry in the sales catalogue of Thomas Philippe, 21-23 May 1817, lot 188, lists van der Gucht's publication together with the drawings as 'Rubens: A Volume in quarto containing the set of Etchings of Greek and Roman Coins, Gems, &c engraved from the drawings of Rubens by G. Vander Gucht, together with the original drawings, by the hand of Rubens, COMPLETE — an extremely interesting and valuable collection'. The drawings listed are the London sketches. Four other drawings by Rubens, Nos. 120-123 above, were etched by Van der Gucht and included in the Philippe sale. They bear the mark of Jonathan Richardson Senior (1665-1745), which makes it likely that when Van der Gucht published his book in 1740, the drawings after coins which ended up in the British Museum were also owned by Richardson (Nos. 186a, 187a, 189a, 190a, 191a, 192a, 193a, 194a, 195a, 196a, 197a, 198a and 199a).
3. *Rowlands, Rubens Drawings*, pp. 94-96, nos. 115-130; p. 98, nos. 133-137, repr.; E. McGrath, "'Not even a Fly': Rubens and the Mad Emperors", *The Burlington Magazine*, CXXXIII, 1991, p. 700.
4. Only the annotation below *Divus Augustus* (No. 186a) was noticed so far; three other inscriptions below the busts of *Augustus* (No. 187a), *Claudius* (No. 190a) and *Vespasian* (No. 198a) (two of these are partially cut off) went unnoticed. Also unnoticed were the inscriptions and drawings on some of the *versi* (Nos. 186a, 190a, 193a, 195a, 198a and 199a).
5. *Hind, Rubens*, pp. 26-27, nos. 70-82. Van der Gucht (no. 18) 'Julius Caesar' renamed by Hind (no. 70) 'Claudius', reidentified by Rowlands (no. 115) as 'Caligula', here reidentified as *Claudius* (see No. 190a; Fig. 369).  
Hind (no. 74) 'Claudius' renamed by Rowlands (no. 123) 'Augustus' (see No. 187a: *Augustus*; Fig. 364).  
Rowlands (no. 121) 'Tiberius' here reidentified as *Domitian* (see No. 192a; Fig. 377).  
Rowlands (no. 126) 'Galba' here reidentified as *Vitellius* (see No. 199a; Fig. 399).  
Rowlands (no. 136) 'Nerva' here reidentified as *Galba* (see No. 193a; Fig. 380).
6. *Rooses, Addenda* (4), p. 204; Chatsworth, Derbyshire, the Duke of Devonshire, case 24c, nos. 967-976. This attribution was accepted by Burchard.
7. *Glück-Haberdtztl*, p. 32, nos. 28-37, repr.  
no. 29 'Caligula' here reidentified as *Domitian* (see No. 191; Fig. 371).  
nos. 30-31 'Vespasian' here reidentified as *Titus* (see Nos. 197 and 197b; Figs. 389, 392).  
no. 35 'Galba' here reidentified as *Vespasian* (see No. 198; Fig. 394).
8. I am very much indebted to Dr D. Mannsperger of the Archaeological Institute of the University of Tübingen, whose numismatic advice has been most helpful in identifying the coins.
9. *Jaffé, Chatsworth Drawings, 1987-88*, pp. 154-155, repr.
10. *Klawans, Imitations*, pp. 7-9, 12.
11. *Glück-Haberdtztl*, loc. cit.; *Mielke-Winner*, p. 78, under no. 28.
12. Peiresc to Rubens, 20 July 1623 (*Rooses-Ruelens*, III, p. 202); Aleandro to Peiresc, 21 June 1624 (*ibid.*, p. 300). However, the drawings after the coins were not engraved.

13. *Denucé, Konstkamers*, p. 290: '30 medallie tronikens beelden Rubbens'.

## 186. 'Divus Augustus Pater': Drawing

Presumably pen and ink; dimensions unknown.

*Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.*

COPY: Drawing (Fig. 362), London, British Museum, Department of Prints and Drawings, Inv. No. 1858-6-26-149. See No. 186a for more details.

A pen drawing in the British Museum in London with the head of *Augustus* (Fig. 362) is in my opinion a copy after a drawing by Rubens that has not survived. See under No. 186a.

### 186a. 'Divus Augustus Pater': Drawing (Fig. 362)

Pen and brown ink on brown paper, top corners cut off diagonally; 45 × 32 mm.; inscribed in pen and brown ink under neckline: *Augustus*.—*Verso*: (in ink) *Augustus*.

London, British Museum, Department of Prints and Drawings. Inv. No. 1858-6-26-149.

PROVENANCE: ? E. Quellin (Antwerp, 1607-1678); ? Jonathan Richardson Senior (London, 1665-1745); Thomas Philipe (London, d.1817), his sale London (King), 13-22 March 1817, part of lot 675 (withdrawn); his sale London (Evans, 22 May 1817), part of lot 188; acquired by the Museum in 1858.

COPY: Etching by G. van der Gucht, in *Van der Gucht*, 1740, no. 19 (as '*Augustus*'). LIT: *V.S.*, pp. 238-239, no. 66; *Rooses*, V, p. 213, under no. 1404.

EXHIBITED: London, 1977, no. 119.

LITERATURE: *Hind, Rubens*, p. 26, no. 71 (as '*Augustus*'); *Glück-Haberditzl*, p. 32, under nos. 28-37; *Held, Drawings*, p. 50; *Rowlands, Rubens Drawings*, p. 94, no. 119, repr. (as '*Augustus*'); *Held, Drawings*, 1986, p. 43.

The head wearing a radiate crown facing left is identified by an inscription as *Augustus*. It pictures an undated bronze commemorative coin, an as, issued under Emperor Tiberius in the series *Divus Augustus Pater* (Fig. 361).<sup>1</sup> An imitation of the coin was struck by Giovanni da Cavino. This medal was used as model.<sup>2</sup>

The sketch belongs to a set of thirteen drawings in the British Museum<sup>3</sup> attributed to Rubens. Burchard considered the sketch by Rubens's hand, but in my opinion it is copied after a lost drawing by Rubens. The pen sketch of '*Divus Augustus Pater*' is no longer among the group now in Chatsworth.

1. *Mattingly, Coins*, I, p. 141: BMC Tiberius no. 149, pl. 26.2 (undated); *Rowlands, Rubens Drawings*, p. 94, no. 120, repr.

2. *Klawans, Imitations*, p. 26, no. 8, repr.; inscribed 'DIVVS AVGVSTVS PATER'.

3. For the provenance of these drawings, see the introduction to Nos. 186-199, note 2.

## 187. 'Divus Augustus': Drawing

Presumably pen and ink; dimensions unknown.

*Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.*

COPY: Drawing (Fig. 364), London, British Museum, Department of Prints and Drawings, Inv. No. 1858-6-26-152. See No. 187a for more details.

A pen drawing in the British Museum in London with the head of *Augustus* (Fig. 364) is in my opinion a copy after a Rubens drawing that has not survived. See under No. 187a.

**187a. 'Divus Augustus': Drawing (Fig. 364)**

Pen and brown ink on brown paper, top corners cut off diagonally; 52 × 35 mm.; traces of an inscription in pen and brown ink below the neckline [*Claudius*] (?).

London, British Museum, Department of Prints and Drawings. Inv. No. 1858-6-26-152.

PROVENANCE: Same as No. 186a.

COPY: Etching by G. van der Gucht, in *Van der Gucht, Coins*, 1740, no. 22 (as '*Claudius*'). LIT: *V.S.*, pp. 238-239, no. 66; *Roses*, V, p. 213, under no. 1404.

EXHIBITED: London, 1977, no. 123.

LITERATURE: *Hind, Rubens*, p. 26, no. 74 (as '*Claudius*'); *Glück-Haberditzl*, p. 32, under nos. 28-37; *Held, Drawings*, p. 50; *Rowlands, Rubens Drawings*, p. 95, no. 123, repr. (as '*Augustus*'); *Held, Drawings*, 1986, p. 43.

The sketch of a laureate head of *Augustus* with a ribbon on the neck facing left shows a bronze medal invented and struck by Giovanni da Cavino (Fig. 363).<sup>1</sup>

The sketch belongs to a set of thirteen attributed to Rubens. Burchard considered the sketch by Rubens's hand but, in my opinion, it is copied after a lost drawing by Rubens. The pen sketch of *Divus Augustus* is not among the group in Chatsworth.

1. *Klawans, Imitations*, p. 26, no. 8, repr. The medal inscribed 'DIVVS AVGVSTVS PATER' is an invention based on a commemorative bronze *as*. On the latter, inscribed 'DIVVS AVGVSTVS PATER', Augustus wears a radiate crown (*Mattingly, Coins*, I, p. 141: BMC Tiberius no. 146, pl. 25.12, undated).

**188. Julius Caesar: Drawing (Fig. 365)**

Pen and ink; 59 × 42 mm.; bottom right collector's mark of P.H. Lankrink (L.2090).

Chatsworth, Derbyshire, the Duke of Devonshire. No. 967.

PROVENANCE: ? E. Quellin (Antwerp, 1607-1678); P.H. Lankrink (London, 1628-1692); ? William, Second Duke of Devonshire (1665-1729).

EXHIBITED: Antwerp, 1899, no. 116 (as *Van Dyck*); Pittsburgh, 1987-88, no. 95 A.

LITERATURE: *Roses, Addenda* (4), p. 204; *Glück-Haberditzl*, p. 32, no. 28, repr. (as *Caesar*); *Held, Drawings*, p. 50; *Held, Drawings*, 1986, p. 43; *Jaffé, Chatsworth Drawings*, 1987-88, p. 154, no. 95 A, repr. (as *Julius Caesar*).

Rubens's sketch with the laureate head of *Julius Caesar* facing left is made after a bronze medal invented by the Paduan Giovanni da Cavino.<sup>1</sup> The reverse is inscribed 'VENI / VIDI / VICI'.<sup>2</sup>

An autograph annotation '[Veni] Vidi Vici' written above a knee-high portrait of Caesar crowned by a Victory on the extreme left of the recto of a sheet with *Studies after Roman Emperors* (Berlin; Fig. 401) is probably derived from the same medal.<sup>3</sup>

No drawing of this head occurs among the series in London.

1. Dr D. Mannsperger, Tübingen, private communication (1980).

2. *Klawans, Imitations*, p. 20, no. 1, repr.

3. *Mielke-Winner*, p. 79, under no. 28, repr. Rubens's annotation above the cuirassed figure on the left portraying the crowning of Julius Caesar reads: ...*vidi vici.*, to the left of his right arm *lituus* and below *sine fulmine*.

**189. Caligula: Drawing**

Presumably pen and ink; dimensions unknown.

Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.

COPY: Drawing (Fig. 367), London, British Museum, Department of Prints and Draw-

ings, Inv. No. 1858-6-26-151. See No. 189a for more details.

A pen drawing in the British Museum in London with the head of *Caligula* (Fig. 367) is in my opinion a copy after a drawing by Rubens that has not survived. See under No. 189a.

### 189a. Caligula: Drawing (Fig. 367)

Pen and brown ink on brown paper, irregularly cut out; 52 × 29 mm.

*London, British Museum, Department of Prints and Drawings*. Inv. No. 1858-6-26-151.

PROVENANCE: Same as No. 186a.

COPY: Etching by G. van der Gucht, in *Van der Gucht, Coins*, 1740, no. 21 (as *Caligula*). LIT. *V.S.*, pp. 238-239, no. 66; *Rooses*, V, p. 213, under no. 1404.

EXHIBITED: *London*, 1977, no. 122.

LITERATURE: *Hind, Rubens*, p. 26, no. 73 (as *Caligula*); *Glück-Haberditzl*, p. 32, under nos. 28-37; *Held, Drawings*, p. 50; *Rowlands, Rubens Drawings*, p. 95, no. 122, repr. (as *Caligula*); *Held, Drawings*, 1986, p. 43; E. McGrath, "Not even a Fly": Rubens and the Mad Emperors', *The Burlington Magazine*, CXXXIII, 1991, p. 700, fig. 41.

The head of a young emperor with short curly hair and sideburns has been identified as *Caligula*. It possibly pictures a bronze *as*, struck in Rome in 39-40 A.D.<sup>1</sup> The nose is too strongly curved and too lumpy in this drawing.

The sketch belongs to a set of thirteen attributed to Rubens. Burchard considered the sketch by Rubens's hand but, in my opinion, it is copied after a lost drawing by Rubens. The pen sketch of *Caligula* is no longer among the group now in Chatsworth.

1. *Mattingly, Coins*, I, p. 156: BMC *Caligula* no. 59, pl. 29,7. Cavino's medals of *Caligula* all picture Emperor *Caligula laureate* (Fig. 366; *Klawans, Imitations*, pp. 34-39, nos. 1-9, repr.).

### 190. Claudius: Drawing

Presumably pen and ink; dimensions unknown.

*Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.*

COPY: Drawing (Fig. 369), London, British Museum, Department of Prints and Drawings, Inv. No. 1858-6-26-148. See No. 190a for more details.

A pen drawing in the British Museum in London with the head of *Claudius* (Fig. 369) is in my opinion a copy after a drawing by Rubens that has not survived. See under No. 190a.

### 190a. Claudius: Drawing (Fig. 369)

Pen and brown ink on brown paper, top corners cut off diagonally; 45 × 32 mm.; inscribed in pen and brown ink under neckline: *Claudius*.—*Verso*: *Claudius* (in ink).

*London, British Museum, Department of Prints and Drawings*. Inv. No. 1858-6-26-148.

PROVENANCE: Same as No. 186a.

COPY: Etching by G. van der Gucht, in *Van der Gucht, Coins*, 1740, no. 18 (as 'C. Julius Caesar'). LIT. *V.S.*, pp. 238-239, no. 66; *Rooses*, V, p. 213.

EXHIBITED: *London*, 1977, no. 115.

LITERATURE: *Hind, Rubens*, p. 26, no. 70 (as 'Julius Caesar, but possibly *Claudius*'); *Glück-Haberditzl*, p. 32, under nos. 28-37; *Held, Drawings*, p. 50; *Rowlands, Rubens Drawings*, p. 94, no. 115, repr. (as 'Caligula'); *Held, Drawings*, 1986, p. 43.

The laureate head of a young emperor facing right has been identified by various names. Yet the inscription (hitherto unnoticed) identifying him as *Claudius* appears to be correct. The sketch pictures a bronze *sestertius* struck in Rome in 41 A.D. (Fig. 368).<sup>1</sup> However, on the sketch the emperor is pictured at a more advanced age. This makes it likely that an imitation by Giovanni da Cavino was used as model (Fig. 370).<sup>2</sup> In copying Rubens's drawing, the forehead became wrinkled and the nose too lumpy.

The sketch belongs to a set of thirteen attributed to Rubens. Burchard considered it to be by Rubens's hand, but in my opinion it is copied after a lost drawing by Rubens. The sketch of *Claudius* is not among the group in Chatsworth.

1. *Mattingly, Coins*, I, p. 181: BMC *Claudius* no. 115, pl. 34,9.

2. *Klawans, Imitations*, p. 43, no. 6, repr.

### 191. Domitian: Drawing (Fig. 371)

Pen and ink; 63 × 42 mm.; bottom right collector's mark of P.H. Lankrink (L.2090).  
*Chatsworth, Derbyshire, the Duke of Devonshire*. No. 968.

PROVENANCE: Same as No. 188.

COPY: Drawing (Fig. 373), London, British Museum, Department of Prints and Drawings, Inv. No. 1858-6-26-159. See No. 191a for more details.

EXHIBITED: *Antwerp*, 1899, no. 116 (as *Van Dyck*); *Pittsburgh*, 1987-88, no. 95 B.

LITERATURE: *Rooses, Addenda* (4), p. 204; *Glück-Haberditzl*, p. 32, no. 29, repr. (as 'Caligula'); *Held, Drawings*, p. 50; *Held, Drawings*, 1986, p. 43; *Jaffé, Chatsworth Drawings*, 1987-88, p. 154, no. 95 B, repr. (as 'Caius Caligula').

Rubens's sketch with a laureate head of a young emperor facing left with a drooping pointed nose, pursed lips and protruding chin matches the portrait of Domitian. The model was probably a bronze *sestertius* struck in Rome in 82 A.D. (Fig. 372).<sup>1</sup> The artist omitted the ribbon hanging down the neck.

A sheet in Berlin with *Sketches of Roman Emperors* (Fig. 401) by Rubens shows a youthful emperor looking from under his frowning eyebrows. He strongly resembles Domitian, and might have been inspired by this coin.<sup>2</sup>

A copy of the drawing occurs among the set in London. See No. 191a (Fig. 373).

1. *Mattingly, Coins*, II, p. 357: BMC Domitian no. 276, pl. 69,5. No imitation of this coin by Giovanni da Cavino is listed by Klawans. His medals all render Emperor Domitian laureate facing right (*Klawans, Imitations*, pp. 70-72, nos. 1-6, repr.).

2. *Mielke-Winner*, p. 81, under no. 28, repr.

### 191a. Domitian: Drawing (Fig. 373)

Pen and brown ink on brown paper, top right corner cut off diagonally; 60 × 41 mm.  
*London, British Museum, Department of Prints and Drawings*. Inv. No. 1858-6-26-159.

PROVENANCE: Same as No. 186a.

COPY: Etching by G. van der Gucht, in *Van der Gucht, Coins*, 1740, no. 29 (as *Domitian*). LIT. *V.S.*, pp. 238-239, no. 66; *Rooses*, V, p. 213, under no. 1404.

EXHIBITED: *London*, 1977, no. 134.

LITERATURE: *Hind, Rubens*, p. 26, no. 81 (as *Domitian*); *Glück-Haberditzl*, p. 32, under nos. 28-37; *Held, Drawings*, p. 50; *Rowlands, Rubens Drawings*, p. 98, no. 134, repr. (as *Domitian*); *Held, Drawings*, 1986, p. 43.

The sketch with *Domitian* belongs to a set of thirteen attributed to Rubens. Burchard considered the sketch by Rubens's hand but, in



my opinion, it was copied after a drawing by Rubens in Chatsworth. See No. 191 (Fig. 371).

## 192. Domitian: Drawing (Fig. 374)

Pen and ink; 61 × 40 mm.; bottom right collector's mark of P.H. Lankrink (L.2090).

*Chatsworth, Derbyshire, the Duke of Devonshire.* No. 972.

PROVENANCE: Same as No. 188.

COPY: Drawing (Fig. 377), London, British Museum, Department of Prints and Drawings, Inv. No. 1858-6-26-150. see No. 192a for more details.

EXHIBITED: *Antwerp*, 1899, no. 116 (as *Van Dyck*); *Pittsburgh*, 1987-88, no. 95 F.

LITERATURE: *Rooses, Addenda* (4), p. 204; *Glück-Haberditzl*, p. 32, no. 33, repr. (as *Domitian*); *Held, Drawings*, p. 50; *Held, Drawings*, 1986, p. 43; *Jaffé, Chatsworth Drawings, 1987-88*, p. 154, no. 95 F, repr. (as *Domitian*).

The laureate head of *Domitian* facing right is pictured on a *sestertius* minted in Rome in 88 A.D. (Fig. 375).<sup>1</sup> However, an imitation of this coin was struck by Giovanni da Cavino (Fig. 376).<sup>2</sup> *Domitian's* nose is slightly more aquiline on Roman coins than on Cavino's medal. Cavino's copy is very close to the original coin, which makes it very difficult to tell which one Rubens used as model. The artist drew the neckline at first too low and raised it with a second contour line. He omitted the ribbon hanging down the neck, and also drew the hairline too high on the neck.

A copy of the drawing occurs among the set in London. See No. 192a (Fig. 377).

1. *Mattingly, Coins*, II, p. 394: BMC *Domitian* no. 428, pl. 78,9.

2. *Klawans, Imitations*, pp. 70-71, no. 2, repr.

## 192a. Domitian: Drawing (Fig. 377)

Pen and brown ink on brown paper; top corners cut off diagonally; 54 × 37 mm.

*London, British Museum, Department of Prints and Drawings.* Inv. No. 1858-6-26-150.

PROVENANCE: Same as No. 186a.

COPY: Etching by G. van der Gucht, in *Van der Gucht, Coins*, 1740, no. 20 (as '*Tiberius*'). LIT. V.S., pp. 238-239, no. 66; *Rooses*, V, p. 213, under no. 1404.

EXHIBITED: *London*, 1977, no. 121.

LITERATURE: *Hind, Rubens*, p. 26, no. 72 (as '*Tiberius*'); *Glück-Haberditzl*, p. 32, under nos. 28-37; *Held, Drawings*, p. 50; *Rowlands, Rubens Drawings*, p. 95, no. 121, repr. (as '*Tiberius*'); *Held, Drawings*, 1986, p. 43.

The sketch with *Domitian* belongs to a set of thirteen attributed to Rubens. Burchard considered the sketch by Rubens's hand but, in my opinion, it was copied after a drawing by Rubens in Chatsworth. See No. 192 (Fig. 374). The copyist drew the brow protruding too much. In cutting the sketch out of a larger sheet of paper the back of the head and the contour of the neck were cut off.

## 193. Galba: Drawing (Fig. 378)

Pen and ink; 76 × 49 mm.; bottom centre collector's mark of P.H. Lankrink (L.2090).

*Chatsworth, Derbyshire, the Duke of Devonshire.* No. 975.

PROVENANCE: Same as No. 188.

COPY: Drawing (Fig. 379), London, British Museum, Department of Prints and Drawings, Inv. No. 1858-6-26-160. See No. 193a for more details.

EXHIBITED: *Antwerp, 1899*, No. 116 (as *Van Dyck*); *Pittsburgh, 1987-88*, no. 95 I.

LITERATURE: *Rooses, Addenda* (4), p. 204; *Glück-Haberditzl*, p. 32, no. 36, repr. (as *Galba*); *Held, Drawings*, p. 50; M. Jaffé, 'Rubens as a Collector', *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts*, London, 1969, p. 649, fig. 7 (as *Galba*); *Jaffé, Rubens and Italy*, p. 83, fig. 314 (as *Galba*); *Held, Drawings, 1986*, p. 43; *Jaffé, Chatsworth Drawings, 1987-88*, p. 154, no. 95 I, repr. (as *Galba*).

The laureate head of an elderly emperor facing right on Rubens's drawing was rightly identified by *Glück-Haberditzl* as *Galba*. This portrait differs from the effigies on Roman coins in that the sagging skin of his cheeks and chin, the deep furrows on the forehead and flabby skin under the chin are exaggerated. The artist used an imitation of a *sestertius* struck by Giovanni da Cavino as model.<sup>1</sup> He omitted the ribbon hanging down the neck.

A poor copy of the drawing occurs among the set in London. See No. 193a (Fig. 379). An unfinished sketch of the same head is No. 193b (Fig. 380).

1. *Klawans, Imitations*, p. 51, no. 2, repr.; *Mattingly, Coins*, I, p. 355: BMC *Galba*, note to no. 249; M. Jaffé, loc. cit. (1969), fig. 8. Dr D. Mannsperger came independently to the same conclusion.

### 193a. Galba: Drawing (Fig. 379)

Pen and brown ink on brown paper, cut out around the head; 72 × 53 mm.—*Verso*: bust of a child (not by Rubens); inscribed in ink: *Galba*.

London, British Museum, Department of Prints and Drawings. Inv. No. 1858-6-26-160.

PROVENANCE: Same as No. 186a.

COPY: Etching by G. van der Gucht, in *Van der Gucht, Coins*, no. 30. LIT. *V.S.*, pp. 238-239, no. 66; *Rooses*, V, p. 213, under no. 1404.

EXHIBITED: *London, 1977*, no. 136.

LITERATURE: *Hind, Rubens*, p. 27, no. 82 (as *Nerva*); *Glück-Haberditzl*, p. 32, under nos. 28-37; *Held, Drawings*, p. 50; *Rowlands, Rubens Drawings*, p. 98, no. 136, repr. (as *Nerva*); *Held, Drawings, 1986*, p. 43.

The sketch with *Galba* belongs to a set of thirteen attributed to Rubens. Burchard considered the sketch by Rubens's hand but, in my opinion, it was copied after a sketch by Rubens in Chatsworth (No. 193; Fig. 378). The forehead recedes more than on the Chatsworth sketch and the throat is copied very poorly. In cutting the sketch out of a larger sheet, part of the neckline and drapery was cut off.

### 193b. Galba: Drawing (Fig. 380)

Pen and ink; 50 × 37 mm.; bottom right collector's mark of P.H. Lankrink (L.2090). *Chatsworth, Derbyshire, the Duke of Devonshire*. No. 973.

PROVENANCE: Same as No. 188.

EXHIBITED: *Antwerp, 1899*, no. 116 (as *Van Dyck*); *Pittsburgh, 1987-88*, no. 95 G.

LITERATURE: *Rooses, Addenda* (4), p. 204; *Glück-Haberditzl*, p. 32, no. 34, repr. (as *Galba*); *Held, Drawings*, p. 50; *Held, Drawings, 1986*, p. 43; *Jaffé, Chatsworth Drawings, 1987-88*, p. 154, no. 95 G, repr. (as *Galba*).

Rubens's unfinished sketch shows the face of *Galba* facing right. The artist stopped drawing since the chin was poorly done, and started a new sketch. He used an imitation of a bronze *sestertius* by Giovanni da Cavino as model. See No. 193 (Fig. 378).

**194. Nero: Drawing (Fig. 384)**

Pen and ink; 61 × 44 mm.; bottom right collector's mark of P.H. Lankrink (L.2090).

*Chatsworth, Derbyshire, the Duke of Devonshire.*  
No. 971.

COPY: Drawing (Fig. 386), London, British Museum, Department of Prints and Drawings, Inv. No. 1858-6-26-156. see No. 194a for more details.

PROVENANCE: Same as No. 188.

EXHIBITED: *Antwerp, 1899*, no. 116 (as *Van Dyck*); *Pittsburgh, 1987-88*, no. 95 E.

LITERATURE: *Rooses, Addenda (4)*, p. 204; *Glück-Haberditzl*, p. 32, no. 32, repr. (as *Nero*); *Held, Drawings*, p. 50; *Held, Drawings, 1986*, p. 43; *Jaffé, Chatsworth Drawings, 1987-88*, p. 154, no. 95 E, repr. (as *Nero*).

Rubens's drawing of the beardless, laureate head of *Nero* facing right pictures a *sestertius*, minted in Rome about 64-66 A.D.<sup>1</sup> However, he undoubtedly used an imitation by Giovanni da Cavino as model (Fig. 385).<sup>2</sup>

A copy of the drawing occurs among the set in London. See No. 194a (Fig. 386).

The legend on this coin differs from the usual and might have been used for the caption on Pontius' engraving of the marble head of *Nero* (No. 114).

1. *Mattingly, Coins*, 1, p. 226: BMC *Nero* no. 143, pl. 42,3; *Rowlands, Rubens Drawings*, p. 96, no. 129, repr.
2. *Klawans, Imitations*, p. 45, no. 3, repr.

**194a. Nero: Drawing (Fig. 386)**

Pen and brown ink on brown paper, top corners cut off diagonally; 58 × 42 mm.

*London, British Museum, Department of Prints and Drawings.* Inv. No. 1858-6-26-156.

PROVENANCE: Same as No. 186a.

COPY: Etching by G. van der Gucht, in *Van der Gucht, Coins*, 1740, no. 26 (as '*Vitellius*'). LIT. V.S., pp. 238-239, no. 66; *Rooses*, V, p. 213, under no. 1404.

EXHIBITED: *London, 1977*, no. 128.

LITERATURE: *Hind, Rubens*, p. 26, no. 78 (as '*Vitellius*'); *Glück-Haberditzl*, p. 32, under nos. 28-37; *Held, Drawings*, p. 50; *Rowlands, Rubens Drawings*, p. 96, no. 128, repr. (as *Nero*); *Held, Drawings, 1986*, p. 43.

The sketch of *Nero* belongs to a set of thirteen attributed to Rubens. Burchard considered the sketch by Rubens's hand but, in my opinion, it was copied after a drawing by Rubens at Chatsworth. See No. 194 (Fig. 384). In cutting the sketch out of a larger sheet the top of *Nero*'s head was cut off.

**195. Nero: Drawing**

Presumably pen and ink; dimensions unknown.

*Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.*

COPY: Drawing (Fig. 383), London, British Museum, Department of Prints and Drawings, Inv. No. 1858-6-26-153. See No. 195a for more details.

A pen drawing in the British Museum in London of the head of *Nero* (Fig. 383) is in my opinion a copy after a drawing by Rubens that has not survived. See under No. 195a.

**195a. Nero: Drawing (Fig. 383)**

Pen and brown ink on brown paper, top corners cut off diagonally; 53 × 39 mm.—*Verso*: inscribed (in ink): *Nero*.

*London, British Museum, Department of Prints and Drawings.* Inv. No. 1858-6-26-153.

PROVENANCE: Same as No. 186a.

COPY: Etching by G. van der Gucht, in *Van der Gucht, Coins*, 1740, No. 23, repr. (as *Nero*). LIT. *V.S.*, pp. 238-239, no. 66; *Roses*, V, p. 213, under no. 1404.

EXHIBITED: *London*, 1977, no. 125.

LITERATURE: *Hind, Rubens*, p. 26, no. 75 (as *Nero*); *Glück-Haberditzl*, p. 32, under nos. 28-37; *Held, Drawings*, p. 50; *Rowlands, Rubens Drawings*, p. 96, no. 125, repr. (as *Nero*); *Held, Drawings*, 1986, p. 43.

The laureate head of *Nero* with a short beard facing right pictures a bronze *sestertius*, minted in Rome c.64-66 A.D. (Fig. 382).<sup>1</sup> However, an imitation of this coin by Giovanni da Cavino was undoubtedly used as model for the drawing (Fig. 381).<sup>2</sup> A marble portrait head in Rubens's collection showed a similar type of *Nero* (No. 114; Fig. 210).

The sketch belongs to a set of thirteen attributed to Rubens. Burchard considered it by Rubens's hand but, in my opinion, the sketch was copied after a lost drawing by Rubens. The pen sketch of *Nero* is not among the group in Chatsworth.

1. *Mattingly, Coins*, I, p. 222: BMC *Nero* no. 132, pl. 41.7.

2. *Klawans, Imitations*, p. 44, no. 1, repr.

## 196. Otho: Drawing

Presumably pen and ink; dimensions unknown.

*Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.*

COPY: Drawing (Fig. 388), *London*, British Museum, Department of Prints and Drawings, Inv. No. 1858-6-26-155. See No. 196a for more details.

A pen drawing in the British Museum in *London* of the head of *Otho* (Fig. 388) is in my opinion a copy after a drawing by Rubens that has not survived. See under No. 196a.

## 196a. Otho: Drawing (Fig. 388)

Pen and brown ink on brown paper; top corners cut off diagonally, bottom right corner rounded; 54 × 38 mm.

*London*, British Museum, Department of Prints and Drawings. Inv. No. 1858-6-26-155.

PROVENANCE: Same as No. 186a.

COPY: Etching by G. van der Gucht, in *Van der Gucht, Coins*, 1740, no. 25 (as *Otho*).

EXHIBITED: *London*, 1977, no. 127.

LITERATURE: *Hind, Rubens*, p. 26, no. 77 (as *Otho*); *Glück-Haberditzl*, p. 32, under nos. 28-37; *Held, Drawings*, p. 50; *Rowlands, Rubens Drawings*, p. 96, no. 127, repr. (as *Otho*); *Held, Drawings*, 1986, p. 43.

A head facing right with curls neatly arranged in rows shows the portrait of Emperor *Otho*. During the short reign of the emperor (15 January-17 April 69 A.D.) no *aes* coinage was minted, only gold and silver coins, and they were rare (Fig. 387).<sup>1</sup> In the Renaissance the Roman imperial gold and silver coinage was copied, and bronze coins were invented.<sup>2</sup> Giovanni da Cavino invented a *sestertius*, which may have been used as model for the drawing.<sup>3</sup>

The sketch belongs to a set of thirteen attributed to Rubens. Burchard considered it by Rubens's hand, but, in my opinion, the sketch was copied after a lost drawing by Rubens. The pen sketch of *Otho* is not among the group in Chatsworth.

1. *Mattingly, Coins*, I, p. ccxix: p. 365, no. 5, pl. 60.4.

2. A. Vico, *Discorsi sopra le medaglie degli antichi*, Venice, 1555, I: 28. Vico was the first to recognize the falsification problem. See further H.T. Chifletius, *Dissertatio de Othonibus aereis*, Antwerp, 1656, pp. 15-16, figs. 1-2: 'Pseudo Othones aerei... Illi Patuino artificii Ioanni Cauinio nomen erat, cuius nota fraus, nota & manus, sed laudata felicitas: tam belle namque typis nouis expressit Othones aereos, vt omnes expeterent, nisi nouitas demeret pretium.

Duos dumtaxat repraesento in quibus eadem inscriptiones, sed diuersa emblemata partium auersarum'; M.R. Alföldi, 'Der Otho-Denar der Elisabeth Lyskirchen', *Chiron*, II, 1972, p. 390, repr. Dr D. Mannsperger kindly brought the latter to my attention.

3. *Klawans, Imitations*, p. 54, no. 2, repr. The resemblance with Cavino's medal is not compelling.

### 197. Titus: Drawing (Fig. 389)

Pen and brown ink; 61 × 41 mm.; bottom centre collector's mark of P.H. Lankrink (L.2090).

*Chatsworth, Derbyshire, the Duke of Devonshire*, No. 969.

PROVENANCE: Same as No. 188.

COPY: Drawing (Fig. 390), London, British Museum, Department of Prints and Drawings, Inv. No. 1858-6-26-158. See No. 197b for more details.

EXHIBITED: *Antwerp, 1899*, no. 116 (as *Van Dyck*); *Pittsburgh, 1987*, no. 95 C.

LITERATURE: *Rooses, Addenda* (4), p. 204; *Glück-Haberditzl*, p. 32, no. 30, repr. (as 'Vespasian'); *Held, Drawings*, p. 50; *Held, Drawings, 1986*, p. 43; *Jaffé, Chatsworth Drawings, 1987-88*, p. 154, no. 95 C, repr. (as *Titus*).

Rubens's drawing of the laureate head of an emperor with an aquiline nose and full cheeks facing left matches the facial characteristics of *Titus*. The portrait on the sketch does not bear a close resemblance to the coin effigies of the emperor. Rubens may have used an imitation by Giovanni da Cavino as model.<sup>1</sup> Another sketch in *Chatsworth* is of better quality. See No. 197b (Fig. 392). A copy of No. 197 occurs among the set in London. See No. 197a; Fig. 390.

On the verso of a sheet with *Sketches of Roman Emperors* (Berlin; Fig. 402),<sup>2</sup> Rubens drew the emperor wearing a cuirass and pa-

*ludamentum*. His physiognomy is probably based on a coin.

1. *Klawans, Imitations*, p. 66, no. 2.

2. *Mielke-Winner*, p. 81, no. 28, repr.

### 197a. Titus: Drawing (Fig. 390)

Pen and brown ink on brown paper; top left corner cut off diagonally, top right corner trimmed around the contour of the head and protruding knot of ribbon; 52 × 39 mm.

*London, British Museum, Department of Prints and Drawings*. Inv. No. 1858-6-26-158.

PROVENANCE: Same as No. 186a.

COPY: Etching by G. van der Gucht, in *Van der Gucht, Coins, 1740*, no. 28 (as *Titus*). LIT. *V.S.*, pp. 238-239, no. 66; *Rooses, V*, p. 213, under no. 1404.

EXHIBITED: *London, 1977*, no. 133.

LITERATURE: *Hind, Rubens*, p. 26, no. 80 (as *Titus*); *Glück-Haberditzl*, p. 32, under nos. 28-37; *Held, Drawings*, p. 50; *Rowlands, Rubens Drawings*, p. 98, no. 133, repr. (as *Titus*); *Held, Drawings, 1986*, p. 43.

The sketch with *Titus* belongs to a set of thirteen attributed to Rubens. Burchard considered the sketch by Rubens's hand but, in my opinion, it was copied after a drawing by Rubens in *Chatsworth*. See No. 197 (Fig. 389). The throat with its protruding Adam's apple was poorly copied. In cutting the sketch out of a larger sheet, part of the slip of the ribbon was cut off.

### 197b. Titus: Drawing (Fig. 392)

Pen and ink; 70 × 54 mm.; bottom centre collector's mark of P.H. Lankrink (L.2090).

*Chatsworth, Derbyshire, the Duke of Devonshire*. No. 970.

PROVENANCE: Same as No. 188.

EXHIBITED: *Antwerp, 1899*, no. 116 (as *Van Dyck*); *Pittsburgh, 1987-88*, no. 95 D.

LITERATURE: *Rooses, Addenda (4)*, p. 204; *Glück-Haberditzl*, p. 32, no. 31, repr. (as '*Vespasian*'); *Held, Drawings*, p. 50; *Jaffé, Rubens and Italy*, p. 83, fig. 314 (as '*Vespasian*'); *Held, Drawings, 1986*, p. 43; *Jaffé, Chatsworth Drawings, 1987-88*, p. 154, no. 95 D, repr. (as *Titus*).

Rubens's sketch shows the portrait of *Titus*. It is slightly larger and bears a closer resemblance to *Titus*' effigy than to the other sketch with *Titus* at Chatsworth (No. 197; Fig. 389). The termination of the neck is not completely indicated.

A bronze *sestertius* of 80-81 A.D. shows the type of coin pictured on the sketch (Fig. 393),<sup>1</sup> but an imitation by Giovanni da Cavino may have been used (Fig. 391).<sup>2</sup> No copy of this drawing occurs among the set in London.

1. *Mattingly, Coins*, II, p. 294: BMC *Titus* no. 308, pl. 57A.

2. *Klawans, Imitations*, p. 67, no. 3, repr.

### 198. Vespasian: Drawing (Fig. 394)

Pen and ink; 63 × 45 mm.; bottom right collector's mark of P.H. Lankrink (L.2090). *Chatsworth, Derbyshire, the Duke of Devonshire*. No. 974.

PROVENANCE: Same as No. 188.

COPY: Drawing (Fig. 396), London, British Museum, Department of Prints and Drawings, Inv. No. 1858-6-26-157. See No. 198a for more details.

EXHIBITED: *Antwerp, 1899*, no. 116 (as *Van Dyck*); *Pittsburgh, 1987-88*, no. 95 H.

LITERATURE: *Rooses, Addenda (4)*, p. 204; *Glück-Haberditzl*, p. 32, no. 35, repr. (as

*'Galba'*); *Held, Drawings*, p. 50; *Held, Drawings, 1986*, p. 43; *Jaffé, Chatsworth Drawings, 1987-88*, p. 154, no. 95 H, repr. (as *Vespasian*).

The head of an elderly emperor facing right is identified as *Vespasian* by a fragmentary inscription on the copy in London, British Museum (No. 198a; Fig. 396). A bronze *sestertius* minted in Lugdunum in 71 A.D. was probably used as model (Fig. 395),<sup>1</sup> although an imitation was struck by Giovanni da Cavino.<sup>2</sup> A slip of the ribbon hanging down the neck is not rendered.

1. *Mattingly, Coins*, II, p. 197: BMC *Vespasian* no. 801, pl. 38,1.

2. This imitation shows a wrinkled forehead, exaggerated sagging cheeks and heavy eyebrows (*Klawans, Imitations*, pp. 62-63, no. 3, repr.).

### 198a. Vespasian: Drawing (Fig. 396)

Pen and brown ink on brown paper; top corners cut off diagonally; 60 × 45 mm.; inscribed in pen and ink under shoulder: [*Vespas*]ian. — *Verso*: (in ink) *Vespasianus*.

*London, British Museum, Department of Prints and Drawings*. Inv. No. 1858-6-26-157.

PROVENANCE: Same as No. 186a.

COPY: Etching by G. van der Gucht, in *Van der Gucht, Coins*, 1740, no. 27 (as *Vespasian*). LIT. *V.S.*, pp. 238-239, no. 66; *Rooses, V*, p. 213, under no. 1404.

EXHIBITED: *London, 1977*, no. 130.

LITERATURE: *Hind, Rubens*, p. 26, no. 79 (as *Vespasian*); *Glück-Haberditzl*, p. 32, under nos. 28-37; *Held, Drawings*, p. 50; *Rowlands, Rubens Drawings*, p. 96, no. 130, repr. (as *Vespasian*); *Held, Drawings, 1986*, p. 43.

The sketch with *Vespasian* belongs to set of thirteen attributed to Rubens. Burchard considered the sketch by Rubens's hand but, in

my opinion, it was copied after a drawing by Rubens in Chatsworth. See No. 198 (Fig. 394). The line indicating a slip of the ribbon at the back was misunderstood by the copyist. The forehead is too bulging. The inscription, which is partially cut off, went hitherto unnoticed.

### 199. Vitellius: Drawing (Fig. 397)

Pen and ink; 70 × 50 mm.; bottom centre collector's mark of P.H. Lankrink (L.2090). *Chatsworth, Derbyshire, the Duke of Devonshire*. No. 976.

PROVENANCE: Same as No. 188.

COPY: Drawing (Fig. 399), London, British Museum, Department of Prints and Drawings, Inv. No. 1858-6-26-154. See No. 199a for more details.

EXHIBITED: *Antwerp, 1899*, no. 116 (as *Van Dyck*); *Pittsburgh, 1987-88*, no. 95 J.

LITERATURE: *Roses, Addenda (4)*, p. 204; *Glück-Haberditzl*, p. 32, no. 37, repr. (as *Vitellius*); *Held, Drawings*, p. 50; *Held, Drawings, 1986*, p. 43; *Jaffé, Chatsworth Drawings, 1987-88*, p. 154, no. 95 J, repr. (as *Vitellius*).

Rubens's sketch of a laureate head with a fat neck and double chin facing right pictures the effigy of Emperor Vitellius. A bronze *sestertius* minted in Rome in 69 A.D. was probably the model used (Fig. 398).<sup>1</sup> The drapery around the neck is simplified on the sketch but is different from the imitations struck by Giovanni da Cavino (Fig. 400).<sup>2</sup>

A copy of the drawing occurs in London. See No. 199a (Fig. 399).

1. *Mattingly, Coins*, I, p. 378: BMC Vitellius no. 60, pl. 63A.

2. *Klawans, Imitations*, pp. 58-61, nos. 1-6, repr. Cf. *Mattingly, Coins*, I, p. 375: BMC Vitellius no. 47, pl. 62,13 (forgery).

### 199a. Vitellius: Drawing (Fig. 399)

Pen and brown ink on brown paper; top corners cut off diagonally; 65 × 48 mm.—*Verso*: geometrical lines and inscription in ink. *London, British Museum, Department of Prints and Drawings*. Inv. No. 1858-6-26-154.

PROVENANCE: Same as No. 186a.

COPY: Etching by G. van der Gucht, in *Van der Gucht, Coins*, 1740, no. 24, repr. (as 'Galba'). LIT. V.S., pp. 238-239, no. 66; *Roses*, V, p. 213, under no. 1404.

EXHIBITED: *London, 1977*, no. 126.

LITERATURE: *Hind, Rubens*, p. 26, no. 76 (as 'Galba'); *Glück-Haberditzl*, p. 32, under nos. 28-37; *Held, Drawings*, p. 50; *Rowlands, Rubens Drawings*, p. 96, no. 126, repr. (as 'Galba'); *Held, Drawings, 1986*, p. 43.

The sketch with *Vitellius* belongs to a set of thirteen attributed to Rubens. Burchard considered the sketch by Rubens's hand but, in my opinion, it was copied after a drawing by Rubens in Chatsworth. See No. 199 (Fig. 397). The copyist changed the profile rather drastically and gave the face Galba's features.

### 200. Rubens's Mercury Spoon: Drawing (Fig. 403)

Pen and wash, heightened with white; 220 × 285 mm.; inscribed in pen and ink in Peiresc's handwriting: *Dessain d'une cueillier d'argent antique que M<sup>r</sup>. Rubens a achepté de M<sup>r</sup>. Gau a Paris en l'annee 1625. avec une patene d'argent antique / Ce qui est iaune en ceste cueillier est un clou d'or de rapport qui ne perce point. Possible pr seruir de marque d'vn poinct, affin de / signifier q la mesure estoit examinee et ajustée à la vraye contenance du Cochlear ou de la Ligula des anciens, ou plustot du quart du Cyathe, / & le Mystrum. Mais quand j'ay eu l'original le 9.*

Nou.<sup>bre</sup> 1634, *il n'a qtenu q la mesure du Vase de ma pile qui pese le sextans, sans le combler, qui n'est q les deux tiers du Mystrum, vray est qu'en le comblant il prent le Mystrum tout entier.*<sup>1</sup>—  
 Verso: Inscribed in Peiresc's handwriting: *mon frere dict qu'il y auoit deux patenes d'argent antiques toutes lissees ou luyssantes sans aulcune ciselleure ou enrichissement / de figures ou feuillages et Danasquineures, mais qu'elles auoient chascune vne queüe, comme les Hemines ou Cotyles de / Bronze q. j'ay eties font de Nismes q. d'ailleurs.* [What is here rendered in roman script is underlined in the original].  
 Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale. MS Fr. 9532, fol. 94r.

PROVENANCE: Nicolas-Claude Fabri de Peiresc (Belgentier, 1580-1637).

LITERATURE: Jaffé, *Antwerp Sketchbook*, pp. 78-79, n. 4, fig. XXXI; M. Jaffé, 'Rubens as a Collector', *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts*, London, 1969, pp. 646-648, fig. 6; *Van der Meulen, Antiquarius*, pp. 18, 84, nn. 13-15; Jaffé, *Self-Portrait*, pp. 11-12, fig. 9.

The bowl of a spoon with part of its curved stem is seen from two angles. The main drawing renders the spoon viewed from above, its inside decorated with an engraving of a nude man holding a round object in the right hand and the left arm leaning on a stick. He is sitting on a rock in front of an object facing a cock and a goat. An object in the shape of a pineapple is in the centre above. The spoon is drawn below in side view.

A note by Peiresc jotted down along the bottom edge of the sheet says that Rubens purchased the spoon together with a silver dish in Paris in 1625 from Gau, a Parisian dealer in antiquities. In the last sentence Peiresc mentions that he saw the original spoon on 9 November 1634.<sup>1</sup> This remark does not refer to Rubens's spoon, however, but to a similar one belonging to a Mr de Montagu in Autun, which Peiresc came across in 1633 (Fig. 404).<sup>2</sup> De Montagu visited him in No-

vember 1634 bringing the original with him.<sup>3</sup> Puzzled by some details not clearly visible on de Montagu's spoon, Peiresc contacted Rubens asking him for a mould of his specimen, and discussed the representation engraved on the bowl.<sup>4</sup> Included with Peiresc's letter was apparently a drawing of de Montagu's spoons.<sup>5</sup>

Peiresc interpreted the figure as a seated Mercury holding a purse, his *petasus* lying in front of him. Rubens took the *petasus* to be a flaming fire and the purse an apple. In his opinion the object resembling a pineapple pictured a reticulated purse drawn together with strings.<sup>6</sup>

A little diamond-shaped lozenge or nail, barely visible at the foot of the rock, was of particular interest to Peiresc, who thought the nail could have possibly served as a gauge (see note 1). This nail was of a gold colour on Rubens's spoon, as Valavez (Peiresc's brother) observed when he examined it (see note 2), but de Montagu's spoon differed in this respect, causing Peiresc to suspect that it was copied after Rubens's specimen (see note 2). However, after receiving a tin mould of Rubens's spoon,<sup>7</sup> he concluded that the latter was counterfeited after de Montagu's original.<sup>8</sup>

Peiresc's note on a large spoon in Rubens's possession in all likelihood applies to the contents of the Mercury spoon.<sup>9</sup>

1. 'Drawing of an antique silver spoon which Mr. Rubens has acquired from Mr. Gau in Paris in the year 1625, together with an antique silver dish. The yellow area on this spoon is a nail of gold that does not go all the way through. Possibly to serve as a gauge, meaning that the liquid measure was examined and adjusted to the exact contents of the Cochlear or Ligula of the Ancients, or rather [equal to] a quarter part of the Cyathus and the Mystrum. But when I got the original on 9 November 1634, it only contained the measure of the vase of my mortar which weighs a Sextans, without filling it to the top, which is only two thirds of a Mystrum. It is true when filling it to the top it measured exactly a Mystrum'. In 1632 Peiresc started researching the weights and measures of Antiquity. His file *De Ponderibus et Mesuris* is preserved in Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS Fr. 9532. The following liquid measures are mentioned in the annotation below the drawing:



*Cochlear*, a spoonful, equal to a third of a *Mystrum*. *Ligula*, a spoonful, equal to a *drachme*. The *mystrum* equal to a quart part of a *cyathus*. The *sextans* equal to one sixth of a *sextarius*. See also Peiresc to de Thou, 4 April 1633 (*Rooses–Ruelens*, VI, p. 47). See note 2. The last two sentences of Peiresc's annotation squeezed in along the bottom on the drawing (Fig. 403) were added after 9 November 1634 (and not 1624 as quoted in *Rooses–Ruelens*, VI, p. 49 [with an illustration of Rubens's drawing in mirror image] and by Jaffé, *Antwerp Sketchbook*, p. 79).

2. Peiresc to de Thou, 4 April 1633 (P. Tamizey de Larroque, *Lettres de Peiresc*, II, Paris, 1890, pp. 482-487; *Rooses–Ruelens*, VI, pp. 47-49). Cf. An undated note of Peiresc, written between 1633 and 1636 (Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS Fr. 9530, fol. 111r): 'Le Sr. Simon de Montaigu lieutenant gnral à la Chancellerie en la Ville d'Autun en Bourgogne... Home d'environ LX. ans. qui est fort honneste et fort curieux. A fait recueillir de quelques antiquitez trouuees ez enuiron d'Autun... Il a afforce petites cueillers de bronze et entr' aues il en a vne d'argent toute pareille à celle de Mr. Rubens dans laquelle y a vn Mercure assis accompagné de son coq et de son monton. mais en bas auprez de son siege & qtre iceluy, il dict qu'on y void paroistre son Petase bien distinctement, sans se pouuoir souuenir s'il est d'or ou doré. Ce q mon frere auoit creu estre vn cloud d'or en la Cueiller de Mr. Rubens, lors qu'il l'auoit acheptee du Sr. Gault et q led. Sr. Rubens en eust si Grande enuie qu'il ne se peut desdire de la luy laisser et ensemble vne patere d'argent toute lise sans aulcune facon. Que led. Sr. Gault m'a depuis mandé auoir achepté en Auignon d'vn orfeure. Cette grande conformité de forme & grandeur a pensrez de lad. cueiller tant du Sr. de Montaigu q Rubens, et de la figure qui y est dessus, monstrant ce semble qu'elles pourroient bien auoir esté fabriquees de la main d'vn mesme Ouvrier et possible desterrees ensemblemt, et partagees en sorte q l'vne fust allee d'vn costé, l'aue d'vn aue'.

De Montagu's Mercury spoon is known from three drawings:

- 1) Paris, Bibl. Nat., Cabinet des Estampes, MS Aa 54, II, fol. 98 (J. Guibert, *Les Dessins du Cabinet Peiresc au Cabinet des Estampes de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, Paris, 1910, p. 94, no. 98; Jaffé, *Antwerp Sketchbook*, pl. XXXII; M. Jaffé, op. cit. (1969), fig. 4).  
 2) Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS Dupuy 667, fol. 142r, inscribed: *les deux cuilliers d'argent... appartiennent à Mr. Le Lieutenant de Montagu.*

3) A copy of the drawing Peiresc sent to Rubens belongs to MS Johnson, fol. 134 (Fig. 404). The gilt lozenge is indicated as *vergult* (gilt). Jaffé assumed that Rubens copied the drawing Peiresc sent him, but this is unlikely in my opinion (Jaffé, *Antwerp Sketchbook*, pp. 78-80, n. 4, pl. XXXIII; M. Jaffé, op. cit. (1969), fig. 5).

The second spoon with a Dolphin pictured on the drawings also belonged to Montagu. It is discussed in Peiresc's letter of 12 December 1634. See note 3.

3. Peiresc to Rubens, December 1634 (Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS Fr. 9532, fol. 182r; see Appendix VI.2). This autograph letter is probably a draft of the final copy Peiresc sent to Rubens. It is written in French, however, although the scholar usually corresponded with the artist in Italian. The heading on the document reads *Dec. 1634*, although Rubens's reply of 18 December 1634 refers to a letter of Peiresc dating from 24 November (see note 5). Although it is not explicitly stated, Peiresc apparently acquired de Montagu's Mercury and Dolphin spoons on this occasion. He referred to the Mercury spoon as 'la mienne' in his letter to Rubens. Both are listed in the inventory of Peiresc (Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS Fr. 9534, fol. 29r; J. Guibert, op. cit., p. 100). De Montagu's spoons are also discussed in Peiresc's letter to [J. Dupuy] (?), 12 December 1634 (Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS Fr. 9532, fols. 419r-420).
4. Peiresc to Rubens, December 1634 (Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS Fr. 9532, fols. 182r-v; see Appendix VI.2).
5. Rubens to Peiresc, 18 December 1634: 'Il cucciario e apunto como il disegno di V.S. ma senz'oro, eccetto il chiodo che par piu tosto massiccio che indorato' (*Rooses–Ruelens*, VI, p. 83).
6. Rubens to Peiresc, 18 December 1634 (*ibid.*, p. 83).
7. Rubens to Peiresc, 16 August 1635 (*ibid.*, p. 128).
8. Peiresc to Guyon, 15 April 1636 (R. Lebègue, *Les correspondants de Peiresc dans les anciens Pays-Bas*, Brussels, 1943, pp. 48-49). The bowl of Rubens's spoon was of coarse workmanship (as the artist informed Peiresc) in contrast to the handle, which was finely engraved and decorated with Bacchic designs (see note 5). At the time of publication, D. Jaffé, 'Peiresc and New Attitudes to Authenticity in the Seventeenth Century' in *Why Fakes Matter. Essays on Problems of Authenticity*, ed. M. Jones, London, 1993, pp. 157-170 appeared, tracing Rubens's Mercury spoon to the Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Médailles, in Paris.
9. Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS Fr. 9532, fol. 184r; see Appendix VI.3.

### III. Copies After Theodoor Galle's 'Illustrivm Imagines' (Nos. 201-222)

#### 201-218 COPIES AFTER GALLE'S UNPUBLISHED DRAWINGS

A series of seventeen drawings is preserved in the Musée du Louvre in Paris, all but two of which (Nos. 201 and 217) are copies of unpublished drawings by Theodoor Galle. Two sketches executed in pen and ink can be attributed to Rubens himself (Nos. 213 and 217; Figs. 439 and 449), but the other fifteen drawings in black chalk were ascribed by Lugt to an assistant of Rubens, and only their corrections in ink and the inscriptions to the master.<sup>1</sup>

The set in Paris now consists of only seventeen drawings, yet originally there was at least one more. Engraved in Albert Rubens's *De Re Vestiaria Veterum*, published posthumously in 1665, is a seated *Diogenes* (No. 218, Copy; Fig. 453) after a bronze coin in the collection of F. Orsini, as the caption reveals. Not only does it resemble the Louvre drawings, but it also goes back to an unpublished drawing by Galle (Fig. 452).

During his stay in Rome in 1596 Theodoor Galle, a native of Antwerp, drew numerous antiquities belonging to Fulvio Orsini, librarian of the Farnese family.<sup>2</sup> He also included some pieces from the Farnese collection,<sup>3</sup> as well as a few belonging to other collectors in Rome. After Galle returned to Antwerp he engraved 151 of his 246 drawings and published these in 1598 under the title *Illustrivm Imagines, ex antiquis marmoribus nomismatibus, et gemmis expressae: quae exstant Romae, maior pars apud Fulvium Vrsinum*. After Galle finished the plates the original sketches were returned to Fulvio Orsini in Rome, who died on 18 May 1600. It took over two years to settle his estate, during which time Galle's drawings

were not accessible. Subsequently in 1603, Johannes Faber started working on a commentary to Galle's engravings and eventually added seventeen more illustrations. The expanded edition was printed in July 1606.<sup>4</sup>

Faber was a good friend of Rubens and probably showed him the volume with Galle's drawings, when Rubens was in Rome (1605/6-1608). On that occasion the artist could have selected from the unpublished drawings some that he wanted to have copied. Apparently Rubens left the job to an assistant and later simply touched up the chalk drawings, adding the inscriptions with the identifications, locations and material of the model in pen and ink. At this time he copied two more sketches (*Alexander the Great*, No. 213 and *Pythagoras*, No. 217); Galle's original drawings on 237 sheets are now in the Vatican Library, Cod. Vat. Capp. 228.<sup>5</sup> The major difference between Galle's drawings and the sketches at the Louvre is that the latter bear locations and identifications now missing on the former, since the sheets were trimmed.<sup>6</sup>

Anne-Marie Logan observed that the drawings at the Louvre can be divided into two groups according to the type of paper used. The first group consists of *Carneades* (twice), *Herodotus*, *Pittacus*, *Plato*, *Sophocles*, *Alexander the Great*, *Archytas*, *Homer* (twice), *Pythagoras* (Nos. 202, 203, 205, 209, 210, 212-217). To the second group belong *Aristotle*, *Euripides*, *Homer*, *Lysias*, *Menander* and *C. Servilius Ahala* (Nos. 201, 204, 206-208, 211).<sup>7</sup>

Rubens must have been interested in the drawings for purely iconographical reasons, and intended the copies for private use. The drawings selected reproduce marble sculptures and coins of Famous Greek Men. Of the six coins copied, at least three are now considered to be Renaissance falsifications (*Alexander the Great*, *Archytas* and *Diogenes*; Nos. 213, 214 and 218). The twelve marbles, of which some are still extant, were authentic antiques, but only five were correctly identified by Orsini.<sup>8</sup> Rubens apparently rejected

the identification of a *Carneades*, as the crossed out name would suggest (No. 202). The identifications of the *Aristotle*, a second *Carneades*, *Euripides*, *Herodotus* and *Pittacus* (Nos. 201, 203-205, 209) can still be accepted, although some of the incorrectly labelled portraits have not been renamed in recent literature.

1. *Lugt, Cat. Louvre, École flamande*, pp. 30-32, nos. 1086-1102 (Inv. Nos. 20358-20362). The collector's mark of the Musée du Louvre (L.1886) is stamped on each drawing in the bottom left corner. The drawings are laid down on two sheets: Nos. 201, 204, 205, 207, 208, 212, 214 and 216 on one sheet, the other nine on the other. They figure as anonymous Italian in Morel d'Arleux's manuscript catalogue (1797-1827; IV, nos. 2829-2830).
2. Orsini's collection is inventoried in a last will made on 31 January 1600. He left his collection to Odoardo Farnese, who incorporated it in his own, which has been in the Museo Nazionale in Naples since 1790. See *De Nolhac, Orsini*, pp. 139-231. On Orsini, see also Ch. IV, pp. 129-130, 148.
3. For a discussion of the Farnese portrait sculptures, see C. Riebesell, *Die Sammlung des Kardinal Alessandro Farnese. Ein 'Studio' für Künstler und Gelehrte (Acta humaniora)*, Weinheim, 1990, pp. 151-159, figs. 141-147.
4. *Ioannis Fabri Bambergensis, Medici Romani*, in *Imagines Illustrium ex Fulvii Vrsini Bibliotheca. Antverpiae à Theodoro Gallaeo expressas, Commentarius*, Antwerp, Ex Officina Plantiniana, apud Ioannem Moretum, 1606. The seventeen additional engravings are numbered A-R, and, as the title-page reveals, were also engraved by Galle: *Appendix ad Imagines Illustrium ex Fulvii Vrsini Bibliotheca Antverpio à Theodoro Gallaeo expressas*, 1606.
5. Acquired by Marchese Capponi in August 1744; fol. 219 is missing. See G.S. Cozzo, *I Codice Capponiani della Biblioteca Vaticana*, Rome, 1897, p. 296, no. 228.
6. *Jongkees, Fulvio Orsini*, p. 7.
7. *Logan, Rubens Exhibitions*, 1978, p. 431, nos. 33-49.
8. *Jongkees, Fulvio Orsini*, p. 15.

## 201. Bust of Aristotle: Drawing retouched by Rubens (Fig. 405)

Black chalk, corrections in pen and brown ink; 154 × 100 mm.; inscribed in pen and ink in Rubens's handwriting at top ARISTOTELES, at bottom *Apud Ful. VRSINVM In marmore*. Bottom left collector's mark of the Musée du Louvre (L.1886). Mounted with seven other

drawings from the same series.

*Paris, Musée du Louvre, Cabinet des Dessins*. Inv. No. 20.359.

PROVENANCE: Seized by the revolutionary government (end of the 18th century) for the 'Muséum National'.

EXHIBITED: *Paris*, 1978, no. 46.

LITERATURE: *Rooses*, V, p. 209, no. 1399 [1]; F. Studniczka, *Bildnis der Aristoteles*, Leipzig, 1908, pp. 15-16, pl. II.2; *Lugt, Cat. Louvre, École flamande*, p. 31, no. 1088; *Jongkees, Fulvio Orsini*, pp. 7 (n. 20), 17-19, 27, 35, pl. 7a; *Richter, Portraits of the Greeks*, II, p. 172; J.S. Held, *Rembrandt's Aristotle*, Princeton, N.J., 1969, pp. 14-15, n. 45, figs. 6-7; *Van der Meulen, Antiquarius*, pp. 66-67, 69, 174-175, no. C.3a, fig. XXIV,D; *Sérullaz, Rubens*, p. 58, no. 46, repr.; *Logan, Rubens Exhibitions*, 1978, p. 431, nos. 33-49.

An irregularly truncated bust with short beard and thin hair combed to the front, the left shoulder covered with drapery, stands on a round socle. It is seen from above eye level in side view with light falling from the right. The person is identified by an inscription in Greek letters as *Aristotle*.

The same bust occurs on a drawing by T. Galle, Cod. Vat. Capp. 228, fol. 7v, which differs significantly from the Louvre drawing. Galle's version (Fig. 406) shows a straightly terminated bust with a knot of drapery hanging over the round pedestal. It is seen from eye level in three-quarter view with light falling from the left. On the Vatican drawing the E and L of the inscription are not in Roman, but Greek letters.

The Louvre sketch could be a poor adaptation after Galle, but it was probably made independently, whereas the other drawings in the Louvre series are close and direct copies after the drawings in Cod. Vat. Capp. 228.<sup>1</sup> In the Vatican codex the sketch of *Aristotle* occurs on the verso of a drawing of a herm of *Lysias*, of which a copy is also included in the Louvre

series (No. 207), and the copyist therefore must have known Galle's drawing.

The source is a bust in the collection of F. Orsini,<sup>2</sup> that was only described by *Faber, Illustrium Imagines*, pp. 20-21. The small marble with a *pallium* and an inscription with the philosopher's name was reportedly found fourteen years earlier (in 1592) at the foot of the Quirinal hill. Galle reproduced (pl. 35) and Faber also described a marble relief of Aristotle with a clean-shaven head and short, well-kept hair from Orsini's collection.<sup>3</sup> Orsini had identified it as *Aristotle*, since it matched the description by classical authors of the peripatetic beardless scholar. The identification of the relief has been rejected, but the inscribed portrait bust preserved in several replicas is still accepted by Richter as Aristotle's effigy.<sup>4</sup>

First attributed to Rubens by Rooses, Lugt ascribed the main drawing in black chalk to an assistant, and only the corrections in pen and the inscriptions to the master.<sup>5</sup> Logan observed that the sketch was drawn on the same type of paper as five other drawings in the same series.

1. T. Lorenz, *Galerien von griechischen Philosophen*, Mainz, 1965, pp. 61-63, surmised that the Louvre drawing was independently drawn. In my opinion that drawing was made after the sculpture. Rubens was apparently not pleased with the results and therefore had Galle's drawings copied.
2. *De Nolhac, Orsini*, p. 185, fol. 53, no. 57. Costing 50 *scudi*, the bust had been rather expensive and was kept in a red leather case.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 183, fol. 50, no. 18; K. Kraft, 'Über die Bildnisse des Aristotle und des Platon', *Jahrbuch für Numismatik und Geldgeschichte*, XIII, 1963, p. 20, assumed that Orsini's relief represented Menander.
4. *Richter, Portraits of the Greeks*, II, p. 172, repr. p. 171. Kraft and Jongkees have rejected the identification. The inscription on the bust has often been considered spurious.
5. Julius Held considers the drawing in the Louvre good enough to be by Rubens.

## 202. Head of 'Carneades' (Antisthenes): Drawing retouched by Rubens (Fig. 408)

Black chalk, corrections in pen and brown ink; 106 × 68 mm.; inscribed in pen and ink in Rubens's handwriting at top CARNEADES, at bottom *Apud F. Vrsinum / In marmore*. Bottom left collector's mark of the Musée du Louvre (L.1886). Mounted with eight other drawings from the same series.

*Paris, Musée du Louvre, Cabinet des Dessins*. Inv. No. 20.361b.

PROVENANCE: Same as No. 201.

EXHIBITED: *Paris, 1978*, no. 38.

LITERATURE: *Rooses*, V, p. 211, no. 1401 [3]; *Michel, Rubens*, p. 104, repr.; K. Gerstenberg, 'Rubens im Kreise seiner römischer Gefährten', *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, I, 1932, pp. 107-108; *Boehringer, Homer Bildnisse*, pl. 18; *Lugt, Cat. Louvre, École flamande*, p. 31, no. 1089; *Jongkees, Fulvio Orsini*, p. 7, n. 20; *Van der Meulen, Antiquarius*, p. 175, no. C.4a; *Sérullaz, Rubens*, p. 54, no. 38, repr.; *Logan, Rubens Exhibitions, 1978*, p. 431, nos. 33-49.

A bearded head with bushy hair and a concerned expression is seen in nearly frontal view, turned slightly to the left. The neck is truncated irregularly. The drawing is a faithful copy after T. Galle, *Cod. Vat. Capp. 228*, fol. 147r (Fig. 409), of a marble head in the collection of F. Orsini,<sup>1</sup> thought to represent *Carneades*. However, the name of the cynical philosopher is crossed out on the Louvre drawing. Rubens apparently did not agree with the identification; unfortunately he did not give his own interpretation. The pronounced, round curl on top of the head is characteristic of Antisthenes' appearance and agrees with Jongkees' identification.<sup>2</sup> In fact, a herm in the Museo Nazionale in Naples, from the Farnese collection, is in my opinion

identical to the sculpture formerly belonging to Orsini. The head is now mounted onto an alien herm (Fig. 407).<sup>3</sup> The termination of the neck is the same as on Galle's drawing.

First attributed to Rubens by Rooses, Lugt ascribed the main drawing in black chalk to an assistant and only the corrections in ink and the inscriptions to the master, who added curls to the hair, moustache and beard. Logan observed that the sketch was drawn on the same type of paper as ten other drawings from the same series.

1. *De Nolhac, Orsini*, p. 183, fol. 49, no. 9.
2. *Jongkees, Fulvio Orsini*, p. 13.
3. *Richter, Portraits of the Greeks*, II, p. 180, no. 5, figs. 1046-1048; *Ruesch, Museo Nazionale, 1911*, no. 1117 (Inv. No. 6159).

### 203. Bust of Carneades: Drawing retouched by Rubens (Fig. 411)

Black chalk, corrections in pen and brown ink; 126 × 70 mm.; inscribed in pen and ink in Rubens's handwriting at top CARNEADES, at bottom *Apud F. Vrsinum In marmore*. Bottom left collector's mark of the Musée du Louvre (L.1886). Mounted with eight other drawings from the same series.

*Paris, Musée du Louvre, Cabinet des Dessins*. Inv. No. 20.362.

PROVENANCE: Same as No. 201.

EXHIBITED: *Paris, 1978*, no. 33.

LITERATURE: *Rooses*, V, p. 211, no. 1402 [1]; *Boehringer, Homer Bildnisse*, pl. 18; *Lugt, Cat. Louvre, École flamande*, p. 31, no. 1090; *Jongkees, Fulvio Orsini*, p. 7, n. 20; *Van der Meulen, Anti-quarius*, pp. 66, 175-176, no. C.5a, fig. XXII,B; *Sérullaz, Rubens*, p. 53, no. 33, repr.; *Logan, Rubens Exhibitions, 1978*, p. 341, nos. 33-49.

The bust of *Carneades*, an ageing man with cropped beard and a questioning expression, wearing a *pallium* over a *tunica*, is seen in

three-quarter view facing left. The drawing is an exact copy after T. Galle, *Cod. Vat. Capp. 228*, fol. 11r (Fig. 410), of a marble bust in F. Orsini's collection,<sup>1</sup> that was described by *Faber, Illustrium Imagines*, p. 24. The sculpture was identified from a very similar bust with the philosopher's name belonging to Cardinal Farnese.<sup>2</sup> The latter, now lost, is known from two casts. Considered the most reliable portrait of *Carneades*, it established his portraiture. Orsini's bust, too, seems lost. Its authenticity cannot therefore be judged, but in all likelihood it rendered *Carneades*.<sup>3</sup>

First attributed to Rubens by Rooses, Lugt ascribed the main drawing in black chalk to an assistant and only the corrections in ink and the inscriptions to the master. The corrections mainly concern the beard, to which a row of curls along the chin was added. Logan observed that the sketch was drawn on the same type of paper as ten other drawings from the series.

1. *De Nolhac, Orsini*, p. 183, fol. 49, no. 10.
2. *Richter, Portraits of the Greeks*, II, p. 249, no. 1. The bust was rejected by *Bernoulli, Griechische Ikonographie*, II, pp. 181-182, pl. XXIV.
3. *Richter, Portraits of the Greeks*, II, p. 250, no. 9; *A. Stähli, 'Die Datierung des Carneades-Bildnisses'*, *Archäologischer Anzeiger*, 1991, pp. 219-252.

### 204. Herm of Euripides: Drawing retouched by Rubens (Fig. 413)

Black chalk, corrections in pen and brown ink; 156 × 92 mm.; inscribed in pen and ink in Rubens's handwriting at top EVRIPIDES, at bottom *Apud F. Vrsinum. / In marmore*. Bottom left collector's mark of the Musée du Louvre (L.1886). Mounted with seven other drawings from the same series.

*Paris, Musée du Louvre, Cabinet des Dessins*. Inv. No. 20.358c.

PROVENANCE: Same as No. 201.

EXHIBITED: *Paris, 1978*, no. 45.

LITERATURE: *Roses*, V, p. 209, no. 1398 [4]; *Lugt, Cat. Louvre, École flamande*, p. 31, no. 1091; *Jongkees, Fulvio Orsini*, p. 7, n. 20; *Van der Meulen, Antiquarius*, p. 176, no. C.6a; *Sérullaz, Rubens*, p. 58, no. 45, repr.; *Logan, Rubens Exhibitions, 1978*, p. 431, nos. 33-49.

A herm with the head of *Euripides* with a short beard and long hair is seen in three-quarter view facing left. A slip of drapery hangs down from his left shoulder. The drawing is a faithful copy after T. Galle, Cod. Vat. Capp. 228, fol. 68r (Fig. 412), of a marble herm in the collection of F. Orsini,<sup>1</sup> that was described by *Faber, Illustrium Imagines*, p. 39. The sculpture on the drawing resembles another herm in *Faber*, pl. 60, with the poet's name, belonging to Cardinal Farnese.<sup>2</sup> Both sculptures are preserved in the Museo Nazionale in Naples. Orsini's herm also bore an inscription, which was omitted on Galle's drawing and was criticized by *Faber* for its corrupted spelling.<sup>3</sup> Orsini's identification is still accepted. Galle's engraving was reused in *Rubenius, De Re Vestitaria*, 1665, p. 161. The Louvre drawing was not used for that publication, possibly for aesthetic reasons, since the Orsini herm has a rather high shaft. In another instance, a drawing (now lost) from the Louvre series did serve as model for an engraving in Albert Rubens's book (see No. 218).

First attributed to Rubens by *Roses*, *Lugt* ascribed the main drawing in black chalk to an assistant and only the corrections in ink and the inscriptions to the master. *Logan* observed that the sketch was drawn on the same type of paper as five other drawings from the same series.

1. *De Nohac, Orsini*, p. 183, fol. 49, no. 12.

2. *Richter, Portraits of the Greeks*, I, p. 135, no. 13, figs. 717-719 (the inscribed Farnese herm served to identify the portraits of the Greek tragedian); *Ruesch, Museo Nazionale, 1911*, no. 1122 (Inv. No. 6135).

3. *Richter, Portraits of the Greeks*, I, p. 135, no. 14, fig. 732; *Ruesch, Museo Nazionale, 1911*, no. 1123 (Inv. No. 6160).

## 205. Double Herm with Herodotus: Drawing retouched by Rubens (Fig. 414)

Black chalk, corrections in pen and brown ink; 134 × 94 mm.; inscribed in pen and ink in Rubens's handwriting at top HERODOTVS, at bottom *Apud F. VRSINVM*, on the shaft of the herm ΗΡΟΔΟΤΟΣ. Bottom left collector's mark of the Musée du Louvre (L.1886). Mounted with seven other drawings from the same series.

*Paris, Musée du Louvre, Cabinet des Dessins*. Inv. No. 20.359a.

PROVENANCE: Same as No. 201.

EXHIBITED: *Paris, 1978*, no. 47.

LITERATURE: *Roses*, V, p. 209, no. 1399 [2]; *Lugt, Cat. Louvre, École flamande*, no. 1092; *Jongkees, Fulvio Orsini*, p. 7, n. 20; *Van der Meulen, Antiquarius*, pp. 176-177, no. C.7a; *Jaffé, Rubens and Italy*, p. 82, n. 63, fig. 317; *Sérullaz, Rubens*, p. 58, no. 47, repr.; *Logan, Rubens Exhibitions, 1978*, p. 431, nos. 33-49.

The bearded head of *Herodotus* is seen in side view facing right. The herm is identified by an inscription in Greek letters on the shaft. Attached to it is the bearded head of *Thucydides*, seen from the rear in three-quarter view. Part of the inscription of the model is missing.

The drawing is a careful copy after T. Galle, Cod. Vat. Capp. 228, fol. 130r (Fig. 416), of a double herm in the collection of F. Orsini,<sup>1</sup> that was described by *Faber, Illustrium Imagines*, p. 43.

Galle's drawing shows the herm seen from the side, therefore the face is only partially visible. The marble (Fig. 415), which is now in the Museo Nazionale in Naples, has a rather high shaft, and for that reason Galle might have preferred the side view.<sup>2</sup> He omitted the hole in the shaft. The selection of this sheet

seems surprising, since the face is not clearly visible and the sculpture was illustrated in previous publications.<sup>3</sup>

First attributed to Rubens by Rooses, Lugt ascribed the main drawing in black chalk to an assistant and only the corrections in ink and inscriptions to the master. The copy in Paris is more lifelike than Galle's drawing, but the dark pen contour correcting the moustache is rather disturbing. Logan observed that the sketch was drawn on the same type of paper as ten other drawings from the series. In cutting the sketch from a larger sheet of paper, the bottom line of the inscription was probably cut off.

1. *De Nolhac, Orsini*, p. 182, fol. 49, no. 2.

2. *Richter, Portraits of the Greeks*, I, p. 146, no. 2, figs. 810-812; *Ruesch, Museo Nazionale*, 1911, no. 1129 (Inv. No. 6239); A. Hekler, *Greek and Roman Portraits*, London, 1912, pl. 15; R. Vincent, 'Les antiques', in *Le Palais Farnèse. École française de Rome*, I, 2, Rome, 1981, p. 344, n. 97, fig. 317a. The herm was sawn apart, but the two halves were reattached.

3. *Staius, Iulstrium Virorum*, pl. III and *Ursinus, Imagines*, pl. 87, picture the double herm, then in the possession of Cardinal Cesi, showing the face in frontal view.

## 206. Head of 'Homer' (Sophocles): Drawing retouched by Rubens (Fig. 418)

Black chalk, corrections in pen and brown ink; 122 × 68 mm.; inscribed in pen and ink in Rubens's handwriting at top HOMERVS, at bottom *Apud F. VRSINVM / In marmore*. Bottom left collector's mark of the Musée du Louvre (L.1886). Mounted with eight other drawings from the same series.

*Paris, Musée du Louvre, Cabinet des Dessins*. Inv. No. 20.362b.

PROVENANCE: Same as No. 201.

EXHIBITED: *Paris*, 1978, no. 35.

LITERATURE: *Rooses*, V, p. 211, no. 1402 [3]; *Boehringner, Homer Bildnisse*, pl. 18; *Lugt, Cat. Louvre, École flamande*, p. 31, no. 1095; *Jongkees, Fulvio Orsini*, p. 7, n. 20; *Van der Meulen, Antiquarius*, p. 178, no. C.10a; *Sérullaz, Rubens*, pp. 53-54, no. 35, repr.; *Logan, Rubens Exhibitions*, 1978, p. 431, nos. 33-49.

A bearded head with a fillet over the hair, which is combed forward, is seen in three-quarter view facing left. The neck on the left side was irregularly broken. The drawing is an exact copy after T. Galle, Cod. Vat. Capp. 228, fol. 149r (Fig. 417), of a marble head belonging to F. Orsini.<sup>1</sup> According to *Faber, Illustrium Imagines*, p. 46, it was found on the Via Ostiense in Rome. Orsini identified the sculpture as *Homer*, based on a coin minted in Amastris, which shows the poet wearing a *taenia* on his head and a half-length beard.<sup>2</sup> In my opinion both drawings picture an ancient head, now mounted on an alien herm in the Museo Nazionale in Naples, and recently identified as *Sophocles* (Fig. 419).<sup>3</sup> It too was reportedly found on the Via Ostiense. In fact, the termination of the head is the same as that visible on Galle's drawing.

First attributed to Rubens by Rooses, Lugt ascribed the main drawing in black chalk to an assistant and only the corrections in ink and the inscriptions to the master. The copyist gave depth to the face with hatchings, while Rubens added strands of hair to the top of the head and on the right side of the face. Logan observed that the sketch was drawn on the same type of paper as five other drawings from the series.

1. *De Nolhac, Orsini*, p. 183, fol. 49, no. 8.

2. *Faber, Illustrium Imagines*, p. 45, pl. 72. See no. 215.

3. *Richter, Portraits of the Greeks*, I, p. 127, no. 17, figs. 638-640; *Ruesch, Museo Nazionale*, 1911, no. 1119 (Inv. No. 6413).

### 207. Herm of 'Lysias': Drawing retouched by Rubens (Fig. 420)

Black chalk, corrections in pen and brown ink; 131 × 93 mm.; inscribed in pen and ink in Rubens's handwriting at top *LYSIAS*, at bottom *Apud Horatium Victorium / In marmore*, on the shaft of the herm in black chalk and ink *AY-CIAG*. Bottom left collector's mark of the Musée du Louvre (L.1886). Mounted with seven other drawings from the same series. *Paris, Musée du Louvre, Cabinet des Dessins*. Inv. No. 20.358a.

PROVENANCE: Same as No. 201.

EXHIBITED: *Paris, 1978*, no. 43.

LITERATURE: *Rooses, V*, p. 208, no. 1398 [2]; *Lugt, Cat. Louvre, École flamande*, p. 31, no. 1096; *Jongkees, Fulvio Orsini*, p. 7, n. 20; *Van der Meulen, Antiquarius*, pp. 178-179, no. C.11a; *Sérullaz, Rubens*, p. 56, no. 43, repr.; *Logan, Rubens Exhibitions, 1978*, p. 431, nos. 33-49.

A herm with the head of a man with a beard and short, curly hair is seen in three-quarter view facing left. The herm is identified by an inscription in Greek letters as *Lysias*. The drawing is a reliable copy after T. Galle, Cod. Vat. Capp. 228, fol. 7r (Fig. 421) of a herm in the collection of Orazio Vettori in Rome, that was described by *Faber, Illustrium Imagines*, p. 52.<sup>1</sup> The text of the inscription on the Louvre copy differs from Galle's in that the last letter, a C was changed into a G. The herm does not resemble a certified portrait of Lysias.<sup>2</sup> The sculpture is now in the Capitoline Museum in Rome, but has not been renamed (Fig. 422).<sup>3</sup> The inscription is considered a Renaissance falsification.<sup>4</sup>

First attributed to Rubens by *Rooses, Lugt* ascribed the main drawing in black chalk to an assistant and only the corrections in ink and the inscriptions to the master. The copyist gave more depth to the face with hatchings, Rubens added curls to the beard under the

chin. Logan observed that the sketch was drawn on the same type of paper as five other drawings from the same series.

1. *Faber* made no mention of Vettori's name, in contrast to *Stattius, Illustrium Virorum*, pl. 7: 'apud Johannem Baptistam Victorium ciuem Ro.'.
2. *Richter, Portraits of the Greeks*, II, p. 207, no. 1, figs. 1340-1342; *Ruesch, Museo Nazionale, 1911*, no. 1116 (Inv. No. 6130).
3. *Richter, Portraits of the Greeks*, II, p. 208; *Bernoulli, Griechische Ikonographie*, II, pp. 2-4.
4. *Hülsen, Hermeninschriften*, p. 163, no. 23, accepted the inscription as antique. A.H. Stuart Jones, *Sculptures of the Capitoline Museum*, Oxford, 1912, p. 226, stanza dei filosofi, no. 15, rejected the inscription. *Helbig, Führer, 1963-72*, II, no. 1368.

### 208. Double Herm with 'Menander': Drawing retouched by Rubens (Fig. 424)

Black chalk, corrections in pen and brown ink; 133 × 87 mm.; inscribed in pen and ink in Rubens's handwriting at top *MENANDER*, at bottom *Cum Tabella Marmorea / MENANΔPOC Δ... / Apud F. VRSINVM / In Marmore*. Bottom left collector's mark of the Musée du Louvre (L.1886). Mounted with seven other drawings from the same series. *Paris, Musée du Louvre, Cabinet des Dessins*. Inv. No. 20.359b.

PROVENANCE: Same as No. 201.

EXHIBITED: *Paris, 1978*, no. 48.

LITERATURE: *Rooses, V*, p. 209, no. 1399 [3]; *Lugt, Cat. Louvre, École flamande*, p. 31, no. 1097, pl. LI; *Held, Drawings*, p. 50, n. 2; *Jongkees, Fulvio Orsini*, p. 7, n. 20; *Van der Meulen, Antiquarius*, pp. 66, 179, no. C.12a, fig. XXII,D; *Sérullaz, Rubens*, p. 58, no. 48, repr.; *Logan, Rubens Exhibitions, 1978*, p. 431, nos. 33-49.

A clean-shaven head of a middle-aged man, his short hair combed to the front, is seen in three-quarter view facing left. Attached to it is a bearded head seen from the rear right side.



A separate drawing of the second head ('Sophocles') is also part of the series (No. 212; Fig. 434). The drawing is a faithful copy after T. Galle, *Cod. Vat. Capp. 228, fol. 24r* (Fig. 423), of a double herm in the collection of F. Orsini,<sup>1</sup> that was described by *Faber, Illustrium Imagines*, p. 56. The portrait was identified by Orsini after a marble medallion with the name of the Greek poet.<sup>2</sup> The arrangement of the hair and the advanced age of the person depicted do not agree with the certified portrait of Menander and therefore the identification has been rejected.<sup>3</sup> The herm is now in the Museo Nazionale in Naples, and has not been renamed. The inscription on the Louvre drawing refers to a Greek text occurring on a marble plaque, also in Orsini's collection.<sup>4</sup> Galle had transcribed the text in full, but started the second word incorrectly with a L. Rubens corrected this and thereby possibly followed the text printed in *Ursinus, Imagines*, p. 33.

First attributed to Rubens by Rooses, Lugt ascribed the main drawing in black chalk to an assistant and only the corrections in ink and the inscriptions to the master. The Louvre copy is far better than Galle's drawing in that the flabby skin is rendered very realistically. Light contrasts suggest depth. Logan observed that the sketch was drawn on the same type of paper as five others from the same series.

1. De Nollac, *Orsini*, p. 182, fol. 49, no. 7.
2. *Faber, Illustrium Imagines*, pl. 90.
3. Ruesch, *Museo Nazionale, 1911*, no. 1135 (Inv. No. 6236); H. von Heintze, 'Zu Poseidippos und "Menander" im Vatikan', *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Römische Abteilung*, LXVIII, 1961, pp. 82-83, pls. 20.2 and 23.1-2 (as 'Menander'); Bernoulli, *Griechische Ikonographie*, II, p. 121 (he had not seen the herm); T. Lorenz, *Galerien von griechischen Philosophen*, Mainz, 1965, pp. 26-27, fig. XV.3 (unnamed); R. Vincent, 'Les antiques', in *Le Palais Farnèse. École française de Rome*, I, 2, Rome, 1981, p. 344, n. 97, fig. 317d. The herm was sawn apart, but the two halves were reattached.
4. De Nollac, *Orsini*, p. 183, fol. 50, no. 27. Cf. *Faber, Illustrium Imagines*, p. 56; Richter, *Portraits of the Greeks*, II, p. 226, no. 6 (now lost).

## 209. Herm of Pittacus: Drawing retouched by Rubens (Fig. 426)

Black chalk, retouches in pen and brown ink; 102 × 74 mm.; inscribed in pen and black ink in Rubens's handwriting at top PITTACVS, at bottom VRSINVM In Marmore. Bottom left collector's mark of the Musée du Louvre (L.1886). Mounted with eight other drawings from the same series.

*Paris, Musée du Louvre, Cabinet des Dessins. Inv. No. 20.360b.*

PROVENANCE: Same as No. 201.

EXHIBITED: *Paris, 1978*, no. 41.

LITERATURE: *Rooses, V*, p. 210, no. 1400 [3]; *Boehring, Homer Bildnisse*, pl. 18; *Lugt, Cat. Louvre, École flamande*, p. 31, no. 1098; *Jongkees, Fulvio Orsini*, p. 7, n. 20; *Van der Meulen, Antiquarius*, pp. 179-180, no. C.13a; *Sérullaz, Rubens*, p. 56, no. 41, repr.; *Logan, Rubens Exhibitions, 1978*, p. 431, nos. 33-49.

A herm with the head of *Pittacus* is seen in side view facing left. The drawing is an exact copy after T. Galle, *Cod. Vat. Capp. 228, fol. 17r* (Fig. 425), of a herm in the collection of F. Orsini,<sup>1</sup> that was described by *Faber, Illustrium Imagines*, p. 64. Orsini had identified his sculpture from a bronze coin with *Pittacus'* name, minted in Mytilene.<sup>2</sup> The drawing resembles a herm with an inscription in the Louvre in Paris; it has the same neat arrangement of the hair and separated locks (Fig. 427).<sup>3</sup>

First attributed to Rubens by Rooses, Lugt ascribed the main drawing in black chalk to an assistant and only the corrections in ink and the inscriptions to the master, who touched up the brow, mouth and beard. When the drawing was cut from a larger sheet of paper, the left side of the inscription (*Apud F.*), which is now missing, was possibly cut off. Logan observed that the sketch was drawn on

the same type of paper as ten other drawings from the same series.

1. *De Nolhac, Orsini*, p. 183, fol. 49, no. 15.
2. *Faber, Illustrium Imagines*, pl. 111: 'PITTACVS'.
3. *Richter, Portraits of the Greeks*, I, p. 89, no. 1, figs. 361-363.

**210. Herm of 'Plato' (Krates):  
Drawing retouched by Rubens  
(Fig. 429)**

Black chalk, corrections in pen and brown ink; 114 × 86 mm.; inscribed in pen and ink in Rubens's handwriting at top PLATO, at bottom *Apud F. VRSINVM / In marmore*. Bottom left collector's mark of the Musée du Louvre (L.1886). Mounted with eight other drawings from the same series.

*Paris, Musée du Louvre, Cabinet des Dessins*. Inv. No. 20.361.

PROVENANCE: Same as No. 201.

EXHIBITED: *Paris, 1978*, no. 36.

LITERATURE: *Roses*, V, p. 210, no. 1401 [1]; *Boehringner, Homer Bildnisse*, pl. 18; *Lugt, Cat. Louvre, École flamande*, p. 31, no. 1099, pl. LI; *Jongkees, Fulvio Orsini*, p. 7, n. 20; *Van der Meulen, Antiquarius*, pp. 66, 180, no. C.14a, fig. XXIII,B; *Sérullaz, Rubens*, p. 54, no. 36, repr.; *Logan, Rubens Exhibitions, 1978*, p. 431, nos. 33-49.

A herm with a bearded head, whose thick, dishevelled curls cover its forehead, is seen in three-quarter view facing right. The drawing is a reliable copy after T. Galle, Cod. Vat. Capp. 228, fol. 34r (Fig. 428), of a herm in the collection of F. Orsini,<sup>1</sup> called remarkable for its quality by *Faber, Illustrium Imagines*, p. 65. Orsini had identified the portrait as *Plato*.<sup>2</sup> The marble pictured on the drawing is in my opinion identical with a herm wearing tousled hair and a pointed beard in the Museo Na-

zionale in Naples, most recently identified as the cynic philosopher Krates (Fig. 430).<sup>3</sup>

First attributed to Rubens by *Roses*, *Lugt* ascribed the main drawing in black chalk to an assistant and only the corrections in ink and the inscriptions to the master. The copyist added hatchings to the face, Rubens corrected the hair on the neck and the moustache. *Logan* observed that the sketch was drawn on the same type of paper as ten other drawings from the same series. For other portraits of Plato see Nos. 115, 173 and 221.

1. *De Nolhac, Orsini*, p. 183, fol. 49, no. 11.
2. *Faber, Illustrium Imagines*, pl. 112: 'PLATO', illustrating a gem. See below, No. 221.
3. H. Fuhrmann, 'Krates und Hipparchia', *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Römische Abteilung*, LV, 1940, pp. 86-90, fig. 2; *Richter, Portraits of the Greeks*, II, p. 186, fig. 1083; *Ruesch, Museo Nazionale*, 1911, no. 1136 (Inv. No. 6162).

**211. Head of 'C. Servilius Ahala':  
Drawing retouched by Rubens  
(Fig. 432)**

Black chalk, corrections in pen and brown ink; 97 × 82 mm.; inscribed in pen and ink in Rubens's handwriting at top C. SERVILIUS AHALA, at bottom *Apud CARD. FARNESIVM / EX AERE*. Bottom left collector's mark of the Musée du Louvre (L.1886). Mounted with eight other drawings from the same series.

*Paris, Musée du Louvre, Cabinet des Dessins*. Inv. No. 20.360a.

PROVENANCE: Same as No. 201.

EXHIBITED: *Paris, 1978*, no. 40.

LITERATURE: *Roses*, V, p. 210, no. 1400 [2]; *Boehringner, Homer Bildnisse*, pl. 18; *Lugt, Cat. Louvre, École flamande*, p. 32, no. 1101; *Jongkees, Fulvio Orsini*, p. 7, n. 20; *Van der Meulen, Antiquarius*, pp. 181-182, no. C.16a; *Sérullaz, Rubens*, pp. 54-55, no. 40, repr.; *Logan, Rubens Exhibitions, 1978*, p. 431, nos. 33-49.

A head with short hair and stubbly beard is seen in three-quarter view facing left. The neck is irregularly truncated. The drawing is a copy after T. Galle, Cod. Vat. Capp. 228, fol. 118r (Fig. 431), of a bronze head in the collection of Cardinal Farnese, that was described by Faber, *Illustrium Imagines*, p. 75.<sup>1</sup> The head of the Roman consul was identified in a peculiar way by Orsini from a silver denarius minted in Rome c.60 B.C.<sup>2</sup> The obverse of this particular coin bears the head of L. Junius Brutus, a descendant of the *Gens Servilia*, who took his inspiration from his ancestor. A bronze bust on display in the Capitol at the time was identified as the portrait of Brutus, and simply because the bronze head in the Farnese collection matched it in size and material, it was considered its pendant and thus labelled *Ahala*, as Faber observes, even though it bore no resemblance to the effigy on the coin. However, no certified portrait of C. Servilius Ahala is known.<sup>3</sup>

First attributed to Rubens by Rooses, Lugt ascribed the main drawing in black chalk to an assistant and only the corrections in ink and the inscriptions to the master. The copyist drew the nose more aquiline and a hole in the neck is less prominent than on Galle's drawing. Corrections in ink to the cheek and mouth make the beard less conspicuous. Logan observed that the sketch was drawn on the same type of paper as five other drawings from the series.

1. Faber does not mention Cardinal Farnese as the owner of the head. In the Index to Cod. Vat. Capp. 228 the portrait is erroneously listed as 'Q. Servilius Ahala' of whom no coins are known to have existed.

2. E.A. Sydenham, *The Coinage of the Roman Republic*, London, 1952 (reprint 1975), p. 150, no. 907, pl. 25.

3. Bernoulli, *Römische Ikonographie*, I, p. 25, coin pl. I, no. 13.

**212. Double Herm with 'Sophocles':  
Drawing retouched by Rubens  
(Fig. 434)**

Black chalk, corrections in pen and brown ink; 128 × 97 mm. inscribed in pen and ink in Rubens's handwriting at top SOPHOCLES, at bottom *Apud F. Vrsinum / In Marmore*. Bottom left collector's mark of the Musée du Louvre (L.1886). Mounted with seven other drawings from the same series.

*Paris, Musée du Louvre, Cabinet des Dessins. Inv. No. 20.358b.*

PROVENANCE: Same as No. 201.

EXHIBITED: *Paris, 1978*, no. 44.

LITERATURE: Rooses, V, p. 209, no. 1398 [3]; Lugt, *Cat. Louvre, École flamande*, p. 32, no. 1102; Jongkees, *Fulvio Orsini*, p. 7, n. 20; Van der Meulen, *Antiquarius*, pp. 66, 182, no. C.17a, fig. XXIII,D; Sérullaz, *Rubens*, p. 56, no. 44, repr.; Logan, *Rubens Exhibitions, 1978*, p. 431, nos. 33-49.

A bearded head with hair combed to the front is seen in three-quarter view facing left. Attached to it is another head seen from the rear right side. A separate drawing of the second head ('*Menander*') is also part of the series (No. 208). The drawing is a faithful copy after T. Galle, Cod. Vat. Capp. 228, fol. 21r (Fig. 433), of a double herm in the collection of F. Orsini,<sup>1</sup> that was described by Faber, *Illustrium Imagines*, p. 76. The portrait was identified by Orsini from a marble roundel picturing the Greek tragedian Sophocles, inscribed with his name.<sup>2</sup> However, this has not been accepted. The double herm is now in the Museo Nazionale in Naples, and has not been renamed.<sup>3</sup>

First attributed to Rubens by Rooses, Lugt ascribed the main drawing in black chalk to an assistant and only the corrections in ink and the inscriptions to the master. The copyist drew the face more elongated than Galle and

emphasized the bone structure, which made the face look older. Rubens added curls to the hair and beard. Logan observed that the sketch was drawn on the same type of paper as ten other drawings from the same series.

1. *De Nolhac, Orsini*, p. 182, fol. 49, no. 7.
2. *Faber, Illustrium Imagines*, pl. 136: 'SOPHOCLES', reprinted from *Ursinus, Imagines*, pl. 25.
3. *Ruesch, Museo Nazionale*, 1911, no. 1135 (Inv. No. 6236); *Bernoulli, Griechische Ikonographie*, I, pp. 124-126, n. 4; T. Lorenz, *Galerien von griechischen Philosophen*, Mainz, 1965, pp. 26-27, fig. XV.6; R. Vincent, 'Les antiques', in *Le Palais Farnèse. École française de Rome*, I, 2, Rome, 1981, p. 344, n. 97, fig. 317c. The herm was sawn apart, but the two halves were reattached.

### 213. Coin with 'Alexander the Great': Drawing (Fig. 439)

Pen and brown ink; 123 × 88 mm.; inscribed in black ink in Rubens's handwriting at top ALEXANDER MAGNVS, at bottom *Apud F. Vrsinum In / nomismate AVREO*. Bottom left collector's mark of the Musée du Louvre (L.1886). Mounted with eight other drawings from the same series.

*Paris, Musée du Louvre, Cabinet des Dessins*. Inv. No. 20.362a.

PROVENANCE: Same as No. 201.

EXHIBITED: *Paris, 1978*, no. 34.

LITERATURE: *Roses*, V, p. 211, no. 1402 [2]; *Boehringner, Homer Bildnisse*, pl. 18; *Lugt, Cat. Louvre, École flamande*, pp. 30-31, no. 1086, pl. LI; *Jongkees, Fulvio Orsini*, p. 7, n. 20; L. Schwarzenberg, 'The Portraiture of Alexander the Great in Seventeenth-Century Italy and France', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, XXXII, 1969, pp. 401-402, n. 34, fig. 66e; *Van der Meulen, Antiquarius*, pp. 67-68, 173, no. C.1a, fig. XXIV.B; *Sérullaz, Rubens*, p. 53, no. 34, repr.; *Logan, Rubens Exhibitions, 1978*, p. 431, nos. 33-49.

A bust of *Alexander the Great* with an Attic helmet decorated with scrolls, his *lorica* (cuirass) covered by a *paludamentum* (cloak) is seen in side view facing left. The drawing is a copy after T. Galle, Cod. Vat. Capp. 228, fol. 41r (Fig. 438), of a gold coin in the collection of F. Orsini,<sup>1</sup> discussed by *Faber, Illustrium Imagines*, p. 8 among the '*imagines galeatae*' of the Macedonian ruler. Alexander is usually not pictured on coins wearing a helmet and cuirass,<sup>2</sup> and therefore Schwarzenberg rightly condemned the coin as a clever Renaissance invention combining details from genuine, late Macedonian coins (231-249 B.C.). His analysis of the fake coin could not explain some puzzling details not derived from numismatical sources. In my opinion, these were clearly borrowed from glyptical representations on which Alexander is pictured. For example, on Orsini's coin Alexander is seen in side view facing left, which is usually not the case on coins, where he is seen facing right. On gems, however, he is often depicted in side view facing left. Also, the helmet with its peculiar disc motif above the ear resembles the *galea* worn by Alexander on the well-known, large cameo now in the Hermitage in St Petersburg (Fig. 435).<sup>3</sup> The cheek guard, which Schwarzenberg took for a misinterpretation of lion's paws, is part of the helmet of Alexander on the famous cameo with *Alexander and Olympias* in Vienna (Fig. 436).<sup>4</sup> Schwarzenberg considered the cuirass to have been an invention of the forger, but a carnelian intaglio in Orsini's collection, known from an engraving in *Faber, Illustrium Imagines*, pl. 6, shows Alexander dressed in military costume (Fig. 437).<sup>5</sup>

The sketch under discussion varies from the fifteen drawings in the Louvre series in that it is executed with pen and ink. *Roses* rightly, in my opinion, attributed it to Rubens. The artist copied Galle's drawing quite faithfully, but discrepancies exist in the scroll ornament on the helmet, and the facial features are much closer to Alexander's physiognomy, known to Rubens from the Gonzaga cameo.<sup>6</sup> The coin may have inspired the artist for his

figure of the *Triumphant Alexander* on a sheet with pen sketches in Berlin (*text ill.* 30).<sup>7</sup> Here Alexander also wears a helmet, although of the Corinthian type, and is clad in a *lorica* and *paludamentum*. Logan observed that the sketch is drawn on the same type of paper as ten other drawings in the same series.

1. De Nollac, Orsini, p. 185, fol. 54, no. 5.
2. Bieber, *Alexander the Great*, pp. 373-429, fig. 83; K. Kraft, 'Der behelmte Alexander der Grosse', *Jahrbuch für Numismatik und Geldgeschichte*, XIV, 1964, p. 8.
3. O. Neverov, *Gonzaga Cameo* [in Russian], Leningrad, 1977, repr. p. 11; N.T. de Grummond, 'The Real Gonzaga Cameo', *American Journal of Archaeology*, LXXVIII, 1974, pp. 427-429, pl. 87.1.
4. F. Eichler and E. Kris, *Die Kameen im Kunsthistorischen Museum. Beschreibender Katalog*, Vienna, 1927, pp. 47-48, no. 3, pl. 2.1; R. Knoll, *Neues zu altbekannten Kunstwerken der Wiener Antikensammlung*, Vienna, 1970, pp. 63-65.
5. Faber, *Illustrium Imagines*, p. 8, referring to another cameo with a similar double portrait. P.B. Moreau de Mautour, *Mémoires de Trevoux*, XIV, April 1714, pp. 663-670 (reprint 1974, pp. 178-180, repr. p. 178), discussing a comparable carnelian.
6. Rubens to Pierre Dupuy, 9 September 1627 (*Rooses-Ruelens*, IV, p. 303; *Magurn, Letters*, no. 123, p. 200).
7. Studies for a Roman Triumph. See McGrath, *Painted Decoration*, pp. 254-256, fig. 31a; *Mielke-Winner*, no. 30, repr.

## 214. Coin with 'Archytas': Drawing retouched by Rubens (Fig. 440)

Black chalk, corrections in pen and brown ink; 164 × 109 mm.; inscribed in pen and black ink in Rubens's handwriting at top ARCHYTAS, at bottom *Apud F. VRSINVM / In Nomismate Argenteo* and under the stool FARAS. Bottom left collector's mark of the Musée du Louvre (L.1886). Mounted with seven other drawings from the same series.

Paris, Musée du Louvre, Cabinet des Dessins. Inv. No. 20.358.

PROVENANCE: Same as No. 201.

EXHIBITED: Paris, 1978, no. 42.

LITERATURE: *Rooses*, V, p. 208, no. 1398 [1]; *Lugt, Cat. Louvre, École flamande*, p. 31, no. 1087; *Jongkees, Fulvio Orsini*, p. 7, n. 20; *De Grummond, Coins and Gems*, p. 10, fig. 1; *Van der Meulen, Antiquarius*, pp. 65, 173-174, no. C.2a, fig. XXI,B; *Sérullaz, Rubens*, p. 56, no. 42, repr.; *Logan, Rubens Exhibitions, 1978*, p. 431, nos. 33-49.

The bearded figure of *Archytas* with a *himation* and turban-shaped head-dress, sitting on a stool with a *ferula* in his left hand and a *cantharos* in his outstretched right hand, is seen in side view facing right. The drawing is an exact copy after T. Galle, Cod. Vat. Capp. 228, fol. 57r (Fig. 441), of a silver *tetradrachm* allegedly issued in Tarente in the collection of F. Orsini,<sup>1</sup> that was described by *Faber, Illustrium Imagines*, p. 17. The portrait of the Greek philosopher was identified from a second coin belonging to Orsini, also allegedly minted in Tarente, showing his head only.<sup>2</sup> Both coins were Renaissance forgeries.<sup>3</sup>

The archaic style of the model was probably very plain, lacking perspective, and this is the main reason for the poor representation. However, Galle's drawing is in several respects better than the copyist's version, which is very pedestrian and seems to have been made rather carelessly. The knot of the head band is omitted, the right hand is shapeless and the *cantharos* lop-sided; the feet seem to be placed on top of each other. The corrections with the pen improved it very little; in fact, the right arm looks even worse. The inscription under the stool, correctly copied by Galle had been corrupted to 'FARAS'. The drawing is one of the least successful of the set.

First attributed to Rubens by *Rooses*, *Lugt* ascribed the main drawing in black chalk to an assistant and the corrections in ink and the inscriptions to the master. Logan observed that the sketch was drawn on the same type of paper as ten other drawings from the same series.

1. *De Nollac, Orsini*, p. 203, fol. 102, no. 502.

2. Faber, *Illustrium Imagines*, pl. 27: 'ARCHYTAS'.  
 3. Bernoulli, *Griechische Ikonographie*, II, p. 17; Richter, *Portraits of the Greeks*, II, p. 179, mentioning only the second coin with Archytas' head inscribed 'ARKI'.

**215. Coin with the Head of Homer:  
 Drawing retouched by Rubens  
 (Fig. 444)**

Black chalk, corrections in pen and brown ink; 104 × 66 mm. inscribed in pen and ink in Rubens's handwriting at top HOMERVS, at bottom APVD F. VRSINVM / *In Nomismate Aereo*, around the head from left to right OMH / POC. Bottom left collector's mark of the Musée du Louvre (L.1886). Mounted with eight other drawings from the same series.

*Paris, Musée du Louvre, Cabinet des Dessins*. Inv. No. 20.360.

PROVENANCE: Same as No. 201.

EXHIBITED: *Paris*, 1978, no. 39.

LITERATURE: *Roses*, V, p. 210, no. 1400 [1]; *Boehringier, Homer Bildnisse*, pl. 18; *Lugt, Cat. Louvre, École flamande*, p. 31, no. 1094; *Jongkees, Fulvio Orsini*, p. 7, n. 20; *De Grummond, Coins and Gems*, p. 10, fig. 2; *Van der Meulen, Antiquarius*, pp. 177-178, no. C.9a; *Sérullaz, Rubens*, p. 54, no. 39, repr.; *Logan, Rubens Exhibitions, 1978*, p. 341, nos. 33-49.

A bearded head with a *taenia*, the shoulders covered with a *pallium* is seen in side view facing right. The head is identified by an inscription in Greek letters as *Homer*. The drawing is an exact copy after T. Galle, Cod. Vat. Capp. 228, fol. 126r (Fig. 442), of a bronze coin in the collection of F. Orsini,<sup>1</sup> that was described by *Faber, Illustrium Imagines*, p. 45. In Roman imperial times Amastris, one of the places claimed to be the birthplace of the Greek philosopher, issued these coins (Fig. 443).<sup>2</sup> As Faber observed in his text to pl. 72 (a contorniate with Homer's head inscribed with his name), the legend on the coins of

Amastris is more correct than the unusual spelling of Homer's name on the contorniate. The Amastrian coin was used to identify other portraits of Homer, among them a marble also belonging to Orsini (No. 206; Fig. 418).

First attributed to Rubens by *Roses*, *Lugt* ascribed the main drawing in black chalk to an assistant and only the corrections in ink and the inscriptions to the master. *Logan* observed that the sketch was drawn on the same type of paper as ten other drawings from the same series.

1. *De Nolhac, Orsini*, p. 211, fol. 121, no. 2: 'Ma di Amastriani con testa di Homero, nel rouerscio una Vittoria'. *Boehringier, Homer Bildnisse*, p. 44, n. 1.
2. *Richter, Portraits of the Greeks*, I, pp. 50, 56 (y), fig. 122; *W. Wroth, Catalogue of Greek Coins. Pontus, Paphlagonia, Bithynia and the Kingdom of Bosphorus*, London, British Museum, Department of Coins and Medals, (reprint 1976), XXIV, p. 86, no. 13 (bronze coin with no denomination issued by Samos in 150 A.D.).

**216. Coin with Homer: Drawing  
 retouched by Rubens (Fig. 447)**

Black chalk, corrections in pen and brown ink; 150 × 104 mm.; inscribed in pen and ink in Rubens's handwriting at top HOMERVS, at bottom *Apud F. VRSINVM / In nomismate Aereo*, around the figure from right to left OMH / POC. Bottom left collector's mark of the Musée du Louvre (L.1886). Mounted with seven other drawings from the same series. *Paris, Musée du Louvre, Cabinet des Dessins*. Inv. No. 20.359c.

PROVENANCE: Same as No. 201.

EXHIBITED: *Paris*, 1978, no. 49.

LITERATURE: *Roses*, V, p. 210, no. 1399 [4]; *Lugt, Cat. Louvre, École flamande*, p. 31, no. 1093; *Jongkees, Fulvio Orsini*, p. 7, n. 20; *De Grummond, Coins and Gems*, p. 10; *Van der Meulen, Antiquarius*, p. 177, no. C.8a, fig. XXI,

D; *Sérullaz, Rubens*, p. 58, no. 49, repr.; *Logan, Rubens Exhibitions, 1978*, p. 431, nos. 33-49.

A bearded, partially draped figure sitting on a chair, holding a book in his hands, is seen in side view facing right. The head is identified by an inscription in Greek letters as *Homer*. The drawing is a faithful copy after T. Galle, Cod. Vat. Capp. 228, fol. 151r (Fig. 445), of a Roman imperial coin of bronze, minted in Chios (second century A.D.; Fig. 446)<sup>1</sup> in the collection of F. Orsini,<sup>2</sup> that was described by *Faber, Illustrium Imagines*, p. 46. The figure has become more muscular than on Galle's drawing and the sequence of the letters surrounding the figure has been changed. Also a groundline has been added.

First attributed to Rubens by Rooses, Lugt ascribed the main drawing in black chalk to an assistant and only the corrections in ink and the inscriptions to the master. Logan observed that the sketch was drawn on the same type of paper as ten other drawings from the same series.

1. B.V. Head, *Catalogue of Greek Coins of Ionia*. London, British Museum, Department of Coins and Medals, London, 1889 (reprint 1976), XVIII, p. 346 no. 140, pl. XXXIII, 12 (bronze coin issued by the Antonines with no denomination, legend left to right 'OM / HPOC' reverse 'XI / Ω / N'); *Richter, Portraits of the Greeks*, I, p. 55 (x), fig. 125.

2. *De Nothac, Orsini*, p. 211, fol. 121, no. 3: 'M.a de Clij [sic] con la figura d'Homero a sedere che tiene l'Iliade in mano, nel rouerscio la sfinge'. *Ursinus, Imagines*, p. 21, illustrates the coin at the centre below the statue. The legends are incorrectly given.

## 217. Two Coins with Pythagoras: Drawing (Fig. 449)

Pen in brown ink; 86 × 138 mm.; inscribed in pen and ink in Rubens's handwriting at top right PYTHAGORAS, around left figure from right to left ΠΥΘΑΓΟΡΗΣ ΛΑΜΙΩΝ, around right figure from right to left Λ'Π'ΘΑΓΟΡΗCCAM. Bottom left collector's mark of the Musée du Louvre (L.1886). Mounted with eight other drawings from the same series.

*Paris, Musée du Louvre, Cabinet des Dessins*. Inv. No. 20.361a.

PROVENANCE: Same as No. 201.

EXHIBITED: *Paris, 1978*, no. 37.

LITERATURE: *Rooses*, V, p. 211, no. 1401 [2]; *Boehring, Homer Bildnisse*, pl. 18; *Lugt, Cat. Louvre, École flamande*, no. 1100; *De Grummond, Coins and Gems*, p. 10, fig. 3; *Van der Meulen, Antiquarius*, pp. 67-68, 181, no. C.15a, fig. XXV,C; *Sérullaz, Rubens*, p. 54, no. 37, repr.; *Logan, Rubens Exhibitions, 1978*, p. 431.

Two bearded, semi-draped figures are seated in side view facing left, the left arm holding a measuring stick, the outstretched right arm pointing a smaller stick at a sign of Venus on a globe placed on a column in front of them. A circular border is drawn around each figure. Slight differences in hair and seats occur between each figure. The Jupiter-like figures are identified by inscriptions in Greek letters as *Pythagoras*. The head is repeated in a separate study at below left. Both sketches are copied from Cod. Vat. Capp. 228: the right sketch after fol. 103r, where the inscription is spread far less around the figure (Fig. 450), the left one after fol. 103v, where the inscription on the left is incomplete and indicated with a dotted line (Fig. 451).

The latter sketches differ from the other drawings in the Codex in that they are on a much smaller scale and are executed entirely in ink. The sketch on fol. 103v is apparently a later addition, since it is glued on. They are probably not by Theodoor Galle and are not listed in the Index of the Codex. On fol. 103r a large drawing of a coin by Galle fills the greatest part of the sheet. As the circular lines around them indicate, they picture two different coins, i.e. coins of the Roman imperial period issued in Samos (Fig. 448).<sup>1</sup> The coins were not listed in Orsini's inventory, drawn up about 31 January 1600. They might have been later acquisitions. Faber described them

in the *Illustrium Imagines*, p. 71.<sup>2</sup> The text quoted from Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, I: 134, is written below the sketch on fol. 103v. The top legend on the left sketch on the Louvre pen sketch is more complete than the legend on fol. 103r in Cod. Vat. Capp. 228.

The sheet was first attributed to Rubens by Rooses and has always been accepted as a work of the master. The artist completed the missing part of the legend on the left sketch, although the C was incorrectly changed to an L. It was correctly spelled on Galle's chalk drawing on fol. 103r of Cod. Vat. Capp. 228 (Fig. 450) and on the engraving pl. 124 in the *Illustrium Imagines*. Typical of Rubens is the repetition of a detail below the main drawing, such as the slightly enlarged head of Pythagoras underneath the left sketch. Logan observed that the drawings were executed on the same type of paper as ten other sketches from the same series.

1. B.V. Head, *Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Ionia*. London, British Museum. Department of Coins and Medals, London, 1889, (reprint 1976), XVIII, p. 373, no. 237 (not repr.); p. 376, no. 257 (not repr.); p. 390, no. 351, pl. XXXVII, 14; p. 392, no. 365 (not repr.). The coin illustrated on pl. XXXVII, 14 renders Pythagoras touching the globe as illustrated by Galle, pl. 124. The legend on the bronze coins with the figure of Pythagoras issued in Samos in 180 A.D. reads from left to right, starting behind the column 'ΠΥΘΑΓΟΡΗΣ ΚΑΜΙΩΝ'; see Richter, *Portraits of the Greeks*, I, p. 79, fig. 302.
2. Faber, *Illustrium Imagines*, p. 71: 'Sed & alia apud eundem in numo à Samijs cuso visitur, differtque ab imagine quam hoc libro repraesentamus, quod manu dextra radium teneat... sinistra virgam habeat...'

## 218. Contorniate with 'Diogenes': Drawing ?retouched by Rubens

Technique and measurements unknown.  
*Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.*

COPY: Engraving by R. Colin (Fig. 453), in *Rubenijs, De Re Vestiarum*, p. 45; 161 × 107 mm.; legend at top DIOGENES, at bottom APVD FVLVIVM VRSINVM / In Numismate aereo. LIT.

*Hecquet, Rubens*, p. 90, no. 5; *Basan*, p. 166 with note; *De Grummond, Coins and Gems*, p. 46, fig. 44; *Van der Meulen, Antiquarius*, p. 172, fig. XXV,E; *Van der Meulen, Observations*, p. 40, n. 22.

An engraving in Albert Rubens, *De Re Vestiarum Veterum*, shows a contorniate medal with a *Diogenes* (Fig. 453). It pictures a seated man in side view facing right. He is wearing a skull cap and is clad in a long-sleeved *tunica* covered by a *pallium* draped over his left shoulder; his feet are bare. His head leans on his left hand, which is supported by a club placed on a mound and held by the right hand. The legend on the print identifies the man as *Diogenes*, and informs us that a bronze contorniate in the collection of Fulvio Orsini served as model.<sup>1</sup>

The preparatory drawing for the engraving is no longer known. The legend identifying the medal and its model is similar to inscriptions on a series of drawings in the Musée du Louvre in Paris (Nos. 201-217), all but two of which are copies of drawings by T. Galle, Cod. Vat. Capp. 228. Fol. 52r of this Codex shows the model for the engraving (Fig. 452). However, no copy of the *Diogenes* can be found among the Louvre series. Such a copy must once have existed, since it served as the preparatory drawing for the engraver.

The majority of the seventeen drawings in the Louvre are executed in black chalk and corrected in pen and black ink. These corrections are by Rubens. Two of the sketches, executed entirely in ink (Nos. 213 and 217), are by Rubens. As the drawing of the *Diogenes* is not preserved, it is not known in which technique it was copied. Judging from the engraving, it seems most likely that it too was drawn in black chalk by an assistant of the master. Possibly it was also retouched by Rubens. Discrepancies between Galle's drawing and the engraving are the heavy shadows and cross-hatchings, the extension of the rear leg of the chair and the addition of the mound to support the club.



The drawing must have been kept in the files of Albert Rubens, who possibly owned the entire series now in the Louvre. Only the *Diogenes* was selected for publication.

The engraving illustrates the *duplicatio pallii* discussed in Albert Rubens's book.<sup>2</sup> This double mantle, worn by cynic philosophers without an undergarment, was wrapped around the left shoulder and under the right arm. In the commentary to the second edition of Galle's *Illustrium Imagines* on p. 38, Johan Faber discussed the special way Diogenes wore the *pallium*, but a marble portrait herm with an alleged effigy of the philosopher served as illustration (pl. 56), and Orsini's coin showing the entire figure of Diogenes was only mentioned in passing. It is one of the first identified portraits of the philosopher. However, the medal, a bronze contorniate according to the caption, is not mentioned in recent iconographical or numismatic literature and must have been a fake. No coins of Diogenes are known to have existed in Antiquity.<sup>3</sup> In an entry in Rubens's *Roman Itinerary*, the use of the *pallium* by Greek philosophers is discussed and Diogenes is explicitly mentioned.<sup>4</sup> The reference probably concerned this representation.

Richard Colin engraved eight plates for Albert Rubens's book, posthumously published in 1665, and I believe the *Diogenes* was one of them.<sup>5</sup>

1. *De Nolhac, Orsini*, p. 230, fol. 166: 'Nel studiolo d'Hebano in vn tiratore sono...(4) M.a Crotoniate con rou.o di Diogene'. Most of Orsini's contorniates are listed on fol. 163, thus the *Diogenes* might have been one of his last acquisitions.

2. *Rubenius, De Re Vestitaria*, l. VI, p. 44: 'Sed hos motus animorum atque haec certamina tanta componet ipse Diogenes, quem exhibeo hic ex veteri numismate, quod olim penes Ful. Vrsinum extabat. Ex quo quidem videmus, partem illam pallij, quae dextrum humerum operire debebat, duplicatam sub dextro brachio corpus velasse'. Cf. Q.S.Fl. Tertulian, *De Pallio*, V,3 (trans. A. Gerlo, Wetteren, 1940, I, pp. 27, 95; II, p. 174). Cynic philosophers wore a heavy or double weight mantle, the *duplex pallium*. This became the attire for philosophers and Christ in later art. See F. Gerke, *Die Christlichen Sarkophage*

*der vorkonstantinischen Zeit*, Berlin, 1940 (reprint 1978), pp. 227, 271, 292; Wilson, *Clothing Ancient Romans*, pp. 79-80, 85 (identifying the mantle as the *abolla*).

3. Dr J.W. Salomonson first suggested to me that the medal with *Diogenes* was a falsification. Richter, *Portraits of the Greeks*, II, pp. 181-185, made no mention of coins with Diogenes.

4. Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS Fr. 9530, fol. 200v (see Appendix I.3).

5. *Van den Wijngaert, Prentkunst*, p. 42, under no. 158; *Van der Meulen, Observations*, p. 44, n. 24.

## 219-222 COPIES AFTER GALLE'S ENGRAVINGS

Two sheets bearing chalk sketches of three male heads (Nos. 219 and 222; Figs. 456 and 462) show copies after three engravings published in Galle's *Illustrium Imagines*, Rome 1598 and in the second edition of 1606. They can possibly be attributed to Rubens. The sketches are in the 'Rubens Cantoor', a corpus of copies which entered the print room of the Statens Museum for Kunst in Copenhagen in 1835, of which many are attributed to Willem Panneels; however, the chalk sketches under discussion are not linked to Panneels.

Two of the portrait heads (No. 219) were copied in detailed pen drawings by Lucas Vorsterman I, whose monogram appears in the bottom right corner (Figs. 458 and 457). Each of the sheets bears a number, 137 and 138 respectively, in the bottom right corner; this probably indicates that Vorsterman had made a number of these pen drawings.

Vorsterman added on each of his two sheets a second portrait head (cf. Nos. 220 and 221) which also goes back to a Galle engraving, but in this case the preliminary chalk sketch is no longer extant.

On the other hand, of the third chalk sketch (No. 222; Fig. 462) no pen drawing by Vorsterman is known.

Vorsterman's drawings are now also kept in the Copenhagen Print Room. The collector's marks in the bottom left corner indicate that they formerly belonged to Lorenz Spen-

gler (Schaffhausen, 1720—Copenhagen, 1807), Director of the Royal Art Collection in Copenhagen.

## 219. Heads of Apollonius of Tyana and Socrates: Drawing (Fig. 456)

Black chalk with accents in a darker, softer chalk on thick yellowish paper; 192 × 59 mm. Inscribed in pen and ink (in Rubens's handwriting) *Socrates*.—*Verso*: inscribed in pencil *Lucas Vorsterman*.

*Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst, Kongelige Kobberstiksamling. 'Rubens Cantoor', No. III, 74.*

PROVENANCE: Acquired by Royal Library in Copenhagen presumably in the 17th century; since 1835 in the Museum.

COPIES: (1) Drawing by Lucas Vorsterman I (Fig. 457), head at right (for head at left see No. 221, Copy 1), Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst, Kongelige Kobberstiksamling, Box Tu 829; pen and brown ink, 102 × 158 mm.; inscribed in pen and brown ink above head at right *Appolonius Tianeus*, at centre top *magi*, above head at left *Plato*; signed at bottom right *LV.* (in monogram) *F.138*. Bottom left collector's mark of L. Spengler (L.1763). PROV. L. Spengler (Schaffhausen, 1720—Copenhagen, 1807). LIT. *Van der Meulen, Antiquarius*, p. 184, no. C.18b, fig. XVIII,A.

(2) Drawing by Lucas Vorsterman I (Fig. 458), head at right (for head at left see No. 220, Copy), Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst, Kongelige Kobberstiksamling, Box Tu 829; pen and brown ink, 107 × 155 mm.; inscribed in pen and brown ink above head at right *Socrates*, above head at left *Numa Pomp.*; signed at bottom right *LV.* (in monogram) *F.137*. Bottom left collector's mark of L. Spengler (L.1763). PROV. L. Spengler (Schaffhausen, 1720—Copenhagen, 1807). LIT. *Van der Meulen, Antiquarius*, p. 186, no. C.21b, fig. XX,A.

LITERATURE: *Müller Hofstede, St Georg*, p. 105, c; *Van der Meulen, Antiquarius*, p. 183, no. C.18a, fig. XVIII,C and p. 186, no. C.21a, fig. XX,B.

The sketches in Copenhagen showing two male heads in profile facing left are drawn above each other. The bottom sketch of a balding bearded man is identified as *Socrates* by an annotation in Rubens's hand. The model was an engraving in T. Galle's *Illustrium Imagines* (Fig. 454) of a contorniate in Orsini's collection.<sup>1</sup> The head above it is based on Galle's print of Apollonius of Tyana and shows another contorniate in Orsini's collection (Fig. 454).<sup>2</sup> Müller Hofstede attributes the sketches to Rubens.<sup>3</sup>

Both sketches were used by Lucas Vorsterman I as preliminary drawings for detailed pen sketches. On one sheet (Copy 2; Fig. 458), the *Socrates* on the right is paired with the effigy of Numa Pompilius, also based on a print of Galle as published in *Illustrium Imagines* (Fig. 459) after a silver coin in Orsini's collection.<sup>4</sup> On a second sheet (Copy 1; Fig. 457), Vorsterman drew Apollonius of Tyana on the right together with the head of Plato, again copied from an illustration in Galle's *Illustrium Imagines* (Fig. 460) of a gem owned by Orsini.<sup>5</sup> The drawings of Numa Pompilius and Plato may also be based on chalk sketches by Rubens, no longer known (Nos. 220, 221).

Vorsterman did not copy Galle's prints directly, but used the chalk sketches as preliminary drawings. As a result he misunderstood some details. On the chalk sketch with Apollonius of Tyana (Fig. 456), for example, the hand protruding from the *sinus* is indicated only by a top contour line. Vorsterman drew this line as part of Apollonius's garment (Fig. 457). On his pen sketch with *Socrates*, the philosopher's coat was indicated by a number of meaningless lines (Fig. 458).

The word *magi* inscribed on the drawing between the heads of Plato and Apollonius of Tyana (Fig. 457) may indicate that Vorsterman

knew that Galle's *Imagines* was the source for the chalk sketches.

1. *Faber, Illustrium Imagines*, p. 75, pl. 133: 'SOCRATES. / Apud Fuluium Vrsinum / in nomismate aereo'; *De Nolhac, Orsini*, p. 228, fol. 163, no. 475; *Van der Meulen, Antiquarius*, p. 186, no. C.21, fig. XX,D. The medal is now in Naples, Museo Nazionale (*Richter, Portraits of the Greeks*, I, p. 119, fig. 566).
2. *Faber, Illustrium Imagines*, p. 14, pl. 24: 'APOLLONIVS TEANEVS. / Apud Fuluium Vrsinum / in nomismate aereo'; *De Nolhac, Orsini*, p. 228, fol. 163, no. 473; *Van der Meulen, Antiquarius*, p. 183, no. C.18, fig. XIX,D. The contorniate is now in Naples, Museo Nazionale (*Richter, Portraits of the Greeks*, III, p. 284, fig. 2032).
3. Also attributed to Rubens by M. Jaffé on passepartout; Burchard did not think this drawing was by the master.
4. See No. 220, n. 1.
5. See No. 221, n. 1.

## 220. Head of Numa Pompilius: Drawing

Presumably chalk; measurements unknown.  
*Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.*

COPY: Drawing by Lucas Vorsterman I (Fig. 458), head at left (for head at right see No. 219, Copy 2), Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst, Kongelige Kobberstiksamlng, Box Tu 829. For more details see No. 219, Copy 2. LIT. *Van der Meulen, Antiquarius*, p. 184, no. C.19a, fig. XX,A.

On the sheet with a detailed drawing of the head of Socrates on the right (Fig. 458), Lucas Vorsterman added the head of a bearded man in profile facing left; he is identified by an inscription as Numa Pompilius. The model is an engraving of a silver coin in Orsini's collection by T. Galle in his *Illustrium Imagines* (Fig. 459), where the king's name is inscribed on the band worn around his head.<sup>1</sup> However, the name and the slips of the ribbon tied around Numa's head are missing, and in all likelihood Vorsterman did not copy Galle's engraving directly. Instead he used a chalk sketch, possibly by Rubens, which is no

longer known. It was similar to the one with the head of Socrates pictured on the right (see No. 219; Fig. 456).

1. *Faber, Illustrium Imagines*, p. 59, pl. 97: 'NVMA REX. / Apud Fuluium Vrsinum / in nomismate argenteo'; *De Nolhac, Orsini*, p. 208, fol. 114, under no. 592; *Van der Meulen, Antiquarius*, p. 184, no. C.19, fig. XX,C. The medal was issued in Spain in 49 B.C.; E.A. Sydenham, *The Coinage of the Roman Republic*, London, 1952 (reprint 1975), p. 172, no. 1032, pl. 27.

## 221. Head of Plato: Drawing

Presumably chalk; measurements unknown.  
*Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.*

COPIES: (1) Drawing by Lucas Vorsterman I (Fig. 457), head at left (for head at right see No. 219, Copy 1), Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst, Kongelige Kobberstiksamlng, Box Tu 829. For more details see No. 219, Copy 1. LIT. *Van der Meulen, Antiquarius*, p. 185, no. C.20a, fig. XVIII,A.

(2) Head at top left on an engraving by L. Vorsterman I, in reverse (Fig. 342). See No. 173 for more details.

Vorsterman's drawing of Apollonius of Tyana (Fig. 457) shows on the left a bearded head in profile facing right, identified as Plato by an inscription. The same head appears on a print by Galle in his *Illustrium Imagines*, illustrating a gem in Orsini's collection.<sup>1</sup> Although the pen sketch is quite close to Galle's print, Vorsterman probably did not copy the print directly, but used a sketch, no longer known, similar to the one of Apollonius on the right (see No. 219; Fig. 456).

Vorsterman used his pen drawing as a work drawing for the head of Plato on his engraving *Four Heads in Profile II*, where the philosopher's head is pictured at top left, in reverse of the drawing (No. 173; Fig. 342). The legend on the print at the bottom left, stating that a drawing by Rubens served as model, probably referred to the chalk sketch, no longer extant.

1. *Faber, Illustrium Imagines*, p. 64, pl. 112: 'PLATO. / Apud Fuluium Vrsinum / in gemma'; *De Nolhac, Orsini*, p. 167, fol. 24, no. 316; *Van der Meulen, Antiquarius*, p. 185, no. C.20, fig. XIX,C. An unpublished cameo in the Cabinet des Médailles, Paris, Louvre, is similar to Orsini's gem.

## 222. Head of Socrates: Drawing (Fig. 462)

Black chalk, accents in darker, softer chalk on thick yellowish paper; 80 × 61 mm.; rounded along the top edge.

*Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst, Kongelige Kobberstiksamling. 'Rubens Cantoor'*, No. III, 73.

PROVENANCE: Same as No. 219.

LITERATURE: *Müller Hofstede, St Georg*, p. 105, b (as *Rubens*); *Van der Meulen, Antiquarius*, p. 187, no. C.22a, fig. XIX,B.

The sketch in Copenhagen shows the bearded head of Socrates in three-quarter view facing right. It is based on pl. 134 in *Illustrium Imagines* engraved by T. Galle (Fig. 461), which depicts a marble bust in Cardinal Farnese's collection.<sup>1</sup> The sketch is by the same hand as the sheet with sketches of Apollonius of Tyana and Socrates (No. 219; Fig. 456), also copied after prints by Galle, which Müller Hofstede attributed without any doubt to Rubens.<sup>2</sup>

1. *Faber, Illustrium Imagines*, p. 75, pl. 134: 'SOCRATES. / Apud Cardinalem Farnesium / in marmore'; *Van der Meulen, Antiquarius*, p. 187, no. C.22, fig. XIX,A. The sculpture is now in Naples, Museo Nazionale, Inv. No. 6129; *Ruesch, Museo Nazionale, 1911*, p. 267, no. 1126; *Richter, Portraits of the Greeks*, I, p. 111, no. 4, pl. 482 (erroneously as from the Cesi collection).

2. Also attributed to Rubens by M. Jaffé on passepartout; Burchard did not think this drawing was by the master.

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